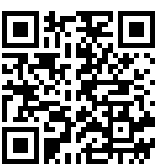
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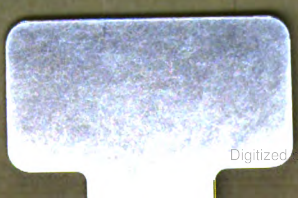
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HISTORY

OF THE

WALDENSES;

WITH AN

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE AND NORTH OF ITALY, TILL THESE CHURCHES SUBMITTED TO THE POPE, WHEN THE WALDENSES CONTINUED AS FORMERLY INDEPENDENT OF THE PAPAL SEE.

BY THE REV. ADAM BLAIR.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH:

PUBLISHED BY ADAM BLACK, 27, NORTH BRIDGE;
AND LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, GREEN,
AND LONGMAN, LONDON.

M.DCCC.XXXII.

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PREFACE.

THE study of Ecclesiastical History is a subject of vast importance, and intense interest to the genuine disciples of Jesus. The extension of the gospel in the primitive ages; the spread of heresies in societies called Christian; the opposition to the true church during the heathen persecutions, and the gradual rise and continuance of the Man of Sin; the noble perseverance of the saints under the most dreadful suffering; and the remarkable deliverances God has granted to the church, are matters of laudable research to the followers of the Lamb. "We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us what work thou didst in their days, in the days of old." The present work proves the wonderful fact, that ever since the Apostolic times, and even during the darkest of the middle ages, Christian churches existed independently of the Romish domination.

In the Introduction, a narrative is given of the state of the churches in North Italy, and the South of France in the primitive period; and of the NOVATIANS who separated from the general church in Italy in the third century, when a spirit of domination in some pastors appeared, particularly at Rome. Several extracts from the works of NOVATIAN, never before published in our language, demonstrate his soundness in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. Whatever good was done under Constantine, the reformed churches usually admit that the Romish hierarchy

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then began to appear, and Antichrist to be formed. For several ages resistance was managed against his innovations in many parts of Europe, and particularly by the churches in the South of France and North of Italy.

In FRANCE, a list is given of noble witnesses, with pretty full extracts from their writings, from Irenæus to the Tenth century, down to which period many churches and synods opposed the rising corruptions, and although at that epoch their independency was much diminished, yet even then the Lord had his witnesses, as appears by the decisions of the Synod of Rheims in that country, who were augmented in the Eleventh Century, and those which follow, as the reader will see in the progress of this Work. During the growth of popery, the churches of NORTH ITALY, or Lombardy, including Piedmont, made vigorous efforts against papal errors. In these churches ap peared Ambrose of Milan; the nine bishops who, in the sixth century, called the Pope a heretic; Paulinus and Paul of Aquileia; Claud of Turin, and others. Large details of the principles of these men, newly translated from their writings, are adduced, and which will not be unacceptable. Down to the eleventh century, these churches continued independent of the Pontiff.

The Introduction was originally much larger than at present. Some may think it still too extended, but I found that the history would not be complete without these statements, which are necessary in order to shew that the Waldenses of the Valleys were sprung from the primitive churches of Italy, and that the witnesses in France were a continuation of the original churches of that country.

At the Eleventh century, the present history properly begins. Then a number of the PAULICIANS who had long maintained the truth in the East, though

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not without a mixture of error, arrived in France and Italy. I had written a pretty full account of that people at the time of their origin in 660, and for several centuries afterwards; depending chiefly on their somewhat prejudised historian, Peter of Sicily; but can only find room for sketching from him their original views, and detailing from other quarters their progress in Italy and France. Shortly after, Berengaire and his followers appeared, who defended the truth against the real presence. In the same century, the churches of Turin, Milan, and Aquileia, in North Italy, ceased to contend against Romish corruption, and submitted to the Roman Catholic head. At this crisis the PATERINES at Milan, and the WALDENSES in the Valleys of the Cottian Alps, near Turin, refused to leave their ancient faith, and obey his holiness. Henceforth, these Valleymen declined church-fellowship with the apostate churches in North Italy, and the name Waldenses became a kind of general appellation through Europe, for such as opposed the errors of the Romanists.

In the close of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century, the Waldenses, called Albigenses in France, had several public and official writings, which are inserted in the Appendix, and which contain such exhibitions of Bible truth, as will convince the intelligent reader that these were not then infant churches. In the Twelfth century, through the exertions of Bruys, Henry, Waldo, Arnold, and others, the Waldenses were not only much extended in France and Italy, but entered England, Germany and Bohemia.

In the Thirteenth century, the popish crusades against the Albigenses in France, with a view to their extermination, and the defence of that people by the counts of Toulouse, and other princes friendly to re-

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ligious liberty, are related at considerable length, but as the details are interesting to all the friends of genuine freedom, the reader will not on this account be offended. While the Waldenses in Germany at this era were severely harassed and burnt, those in the Valleys still enjoyed repose. In the Fourteenth century, the Waldenses and Albigenses suffered in France and Spain. They were considerably revived in Bohemia, yet were sadly troubled in that country, as well as in Poland and Austria. The Lollards in in Germany and England are introduced, with an account of JOHN DE WYCLIFFE, as large as my limits would allow, but by no means so full as I could wish. Such as desire a larger biography of the English reformer, will find it in his life and opinions, by R. VAUGHAN, lately published, a work full of information. The Waldenses in the Valleys were permitted to enjoy peace till near the close of this century, and a number of them emigrated to Calabria, in the South of Italy.

In the present volume, I have availed myself of the works on my subject long ago accessible to the mere English reader, by having been either written in our tongue, or translated into it, namely, Perrin's history of the Waldenses and Albigenses, Morland's history of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys, Allix's Remarks on the ancient churches of Piedmont, his Remarks on the Ecclesiastical History of the ancient churches of the Albigenses, and Boyer's History of the Vaudois. I have not stopped here, however, for much new matter is introduced from works never seen in our language, and little known. Among these I have minutely consulted the large French history of the churches of the Valleys, by John Leger, one of their pastors. It is entitled, Histoire Generale des Eglises Evangeliques des Vallees de Piemont, ou

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Vaudoises. Par Jean Leger, pasteur et moderateur, &c. A Leyde, 1669. This work is so extremely scarce, that I have never observed a copy for sale in any catalogue, nor ever saw a copy except the one I have used, for the extended loan of which my acknowledgments are due to the patient indulgence of JAMES YOUNG, Esq. merchant, Crieff. This work has been hitherto almost entirely overlooked by British writers on the history of the Waldenses.

As all these authors are Protestants, I reckoned that candour obliged me to consult also Roman Catholic writers on my subject. A variety of their statements, such as those of Evervinus of Stainfield, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Alain of Lisle in Provence, are given by Dr Allix in his two works, but I resolved to prosecute this department of research more extensively than that useful writer has done, though the labour of reading and taking jottings from nearly 800 folio columns in the old Latin tomes, with other smaller works, was by no means inviting. Though a large proportion of the notes I took, are necessarily omitted in the present work from want of room, and kept it back for some time longer than was intended, yet I feel pleased that the labour is accomplished. When adversaries ascribe to the Waldenses the same sentiments which they themselves have avowed, historic certainty regarding their doctrines, seems to be attained: and when such writers charge them with Manichean and other monstrous opinions, I have shown either the falsity of the assertions, or that the people referred too were not Waldenses.

These additional documents from adversaries in the present volume, are chiefly from the works of Ermengard, Eckbert, and Bernard of Foncaud in the twelfth century; from Ebrard of Bethune, Peter of Vaux Cernay, Lucio of Tuy, and Reinerus Sacco in the

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thirteenth century; and from Peter Pilicdorf, and others, in the fourteenth century. The analysis of some of the treatises of these men, may be thought too long, but the matter contained in them, with the exception of a few paragraphs, has never been produced hitherto in the history of the Waldenses.

Here I must acknowledge the goodness of the Senatus Academicus of St Andrews, in granting me, through Dr CHALMERS, access to the University library; and the kind attention of Dr JAMES HUNTER, and his assistant librarians, Messrs MERSEN, CRAIG, and M'NAB. For the use of several rare articles in the Advocates' Library, I am under obligation to ROBERT THOMSON, Esq. Advocate; and through the attention of ANDREW FYFE, Esq. I was allowed the use of some documents in the Library of Writers to the Signet. ROBERT DALGLEISH, Esq. of Scotscraig, also generously granted me the use of his library.

I had long felt a wish to examine the Waldensian department of church history, and read with considerable avidity Mr JONES' History of the Christian Church, published twenty years ago, as a history of the Waldenses. I found that as the first half of his work consists of general church history, he has not left himself space to treat so fully of the Waldenses as the subject deserves. I felt also disappointed that he inserts so few of their writings, some are given only in part, and others are entirely omitted. Mr JONES, however, had the merit of directing the attention of the present generation to this branch of ecclesiastical history. What I read in him, stimulated me to inquire more largely into the subject, and the present volumes are the result. Several remarks on him will be made in the progress of this work, written at my leisure hours in the course of the last eight years.

Historians are usually expected to trace cause and

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effect. In my present narrative, the corruption of human nature, the exertions of the man of sin, and the influence of Satan, are causes of opposition to the truth: and the grace of God to his people is the cause of their stedfastness. In regard to style, I trust perspicuity is attained, though some critics may think more attention might have been paid to vivacity, dignity, and harmony. Yet I hope I shall not be found grossly transgressing these rules.

In the progress of my researches, I listened to useful hints from every quarter, but with pleasure I record the peculiar utility of the suggestions of the Rev. Dr M'Crie, whose deep study of such subjects, whose candour, and whose liberal encouragement of every attempt to disseminate useful knowledge, rendered him a peculiarly fit individual to consult.

ADAM BLAIR.

Ferry-Port-on-Craig,
June 1832.

POSTSCRIPT.

After the above was written, a Letter, from which the following is an extract, was received by the Author:—

"I have read with much pleasure your account of the Waldenses during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. It discovers throughout great diligence in consulting the proper authorities, and faithfulness in reporting facts. The Work will, I trust, be highly useful in correcting misapprehensions as to the sentiments of the Waldenses on the part of some of their friends, as well as the more glaring and cruel misrepresentations of their avowed adversaries, ancient and modern. The documents in the Appendix are very valuable; and from what I have seen, I have no doubt equal justice will be done to the remaining portion of the History."

Thomas M'Crie.

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CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

Page.

Gospel reaches Italy—Paul's Connection with the Italian Churches, and his visits to Rome—The Waldensian Valleys situated in the Cottian Alps—Probability that the Christian Religion extended to both sides of the Alps in the Apostolic Age—Testimonies of the Vaudois themselves—of their Friends the Reformers, and of their Roman Catholic Adversaries, that the sentiments of the Waldenses were maintained at the foot of the Alps in the First Century, ... 1

CHAPTER II.

Pothinus, Irenæus, and others from Lesser Asia, preach successfully, and found Churches at Lyons, Vienne, and other places in Gaul—Polycarp's Visit to Rome—Christians at Lyons and Vienne suffer awful deaths during the Fourth persecution—Irenæus' prudent conduct—His soundness in Fundamental Articles shown by Extracts from his Book against Heresies—His other Works—He opposes the Bishop of Rome, ... 18

CHAPTER III.

Martyrdom of Irenæus—Approaches to Episcopacy—New Mission to Gaul—Novatians separate from the General Church in Italy—Are sound in the Faith—Novatian's Martyrdom, ... 36

CHAPTER IV.

Tenth Persecution—Constantine forms the Government of the Church on the model of the Civil Government—Pagan rites introduced—Leon and others in the Valleys refuse to encourage the general corruption—Council of Nice—Novatians receive the Nicene Creed—Arian Emperors—Milan, Verceil, and Cagliari continue sound, ... 47

CHAPTER V.

Opposition in Spain to the prevailing corruption—Vigilantius—In Transalpine Gaul—Exuperus—Sulpicius Severus—Vincent—Germanus—Lupus—Prosper—Council of Orange—Sidonius—Patiens—Salvian—Salonius—Clovis, a king of the Franks, evangelical—In Cisalpine Gaul, or North Italy—Rufinus—Cromatius—Niceas—Bishop of Rome not su-

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Page.
preme—Epiphanius of Pavia—Bishops of Turin, Milan, Aquileia, Ravenna, Pavia and Rome, all sound in the Fifth century, ... 65

CHAPTER VI.

Witnesses in France, Spain, and Italy, against Popery in the Sixth Century—Nine Bishops in Lombardy and the Grisons reject the Bishop of Rome as a Heretic, ... 80

CHAPTER VII.

Bishop of Rome declared Universal—The Bishops of North Italy continue Orthodox and Independent of the Pope—Opposition to Popery in Narbonne and Aquitain—Dr Mosheim's opinion of the Waldenses in the Valleys in the Seventh Century, ... 96

CHAPTER VIII.

Controversy regarding Images—The Pope becomes a Temporal Prince—Alcuin opposes the Worship of Creatures—Paulinus of Aquileia writes against the Adoptians and Papists—Paul of Aquilea defends Orthodoxy, 107

CHAPTER IX.

Claude in France and Turin writes in defence of Scriptural religion—His treatise at large against the Worship of Images and the Sign of the Cross—He views the Pope as Antichrist—Bishops of Milan and Lyons, and others decry the Pope—Turin, Milan and Aquileia resolutely denounce, and are still independent of the Pontiff, ... 126

CHAPTER X.

Carnal presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper opposed in the Tenth Century—Synod of Rheims declares the Pope Antichrist—Bishops of Lombardy still independent of Rome—Churches of the Valleys more and more determined to avoid Popery, ... 153

BOOK I.—ELEVENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Explanation of the term Waldenses, and of several other names of this people—Paulicians from the East arrive in France and Italy—Some of them burnt in Orleans, who were not Manichees—Different appellations of the Paulicians—Gundulf, a Paulician Pastor, very popular in Italy—Synod of Arras condemns seventeen Articles in which the Paulicians differ from the Church of Rome, ... 165

CHAPTER II.

Berengaire in France opposes Popery—Condemned in the Council of Rome, Verceil, and Paris—Entrapped to recant at Tours, and twice at Rome, yet is afterwards bold—Narbonne and Aquitain continue sound, and their Bishops reject the Pope, Gregory VII—Berengairians increase

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Page.
and hold the same belief as the Waldenses and Calvinists regarding the Supper, and other points, ... 181

CHAPTER III.

Churches of Aquileia, Milan, and Turin lose their Independence, and submit to Rome—Paterines of Milan deny the Pope's authority—Waldenses in the Valleys nobly refuse to apostatize with the Lombardian Churches, by subjecting themselves to the Pope—Description of the Valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, Pragela, and San Martino—List of the Churches of the Valleys in the Eleventh Century—Church Order—Separation from the Romish Church increases—Account of the Noble Lesson and the Catechism, two Waldensian Books of this Century, ... 194

BOOK II.—TWELFTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Review of the Waldensian Treatises on the Fear of the Lord, Tribulation, and the Lord's Prayer—The Pope's Legates—Peter Bruys in the South of France—Analysis and Review of the Waldensian and Albigensian Confession of Faith, Book on Antichrist, Exposition of the Apostles' Creed, Confession of Sins, Book of Discipline and Church Government, and the Spiritual Almanack—Doctrinal sentiments of Bruys—Henry, a bold coadjutor of Bruys—Anselim of Milan still wishes to be independent of Rome—Arnulph, Archbishop of Lyons, opposes Popery, and suffers death—Martyrdom of Peter Bruys—Milan finally subjected to the Pope, 215

CHAPTER II.

Henry and others oppose the peculiarities of Popery—Henricians extensive—Henry's Doctrines and Martyrdom, ... 231

CHAPTER III.

Paulicians and Waldenses distinguished from Manichees, ... 235

CHAPTER IV.

Peter de Waldo appears at Lyons—His Conversion, Doctrines, Manners, and success in Preaching against the Church of Rome—Council of Tours against the enemies of the Roman Church in Toulouse, Gascoin, and Languedoc—John, Archbishop of Lyons, prohibits Waldo from Preaching, who refuses to submit—Council of Rome under Alexander, deposes the Emperor, and execrates the Waldenses—Waldo and his followers obliged to fly through Narbonne and Lombardy—Sentiments of Waldo and his adherents—Waldo Preaches in Dauphiny, in Provence, in Languedoc, in Picardy, in the Low Countries, and in Bohemia, where he dies, 248

CHAPTER V.

Two Female Martyrs of the Waldenses at Rheims—Conference with the Albigenses at Alby—Not Manichees—Council of the Lateran—Bernard of Foncaud's Treatise against the Waldenses and Albigenses—Law of Lucius III. against them—Persecution by Innocent III, ... 257

Digitized by Google

Page.

CHAPTER VI.

Waldenses in Spain, ... 271

CHAPTER VII.

Waldenses in England suffer cruel deaths—Are unmolested towards the end of the century—Waldensian settlement at Darenth in Kent, ... 273

BOOK III.—THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Local Divisions of France at this period—Name Albigenses—Not Manichees—Their Religious Sentiments stated by Enemies and Friends—Public Disputation at Montreal between Arnold Hot and other Albigenses on the one side, and the Roman Catholics on the other—Further Discussions at other places, ... 295

CHAPTER II.

Place in Paradise promised to such as serve forty days against the Albigenses—Raymond of Toulouse excommunicated for protecting them—His humiliating submission—Beziers besieged by the pilgrims—Siege of Carcassone with dreadful inhumanity—Simon Montfort made Captain of the pilgrims—Waldenses in the North of France, ... 314

CHAPTER III.

Count Raymond of Toulouse courts the friendship of Simon and the Legate—Siege and Capture of Minerbe, Termes, Lavaur, some Castles and Montferrand—Solemn League among the Defenders of the Albigenses, who recover fifty Castles—King of Aragon joins them—Several Castles, La Penn and Muiret taken by Simon, and Pedro of Aragon killed—Simon takes Toulouse, with the Castles of Foix, Quercy and Agenois—Waldenses burnt at Maurillac—Simon made King of the conquered Provinces—Raymond VII. opposes him—Simon's death—Reverses of the Pilgrims, ... 327

CHAPTER IV.

Death of Dominic—Siege of Castlenauduri raised by Amaury—Death of Raymond VI. of Raymond Roger of Foix and of his Countess—Philip leaves riches to the Romish Church to get pardon—Amaury's inferiority to the Albigenses—Raymond VII. submits—Albigenses in Italy persecuted as Paterines—Louis opposes the Albigenses, who are defended by the Kings of Aragon and England, and by the Counts, except Foix—Louis deceitfully takes Avignon—Pamier submits, and Peter Isarn, a Preacher, burnt—Plague—Various success on both sides, and Pastor and Flock burnt at Becéde—Raymond compelled to sign a dishonourable treaty—Inquisition—University of Toulouse, ... 348

CHAPTER V.

Raymond employed to induce the other Counts to submit, and is successful

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Page.
in regard to the Counts of Foix, and Cominges, and the Prince of Bearn —Albigenses obliged to conceal themselves—Alleged errors of the Albigenses—Trancavel, a natural son of the Viscount of Beziers, defends the Albigenses—Republican spirit in the South of France—Trancavel's progress—Takes Carcassone—Raymond VII. and his associates declare war against France—Peace restored—Trancavel induced to cease contending, and the Albigenses severely treated by the Inquisitors, though torture is not yet introduced in the examinations—Death of Raymond VII. who is succeeded by Alphonso, a Papist—Though sadly persecuted, a seed of the Albigenses remained, ... 367

CHAPTER VI.

Albigenses and Waldenses in England, ... 382

CHAPTER VII.

Pedro of Aragon crowned by the Pope—Curious toleration of the Waldenses in Spain—Their Spanish name—They extend in Spain—Contents of a Treatise by Lucio of Tuy against the Albigenses in Spain—Proceedings of the Inquisitors, ... 383

CHAPTER VIII.

Waldenses in Germany—Analysis of the Work of Ebrard of Bethune in Flanders against them—Many of them still existed along the Rhine,—Such as flee, spread their Religion—Numbers burnt at Strasburg—Persecution under Conrad, an Inquisitor—Still hold Public Meetings and Schools—Persecution of Albigensian refugees—Waldensian churches in Germany—Persecution in Flanders—Excellency of the Waldenses in Bohemia, ... 392

CHAPTER IX.

Waldenses in Italy—Fraticelli or Fraterculi—Extension of Waldenses—Persecution—Pastors in Italy and the East—Full account of the treatise of Reinerus Sacco against the Waldenses, who candidly discriminates them from other Societies—They are exterminated in almost all Italy, excepting in the Valleys of Piemont, ... 401

BOOK IV.—FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Waldenses or Albigenses in France cruelly burnt at Paris, in Dauphiny, and in Picardy—Borelli, the Inquisitor, in the neighbourhood of the Alpine Valleys, belonging to France, puts multitudes to cruel deaths at Grenoble, at Ambrun, in Pragela, and other places, ... 419

CHAPTER II.

Waldenses or Albigenses in Spain during the Fourteenth Century, ... 423

CHAPTER III.

Waldenses in Germany, especially in Bohemia—Echard—John Melitch, Conrad Stickna, and Mathias Janowski—In various other German coun-

Digitized by Google

Page.

tries—Bohemia continued—Treatise of an Inquisitor analysed—Contents of the writings of Peter de Pilicdorf against the Waldenses—Mode of Interrogation by the Inquisitors—Waldenses in Austria, ... 424

CHAPTER IV.

Lollards in Germany—This name in the Fourteenth Century, common to a great number of different associations of Beghards or Beguines, who had sprung up in former centuries, ... 448

CHAPTER V.

Waldenses in England revived by Walter Lollard—His eminence and martyrdom—Rise and brilliancy of John de Wycliffe—His opposition to Popery, and Translation of the Scriptures—Leaves Oxford and retires to Lutterworth—His Persecution and Death, ... 451

CHAPTER VI.

Waldenses in Lombardy, ... 465

CHAPTER VII.

Waldenses in Calabria, ... 468

APPENDIX, ... 473

ERRATA.

A variety of inaccuracies arising from oversight, are observable in the present Volume, but only the following require to be noted, as they mar the sense:

Page 31, line 1, *for* offensive, *read* inoffensive.
91 26, *for* bishop, *read* bishops.
99 13, *for* Manmetus, *read* Mansuetus.
126 3, and p. 166, line 1, *for* a Cone,* *read* of Corse.
264 27, *for* Flanders, *read* Provence.
286 19, *for* Rochepiatta, *read* Roccapiatta.
289 35, *after* answer, *add* "*First.*"
301 8, In Foot-Note, *for* can, *read* cannot.
414 last line, *for* them, *read* us.
437 34, *for* committed, in some copies, *read* commuted.
442 22, *for* go, *read* going, and delete "that."
444 5, In Foot-Note, *for* incumbent, *read* inconsistent.

* This error has been committed by following John Leger.

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HISTORY

OF THE

WALDENSES.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

Gospel reaches Italy—Paul's Connection with the Italian Churches, and his visits to Rome—The Waldensian Valleys situated in the Cottian Alps—Probability that the Christian Religion extended to both sides of the Alps in the Apostolic Age—Testimonies of the Vaudois themselves,—of their Friends the Reformers, and of their Roman Catholic Adversaries, that the sentiments of the Waldenses were maintained at the foot of the Alps in the First Century.

AMONG the hearers of the apostles on the day of pentecost were strangers "of Rome," some of whom were, in all probability, converted to the religion of Jesus, and on their return home, introduced the Christian faith to the capital of the empire. In imperial Rome a church was planted, whence the gospel extended over the surrounding country; and the Apostle of the Gentiles wrote from Corinth, A.D. 57, an epistle to these Roman Christians. Among the persons saluted are Andronicus and Junia, Jewish kinsmen of Paul, who had believed in Christ before the apostle, and who are judged by some to be the individuals who carried the news of salvation from Judea to Italy. He expresses his strong desire to visit the Romans: "Whensoever I take my journey into Spain," says he, "I will come to you;" and again,—"I will come by you into Spain." By the operation of a wonderful providence,

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he was conducted to an interview with these Christians, A.D. 61. Though now a prisoner, he was permitted to dwell two years in his own hired house, preaching the word to all who chose to attend. From Rome he wrote the epistle to the Ephesians and to the Philippians; to the Colossians—to Philemon, and to the Hebrews. He names at least ten preachers of the gospel, but we cannot conceive that all these ministers were constantly stationed at Rome, for some of them were only occasionally present, and others the apostle, when himself in bonds, doubtless missioned through the Italian territories, in which there were other churches besides that in the capital. Hence to the Hebrews he writes: "They of Italy salute you." Whether in consequence of Claudius' edict against the Jews, the prosecutors of Paul were afraid to pursue him before Nero; or whether the apostle's citizenship made him gain his cause, he obtained liberty to depart from Italy, A.D. 63. By comparing his epistles written subsequent to this period,* we learn that in this tour he visited Crete and Judea; Antioch and Cilicia; Galatia, Colosse, and Ephesus; Troas, Philippi, and Nicopolis; and lastly, Corinth and Miletum, whence he sailed for Italy, where he arrived early in 65.

At that period, the most northerly division of Italy, now Lombardy, was called *Cisalpine Gaul*, or Gaul on this side the Alps, in regard to Rome; and the country beyond the Alps, now France, was denominated *Transalpine* Gaul, which Julius Cæsar mentions in three divisions, but Augustus distinguished it into four partitions, namely, *Narbonne* Gaul, or Gallia Braccata, sometimes called Provincia, on the south-east next Italy; *Aquitain* Gaul, contiguous to Spain, on the south-west; *Celtic*, or Lyonese Gaul, sometimes called Gallia Comata, from the people's long hair, which was the largest division of Gaul, extending over the middle of the whole country from east to west, and also to the north; and lastly, *Belgic* Gaul on the north-east, reaching to the Rhine.

The Alps form a semicircular boundary extending from near the mediterranean on the north-west of Italy, to the northern point of the Adria on the north-east, and separate

* Read in this order;—Titus i. 5. Hebrews xiii. 23. Philemon 2—22. 1 Timothy i. 3. 2 Timothy iv. 13. Philippians i. 25, 26. Titus iii. 12. 1 Timothy iii. 14, 15. 2 Timothy iv. 20.

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Cisalpine from Transalpine Gaul, and from Germany. The Alps are marked into ten departments. The first is the Maratime Alps nearest the Mediterranean. The second division is the Cottian Alps, so designated because Cottius or Cotta M. Aurelius was allowed by Augustus to reign in these quarters over some petty states. These Alps extend from Mount Vesulus or Veso, to Mount Cenis. In Veso arises the Po, anciently the Eridanus or Padus, the largest river in Italy. Farther north in the Cottian Alps, the rivers Pelicis and Clusius, or Cluson, take their rise. On these rivers, and in their neighbourhood, the *Valleys* of *Piedmont* are situated, which are the scene of so important operations in the present history. On the Pelicis lies the Valley of Lucerna, and on the Cluson are the Valleys of San Martino, Perosa, and Pragela. Still more toward the north in the Cottians, the Orgus, or Orcus, rises near Mount Cenis. One of the ten tribes of Gauls in the south of the Alps, called Taurini, inhabited the land between the Po and the Orco; and their capital was Turin, at which place the Duria Major joins the Po, and indeed all the rivers mentioned fall into that grand receptacle of streams, which runs east through the midst of Lombardy, into the Adria.

If ever the Apostle Paul accomplished his design of visiting Spain, and taking Rome in his way, this must have been the time. When he wrote to the Romans he had preached from Jerusalem to Illyricum, and having cast the eye of his generous mind still farther towards the western ocean, he embraces even Spain in his benevolent designs. "If it be true," says Peter Boyer,* "that Paul performed his journey into Spain as he designed, he took Rome in his way. If he passed through Piedmont, as in all appearance he did, it is certain he preached there, for he preached in every place to which he came." Clement of Rome, in the first century, tells us that Paul published the gospel "to the utmost bounds of the west." Though the most respectable French writers† view

* Histoire des Vaudois,—English edition, p. 6.

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he was conducted to an interview with these Christians, A.D. 61. Though now a prisoner, he was permitted to dwell two years in his own hired house, preaching the word to all who chose to attend. From Rome he wrote the epistle to the Ephesians and to the Philippians; to the Colossians—to Philemon, and to the Hebrews. He names at least ten preachers of the gospel, but we cannot conceive that all these ministers were constantly stationed at Rome, for some of them were only occasionally present, and others the apostle, when himself in bonds, doubtless missioned through the Italian territories, in which there were other churches besides that in the capital. Hence to the Hebrews he writes: "They of Italy salute you." Whether in consequence of Claudius' edict against the Jews, the prosecutors of Paul were afraid to pursue him before Nero; or whether the apostle's citizenship made him gain his cause, he obtained liberty to depart from Italy, A.D. 63. By comparing his epistles written subsequent to this period,* we learn that in this tour he visited Crete and Judea; Antioch and Cilicia; Galatia, Colosse, and Ephesus; Troas, Philippi, and Nicopolis; and lastly, Corinth and Miletum, whence he sailed for Italy, where he arrived early in 65.

At that period, the most northerly division of Italy, now Lombardy, was called *Cisalpine Gaul*, or Gaul on this side the Alps, in regard to Rome; and the country beyond the Alps, now France, was denominated *Transalpine* Gaul, which Julius Cæsar mentions in three divisions, but Augustus distinguished it into four partitions, namely, *Narbonne* Gaul, or Gallia Braccata, sometimes called Provincia, on the south-east next Italy; *Aquitain* Gaul, contiguous to Spain, on the south-west; *Celtic*, or Lyonese Gaul, sometimes called Gallia Comata, from the people's long hair, which was the largest division of Gaul, extending over the middle of the whole country from east to west, and also to the north; and lastly, *Belgic* Gaul on the north-east, reaching to the Rhine.

The Alps form a semicircular boundary extending from near the mediterranean on the north-west of Italy, to the northern point of the Adria on the north-east, and separate

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as fabulous the enumeration of seven bishops in France during the apostolic age, yet they maintain that Paul ministered in that country. In this matter, however, complete certainty cannot be attained; but all seem agreed that Paul's diligence in his master's work was the occasion of a prosecution against him, so that he was twice brought before Nero, who, though for the first eleven years of his reign, he had made no open attack on the religious liberty of Christians, yet about this year he began the first of the ten persecutions, and the most eminent servants of Christ would probably first feel the effects of his rage. When formerly at Rome, Paul was a prisoner only as bound to answer in a process at law; he dwelt in his own hired house; his bonds were known in Cæsar's palace, and he expected liberty. Now, however, he is in close confinement as a criminal, so that his kind friend Onesiphorus was obliged to search diligently till he found him. He was ready to be offered, expected only dissolution, and was desirous of an interview with Timothy "before winter." Twice had he been delivered from the devouring jaws of the lion, but final escape he did not anticipate. To Mark he was cordially reconciled, and requested Timothy to bring him, as a diligent minister, and thus intimates that the gathering storm ought not to deter the heralds of the cross. He must have been extremely poor if the cloak he desired was to serve only for warmth; but if it was the gown of citizenship, he might view it as a necessary proof in using every lawful means for his own release.*

Whether Paul ever preached in Gaul or not, there is reason to believe that the gospel of Christ was published on both sides of the Alps during the apostolic age. The churches of Italy had now enjoyed the ministration of the divine word for a long course of years; and we cannot think they would allow, for all that period, the extensive districts of Gaul, now Lombardy and France, to lie neglected. All allow that the ancient roads from Italy to France and Britain, ran by the Cottian Alps and Mount Genevre, so that missionaries could travel and instruct the inhabitants on both sides of these mountains, and among the Alps themselves. Bergier, who

* 2 Timothy iv. 9—12.

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is reckoned the highest authority on the high roads of the Roman Empire, says, Mount Genevre "was the most admirable of all the roads that connected Gaul and Italy."* In the first and succeeding persecutions, the Waldensians also report, that Christians from the plain country fled to the valleys, as shall be afterwards stated. Nay, while Demas had forsaken Paul in his last confinement, and "only Luke" was with him, the apostle missioned "Crescens to Galatia; Titus into Dalmatia; and Tychicus" he had "sent to Ephesus." Now, from Rome to Dalmatia, by the north of the Adria, Titus must have passed through Cisalpine Gaul, and probably went on to Illyricum and Greece. But apostolic practice leads us to believe, that in passing and repassing, Titus and other preachers would teach the Gauls the way of salvation. Whether Paul was gratified with a parting visit of Timothy and Mark we have no information; but he was condemned and beheaded on the 29th of June, in the twelfth year of Nero, which corresponds to the sixty-sixth year of the Christian era. Primitive tradition reports that this murder was perpetrated at Aquæ Salviæ, three miles from Rome, and that the corpse of the martyr was interred in the Via Ostensis, two miles from that city.† This persecution, instead of relaxing, would rather animate the exertions of the first Christian Missionaries, where providence granted opportunity. There was no butchery of Christians in Gaul during the first century, but, as Dr Mosheim remarks, we are not warranted, on that account, to assert that the gospel was not sent to Gaul, north of the Alps, till the second century. Regarding the persecution at Lyons and Vienne, under the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, the words of Sulpicius Severus‡ are: "Under Aurelius the son of Antoninus, the fifth persecution was acted, and then martyrdoms were first seen among the Gauls, the religion of God having been received more lately beyond the Alps." This just bears that the Christian religion was first received in Italy, and afterwards in France, and at once destroys the pretended catalogue of martyrs with which the churches of France have filled their breviaries, and which

* Bergier's Grands Chemins in Gilly's Waldensian Researches, p. 59.
† Euseb. ‡ Mosheim and Allix, ib.

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have been too implicitly followed by Baronius and others. Though we do not stop to refute the fabulous list of seven Popish bishops in France during the first century, yet mention may be made of the statement of an eminent ecclesiastical historian* regarding Spain, where, "by the inscriptions of Cyriac of Ancona, it appears that the light of truth had entered in Nero's time." There is also reason to believe the relation,† that "the western provinces of Europe had early received the gospel, and at the period when the Apocalypse was written, Spain and Gaul possessed flourishing churches."

Though we do not imitate the credulity of Baronius, believe Doritheus, nor follow the interpolated Liturgy of Ambrose, to view Barnabas as introducing Christianity to Cisalpine Gaul, and being the first bishop of Milan, yet the judgement of Dr Allix‡ is consistent with the statement already made, either that preachers came from Greece to plant the faith in the city of Milan, and other parts of Cisalpine Gaul, or that the disciples of the apostles Peter and Paul, who, on behalf of their master, Jesus Christ, had conquered the cities adjacent to Rome, pursued their victories as far as Milan. There is reason to believe, that the valleys on the Po, on the Pelicis, and on the Cluson, with the other parts of Cisalpine Gaul, received the evangelic truth along with the rest of Italy, though multitudes continued to worship idols. While the Italian churches continued pure, it would be unreasonable to expect a particular history of the Waldenses, or Christians of the valleys, as a distinct society, because they are included with the Christians of Italy. Not till the neighbouring churches became incorrigible in apostacy, did the professors of the valleys entirely separate from their communion. Their secession was very gradual as the corruption advanced. The churches in the north of Italy continued longer pure than those near Rome; and the reader ought to bear in mind that it was not till the *eleventh century* that the churches in Lombardy acknowledged the Pope; but that in the seventh and eighth centuries, we perceive the inhabitants of the valleys beginning

* Milner, Vol. I. p. 438.

† Edinburgh Christian Instructor, February, 1829, p. 114.

‡ Remarks on the Ancient Churches of Piedmont, Chap. I.

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to secede from the other Christians of Lombardy, and departing by degrees, till they abandoned all connection with them.

We proceed now to demonstrate from the writings of the Waldenses themselves, from the most enlightened Protestants, and from the most zealous Roman Catholics, that the inhabitants of the valleys *received their religion from the primitive Italian churches.* While the first general persecution under Nero was proceeding with awful fury, it was natural for Christians in the plain country to flee to the mountains. From this circumstance the number of Christians in the valleys must have been augmented; and some Waldensian writers have given this as the cause of the first formation of churches in those parts. The words of *Henry Arnaud** are in point: "Neither has their church been ever reformed, whence arises its title *evangelic.* The Vaudois are in fact descended from those refugees from Italy, who, after St Paul had there preached the gospel, abandoned their beautiful country, and fled, like the woman mentioned in the Apocalypse, to these wild mountains, where they have, to this day, handed down the gospel from father to son, in the same purity and simplicity as it was preached by St Paul." This is not following fables, for there is nothing in the relation either improbable or absurd. When the Christians at Rome were bound to stakes, covered with pitch, and burnt in the evenings to illuminate the city, is it wonderful, if the glare of such fires should induce those yet at liberty, to betake themselves for shelter, to the almost inaccessible valleys of the Alps, and to the clefts of the rocks, trusting to that God in whose hand are the deep places of the earth, and considering that the strength of hills is his?

The words of Arnaud were written near the close of the seventeenth century; but we have others of a much earlier date. The Waldenses complain, that it has been the cruel policy of their persecutors to destroy all the historical memorials of their antiquity. About the year 1559, the Roman Catholics, with a view to exterminate the Protestants of the valleys, cruelly butchered them, and in order to obliterate

* Glorious Recovery by the Vaudois of their Valleys, Preface, p. 14. Translated by H. D. Acland.

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every memorial of them, diligently searched for their records, which they committed to the flames. Though on this account the testimonies of their antiquity are not so ample as could be wished, yet we possess a variety of their own declarations on this point previous to the period just mentioned, which have been preserved in the wonderful providence of God. In the Noble Lesson, dated 1100, they assert,—

"Now, *after the Apostles*, were certain teachers,
"Who taught the way of Jesus Christ our Saviour.*
"And these are found even at this present day.
"If any man love those who are good, he must needs love God and Jesus Christ.
"Such an one will neither curse, swear, nor lye.
"Now, such an one is termed a *Waldensian*, and worthy to be punished.
"For, I dare say, and it is very true,
"That all the Popes, which have been from *Silvester* to this present,
"And all Cardinals, Bishops, Abbots, and the like,
"Have no power to absolve or pardon."

Here this people are called Waldensian long before Waldo; and in the end of the eleventh century, they call their doctrine "ancient and apostolic," in opposition to the inventions of Rome. *John Saran*, Canon of the church of Cracow, in the elucidation of the errors of the "Rhutenic Ritual," writes, the Waldenses are not willing to admit another name than "Apostolics, namely, because they alone establish themselves the true successors of the apostles, and of the primitive church."†

In 1530, the Waldenses of Provence, in conjunction with some from the valleys, thus address Ecolampadius and other reformers:‡ "That you may at once understand the matter, we are a sort of teachers of a certain necessitous and small people, who already, for more than *four hundred years*—nay, 'as those of our country frequently relate, *from the time of the apostles*, have sojourned among the most cruel thorns, yet, as all the pious have easily judged, not without the great fa-

* Appendix. † In Leger, Part i. chap. ii. p. 10.
‡ Gerdes' Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 402, 403.

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vour of Christ; and having been stung and tormented by the same thorns, have been delivered by promised favour."

Robert Olevitan, whom John Leger describes as "one of the more excellent pastors of the valleys," in a preface to his French version of the Bible, dated from the Alps, Feb. 12, 1535,* dedicates it to God, and not to the rich and pompous, but to the poor church: "No," adds he, "it is to thee alone I present this precious treasure, in the name of a certain poor people, thy friends and brethren in Jesus Christ, who, ever since they were blessed and enriched with it *by the apostles and ambassadors of Christ, have still enjoyed and possessed the same.*"

In presenting their Confession of Faith to Francis I. of France, 1544, the Waldenses protested, that their belief is "entirely such as they have received from hand to hand from their ancestors, according as their predecessors, in all times and in all ages, had taught them it," as John Crispin, Lancelot du Voisin, and Poplimiere, report.†

These declarations were given by the Vaudois, while in full possession of their documents; but after these were much destroyed in 1559, they still referred to the fact of their antiquity. Accordingly, in 1580, they of the valleys complain to their prince, that a mission of Jesuits and troops possessed themselves of their temples at the hours of public worship, preventing the ministers on the Sabbath from performing their duty; and that the Jesuits had along with them a judge, or lord, and sometimes the lords of the valleys, who were furnished with his Highness' letter of the 20th of December. They then add: "It is a thing true and notorious, most Serene Duke, that his said subjects and their ancestors have been taught for a *great many hundreds of years*, in the true Christian religion, by their ministers, whom they called honourably the *Barbes*, and that they have sometimes taught them in secret and nightly assemblies, in imitation of the *primitive church*, to avoid the persecution of the ecclesiastics:

* Leger's Hist. des Vaudois, Part 1st, chap. xxvi. xxvii. Sir Samuel Moreland's History of the Evangelical Churches of Piedmont, p. 17.

† Leger, ib. chap. xxvi. p. 163. The clause is not in the Confession, but the people declared this to the king.

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but afterwards observing, that they took from that quarter a pretext to calumniate them, the matter was reckoned of such consequence, that they have wished to preach publicly, the holy doctrine in which they have been instructed from *all antiquity*, and from hand to hand by their fathers." *

In one of the manuscripts, dated 1587, and deposited in the library of the University of Cambridge, the question is put:—"At what time have the religion and state (stata) been preached in the valleys?" The answer is:—"About five hundred years, as can be collected from many histories: but according to the belief of the inhabitants of the valleys, it has been from *time immemorial*, and from father to son, *since the time of the apostles*." † Now, the five hundred years during which their history can be clearly traced, lead us back to 1087. Their obscurity, previous to that period, caused them to be little noticed.

Hear how the people address the Duke Emmanuel Philibert in their letter of 1597. They beg "that your Highness will please to consider, that this religion in which we live is not only ours, nor invented only a few days ago, as they falsely impute to us, but that this is the religion of *our fathers*, and of our grandfathers, and of the grandfathers of our grandfathers, and others more ancient, our *predecessors*; and of the holy martyrs, confessors, *apostles*, and prophets. And if there is any one who can show the contrary, we are ready, &c." Would the prince and all his court have endured so bold a challenge, if either his ministers or his ecclesiastics had been able to maintain, that the religion of the valleys did not descend from father to son, since the days of the martyrs, confessors, and apostles?

In a remonstrance of 19th November 1599, they state, "that we possessed the knowledge of the pure truth, not some fifty years ago; and that ye cannot be ignorant that it is upwards of five or six hundred years since we learned the same." They here speak of their doctrine as well known to have been taught in the valleys since 999. ‡

* Prior Rorenco's Historical Memoirs, chap. xxxviii. p. 128. in Leger, ib.
† Moreland, p. 29.
‡ Rorenco, p. 132. The last four documents in Leger, ib. pp. 163, 164.

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In 1603, the Waldenses of Meana and Mathias, on the side of Susa, in a supplication to Charles Emanuel, remind him, that the religion for which they were banished was not of recent origin, but the apostolic doctrine, "as *time out of mind*, and from father to son, our predecessors have been instructed and nourished in the doctrine and religion, of which, from our infancy, we have made open profession, and have instructed our families, as we have learned of our forefathers."*

During the dreadful persecution of 1655, the churches of Piedmont, in a Confession of Faith, publicly declare their agreement, "in sound doctrine, with all the reformed churches of France, Great Britain, the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, and other places, being ready to subscribe to that eternal truth of God with our own blood, *even as our ancestors, since the days of the apostles*, and especially in these latter ages."†

In 1825, an English traveller asked Mr Pierre Bert, pastor of the Waldensian church of La Tour:—"Was the church of the Waldenses founded by Claudius, bishop of Turin?" The answer is:—"He was not the founder, but the Waldenses being in his diocese, persevered in the Christian doctrine." The next interrogatory is:—"If not by Claudius, by whom was the church founded?" Mr Bert replied:—"Tradition, and the testimony of their enemies, attribute the foundation to the apostles."‡ The same gentleman, on 15th June, questioned Mr Pierot, pastor of Roras, respecting the commencement of the Vaudois churches, who admitted, that the manuscripts were destroyed at the persecutions, and added,—"That, as the origin of their church cannot be satisfactorily traced to some particular and definite epoch; and that, as all authentic ecclesiastical history is silent in regard to her reformation from the errors and abuses of popery, at least, their early profession of the pure principles of the gospel, must fairly be conceded." After mentioning the instruments of

* Perrin's History of the Waldenses, book ii. chap. v. Leger, ib. p. 163. Moreland, p. 41.

† Leger part i. p. 115. Moreland, p. 70. Boyer, p. 28.

‡ Remarks on the Vaudois of Piemont, during an Excursion in the Summer of 1825. By Rev. J. L. Jackson, p. 54.

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the reformation in different countries, he added:—"But who are the founders of our church, and of our Protestantism? Who, indeed, but Jesus Christ's own disciples, or their immediate followers?" He referred to the Noble Lesson, as written in 1100. Mr Bert was of the same opinion, and rejoined, "I firmly believe, that the doctrine of our church would have been the same if Claudius, bishop of Turin, had never existed. We are derived from the apostles. Claudius adopted our sentiments, we did not adopt his."

Such are some of the declarations which the Waldenses give regarding their own antiquity. We find the same views expressed by some of the most distinguished *Protestants*,* which may now be stated. *John Theodore de Beza*† employs a chapter to show that from the valleys and neighbouring places, the gospel was diffused through all Europe. "These are they," the churches, "who have always *preserved the true religion*, without ever suffering themselves entirely to corrupt it by any temptations. The Waldenses have been so called, because they reside in the narrow passages of the Alps; and it can be asserted, that these are *the remainder of the more pure primitive Christian Church*, since it appears, that by the most wonderful providence of God, this people have so excellently maintained themselves in the midst of so many storms, that during the space of a number of centuries, they have moved the world, among the intrigues of the Bishop of Rome, who has miserably subdued the west, and notwithstanding the horrible persecutions stirred up against them, he has never been able to range them under the idolatry and tyranny of Antichrist. Thus, in spite of Satan and all his efforts, they have still, at this day, flourishing churches, as well in doctrine, as in examples of the most innocent life."

The famous historian *Sleidan*,‡ treating of the Vaudois, does not seem to know when these churches began to reject the Pope, and contents himself with saying,—"By *ancient custom*, these people by no means acknowledge the Roman Pontiff, and have always held a purer doctrine." The Eccle-

* They are given from Leger, part 1st, chap. xxvii.

† Les vrais Portraits des Hommes Illustres en pieté et Doctrine, &c.

‡ History of Charles V. book xvi. p. 534.

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siastical History of the Reformed Churches of France, called des trois Marteaux, the three Hammers,* records, that "the *Waldenses*, from *time immemorial*, have opposed themselves to the abuse of the Roman Church, and in spite of the rage of the whole world, the Lord has in such a manner protected them, that they are always preserved in the valleys of Piedmont." They must, therefore, have retired from the communion of Rome, as soon as she wished to bind them to unscriptural traditions, and by this means they have never needed reformation. To the same purpose, M. *Drelincourt*, in the second of his familiar dialogues: "In fine, from time immemorial, he has had his faithful ones in the valleys of Piedmont, who have never received the traditions of Rome, and who have never departed to the more gross abuses."

In addition to these Protestant testimonies adduced by Leger, we mention *Peter Boyer*,† who avers:—"We do not find that the Vaudois ever fell into idolatry after they were *once planted in the field of the church*; we likewise see, that many heresies were introduced into the *primitive church* by the craft of Satan, as those of the Eutichians, Nestorians, and above all, that of the Arians; but we can never discover that any of these heresies took footing in the valleys of Piedmont; and when all the world ran after the beast of the Apocalypse, the churches of Piedmont only followed Jesus Christ, and inviolably adhered to his doctrine." And again; "O the wonderful works of God! who has conserved, by his wise providence, the purity of his religion in the valleys of Piedmont, from the *time of the apostles, to our time*."

We have not only, however, the constant averment of the Waldenses themselves, and of the suffrages of their Protestant friends, but we can produce some of their most celebrated adversaries, asserting their existence ever since the apostolic era. No doubt, these writers brand the Vaudois as heretics, but they own that such sentiments have been prevalent in the valleys and adjoining places, since the introduction of Christianity. *Namesius*,‡ a friend of Gregory Nazianzen, treating on the nature of man, and wishing to produce the

* Page 35, at Anvers, 1558. † Advertisement, and chap. i. p. 16.
‡ In Leger, ib. chap. xxviii. p. 169.

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sentiments of Porphery in proof of the Christian religion, remarks, "that the testimonies which we take from our enemies, on our own behalf, are strong, and admit of no contradiction."

The next document, therefore, which shall be advanced, is from *Reinerus Sacchon* of Placentia, who, about the year 1254, wrote a book against the Waldenses. He had been of their religion, but apostatised, and became an inquisitor, as Antony Senensis* informs us: "Brother Reinerus Sacchon of Placentia, a man most learned in theological doctrine, and not amiss in Aristotle, and somewhat versant in canonical law, first passed his life in obscurity, and being blind, was a leader of the blind, and a bishop of heretics; but the Lord opening towards him his mercy, converted him to the faith." The Romanists, therefore, will receive his authority in what he advances on the ancient Leonists, and on the Leonists or Waldenses of his own time. On the sects of ancient heretics,† Reinerus says,—"Among all these sects which still are, or have been, there is not one more pernicious to the church than that of the *Leonists*. And this on three accounts. The first is, because it is of longer duration. For some say, that it has endured from the time of Sylvester; others, from the time of the *Apostles*. The second, because it is more general. For there is almost no land in which this sect is not. The third, because since all other sects by the outrage of blasphemies against God, produce horror in the hearers; this, namely of the *Leonists*, has a great appearance of piety; because they live justly before men, and believe all things rightly concerning God." While Reinerus was a Waldensian pastor, he had an excellent opportunity to know the truth, and appears more candid than the greater number of apostates. The name, Leonists, was not used till the years of Sylvester, though their principles had been known and professed in the valleys and other parts of Italy, from the first century. In the next chapter, Reinerus treats on the sects of later heretics, and requests us to "observe, that the sect of *the poor men of Lyons*, who are also called *Leonists*, arose in this manner." This people, from the place where they ap-

* Bibliotheca Patrum, Paris, 1624. Tom. iv. Part ii. col. 740.

† Chap. iv. col. 749.

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peared, were called "poor men of Lyons," and from their sentiments being the same as those of the Leonists above mentioned, they received also their name of Leonists. Had this name been from the city Lyons, he would have said Lyonists, or Lugdunenses. It is worthy of remark, also, that in the first extract, Reinerus speaks of the ancient Leonists still existing as his own contemporaries; the sect "*is* of longer duration; it *is* more general; it *has* a great appearance of piety."

To elude the force of this declaration, the Jesuit Gretzer, in his Treatise on the Waldenses,* remarks, that Reinerus advances it not "from his own sentiment, but from that of others." This, however, rather declares, that the belief both of Reinerus and of the other inquisitor, was, that the sect of the Waldenses existed from the times of the apostles, or at least from Sylvester. On this Reinerus founds the sentiment which Gretzer confesses is Reinerus' own, that this society "is of longer duration" than all the other ancient sectaries. Sufficient for our present purpose is the reply to Gretzer, given by the learned Usher:† "But it is in vain," says he, "that Gretzer offers as an argument, that Reinerus, 'not from his own sentiment, but from that of others, affirms, that the sect of the Waldenses has continued from the time of Sylvester, or even of the apostles themselves.' For as we grant this has been said 'from the sentiment of others,'" yet it appears that he has spoken that following thing from his own sentiment, that "among all these sects which still are, or have been, that of the Leonists is of longer duration;" which "sufficiently shows that their first origin has been most remote from all remembrance; it certainly evinces (what the Jesuit demands to be shown him) that the new doctrine was not first introduced into the world by the Waldenses and Albigenses about the year of Christ 1160, and afterwards multiplied by wonderful additions: for since between the year of Christ 1160, and the year 1254, in which Gretzer himself teaches according to the Bibliotheca of Antony Senensis, that brother Reinerus flourished, only the

* Chap. viii. p. 39, in Leger, ib.

† De Successione et Statu Ecclesiarum Christianarum.

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space of ninety-four years intervened; he must have been a laughing-stock to all, who would publish such things concerning the long continuance of a sect, which he had determined to have arisen no more than a century before." Nor is it to be supposed, that this body of people extended so widely during the limited period. *

Leger† maintains that there was another doctor, a German, named Reinerius, whom historians have confounded with Reinerus, who adopts the words of the latter as his own; and that Usher and M. Frecher‡ are of the same mind. This confirms our view.

A certain anonymous *inquisitor*, addressing Rostagn, Archbishop of Embrun and others,§ " deposes, says, and intends to prove, that these men of the valley of Frassinier have been for a hundred years or more, and through these times, and other times, from such a *duration of whose beginning no remembrance exists* among men, have been, and for the present, are heretics." *Popliniere*,‖ speaking of the confession which those who had escaped the massacres of Merindol, presented to Francis I. 1544, without hesitation admits, that they had received it from their ancestors, " even as they had learned from the ancients, according to every monument of ages and times."

John Crispin and others, say, that " the Waldenses of the valleys of Piedmont are from time immemorial, and that they are come of the Albigenses of Provence." *Campian* the Jesuit calls them " our ancestors," and, therefore, more ancient than the Roman Church.¶

Marco Aurelio Rorenco, Joint Lord of the valley of Lucerna, and Prior of St Roc, in 1632, published in Italian, " A Narrative of the Introduction of Heretics into the Valleys."** He intends to show, that the heretical religion is not so ancient as the apostles, but after tormenting himself to no purpose, to evince its late original, he is obliged to own, that " no certainty can be had of its first entrance." He is ashamed to confess that it is as old as the apostolic age, and continues,

* Allix, Pied. pp. 176, 177. † Ib. p. 170.
‡ On the Writers on Bohemian History, pp. 222, 223.
§ Allix, Pied. p. 298, and in MS. G, in the Cambridge Library.
‖ Leger, ib. p. 171. ¶ Leger, part i. chap. ii. p. 15. ** Morland, p. 28.

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"No edict can be found of any prince who gave permission for the introduction of this religion into those parts. The princes only grant permission to their subjects, to continue the same religion which they had received from their ancestors."

The monk, *Theodore Belvedere*, prefect of the Pope's mission into the valleys, in 1636, published in Italian, "A Relation to the Council for propagating the Faith, and extirpating Heretics." He treats on the origin, progress, and state of the Waldenses; asserts that it is "no other thing than Calvinism and Lutheranism;" and apologises that he and the other missionaries can advance nothing to recover them to the lap of the Roman Church, because the heresy is too deeply rooted, and "the valley of Angrogna has been at all times inhabited by heretics." He means not only the valley of Angrogna restrictedly, which is a community of Lucerna, but includes also the neighbouring ones, usually denominated "the valleys of Angrogna," as appears in Du Thou and other historians. *

Thus the Waldenses themselves, both before and after the destruction of their records, their friends of the reformation, and their adversaries, have been convinced of their existence since the age in which the apostles lived. We do not, therefore, assume too much in believing, that the lamp which shone in the valleys during the darkness of the middle ages, was lighted by the hand of the first preachers of Christianity; that the original churches of Italy extended their boundaries to the foot of the Alpine mountains; that during the severity of the ten primitive persecutions, the timid lambs of the flock moved to the shelter afforded by the recesses of these thinly inhabited vales; and that their numbers were, at successive periods, augmented from various other causes, during the life of Constantine and Sylvester, of Claude of Turin, and of Peter Waldo. These things we shall demonstrate in the progress of our historical researches.

* Leger, ib. p. 169.

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CHAPTER II.

Pothinus, Irenæus, and others from Lesser Asia, preach successfully, and found Churches at Lyons, Vienne, and other places in Gaul—Polycarp's Visit to Rome—Christians at Lyons and Vienne suffer awful deaths during the Fourth Persecution—Irenæus' prudent conduct—His soundness in Fundamental Articles shown by Extracts from his Book against Heresies—His other Works—He opposes the Bishop of Rome.

BOSSUET, the Romish Bishop of Meaux, is highly displeased with Beza, for asserting that the Waldenses have always strenuously opposed the abuses of the Church of Rome, and that they existed in 120. But we have just seen that many Romanists make them as ancient as the apostolic age. Therefore, if there is any mistake, the opponents of the reformed must be liable to a share of the blame. During the persecutions, Christians in the second century would find an asylum among the Alps, as they had done in the former age.*

There is presumptive evidence, that during the lives of the apostles, the Christian religion was carried into *France*; but we have historic proof, that in the following century, there existed flourishing churches in that country, particularly at *Lyons* and *Vienne*, where Pothinus and Irenæus, from the Lesser Asia, preached with remarkable success. Irenæus seems to have been a native of Smyrna. Eusebius, Theodoret, and Irenæus himself, ascribe his Christian education to Polycarp, who had conversed with the apostles, though Jerom's statement, that he received lessons in religion from Papias, may be also true. The ancient Lugdunum, or Lyons, on the west bank of the Soan, where the Rhone joins it, and at the commencement of Celtic Gaul, was then a considerable town. Vienna, now Vienne, the capital of the Allobroges, and a Roman colony, lay on the Rhone, twenty miles below Lyons, and now belongs to Dauphiny. That the preachers mentioned, and others, were in this century missioned from the Lesser Asia to Gaul, appears from various considerations.

* Allix, Pied. pp. 177, 178.

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At this period, the merchants of Smyrna and other Egean ports conducted an extensive traffic with those on the banks of the Rhone, where a number of Greeks had settled: three of the islands called d'Ieres, were from the Greek named Prote, Mese, and Hypoea, the first, middle, and last, in relation to Massilia, now Marseille, which gave its name to a gulf at the mouth of the Rhone: the polite literature and language of the Greeks were extensively introduced in these parts, so that for seven or eight hundred years, that tongue was used in Marseille: the proper names, Pothenus, Irenæus, and many others in the Gaulish churches, are Greek; they themselves speak of coming from the east; and they cultivated an intimate correspondence with the Asiatic Christians.* Never did the Archipelago bear down a nobler company, or a more precious cargo, than the Christian missionaries, whose generous hearts bore the gospel of salvation, to announce to the barbarous Gauls. By the divine blessing, churches were formed at Vienne, at Lyons, and in various other places.

Many learned Frenchmen, though they reject many fables regarding Gaul at this age, yet maintain, that in the second century, there were many churches besides those of Lyons and Vienne.† There must have been, likewise, various other preachers missioned from Asia, from time to time, who laboured in these churches, besides Irenæus and Pothinus. This is gathered from the number of churches planted, and from the variety of Christian Greeks who suffered in the persecution under Marcus. Thus, among the sufferers at Lyons in 178, Attalus is directly said to be from Pergamos, probably a preacher. Alexander, a physician, was from Phrygia, and Ponticus was likely from Pontus. Dr Milner‡ states, that Vivarius and Androlus were sent by Polycarp to Lyons, to preach the gospel. Vincentius mentions Androclus (perhaps the same with Androlus) as missioned by Polycarp to Gaul.§ Probably they were sent two and two like the seventy. Thus there were four or five Christian ministers from the east,

* Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. Cent. ii. part i. chap. i. § v. Lives of the Fathers, vol. i. p. 82. Euseb. book v. chap. v. book iv. chap. x.

† Mosheim's Commentaries, vol. ii. pp. 9—13. note.

‡ Vol. i. p. 310. § Eccles. Hist. of France, Cent ii.

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among whom Pothinus was oldest; and doubtless, others were ordained "by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery."

The churches of Gaul and Italy, without doubt, observed the same order and government with the other parts of the general church. Church governors were "called to their offices by the consent of the people, without which their ministry was not acknowledged."* One bishop elected by the community, presided over each Christian assembly, was watchful of the flock, and careful to supply the wants of the members. He was assisted by a council of elders or presbyters, each of whom had his task and station assigned him by the bishop or pastor. To the pastor and elders the deacons were subject, and were divided into various classes, as the necessity of the church required. Each church had its own regulations, which, if enacted by the council of elders, were approved by the society. In the course of time, however, as individual churches multiplied, those of each province were formed into one ecclesiastical body, which assembled by their deputies at convenient seasons to deliberate on their common concerns. These associations bore a striking resemblance to the Grecian assemblies of deputies from the civil states; but Dr Mosheim goes too far when he asserts that the Christians took the model from these deputations, for in Scripture a distinction is uniformly marked between the rulers and ruled in the church, and the synod of Jerusalem is doubtless intended for a pattern. The ecclesiastical assemblies of commissioners were by the Greeks denominated *synods*, and by the Latins *councils*: the laws enacted were named canons or rules. Synods were now universal in the church, but the bishops claimed no more power than that of delegates from their respective churches. In the course of time, however, they afterwards extended their authority into dominion, and their canons into laws.†

Pothinus is sometimes mentioned as the first bishop of Lyons, and Irenæus and others as presbyters. But there is no scriptural distinction between these names in respect of

* Allix, Pied. p. 7. † Mosheim, part ii. chap. ii. § i—iv.

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power;* and though towards the end of this century the one was beginning to be used as more dignified than the other, yet in the middle of the century the distinction was not apparent, nor is it recognised in the writings of Irenæus. Pothinus, as the oldest minister, probably acted as moderator at their meetings, but every one had the same authority in his particular sphere of labour. Some of the dignitaries of the early ages have been more owing to the imagination of later historians, than to the practice of the primitive church.

About the year 158 or 160, Polycarp paid a friendly visit to Anicetus, and although the Smyrneans and Romans observed the Lord's Supper on different days by differently calculating the Passover, yet Polycarp officiated for Anicetus, and joined with him in that ordinance, on the day usually observed at Rome, and they parted with mutual expressions of good will. The martyrdom of Polycarp happened in the persecution under Marcus Aurelius in 167. The storm burst forth against the Christians in Gaul, in the seventeenth year of Marcus. These flourishing churches were now severely tried, as appears from an epistle supposed to have been written by Irenæus, from "the servants of Christ, inhabiting Vienne and Lyons, cities in Gaul, to the brethren throughout Asia and Phrygia, holding with us the same faith and hope of redemption." This affecting letter is preserved by Eusebius,† and is one of the finest monuments of Christian antiquity. The persecution began by banishing the Christians from all public places, and confining them to their own houses. They then suffered the attacks of the savage multitude by exclamations, scourgings and draggings; by spoiling, stoning and fettering. They were next publicly examined in the market-place by the tribune and other potentates of the city, and were incarcerated till the arrival of the governor, supposed to be Severus, afterwards emperor. Before that personage, Vetius Epagathus demanded an audience in behalf of the brethren. He was a young nobleman, and what was much better, he was a most exemplary man, and full of the Holy Ghost. An audience being refused him, the only question asked was, whether he were a Christian? He openly

* Acts xx. 17. 28. Tit. i. 5—7. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2. † Book v. chap. i.

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confessed the fact, was numbered with the martyrs, and was denominated the *advocate of Christians*; for the Holy Spirit, as an advocate within him, caused him expose his life in defence of the brethren. Encouraged by his example, the principal martyrs became more cheerful in suffering. Ten others, less couragious, and of less experience, yielded through infirmity. Many, not yet apprehended, expressed their resolution to adhere to the martyrs. Genuine professors were more anxious regarding perseverance, than afraid of torments. The office-bearers of both churches were mostly seized and executed. Certain heathen servants of the Christians were stimulated to accuse their masters of practising the feasts of Thiestes, the incest of Œdipus, and several unnatural crimes which godliness forbids to imagine, modesty to utter, and humanity to believe. Then was the saying of our Saviour accomplished: "The time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service." The rage of the governor, populace and soldiery, was at once let loose against Sanctus, a deacon of the church of Vienne,—against Maturus, lately baptized, yet a noble champion, and against Attalus of Pergamos, hitherto a pillar and fortress of the faith.

In the woman Blandina, Christ showed that those who are despised by men, are honoured by God. Her mistress and all the other church members trembled lest the poor servant should be inconstant in her answers; but Blandina was so replenished with heavenly grace, that the executioners who, from morning till evening, alternately tormented her, ceased from weariness. They owned that they had no more punishments to inflict, and were overcome; that they marvelled she still breathed, while her body was so dreadfully lacerated, and that any one species of her torments was sufficient to deprive her of life. Like a noble wrestler, she repeatedly confessed, "I am a Christian; neither have we committed any evil." At each enunciation, she seemed recreated and refreshed. The fortitude of Sanctus seemed more than human. Though tormented by enemies who expected to hear him utter some unbecoming expression, yet not a word escaped regarding his name, his relations, or his country, nor concerning his condition, whether bond or free. To every question he replied in the Roman tongue, "*Christianus sum*;

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I am a Christian." To the tenderest parts of his body, the governor and tormentors next applied plates of burning brass. Though his flesh was seared, he was "in nothing terrified by his adversaries," for he was refreshed and invigorated from the celestial fountain of the water of life. So much were his sinews shrunk, that his external form was altered; but where the love of God prevails, no torment is terrible; where Christ is glorified, no lamentation is loathsome. Some days after, while his body was swollen and tender, the executioners dragged him to the place of conflict; but beyond all expectation, the new torments restored his natural shape, and recovered his limbs to their natural use. The woman Biblis or Biblias, who had formerly fainted and abjured, was next brought forth, and the enemies of the gospel thought to induce her through frailty, to deny Christ, to slander the brethren, and afford them ground of triumph. At the moment of trial, however, she awoke as out of sleep, and exclaimed, "How can they devour infants, who are not suffered to suck the blood of beasts?" She confessed herself a Christian, and was added to the martyrs.

Pothinus, minister of Lyons, now upwards of ninety years old, and from his age scarcely able to breathe, cheerfully prepared for martyrdom, and was carried by the soldiers before the tribunal. The magistrates and populace shouted as if it had been Christ himself. The governor inquired, "Who is the God of the Christians?" Pothinus rejoined, "If thou be worthy, thou shalt understand." Such as were nearest, struck and kicked him, and persons at a distance cast against his head, whatever they happened to get hold of. No respect was felt for the venerable man; almost breathless he was cast into prison, and after two days he expired. Such as had fainted in the first trial, were equally imprisoned with those who confessed. The faithful martyrs were supported by the hope of the promises, the love of Christ, and the Spirit of God. But the apostates were troubled in their conscience, and dejected in their countenance. The former walked with cheerfulness, majesty and grace; their fetters were like the dress of a bride—elegantly garnished, overlaid with gold, and emitting a fragrant smell. The latter were sad, sorrowful, and abject; they were awkward in manner, full of deformity,

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and derided by the Gentiles themselves:—they were destitute of precious Christianity, degenerate cowards, and deserving of death. Many, confirmed by this contrast, confessed and were apprehended.

Four sufferers again triumphed. Maturus and Sanctus were tormented anew, and with fortitude they endured the popular fury and the iron chair. No sentence however could be extracted from Sanctus but his first confession. After bearing for a day this trial, these two were beheaded. Blandina was hung in chains across the path of the wild beasts, but none of them touched her; she was cast into prison, and the saints were confirmed. Attalus, with internal tranquillity and outward confidence, was led round the theatre, bearing on his breast this inscription: "This is Attalus the Christian." Notwithstanding the fury of the mob, the governor knowing him to be a Roman freeman, remanded him to prison till the emperor's pleasure should be known. Many of his Christian friends were confined in dark and deep dungeons, fettered in the stocks to the fifth hole, or nearly suffocated in unwholesome prisons. The stedfastness of the persecuted revived some to suffer who had fainted in the day of adversity. The rescript, like that of a Stoic, enjoined, that such as confessed themselves Christians should be put to death, and that as many as renounced Christianity should be allowed to depart. The concourse of pagans was now immense, and the confessors were brought forward as a spectacle. Freemen were beheaded, and the rest cast to the lions. When the Christian congregation were examined, Alexander, a Phrygian physician who had resided long in Gaul, a zealous man, exhorted them to boldness. His signs and sorrow, his restlessness and deep interest in the Christians, made him be viewed as the cause why many who denied should now avow themselves followers of Christ. At the demand of the multitude the governor put the question: he confessed, and was allotted to the beasts. Next day he and Attalus endured on the scaffold all torments. The sentence of Alexander was executed. He never uttered a complaint, but inwardly held converse with God. Attalus was so dreadfully burned in the iron chair, that the odour was offensive to all. "This ye do," says he, "to devour men; but we neither devour men, nor

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commit any heinous offence." Being asked the name of God, he replied,—" God is not called after the manner of men."

On the last day of the spectacles, Blandina, and Ponticus a young man of fifteen, were brought forth. They were urged to swear by the pagan idols, but persisted in contemning these gods, though the multitude insisted on the infliction of every species of suffering, without either pity for the tender youth, or humane regard for the female character. The young man, encouraged by his sister, endured the severest torments, and yielded up the ghost. The last was Blandina, who, having like a noble mother, exhorted her children, and sent them before her as conquerors, was in the end joined to them in triumph, as if she had been united with a wedding party. After scourging, exposure to the beasts, and scortching in the iron chair, the persecutors wrapped her in a net, and exposed her to a wild bull, which tossed her with its horns, but she seemed not to feel pain, being engaged in conference with her Saviour. In the end she was beheaded, and the pagans announced, " That never among them was a woman heard of to have suffered so many and so great torments." Governor and people agreed in casting to the dogs the carcasses of such as had been suffocated in the noisome prison. The mangled remains of the martyrs, left by the dogs, were committed to the care of the soldiers by night and day. Neither the darkness of midnight, the offer of money, nor the most earnest entreaty, could induce the guards to permit the interment of those who had been put to death. After six days exposure, they were reduced to ashes and cast into the Rhone, to sweep every vestage of them from the earth, to overcome the God of the Christians, to hinder the revival of the saints, and to destroy the hope of a resurrection, which had so much supported the professors of the new religion, under the most awful sufferings and death.

The letter describes these sufferers as followers of Christ, " who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God." It states, " that they being placed in so much glory, declined the appellation of martyr, because Christ is ' the faithful and true martyr;'" that they entreated the prayers of their brethren, that they humbled themselves under the mighty hand of God, that they rendered to every

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one that asked them, a reason of the hope that was in them; that they prayed for their oppressors,—"Lord, lay not this sin to their charge;" and that without the display of arrogance, they wept before God over such as had yielded. They believed the supreme divinity of Jesus Christ—were open and faithful in adherence to his cause, and claimed no merit from their obedience and suffering. They were patient in tribulation, most ardent in brotherly affection, eager for universal holiness, and joyful in hope of immortal blessedness. They opposed superstition, for Attalus, after his first conflict in the theatre, admonished Alcibiades to abandon his ascetical practice of living only on bread and water while in prison. On this remonstrance, Alcibiades began to use with indifference whatever providence laid to hand, and praised God, for they were both full of grace and of the Holy Ghost. Eusebius remarks, that this is not the same Alcibiades, who, along with Montanus and Theodotus, pretended in Gaul to be prophets, and against whom the brethren warned the churches, and enjoined them to be censured. They wrote against them to Rome, to Asia, and to Phrygia.*

The Gaulish martyrs, in their united capacity, wrote a most respectful epistle to Elcutherius of Rome, and sent it by Irenæus, whom they recommended as "a zealous follower of the Testament or Covenant of Christ," and as a most eminent and righteous "minister of the church."† Probably his mission to Rome was the occasion of saving his life; and on his return, he was called to be Bishop of Lyons in the room of Pothinus.‡ Like a skilful pilot in a tempest, he steered with a prudent conduct. Gregory of Tours relates, that so remarkably did God bless his ministry, that almost the whole city was induced to profess Christianity. With meekness he endured the assaults of enemies without the church. He counteracted the poison of heretics, who arose within her pale, by discovering their persons, detecting their designs, and confuting their deadly errors. Having personally encountered several heretics, he wrote in 187, an elaborate work *against heresy*, which is opposed chiefly to the heretics of the East. By

* Euseb. book v. chap. iii. † Euseb. ib. chap. v.
‡ Lives of the Fathers, vol. i. p. 84.

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a few extracts, we may judge of the doctrine of the churches in Gaul, and indeed of the general church. The second chapter contains a summary of Christian doctrine, similar to the Apostles' Creed, but the clauses he "descended into hell," and, "I believe in the holy catholic church," are not in it. It is entitled, "An exposition of the preaching of the truth which the church keeps, having received it from the apostles," and is as follows: * "For the church disseminated through the whole world, even to the ends of the earth, has received both from the apostles and from their disciples, that faith which is in One God the Father Almighty, who made heaven and earth, the sea, and all things which are in them; and in one Jesus Christ the Son of God, incarnate for our salvation; and in the Holy Ghost, who by the prophets foretold the arrangements and the advent of God, and that generation which was of the Virgin, and the suffering and the resurrection from the dead, and the ascension into heaven, in the flesh of our beloved Jesus Christ our Lord, and his coming from heaven in the glory of the father, 'to gather together all things,' and to raise at last all flesh of the human race: That to Jesus Christ our Lord, God, Saviour and King, according to the pleasure of the invisible Father, every knee may bow, of things in heaven and in earth, and under the earth; and that every tongue may confess to him, and that he may perform just judgment on all. And he is exalted, that he may indeed send to eternal fire spiritual wickednesses, the transgressing and apostate angels, and impious, unjust, iniquitous and blasphemous men: That he may confer life on the just and equal, and on those that keep his commandments, and persevere in his love, as some indeed have done so from the beginning, and as others have done so from repentance: and that he may bestow on them incorruption, and may surround them with eternal glory in the place of reward." In the next chapter he proceeds,—"For if in the world there are also different languages, yet the virtue of instruction is one and the same. And neither do those churches believe differently, or teach (tradunt) differently from one another which are

* The extracts are given from the Latin version of a Roman Catholic, Erasmus of Rotterdam.

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founded in Germany, nor those which are among the Spaniards,* nor those which are among the Celts, nor those which are in the East, nor those which are constituted in Egypt, nor those which are in Lybia, nor those which are in the middle of the world: but as to the creatures of God in the whole world, the sun is one and the same, so also is the light of preaching the truth wherever it shines, and illuminates all men who wish to arrive at the knowledge of the truth." In chap. ix. he describes the immoralities of the Marcionites, who under the spirit of Satan, explain spiritually the most impure transactions. In chap. xviii. he describes Marcionite baptism, by "leading them to the water, and saying in the name of the unknown Father, and in the truth of the mother of all:" others of them utter Hebrew names. Others "anoint with sacred balsam," as a sign of peace. Others, anoint the dead with oil and water. In chap. xxiv. he describes some,—"They call themselves Gnostics; they have also, indeed, certain painted images, and some fabricated also out of the remaining material, calling it the form of Christ made by Pilate, when Christ was among men. And they crown and exhibit these with the images of the philosophers of the world, viz. with the image of Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, and the rest. They make also the other observation regarding them in like manner as the Gentiles do." This was probably the first use of images among men called Christians, and in erecting images the Romanists are the successors of the Gnostics.

At present, no particular notice shall be taken of the second book. In the third book, chap. ii. he states, "When we mention the adversaries of the instructions of that tradition which is from the apostles, which is kept by the succession of presbyters in the churches, they say, that they are superior not only to the presbyters, but also to the apostles." Here Irenæus speaks only of presbyters as the successors of the apostles, and these same presbyters he calls bishops, chap. iii. "We can reckon them who were appointed bishops in the

* "In Hiberis." Hiberia or Iberia is an ancient name of Spain. Hiberus or Iberus is the Ebro in Catalonia, and Iberia or Ibera, a city of Catalonia. There is also Iberia in Asia.

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churches by the apostles, whom alone they left their successors, delivering to them their own place of mastership.* The successors of the apostles, here called bishops, are in the former sentence denominated presbyters. They were to have no superiors, any more than the apostles had; but Irenæus does not mean that these presbyters or bishops hold equally high power with the apostles. He never once hints that Polycarp or the Bishop of Rome is superior to presbyters. In book iv. chap. iv. he speaks of the use of tradition in preserving the truth where the written word is not enjoyed. "Several barbarous nations believe in Jesus Christ without paper and ink, having the doctrine of salvation written in their hearts by the Holy Ghost, and faithfully keeping up to ancient tradition concerning one God the Creator, and his Son Jesus Christ." This seems to refer to the doctrine of the churches mentioned in book i. chap. ii. After praising their faith and practice, he adds, "And if any one should preach to them in their language what the heretics have invented, they would immediately stop their ears, and flee far off, and would not even hear those blasphemies." The Lord blesses the preaching of the gospel, when copies of the written word are not found, but Irenæus does not undervalue the Scriptures when they can be obtained. He doubtless agrees with the primitive Christians on the doctrine of the Trinity, because in chap. xix. he treats on the Spirit of God descending on Christ, and it is stated also in book i. chap. ii.

In chap. xx. of book iii. he writes of the Saviour, "Existing the Son of God with the Father, and having been made man, he gathered up in himself man, who had been long exposed, accomplishing salvation for us in this compendious way, that we should recover in Christ what we had lost in Adam, that is, our being according to the image and likeness of God, because it was not possible for him who had been once conquered and crushed by disobedience to be healed, and to obtain the crown of victory. Again, it was not possible that he should participate of salvation, who had fallen under

* The Latin version of Erasmus runs,—Quos et successores relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes. See Anderson on Church Government, chap ii. § v. Art. v.

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sin. The Son, the existing Word of God, wrought both, who descending from the Father, and being incarnate, descended even to death, perfecting the dispensation of our salvation." And downward in the same chapter,—" He united man to God; for if man had not overcome the adversary of man, the enemy could not have been justly overcome. And again, if God had not given salvation, we could not have been put in firm possession of it; and man had not been united to God, he could not have been a partaker of immortality. It behoved the Mediator between God and man, by his own participation of the nature of both, to bring both into love and agreement with each other." These passages declare the correct views that Irenæus held on the person of our Redeemer, God-man. Many more could be added. In the same book, he details the account of the seventy translators.

In the fourth book, he refutes the heresies by the words of our Saviour. In chap. xxxiv. he asks regarding the Lord's Supper, " And how will it appear, that that bread in which thanks are given, is the body of our Lord, and the cup is of his blood, if they do not *declare* him to be the Son of the Creator of the world?" Here is not a word of transubstantiation. We formerly found Irenæus ascribing to presbyters both the apostolic succession and the episcopacy; and in chap. xliii. he expressly makes bishops and presbyters of the same order of church officers. " Wherefore, it behoves us to hearken to those who are presbyters in the church. To those who, as we have shown, have their succession from the apostles, who with the succession of the episcopacy, have received the sure gift of the truth according to the pleasure of the Father." The learned Stillingfleet, an episcopalian, candidly asks on this passage, " And what strange confusion must this raise in any one's mind, that seeks for a succession of Episcopal power over presbyters from the apostles, by the testimony of Irenæus, when he so plainly attributes both the succession to presbyters, and the episcopacy too which he speaks of?" This further appears from chap. xliv. which is on wicked Presbyters. " It is necessary," writes Irenæus, " to withdraw from all such wicked presbyters; but to cleave to that description, who, as we have formerly said, both keep the doctrine of the apostles, and with the order of presbytery

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(cum ordine presbyterii) show sound speech, and also an offensive conversation for the information and correction of the rest.——Such presbyters does the church bring up, concerning whom the prophet says, 'I will give thy princes in peace, and thy bishops in righteousness.' And regarding whom the Lord said, 'Who is that faithful and wise steward, whom the master sets over his household.'" Though it is said, that about this period, some were beginning to use bishops as more dignified than presbyters, yet Irenæus does not drop the slightest hint of this, but mentions only "the order of presbytery." A keen advocate for Presbyterian church government, might explain this of the authoritative and judicial associates of a presbytery in Gaul, but, at all events, it means the body of presbyters, who are also denominated bishops.

In the fifty-seventh chapter, Irenæus writes, "The Lord taking bread, confessed his own body, and the temperament of the cup confirmed his blood." By this remark, our author intends to increase the evidence of Christ's real humanity. In the preface to this book, Erasmus admits, that Irenæus is silent on transubstantiation, and accounts for it by suggesing that the writer did not wish to expose this holy mystery to vulgar discussion, but does not inform us how he obtained information regarding Irenæus' reason of silence. A Prostestant would be apt to suggest another reason, namely, that Irenæus had never heard of transubstantiation. In chap. lxii. he reprobates such as rend the body or church of Christ for trifling causes, and thinks all who believe the Trinity ought to unite. In chap. lxiii. he mentions all pastors, as "the succession of bishops, to whom they committed that church which is in every place." In chap. lxvi. he maintains that the gates of heaven were opened to Jesus in his flesh, whence it appears he did not believe that Christ's body penetrated other bodies.

In the fifth book, he explains several passages of Paul which the heretics had mistaken and abused. After a process of reasoning in chap. i. he draws this conclusion,—"the Lord therefore redeemed us with his own blood, and gave his soul for our soul, and his flesh for our flesh." And in the same chapter, "For neither would he truly possess blood and flesh, by which he redeemed us, unless he had gathered in

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himself the ancient creation of Adam." In these two sentences, we have the doctrine of the substitution of our incarnate Redeemer in our stead. In chap. xiv. he further expresses Christ redeeming us in the nature that sinned, and that without moral contagion. "Our Lord had not gathered up these things in himself, unless he had been made flesh and blood according to its original creation, in the end, saving in himself that which in the beginning had perished in Adam. But if the Lord was incarnate for any other reason, and brought flesh from any other substance, he did not therefore gather together man in his own self, neither also can he yet be called flesh——and, therefore, he himself also had flesh and blood, not of any other kind, but gathering together in himself the very original creation of the Father, seeking that which had been lost." On this passage Dr Owen remarks,* that "none of the ancient writers do (does) so frequently express the *fall* of Adam, by our *apostacy from God*, and our recovery by a recapitulation in Christ, as Irenæus doth. His recapitulation being nothing but 'the gathering up' in the head, mentioned by the apostle;† and he (Irenæus) here affirms, that unto this end, the Lord was made flesh, 'according to its original creation,' that is, the original creation of our nature in innocency, uprightness, purity and righteousness. 'They who leave the preaching of the church,' says Irenæus, 'accuse the ignorance of the holy presbyters.'"

On the name of the Beast in the Revelation, he writes,—"In all true and ancient copies, this number is laid down. And they also testify the same thing who saw John face to face, and the copies teaching in their way, that the number of the name of the Beast, according to the computation of the Greeks, is made apparent by the letters contained in the word itself. It will have six hundred and sixty-six, that is, as many tens as hundreds, and as many hundreds as units. For which number being retained, shows six digiti,‡ the recapi-

* Person of Christ, preface, pp. 33, 34. † Eph. i. 10.

‡ He says below, that "the foresaid number has in itself six single syllables of letters." The meaning seems in both places the same. The six syllables or digiti, are, if I understand him right, Chi-xi-sig-ma-ta-u, being the four Greek letters in 666, Rev. xiii. 18. He gives the syllables as a reason why he doubts if Titan is meant.

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tulations of all that apostacy which will be in the beginning, in the middle times, and in the end. But knowing the firm number which is announced in the Scriptures, that is, 'six hundred three score and six,' this may sustain the first division of a kingdom into ten: after they reign and begin to correct their own affairs, and to increase their kingdom, he who shall come suddenly, claiming a kingdom for himself, and shall terrify the foresaid persons, having a name sustaining the foresaid number, know him truly to be the abomination of desolation." He states, that the name Teitan, is particularly worthy of belief, yet doubts if this is the name of Antichrist, because it is old and remote, nor was there any of their kings called by us Titan. And again, "if at this time his name were to be openly published, no doubt it would have been done by him who pronounced the Revelation." In chap. xxxv. of this fifth book, he had said, "But also the name *Latinus*, (*Gr.* Λατινος) has the number of six hundred and sixty-six; and it is very likely, because the last kingdom has this word. For they are Latins who now reign. But we shall not glory in this." Irenæus meant the Roman Empire, whose power was so frequently employed against the Christians, and Roman Catholics try from this to shift the application of the place of Irenæus to them, but had he lived in modern times, he might have still maintained his theory, for though the second or Papal Beast is not the Dragon of the Empire, yet it "spoke as a dragon," by manifesting the same bloody disposition against the saints. The Greek word Λατινος, exactly constitutes the number of the second Beast.*

The respectability of Irenæus' talents, his orthodoxy in fundamental doctrines, and his antiquity, all compared with the Papal system, as afterwards disclosed, have secured a marked attention to his exposition of the prophecy, and the reception of his views by a large proportion of Protestants. Du Moulin † observes error in Irenæus conceiving that be-

* Thus Λ-50, α-1, τ-300, ι-5, ν-10, τ-30, ο-70, ς-200.—Total 666. Bellarmine's objection against ι, as not being in Latinus, is futile, because it is in the Greek, *Lateinos*. Thus Antoninus is in Greek, *Antoneinos*; and Sabinus is *Sabeinos*; nay, the ancient Romans often used *queis* for quis, *preimus* for primus, *capteivi* for captivi, and *lateinei* for latini. Neither the six syllables in the four Greek letters, nor the number meant, is in Teitan.

† Iren. ib. chap. xxxiii. xxxiv. in Eccl. Hist. France.

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fore the giving of the law, the Fathers were so righteous, as not to need the law; that Jesus taught till forty or fifty years of age; that separate souls have a bodily shape, bearing the character or form of the body to which they had been adjoined, and that after the resurrection, there shall be bodily feasting, for Christ has declared, "ye shall drink it new with me in my Father's kingdom." He is said to have expected Christ's personal reign during the millenium.*

To Florinus, an excommunicated minister at Rome, who had become heretical, Irenæus wrote, in 193, on Monarchy, to demonstrate there is only one God in opposition to two principles, and that God is not the author of moral evil, which seemed to be the opinion of Florinus, who afterwards fell into the error of Valentine. To Florinus' associate Blastus, who had also been excluded from the church, Irenæus wrote on schism. He wrote to Florinus a treatise on the number Eight or *Ogdoas*, in which he proves that he himself succeeded the apostles. "These opinions," says he, "O Florinus, the presbyters before our times, the disciples of the apostles did by no means deliver to thee. When I was yet a boy with Polycarp, in the Lower Asia, I saw thee living in grand style in the service of the emperor, and using every exertion to ingratiate yourself with him.——I recollect the very spot where Polycarp sat when he taught; his going out and his coming in; his manner of life, with the figure and proportion of his body. I remember the sermons he delivered to the multitude, the report he published of his conversations with John, and others who had seen the Lord, and his recollection of their discourses, and of what he heard from their mouths concerning the Lord—his power and his doctrine. We heard them who had seen with their eyes the Word of Life in the flesh, recite precepts and all things agreeably to the Holy Scriptures." In regard to the errors of Florinus, he adds, "I can testify before God, that if that holy and apostolic presbyter had heard only such a thing, he would have instantly reclaimed and stopped his ears. In his usual manner, he would have pronounced, 'O good God! unto what times hast thou reserved me, that I should suffer such things!' Yea, he would have immediately

* Eus. lib. iii. cap. xxxix.

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shunned the place where standing or sitting he had heard such speeches." Here Irenæus calls Polycarp a presbyter, which is just as honourable as bishop. In 196 or 199, at Rome, in Palestine, in Pontus, in Ostrœna, and in Gaul, synods were convened to consider whether Easter was to be on the 14th of the moon, with the Asiatic Christians, or on the following Sabbath with the other churches. In the synod, composed of the bishops of Gaul, Irenæus was moderator. Polycrates of Ephesus, wrote to Victor of Rome, in defence of the 14th of the moon, urging, among other pleas, the example of the Apostle John, who "wore the priestly attire," and that of his own ancestors and elders.* On this, Victor, by his letters, excommunicated all the Asiatic churches; and Irenæus, far from viewing the bishop of Rome as infallible, wrote him in name of the brethren of Gaul, a remonstrance, not to excommunicate churches for such trifles. He pled, that they had agreed that Sabbath was the proper day to celebrate the resurrection of Christ; that there had been a diversity regarding the day; that there had been always a variety in regard to fasting, some observing one day, some two or more, and others forty; and that yet the former bishops of Rome, Anicetus, Pius, Heyginus, Telesphorus and Xystus, before Soter, did not on these accounts refuse communion with other churches. He mentions Polycarp visiting Anicetus, who could not persuade one another. Among other considerations, he remarks, Polycarp told the Romish Bishop, that "he ought to follow the ancient custom of the presbyters, whom he had succeeded." Thus, Polycarp calls the five bishops before Anicetus, by the name of presbyters. "They communicated one with another. And in the church, Anicetus granted the eucharist unto Polycarp." Ruffinus understands this place as meaning, that Anicetus employed Polycarp to administer the Lord's Supper. Hanmer and Valois, translators of Eusebius, view the passage in the same light. Be this as it may, the Asiatic and Roman pastors held communion at the Lord's Table, and Irenæus in using this argument, was, as his name signifies, a peace-maker,† and his present treatment of the bishop of Rome, displayed that he by no means conceived him infallible.

* Euseb. ib. chap. xxiv. † Euseb. ib. chap. xxvi.

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CHAPTER III.

Martyrdom of Irenæus—Approaches to Episcopacy—New mission to Gaul—Novatians separate from the General Church in Italy—Are sound in the Faith—Novatian's martyrdom.

By the kindness of Proclus, Severus the Emperor, who had been governor in Gaul, for the first ten years of his reign favoured the Christians. In the tenth year, 203, however, he issued a law, prohibiting his pagan subjects from adhering to that people, and from becoming Jews. This was the prelude to a new persecution, which was severely felt at Lyons, where Irenæus, after having been tortured, was beheaded.* At this time, Vivarius and Androlus also, who had been missioned by Polycarp to preach the gospel in Gaul, were put to death.† The generality of Christians in Lyons were murdered, and that great city again flowed with Christian blood. Irenæus had been constant moderator of the Council of Bishops for twenty-four years in Gaul, and doubtless Vivarius and Androlus were members of council. In the Waldensian synods at a later period, the moderator presided for life, and at the present day, the French presbyteries have constant moderators. Severus died in 211, and the churches had tranquillity till Maximin filled the imperial throne, and persecuted the disciples of Jesus from 235 to 238.

During the intervals of persecution, ambition, laxity of discipline, and a variety of human additions to divine ordinances were, by 248, introduced into the church. This was especially observable in baptism, before which the candidate tasted salt, milk, and honey. He was then exorcised to drive away malignant spirits, which, by the oriental doctrine, were supposed to be the cause of all evil. He was next anointed, then baptized, and received the imposition of hands, which

* Mosh. cent. iii. part i. chap. ii. § i. Euseb. book. vi. chap. xxviii.
† Milner, vol. i. pp. 294, 310.

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was followed by a second unction. He lastly returned home arrayed in white garments, as a sign of innocence, and adorned with a crown, as a token of victory over Satan. The individual was now believed to have received the Holy Ghost, and remission of sins. He was admitted to the Lord's Supper, at which the deacons called the people to raise their hearts, and which was dispensed more frequently in some churches than in others. There was also a diversity in regard to the hour of dispensation. It was sometimes sent to the sick, and given to infants, as essential to salvation. In every province there was a chief bishop, and in districts the other bishops were heads of the churches, but did nothing without the consent of their presbyters, and in cases of importance they consulted the whole community. In the lesser churches, the presbyters preached, baptized, dispensed the Lord's Supper, and governed the church. The bishop, as associated with his presbyters, ordained presbyters and admitted them to the council. A number of inferior officers were about this time introduced: the bishops began to assume princely authority, in proportion to the number of churches under them; they were seated on thrones, and their sumptuous garments dazzled the eyes of the multitude. In each province there was frequently a metropolitan, to facilitate general councils, and maintain the association of churches.

The bishops of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria, because these were primitive and apostolic churches, held a kind of pre-eminence; yet this was not a superiority to others in regard to dignity and authority. The bishop of Rome had a precedence only in regard to order and association. At this period, bishops held no other ecclesiastical authority above presbyters, except being perpetual moderators in councils, but by degrees began to act independently of their presbyters.* Even during the life of Paul, an ambitious disposition had appeared in some Christian teachers, which was more obvious in the third century, when bishops began to be gradually exalted above presbyters, and which the apostle predicted was to issue in the full development of Antichrist.

* Allix, Pied. pp. 7—9. 102. Mosh. Cent. iii. part. ii. chap. iv. § i—v. and chap. ii. § i--vi.

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"For the mystery of iniquity," says he, "doth already work; only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that Wicked be revealed."* The ambitious bishops were prevented from assuming greater power and authority, by paganism being at present the established religion of the empire, and by those severe persecutions to which the church was subjected.

Notwithstanding these and other corruptions, and in the face of dreadful sufferings, a spirit of persevering missionary exertion characterized the primitive ages of Christianity. If, during the first century, any of the apostles or Christian teachers from Italy preached the gospel in Gaul, they seem not to have made great progress in converting the pagans. We have certainty, however, that in the second century, Pothinus, and other missionaries, preached with success in that country, and established a variety of congregations in Lyons, Vienne, and adjacent places, many of whose members under the emperors Marcus and Severus, sealed their testimony with their blood. In these circumstances the churches could not be expected, humanly speaking, to prosper, nor did the number of Christians much increase in Gaul, till the reign of Decius, when, according to Gregory of Tours in his history of the Franks, seven new preachers were sent from Rome into Gaul, A.D. 249. These were Dionysius, Gratian, and Trophymus; Paul and Saturninus; Martial and Stremonius. It is a curious fact, that all these, except the last, bear the same names with those individuals whom popular tradition makes the companions of Peter and Paul, and report to have been bishops in Gaul. This coincidence has doubtless arisen from the anxiety of the French to give their church an apostolic origin, and from ignorantly confounding the dates. These ministers, in the middle of the third century, finding the Gaulish churches much decayed, gave it a second foundation. They were men of exemplary piety, and amidst dangers and trials erected churches at Paris and Tours; at Arles, Toulouse, and several other places. This mission was followed by the rapid progress of the gospel among the Gauls, and the disciples of these pious teachers in

* 2 Thes. ii. 7, 8.

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a short time spread the knowledge of Christianity through the whole country. Saturninus is mentioned as bishop of Toulouse.* The Gothic liturgy, which was afterwards used in these provinces, asserts, that Saturninus came from Smyrna:† Dionysius was bishop or pastor at Paris; and Launoy,‡ in a particular dissertation, demonstrates that Dionysius the Areopagite was a very different person.

In the first year of Decius, he issued a cruel edict against the Christians. Multitudes perished in the woods by hunger and cold, some were sent to Arabian slavery, and many were devoured by the wild beasts. Several determined enemies openly confessed the truth; and even some of the military who had dragged the Christians to the tribunal, amazed the judges by openly professing the Christian religion.§ The reviving churches of Gaul endured much barbarity during this persecution. Then did Saturninus, bishop of Toulouse suffer as a martyr, in 250 or 251. The work entitled the Acts of Saturninus, is generally understood to have been written in the beginning of the following century. In that book the churches of Gaul are mentioned as having increased in the third century, yet as being comparatively few, and the members as not numerous.‖ No trace is found of bishops over extensive dioceses.

The fear of suffering caused many Christians sacrifice and burn incense to the gods. Others, without apostacy, paid fees to the judges, and obtained certificates of permission to abstain from acknowledging the heathen deities. When the lapsed sought re-admission to the church, the bishops were much divided. This question laid the foundation for the separation of the Novatians from the general church in Italy, and the only account of their rise is from the pen of Cornelius their violent enemy. Novatian was a native of Phrygia, and a stoic. At Rome, he became a Christian. He was exorcised to expel Satan—fell into a distemper, and was apparently dying. Cornelius writes, "he received baptism, being besprinkled (Περιχυθείς,

* Mosheim, ib. Part i. chap. i. § vii. Mosheim's Commentaries, vol. ii. pp. 9—13, note.

† Allix, Alb. p. 5.

‡ Opera, tom. ii. p. 1. Mosheim, Cent. ix. part ii. chap. iii. § xii. note x.

§ Euseb. book vi. chap. xlii.

‖ Mosh. Com. vol. ii. p. 9. note.

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perfusus) with water on the bed on which he lay, if that can be called baptism. Neither when he had escaped that sickness, did he afterwards receive those other things which the canon of the church enjoins to be done; nor was he confirmed by the imposition of the bishop's hands, which, if he never obtained, how did he receive the Holy Ghost?" This is called clinical baptism; and Cyprian maintains its perfection, though the council of Neocesarea, and the custom of Rome at this time prohibited Clinics from the Christian ministry, because in their baptism, they wanted the ceremonies above detailed. Doubtless, Novatian could have got the additions to his baptism, had he deemed them requisite. Nay, the bishop of Rome so far overlooks his want of these, that at the head of his presbytery, he ordained him presbyter, for Cornelius complains of his deserting the church of God, "in which, after he had received baptism, he was vouchsafed the degree of presbyter by the favour of the bishop, who, by imposition of hands, ordained him priest." This was a proof of respect for his talents and piety, but he afterwards opposed the election of Cornelius to be bishop, who brings charges against him, he would otherwise have overlooked. "When entreated by the deacons, to come out of the house in which he had enclosed himself, to minister to the necessities of the brethren, he went away and departed in anger, saying, that he would no longer act the part of a presbyter, but adhere to another kind of philosophy." This is just his refusing further connection with the general church; and "another kind of philosophy" is the communion of another church. He might lawfully conceal himself in persecution, and might not have ability to relieve the brethren, which, in fact, belonged to the deacons themselves. He could deny himself to be one of Cornelius' presbyters, but did not deny Christ before heathen magistrates.

Cornelius asserts, that Novatian pretended to avoid the bishopric, yet desired it; that he sent two mean men to seduce three simple bishops in the lesser parts of Italy to repair to Rome; that there they ordained him "somewhat in liquor," and crammed with eating at ten o'clock, as the apostles' were charged at an earlier hour with being full of new wine; that because he was not installed by the bishops of Ostea, Tibur, &c.

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his authority is not from above, but damnable presumption; that there ought to be only one bishop in every Catholic church, such as Rome, which had forty-seven presbyters, seven deacons, and other officers; that a martyr called Moses, excommunicated Novatian and five presbyters; that five confessors declared for Novatian, who afterwards deserted him; and that one of the three bishops who ordained him, returned to the general church, and Cornelius appointed bishops in the room of the two others. Pacianus, in a letter to Sempronianus, states, that Novatian was ordained by the recommendatory letters of the Confessors, which Valois views as referring to his nomination.*

Novatus, a presbyter of Carthage, whom Cyprian mentions as of doubtful morals, paid a visit to Novatian in Italy, who does not seem to have received him as a minister, and he returned to Africa. Valois states, from Nicostratus, that Novatian having heard that Cyprian approved of his mode of baptism, of his views regarding the lapsed, and of his opposition to Cornelius, sent Maximus, Mœchus, and others, as a deputation to him. Cyprian convoked a synod, which denounced the Novatians as schismatics—condemned the immoral Felicissimus with five presbyters who had separated from the African church, and endeavoured to fix a medium in regard to the recovery of the lapsed. The separating society excluded Felicissimus, and chose Fortunatus in his room. The bishop, presbyters and people were all brought to the Novatian views, and continued severed from the church under Cyprian. A second congregation was formed, and Maximus, one of the deputation from Novatian, was elected bishop.† The emperor Decius died in battle with the Goths, after persecuting the church two years and a-half. Gallus, his successor, gave the saints a short breathing, in 252, but soon continued the persecution. In spite of bishops and synods, Novatianism extended, and its professors were, in the first year of Gallus, marked as a distinct society in opposition to Cornelius and others, who received such as had lapsed under Decius. In 253, Marcian bishop of the church at Arelate, a city of Narbonne Gaul, now Arles in Provence, became a

* Euseb. book vi. chap. xlii. xliv.

† Euseb. book vi. chap. xlii. xliv.

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Novatian.* The bishop of Rome was not at this time thought infallible, because the churches of Asia and Africa judged the baptism of heretics invalid, in opposition to Stephen of Rome, who violently espoused the opposite sentiment, A.D. 256.† Both parties, however, agreed in reprobating the Novatians. Thus Dionysius of Alexandria, in an epistle to Dionysius a minister, afterwards bishop of Rome, writes, "We are justly offended with Novatus (Novatian) who has rent asunder the church of God; has drawn divers of the brethren into impieties and blasphemies, and has published a most impious and profane kind of doctrine concerning God, charging the most loving and merciful God with the title of slander and unmercifulness. And besides, he has renounced baptism. He has made shipwreck of his former faith and confession. He has chased away the Holy Ghost from them, though there remain some hope of the Holy Ghost tarrying or returning to them.‡" The haughtiness of Dionysius, Stephen, and Cyprian, manifested that the domineering spirit of episcopacy was making rapid progress. The words now quoted will lead us to demonstrate the orthodoxy of the Novatians, and the grounds of their departure from the majority of Christians.

Sabellius, an African minister taught, that in the Trinity a certain energy proceeds from the Father, as supreme parent, or a certain portion of the divine nature is united to the Son of God, the man Jesus; and that the Holy Ghost is a portion of the everlasting Father. Sabellius and his followers, in fact denied the Trinity, and maintained only one person in the Godhead.§ Against this doctrine Novatian wrote his book on the Trinity, and proves the supreme Deity of each of the three persons, and yet one God. In the first half of the treatise, he follows the order of the Apostles' creed, as it then existed. He treats of God as immense, eternal, and immortal; as the Most High, immutable and infinite; as the maker, lord and parent of all things; as incorruptible, one God and God alone; as a Spirit, as pure, and who has been always venerated in the church.‖ He notices, we are to believe also in

* Milner, ib. pp. 412, 442. † Mosheim, cent. iii. part ii. chap. iii. § xiii. Milner, p. 443. ‡ Euseb. ib. chap. xxxiii. § Mosheim ib. chap. v. § xiii. ‖ Novatianus de Trinitate, cap. viii.

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the Son of God, Jesus Christ our "Lord." He shews, we are not with heretics to reject the testimony of the Old Testament. He demonstrates that Christ is not a phantom, but has real humanity, and that he did not assume an etherial body, but the true solidity of flesh.* He proves that he is not only man, but God; that as he is the Son of Man, so he is also the Son of God. "If this proof, from the infirmities of Christ, effect this much, that from these infirmities he is proved to be man; the proof of divinity collected in him will effect that much from his virtues, that he is also avowed to be God from his works.——For there will be danger, that neither is he shown to be man from sufferings, if he shall not be able also to be proved God from his virtue. We are not therefore to incline to the one side, and to shun the other, for neither will any one hold the entire truth, who shall exclude any portion of the truth.† They who read, therefore, that Jesus Christ is man, and the Son of Man, many read, that this same one is also called God, and the Son of God. For as man, he is from Abraham—as God, he is also before Abraham himself. And as man, he is the son of David, so as God, he is called David's Lord. And as in the character of man, he was made under the law, so as God, he is declared Lord of the Sabbath. And as in the character of man he suffers sentence, so as God, he is found to have all judgment of the quick and the dead. And as in the character of man, he is born after the world was made, so as God, he is exhibited to have existed before the world. And as in the capacity of man, he was brought forth from the seed of David, so as God, the world is said to have been begun by him. And as in the character of man he is after many, so as God, he is before all. And as in the character of man he is inferior to others, so as God, he is greater than all.‡——Why, therefore, shall we doubt to say, what the Scripture does not doubt to express? Why will the truth of faith hesitate in what the authority of Scripture has never hesitated? For, behold, the

* Novatianus de Trinitate, cap. ix. x.

† The editor of Novatian remarks, that this is a beautiful sentiment against such as hold only part of the truth, while they pretend to keep the whole.

‡ Novatianus, de Trinitate, cap. xi.

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prophet Hosea says, in the person of the Father, 'I will save them by the Lord their God, and will not save them by bow, nor by sword, by horses, nor by horsemen.' If God says that he saves by God, and God does not save except in Christ, why, therefore, does a man doubt to call Christ God, whom he perceives to be reckoned God by the Father in the Scriptures? Yea, if God the Father does not save, but by God, not one shall be able to be saved by God the Father, unless he shall confess Christ God, in whom and by whom the Father engages that he will give salvation: that accordingly, whosoever acknowledges him to be God, may find salvation in God who is Christ: whosoever does not recognise him to be God, shall lose salvation, which he shall not be able to find elsewhere than in Christ." * In the remainder of this chapter, he proves the deity of Christ, by illustrating various other passages from the Old Testament, † but the pleasure of translating more must be denied. In several of the following chapters, he establishes our Saviour's Godhead from many of those places of the New Testament ‡ which are usually brought by us against Socinians, and elucidates them with great force. He also treats shortly of the Holy Ghost, "as the author of regeneration, the pledge of the promised inheritance, and as it were the hand-writing of eternal salvation; who makes us the temple of God and his house; who intercedes for us 'with groanings which cannot be uttered;' who dwells in our bodies, and sanctifies them for immortality." These works demonstrate the Holy Ghost to be a divine person. The extracts are larger than was intended to refute the assertions of enemies, that Novatian held views similar to the Arians. Dr Milner cites only the last passage, and though Novatian is large on the Godhead of the Son, the Doctor conceals all that he writes on that point.

Novatian, at the end of the above work, has left us also a

* Novatianus de Trinitate, cap. xii.

† Which are marked in our Bibles, Isaiah vii. 14. with Matt. i. 23.—xxviii. 20. Isaiah xxxv. 3—6. Hab. iii. 3. which he renders, "God came from the south," and applies it to Christ being born at Bethlehem, south of Jerusalem.

‡ Novatianus de Trinitate, cap. xiii. xviii. in which chapters he illustrates John i. 1. 14. 30. with Psalm xlv. 1. "a good Word." John iii. 12, 13. vi. 38. x. 30. xvii. 5. xx. 17. Rom. ix. 5. Gal. i. 1. 14. Col. i. 16.

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treatise on Jewish meats, and against eating things offered to idols. There he expresses his opposition to idolatry, and his concern for temperance, decency, and purity of worship. From a peculiar view of the Apostle's words,—" it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, if they fall away, to renew them again unto repentance;" he considered the lapsed who had worshipped idols to free themselves from suffering in the persecutions, to be guilty of the same degree of falling away or apostacy mentioned by Paul. He refused church-fellowship to such, even though they professed repentance. He " wrote epistles unto all churches in every place, not to receive as meet partakers of the holy mysteries, such as had sacrificed unto idols, but to exhort them to repentance, referring the forgiveness and remission to God, who has sufficient power and authority to remit sin." This shews Novatian did not despair of their pardon and repentance in God's sight, but did not deem it expedient to restore them to the church. Though Novatian went to an unwarrantable extreme, yet his sentiments were not quite new, for Dr Allix states,† that previous to this period, the church had excommunicated forever, such as were guilty of idolatry, murder, and adultery. For other offences, the scandalous were reconciled by professing public repentance at the church gate. Novatian is also said to have condemned second marriages; but let us remember the direction of the Apostle in regard to the unmarried and widowers in times of public calamity,—" concerning virgins—for the present distress—it is good for a man so to be—art thou loosed from a wife?—seek not a wife." Novatian might mistake this for a general rule; but when we consider that in the general church at this time, some ministers were allowed to keep concubines, there is no ground for Milner‡ ascribing Novatianism to the influence of Satan, and to Pharisaical pride. Neither is this division any proof of the general strictness of the time, but of the contrary. The strictness of the Waldenses and of the Reformers, would not prove that the Romish Church was a pure church. But let us see the other grounds of the Novatian separation.

* Socrates, book iv. chap. xxvii.

† Remarks on the Churches of Piedmont, page 10.

‡ Ib. page 374.

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In baptism, Novatian used only the sprinkling of water, without those human additions now introduced into the general church, such as tasting salt, milk, and honey; anointing before and after the ordinance; clothing the person after being baptised, with white garment; and confirmation of the baptism by the imposition of the bishop's hands. Novatian himself had been baptized without these ceremonies, he discarded them all in administering this institution, and the whole society followed him, or rather observed the appointment of the Redeemer. Valois,* a Roman Catholic, asserts, that chrism is necessary to complete baptism, and states that the Novatians baptized without it, because their leader had been baptized in this manner. Theodoret tells us,† they did not use chrism.

In regard to the Lord's Supper among the Novatians, Cornelius in his epistle to Fabius relates, that before a person was admitted, he was required to enter into a solemn vow and oath, by the body and blood of Christ, namely, by the Lord who was symbolically exhibited, to adhere to the Christian faith, to be stedfast to the peculiar principles of the Novatians, and not to repair to Cornelius, or any other bishop of Rome.‡ He was then allowed to communicate in both kinds, and had the symbolical bread and wine put into his hands. In regard to church order, the Novatians were in some places a kind of episcopalians, but their bishops were very different from the arrogance of Cornelius and Cyprian in the general church. Dr Milner§ declares he will be impartial regarding the Novatians, because he is "convinced that the Almighty has not limited his creatures to any particular and strictly defined modes of church government." This insinuates that the Novatian government was different from that of the general church. Fortunatus and his five presbyters in Africa, could not be like a diocese. They seem to have aided him in the government of the congregation. Maximus returned to the general church.

Valerian had become emperor in 253, and in 257 he began to persecute the Christians. Since Novatian was so zealous

* In a Note on Cornelius' Letter in Euseb. book vi. chap. xliii.

† Hæret. Fabul. book iii. ‡ Euseb. ib. chap. xliv. § Ib. p. 376.

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against compliances with the pagans, it was to be expected he would fall a sacrifice to their vengeance. This event occurred at this period. "Novatian himself," says an ancient historian,* "was put to death in the persecution under Valerian." As this emperor did to the Christians, so the Lord requited him; for in 260, Sopor of Persia took him prisoner, used him in mounting his horse, and ordered him to be flayed and salted.† The bishops of the north of Italy were at this time equal with the bishop of Rome, because when Paul of Samosata was deposed by the synod of Antioch, the emperor Aurelian decreed, that his "house should be allotted for such as the bishops of Italy and Rome, with uniform consent of doctrine, appointed for the place," A. D. 270. In this manner was Paul with shame banished the church by the secular power. Not only Eusebius but the emperor makes the bishops of Italy equal with the bishop of Rome. Aurelian began the ninth persecution A. D. 272, but before his plans were fully carried into effect, he was arrested by the hand of death.‡

CHAPTER IV.

Tenth Persecution—Constantine forms the Government of the Church on the model of the Civil Government—Pagan rites introduced—Leon and others in the Valleys refuse to encourage the general corruption—Council of Nice—Novatians receive the Nicene Creed—Arian Emperors—Milan, Vercil, and Cagliari continue sound.

For fourteen years the emperor Dioclesian did not harass the Christians, but two years before the commencement of the fourth century, the persecution of his Christian servants and soldiers began. In 302 it had become general, and was conducted with horrible barbarity. Constantius, who ruled in Gaul, however, was humane. He razed some Christian

* Socrates, book iv. chap. xxviii. † Milner, p. 478.
‡ Euseb. chap. xxvii—xxx.

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churches, but did not use violence against the worshippers. The design of Dioclesian, Maximian, and Galerius, who ruled in the other parts of the empire, was to exterminate Christianity; and for this purpose they employed crucifixion, burning, and decapitation. Eusebius witnessed the Christian sufferings, patience, and psalms of thanksgiving.* In 305, Dioclesian and Maximin resigned and left the empire to Galerius and Constantius.† Galerius in the east, and his colleagues Maximin and Severus, continued the persecution with awful severity. Under Constantius, however, the churches in Gaul enjoyed peace. That amiable prince having died in Britain, the army saluted his son Constantine with the title of Augustus or emperor, but Galerius called him only Cæsar, and named Severus emperor. Galerius died in 311, and left Maximin and Licinius his successors. Maxentius usurped the power of Africa and Italy, which had been under Severus, and made war against Constantine, now master of Spain and Gaul. Constantine defeated him near Rome, and in his flight he was drowned in the Tiber, in 312. Constantine and Licinius then granted liberty to the Christians, which was confirmed by another edict at Milan, in the following year. In the east, Licinius defeated the persecuting Maximin, who died in despair. About this time Constantine seems to have studied the evidences of Christianity, and to have resolved to tolerate all religions; but in the latter part of his reign, he used all his authority to abolish the ancient superstition. The story of the miraculous cross seen by him in the air when marching against Maxentius, wants confirmation. Eusebius mentions it on the authority of Constantine alone, while he might have inquired if it had been seen by the whole army.‡ Socrates and Sozomen do not notice it at all. Licinius, under pagan prejudices, acted against Constantine in the east, but the latter in a pitched battle defeated him. In 316, the emperor judged at Milan between the Donatists and the general church. He decided against the former, deprived them of their churches in Africa, and even put some of them to death. He was owned head in ec-

* Euseb. book viii. chap. i—xxx. † Mosheim, cent. iv. part. i. chap. i. § i—iv. ‡ Euseb. Life of Constantine, book i. chap. xxii—xxv.

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clesiastical causes, and the Donatists had appealed to him. They are charged with speaking of the Son and Spirit as inferior to the Father, and some doubt if the emperor himself and Eusebius were sound in this point. The Platonic philosophy lowered the dignity of the Son and Spirit, and prepared the way for Arianism.

Under Constantine, episcopacy remained, and he assumed the power of modelling the clergy, who were chosen by the people. In the councils of presbyters the bishops presided, and the assemblies of the people had a voice. The provincial bishops or metropolitans presided in the councils of the province. Superior to these were *ecumenical councils*, consisting of deputies from a number of provinces, under an exarch or bishop of these districts. Before this time, the bishops of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria, had enjoyed a peculiar preeminence. To these Constantine added the bishop of Constantinople. Those of Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople, were afterwards called patriarchs. These four bishops corresponded to the four Prætorian Prefects in the state, and indeed Constantine formed the orders of clergy so as to resemble the different orders or magistrates, like the second Beast "saying to them, that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the Beast." Constantine assumed the external administration of the church, in regard to outward state and discipline, disputes among clergy, and their possessions and rights. The internal inspection in religious controversies, forms of worship, the offices of the priests, the vices of the clergy, and the like, belonged to bishops and councils.*

With a view to convert the pagans to Christianity, the bishops injudiciously introduced a number of pagan rites into religious worship. Images of Christ and his martyrs, similar to the heathen idols; bishop's staves like the ensigns of augurs; processions, deprecations and lustrations; and splendid robes, mitres and wax-tapers, were introduced. Magnificent Christian temples were consecrated with great pomp, by rites borrowed from the ancient heathen pontiffs. Christians, like the gentiles, now imbibed the notion that a country was safe in

* Mosheim, cent. iv. part ii. chap. ii. § i—vi.

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proportion to the number of places of worship. Hence, to encourage the opulent to erect churches, they were promised the right of patronage, or appointing the minister. In worship, the Psalms of David were sung, and other hymns were afterwards introduced. Prayers now lost much of their solemnity and majesty. Sermons were composed by the rules of human eloquence, and were filled with vain embellishments. Preachers exhorted the people to applaud by clapping their hands as in the theatre, and shouting as they did to orators in the forum. The observance of the Lord's day was enforced by law. Five feasts for Christ's birth, death, resurrection and ascension, with one at pentecost, were appointed. The discovery of reliques, founded a feast for the martyr. Fasting was believed to expel evil spirits. Formerly, men were abstinent as they pleased; but now abstinence from flesh and wine was enjoined in lent. In baptism, fonts were erected, and the ceremonies, which were a ground of the Novatian separation, continued. The Lord's Supper was in some places dispensed several times in a week, and in other situations, only on Sabbath, when it was among the latter parts of the service. Sometimes it was administered at the tombs of the martyrs, where their souls were by many believed to be present, as the ancient Greeks and Romans imagined the spirits of their heroes to hover around their graves. Hence arose masses for the dead. Before distribution, the elements were elevated to be contemplated with respect, and this at last degenerated into adoration of the symbols. Catechumens, penitents, and such as were under the impulse of evil spirits, were excluded from the Lord's Table. Love-Feasts were now abandoned. Crossing was introduced as an abridgement of the Christian profession, and a weapon against devils. Such is a description of Christianity as established in the empire, when the Gentile worship was by law suppressed. The let of the Roman Empire in its pagan state was now removed, and the wicked one, the son of perdition, was beginning to be revealed, though not fully formed.*

But since the Waldenses claim the honour of being de-

* Mosheim, ib. chap. iv. Theodret, book i. chap. v. in Milner, vol. ii. p. 53. Allix, Pied pp. 10—12, 103, 104.

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seceded from the primitive church of Italy, it may be asked, were there at this period any movements near the Alps, in opposition to the growing corruptions? In reply, we are to recollect, that the Novatians through Italy had been now nearly a century separate from the general church, and that the Waldenses do not pretend to have been previous to this period a distinct society, but only that their principles were maintained in the Alpine valleys and neighbouring places, since the apostolic age, and that they did not entirely depart from the other churches in Italy, so long as they could with a safe conscience hold any degree of communion with them. A foundation for the Waldensian division, however, seems to have been laid at this era. This is asserted by the Waldenses themselves; and the Romanists go so far as to say, that one Leon, and a number of adherents, disgusted with the luxury of Sylvester of Rome and of the other bishops, retired among the Alps; that from Leon, they were called Leonists; and we judge that in all probability they united with the descendants of those refugees who had fled to these parts during the ten persecutions.

The Noble Lesson by the Waldenses themselves, has been already mentioned, as asserting, "that all the popes who have been from Sylvester to this present time, and all cardinals, bishops, abbots, and the like, have no power to absolve or pardon."

Peter de Pilichdorf, a Roman Catholic professor of theology, wrote "against the Waldenses" in 1395, and informs us, that in his neighbourhood the Waldensian "sons of iniquity, in presence of the illiterate, falsely declare, that their sect has endured from the times of Pope Sylvester, namely, from the period that the church began to hold her own possessions. This the heresiarchs reckon not to be lawful, since the apostles of Christ were commanded to live without any thing of their own. 'Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses.'" The establishment of religion by law, and modelling the church like the worldly empire, seem to have been reasons for the Waldensian separation. In another column, Pilichdorf tells us, that the Waldenses "declare for the beginning of their mission, that an associate of Sylvester, in the time of Constantine, was unwilling to consent that the church

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should be enriched, and on this account withdrew from Sylvester, by persevering in poverty, with whom also the church continued, his adherents living also in poverty. He likewise asserted, that Sylvester, with those who adhered to him, have fallen from the church."* In these places, Pilichdorf relates the sentiments of the Waldenses themselves. The same remark will apply to the following extract.

Peter d' Ailli, Cardinal of Cambray, at the time of the council of Constance, in his treatise on Ecclesiastical Power, states, that the Waldenses viewed themselves as the true church since Constantine. "There are," says he, "two extremes to be avoided on the subject of Ecclesiastical Power; the one is, that of the Vaudois, who did not think it lawful for the popes and clergy to have any temporal dominion, or to possess estates of that nature, and who affirmed, that since the donation of Constantine, the true church had ceased, or at least it had only subsisted among the Vaudois, who had continued or restored it."†

The learned Comenius, in his history of the Bohemian brethren, relates that for the ordination of three pastors, they applied to Stephen and other Waldensian ministers in Austria. Stephen "demonstrated to the deputies of Moravia and Bohemia, that their doctrine, and that of the other Waldenses was from the time of Constantine. He explained to them the articles of belief, and related the horrible persecutions which his brethren in Italy and France had suffered."‡

The statements of the Roman Catholics on this point, shall be now produced. Pope Alexander III. in the synod of Tours, in 1167, pronounces the doctrine of the Vaudois to be "a damnable heresy of long continuance."§ But there are passages in the historical writings of Romanists, which directly mention Leon as the founder of the Leonists or Waldenses, in the time of Constantine and Sylvester. Reinerus Saccho has been already adduced, as writing, that "among all sects, none is more pernicious to the church, than that of the Leon-

* Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. iv. part ii. coll. 779, 815.

† Lenfant's History of the Council of Constance, English edition, by Whatley, vol. i. p. 616.

‡ Hist. of Bohemia, in Leger part i. chap. xxvii.

§ Acland's Compend. of Hist. Vaudois, page 36.

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ists; some say that it has endured from the time of Sylvester, others, from the time of the apostles."

Claud Seissel, archbishop of Turin, in 1500, wrote a book against the Waldenses, and informs us, that "the sect of the Waldenses took its beginning from a certain one Leon, a most religious man in the time of Constantine the Great, the first Christian Emperor, who (Leon) having detested the avarice and excessive laxity of Sylvester, inclined to follow poverty in the simplicity of the truth, rather than to remain with Sylvester defiled by a fat and rich benefice. To this Leon, all those adjoined themselves who were acquainted with the faith."* This statement is confirmed by Bernard of Lutzemburg, in the Catalogue of Heretics, and by Goldast, in the Imperial Constitutions.†

An Inquisitor, who wrote when Rostang was archbishop of Ambrun, says of the Waldenses, "They believed, and believe that it was not, and is not lawful for the prelates of the Roman church to have patrimony or temporal jurisdiction in this world, and that from the blessed Sylvester there has not been a true Pope."‡

This discussion may be concluded by the words of the candid Du Thou, a Roman Catholic historian, who was president of the Parliament of Paris in the sixteenth century. In the history of his own time, explaining the names of the Waldenses, he thus proceeds, "And by another name, they are called Gazari, in which way all heretics at this day are named through Germany and the northern regions, from the emperor Leo III. as they think, being called Gazarus, who is most of all accused by the Roman pontiffs of sacrileges and corrupt doctrine: although in other books they are called Cathari or Puritans, to whom they answer who at this day in England profess the more pure doctrine. The same (Waldenses) are again called Leontines, from that Leo who nevertheless deserved the eulogy of a just and prudent prince from Zonaras himself, who accuses him of heretical pravity. By the persuasion of Theodotus the monk, he (Leo) removed all pictures and images out of the churches, as the food of impiety, and deceivers

* As quoted in Leger, chap. xxviii. † Printed in 1607, page 38, as in Leger, ib.
‡ Code G. at Cambridge, in Allix, Pied. p. 299.

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of the ignorant commonality, which things led to the offence of God. And on that account, he (Leo) was called Iconomachus. *Although others rather judge that they are called* LEONINES *from a certain Gaul named* LEO, *devoted to that sect, because the records of that emperor, Leo, were far from these places and times.* Thus they were cognominated from authors or favourers."*

The bishop of Meaux blames the Waldenses for dating their departure from Rome during the incumbency of Sylvester, while they have only traditionary authority. But if this is an error, the masters of the popish communion are equally culpable. Dr Allix judges that the papists themselves are the authors of the mistake, for they know that the papal dominions in Italy were granted to the Pope only in the eighth century, by Pepin and Charlemagne, but do not wish to acknowledge this fact, and therefore forge the declaration, that the donation was by Constantine conferred on Sylvester. They have seen all along that the temporal endowments, and arrogance of the Romish church, were grounds of the Waldensian division; and to be consistent, they also maintain, that the Waldenses seceded from the Romanists, not in the reign of Charlemagne, but of Constantine. This is the view of Allix; but whether we follow it or not, the papists admit that from the commencement of the worldliness of the Romish church under Constantine, there has been a people at the foot of the Alps who have opposed it. The fact seems to be, that a number of Christians in these parts who had fled thither during the ten persecutions, were joined by Leon and others in the age of Constantine, who displayed a shyness towards the corrupt episcopalian establishment of that period, and as popery advanced, they gradually withdrew till their separation was total and final. Du Thou speaks of these wit-

* Thuani Hist. sui temporis, tom i. l. vi. pp. 221, 222. Lond. Bulkley 1733. This and the edition in the author's lifetime are the most correct. In the intermediate ones, a number of passages offensive to the Romanists are omitted, which are collected in a curious little book, entitled, Thuanus Restitutus, and which places Bulkley has replaced in the text. In the Franckfort edition of 1610, part of the words in italics is thrown to the bottom, and reads, "From a Gaul named Leo, a certain leader and innovater of the Waldensian sect. The antiquity of the times is repugnant to Leo the emperor."

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nesses as then called Cathari or Puritans. This was also a name of the Novatians; but whether these societies took this name to themselves, or whether their adversaries applied it in ridicule, we are not informed. Neither can we ascertain whether the Leonines held communion with the Novatians; but if both associations voluntarily assumed the appellation of puritans, this opinion has some countenance. The name Gazari, some take from Leo Gazarus, who was from Gazaria or Little Tartary. Others view it as a corruption of Cathari, puritans. The Franckfort editor of Du Thou, thinks Gazari pure German, from a verb that means to adhere, whence the barbarous Latin word *heretici* is supposed by the ignorant to be formed, and the Germans call all heretics Katzers, though those unacquainted with German would more naturally suppose Gazari from Leo Gazarus. The decision of the question is not very material, for it seems a fact that there was a Leo or Leon in the fourth century, from whom the Alpine Christians were called Leonines; and there was an emperor Leo Gazarus in the eighth century, who was called Iconomachus, because he removed all pictures and images from the churches, and who is therefore an object of hatred to the Romish church. Though, as Du Thou judges, the term Leonines was used long before Leo the emperor, yet his name might confirm the designation, and from his title Gazarus, the appellation Gazari seems derived, and hence probably the German Katzers, a name for all heretics. In the eleventh century, however, Dr Mosheim * views Catharus and Gazarus the same when applied to the Paulicians.

Though there was ground for dissatisfaction with the general church at this period, yet all Christians must rejoice that evangelical doctrine was for the most part taught in her, and must approve of the stand that was made at Nice, against Arianism. Sabellius had made only one person in the Godhead, by saying that the Son and Spirit are only emanations from the Father. Arius went to the opposite error, and taught not only a plurality of persons as was proper, but plurality of essences; for he asserted that the Son is not of the same eminence and dignity, and not of the same essence with

* Cent. xi. part ii. chap. v. § ii. note p.

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the Father. His sentiments on the Holy Spirit differed from the generality of professed Christians, though they are not so well known. In two councils Alexander of Alexandria expelled him from church fellowship. He retired to Palestine, and by letters converted some to his views. The emperor corresponded with the parties, and urged them to peace, as he erroneously did not view the matter to be fundamental. In the meantime, in 324, Licinius resumed the persecution of the Christians, and made war against Constantine, who in 325 completely vanquished him. The emperor however had not succeeded so happily in quelling the Arian controversy. Consequently this year he summoned a council at Nice in Bithynia. According to some, 250, and by other accounts, 318 bishops, besides priests and deacons, convened on this occasion. The entire number of members was upwards of 600. They met in the palace of the emperor, who defrayed their expences, assumed to himself the presidency or moderatorship of the council, and appeared in rich purple robes, embroidered with gold and precious stones. "Like a bright angel," says Eusebius, "he ascended to his royal throne." After his address, speeches were delivered both for Arius and against him. Hosius of Corduba in Spain read an overture for a creed, which after correction and the addition of a clause regarding one or the same substance in the Godhead, was adopted. Of the minority, two refused to subscribe, and twenty deceitfully complied; for by "the same substance," (ὁμοούσιος), they understood "a like substance," (ὁμοιούσιος). At this council the dispute concerning Easter was adjusted; future entrants to the ministry were forbidden to marry, to practice usury, and to be transported from one city to another; and penitent apostates were appointed, after seven years prostration, to be restored to the fellowship of the church.*

When the sixth canon of the council of Nice speaks of the bishop of Rome governing the suburbecary churches, this does not mean all the churches of the west, though the advocates for papal power have a hundred times explained the ca-

* Euseb. Life of Constantine, book i. chap. xlii—xlix. Hist. Eccl. book x. chap. viii—xi. Mosheim, cent. iv. part ii. chap. v. § x. Milner, pp. 62—64.

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non in this sense. M. Dupin, doctor of the Sarbonne, candidly confesses that the diocese of the Roman bishop consisted only of the ten provinces around Rome, and that Italy, composed of seven provinces, was not in the smallest degree subject to Rome.*

Acetius a Novatian bishop had been by the emperor invited to this council. The latter asked the former if he agreed to the creed. Acetius replied, "The council, O Emperor, has concluded and determined nothing new: for long ago have I learned, that even from the beginning and in the apostolic times, the very same faith was retained, and the same time was observed for the celebration of the feast of Easter." On Constantine making inquiry respecting the grounds of the Novatian separation, he related the history of its rise, and produced a more ancient canon "that such as after baptism commit the 'sin unto death,' should not be partakers of the holy mysteries, but be exhorted to repentance; and that they should wait for remission of sins to proceed, not from priests, but from God himself, who possesses both the right and sufficient ability to pardon." The emperor sarcastically added, "Provide thee a ladder, O Acetius, and climb alone into heaven." Eutychianus, a holy and learned Novatian in the reign of Constantine, is reported to have possessed miraculous gifts. These details were given to Socrates by Auxanon, of the Novatian communion, who had personal knowledge of the facts.† Arius and his associates were banished to Illyricum, but the Novatians, who received the Nicene creed, enjoyed religious liberty, without carrying episcopacy farther than they had practised it in the third century. On account of bodily indisposition, Sylvester of Rome could not be present at Nice; but in a council he sanctioned the Nicene formula of faith. The Waldensian historians maintain that the Christians of the valleys were never infected with Arianism, and the Athanasian confession is always mentioned by them in the list of the professions of faith to which the Waldenses have adhered.‡ After the council of Tyre in 335, the emperor rather favoured Arius, and persecuted Athana-

* Allix, Pied. p. 117. † Socrates, book i. chap. x. xiii.
‡ Boyer, Advertisement. Perrin, book i. chap. xiv.

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sius. The winds of error began to blow. Alexander of Constantinople having been commanded by the emperor to receive Arius into the church, betook himself to prayer; and Arius, when parading the streets in his way to the church on the sabbath morning, was seized with a violent disorder in the bowels, and miserably died under horror of conscience, A. D. 336. Before Constantine's death, he was baptized by Eusebius of Nicomedia an Arian, and expired on the 22nd of May 337.*

Constantius, an Arian, succeeded to the empire. Constans who ruled in Italy, and Constantine who governed Gaul, were adherents to the Nicene faith.† Eusebius of Cæsarea died about 340. He spoke of the Son as a middle being between God and angels, and of the Holy Ghost as made by the Son. He was at least a semi-Arian. In the following part of this century, emperors and governors exalted or depressed Nicenes or Arians as they pleased. Athanasius, with a council of three hundred bishops in Egypt, protested against the power of princes to appoint bishops. In 355, the emperor Constantius, in the council of Milan, after the death of his brothers, proposed an Arian creed. Lucifer, bishop of Cagleari in Sardinia, Eusebius of Verceil in Italy, Maximin of Naples, and Liberius of Rome, firmly supported the truth, and were banished. Hilary the deacon did the same, and was scourged. Hosius of Corduba in Spain, now a hundred years old, boldly confessed the Trinity. The adherents to the Nicene faith in the general church, and the Novatians, were now severely persecuted. Many of them were put to death for refusing to communicate with Arians.

Agelius, the Novatian bishop of Constantinople, fled, 357. A presbyter and a monk of the same society were tortured, and the latter died. This people had three churches at Constantinople, one of which was pulled down by orders of the emperor. The Novatians carried the materials to the opposite shore of the sea. The women and children wrought with diligence, and it was rebuilt at Sycæ. The orthodox Christians, in the general church, frequently worshipped with the Novatians. "Because the true Christians," says Socrates,

* Socrates, book i. chap. xxv.—xxxix. † Milner, pp 75, 76.

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"abhorred the temples frequented by the Arians, they resorted together with the Novatians to three other churches, and there they together devoutly served God. There was little to prevent their being conjoined in the bond of unity;" but a union was not effected. Liberius of Rome became Arian, and was restored.*

In Gaul, as in other quarters, the Nicenes were persecuted, yet the truth was maintained. Phœbadius, bishop of Aginnum, now Agen, the capital of Agenois in Guienne, on the Garronne, near Gascogne, opposed the Arians. He shows that the term Catholic does not prove a man an orthodox Christian. He quotes Scripture on the eternity of the Son, against Arians, and concludes: "Those, therefore, who wish to rend the Son from the Father, and to place him below God, give a prescription to the gospel." He observes, that the same divine honours are rendered to the second person in the Godhead, as to the first, and adds, regarding Arianism, "If this is true, we daily blaspheme in our thanksgivings and offerings of sacrifices, confessing these things common to the Father and the Son."†

Hilary of Poictiers, after the council of Milan, was banished to Phrygia. He believed, as we do, the necessity, perfection, and perspicuity of the Scripture, and rejected the Apocrypha. He urges the need of humility in reading the Bible, and instead of expecting by reason to comprehend every thing, we are "to worship the Father and the Son, and to be filled with the Spirit." The Holy Spirit "enlightens our understandings, and warms our hearts."‡ In another place,—"This is the only immovable foundation,—this is the only happy rock of faith confessed by the mouth of Peter."—"Therefore, upon this rock of confession is the building of the church."[1] On the parable of the virgins, he teaches, "that no one is to be helped by the works and merits of others." He reckons all force contrary to Christianity, and calls Constantius Antichrist, for persecuting the

* Socrates, book ii. chap. xxxviii. Milner, pp. 76—93.

† Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. iv. pp. 169, 174, 180. in Allix on the Albigenses, pp. 22—24.

‡ In Milner, pp. 262, 263.

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orthodox.* "It is wrong," says he, "that ye reverence the church of God in buildings and edifices.—Is it doubtful that Antichrist will sit in these? To me, mountains, and woods, and lakes, and prisons, and bogs, are safer; for in these the prophets, either remaining or sunk, prophesied by the Spirit of God." The Protestants, therefore, are not ashamed to search for their ancestors among the Waldenses, or in the caverns of the Alps. He got liberty to return to Gaul in 361. Some errors he held are not chargeable on Christians in his church, but peculiar to him, as Claudianus Mamertus has shown, such as that Christ's body did not feel pain, and souls are corporeal.† He lived five years longer. In 362, Constantius was baptized by an Arian, died, and was succeeded by Julian the apostate, who allowed Miletius of Antioch, Athanasius of Alexandria, Eusebius of Vercell, and Lucifer of Cagliari, to return from banishment. Lucifer refused communion with the general church, because Arians were too easily absolved. Julian was killed by a Persian lance, and was followed by Jovian in 363, who died in seven months, and was succeeded in the west by his brother Valentinian, and in the east by Constans, another brother, a determined Arian, and a persecutor of the Novatians, and of all Nicenes.‡ The Novatians at Constantinople had, under Julian, carried back their church over the sea, had rebuilt it, and had called it Anastasia—the Resurrection. Agelius, a most denied man, who had been Novatian bishop twenty years, and all the members of the three congregations, had liberty under Valens. Under providence, Martian, who had been a soldier in the imperial palace—who had instructed the emperor's daughters in grammar, and now held the office of a Novatian presbyter, was the means of this mercy. The inhabitants of Paphlagonia and Phrygia became almost entirely Novatians, who, in all places, refused running tilt, shows, and stage-plays. The lives of the Paphlagonians and Phry-

* Allix, Albigenses, pp. 18—21.

† Hist. Eccl. of France, cent. iv. Socrates, book iii. chap. xxxix. xl. Allix, Albigenses, pp. 6, 21, 22.

‡ Socrates, book iii. chap. v. vi. ix. xiv. Milner, chap. xiv. pp. 113—156. Mosheim, ib. chap. iii. § xx.

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gians, according to Socrates, were "far more modest, more continent, and more chaste, than any other heretical sect." This shows the term heretic was applied to such as separated from the general church, though fundamentally sound. The Novatians contended ardently regarding the faith of one substance, but afterwards differed regarding the time of Easter. They displayed much sympathy with the persecuted Nicenes of the general church, A. D. 367. The council of Laodicea gave Metropolitans power to appoint bishops; and prohibited presbyters from receiving usury, assisting at public shows, and practising magic. *

In the west, Valentinian, an impure man, by a law, authorised the bishop of Rome to judge other bishops, A. D. 372, that religious disputes might not come before secular judges. † Though a Nicene, he did not suppress the Arians nor pagan temples. The Luciferians were in some degree persecuted, yet had bishops at Rome and Elvira. Ambrose was teaching at Milan the divinity of Christ in 379. ‡ Theodosius defended all who taught the faith of one substance, § and thus the Novatians were protected. Agelius ordained Sisinnius to succeed him, but the church preferred Martian above mentioned; and Agelius ordained him on condition that he be followed by Sisinnius, and died in the sixth year of Theodosius, ‖ A. D. 385. Ambrose influenced Valentinian II. to prevent the altar of victory being restored to the senate house, because the senators were to swear on it, and so would countenance idolatry. He introduced responsive singing to conclude with a doxology to the Trinity, A. D. 386, and caused Theodosius give public satisfaction at the church of Milan for butchering 7000 Thessalonians. He says, he that hath not Peter's faith cannot have his inheritance, that since Christ's passion he only offers himself by representation, and that "the church does not own the vain representation and figures of images." Yet he consecrated churches with relics below the altar, and recommended voluntary celibacy and monkery. ¶ On marriage he remarks, that "in some of the more retired places, the clergy continued to marry and to have children, and justified

* Socrates, book iv. chap. ix. x. xxviii. † Mosheim, ib. chap. ii. § vi. note N.
‡ Milner, p. 172, 186. § Socrates, book v. chap. x.
‖ Socrates, book v. chap. xxi. ¶ Allix, Pied. pp. 103—106.

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their conduct upon the plea of ancient tradition."* He was also dissatisfied with the Novatians, for in his book on Repentance, he writes: "Learn of me, says Christ, for I am meek and lowly in heart. I am unmerciful, says the Novatian.'† He was bishop, 384—392.

Philastrius of Brescia, who lived in 380, taught that the apostles and their immediate successors settled the canonical books; that all clergy can judge of heresy as well as the bishop of Rome; that the acts of St Andrew are feigned; that the afflictions of God's children are not proper punishments; that the children of believers are sanctified from the womb; that the sacrifice of bread is the mystery of Christ; that before Christ the Fathers were freed from condemnation, and consequently there was no purgatory of the Fathers, and that the soul of man is after death conducted to its place. He observed the five stated fasts, and thought the others optional, which Allix thinks were on the eves before the communion. He thinks Christ's descent into hell local, but not after his death.‡ He wrote a book on heresy, and condemned the Novatians for pride and arrogance, for separating from the general church. He thinks the lapsed may be restored by the baptism of penance, which was not then arrived at the severity of the modern papists, but consisted of the humiliating discipline of standing bare-footed without the church. He pleads from Christ calling his sufferings a baptism, that penance can be so denominated. Some places in which men are called to repent, he renders, "do penance."§ If we do not approve of the Novatian exclusiveness, neither can we follow penances in the general church.

Gaudentius succeeded Philastrius at Brescia, and taught that the afflictions of believers do not satisfy the justice of God, but will diminish the purgatorial fire at the day of judgment; that angels do not know men's hearts, and therefore are not to be worshipped. On the eucharist he says, the figure is not the reality, but the imitation of it: that Christ feeds men in the churches, being offered up in the mystery of

* Gilly, ib. 603. † In Milner, p. 231. ‡ Allix, Pied. pp. 18—21.
§ Philastrius on heresy, is inserted in Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. iv. pars. i. coll. 1—54. Paris ed. The Novatians are Heresy, 34. coll. 20.

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bread and wine, so that he is offered only in figure, not in reality; that the doctrine of Christ is his flesh; that to receive the body of Christ, is to receive with the mouth the mystery of the body and blood of the Lord; that when he said, "this is my body," he meant the consecrated bread; and that he chose bread and wine to be sacraments of his body and blood, that there might be no blood in this new sacrifice, and to figure the body of the church composed of many believers, like the bread of many grains.*

Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, wrote a work on all the heresies before his time, and displays considerable inaccuracies.† His account of the Novatians is in many particulars correct, yet he displays much prejudice. For example, he asserts that they teach that those who fall after the first repentance or baptism, "can have no hope of mercy," while on the contrary, they exhorted the lapsed to seek mercy from God, though they declined church fellowship with them. He charges them with misunderstanding the injunctions to presbyters and deacons, to be "the husbands of one wife," and extending this to all in the monogamist sense. But the general church erred likewise in rejecting office-bearers who marry a second time, in refusing liberty to deacons, presbyters, and bishops, to continue even with a first wife and children, and in admitting only those who keep themselves from their wives, or are deprived of them. Denys of Petau, in his notes on Epiphanius, shews that the ancients allowed second marriages even after divorce.‡ Epiphanius argues for restoring the lapsed from the examples of Manasseh and Peter. The latter of these he calls the prince of the apostles, because of the excellency of his confession, because of the words "thou art Peter," and because the Spirit was in him in addressing Sapphira.§ Thus matters were in progress towards the supremacy of Rome.

He calls the established church the king's high-way, mentioned to the king of Edom, and thinks such as call themselves *pure* should rather be called *impure*, and are to be

* Allix, Pied. pp. 21, 22. † Mosheim, ib. chap. ii. § ix.
‡ Epiphanii Opera, Paris ed. 1622, tom. i. pp. 494--499, 503.
§ Ib. pp. 500—502.

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passed as if they were the mouth of a Basilisk. He views the Donatists in Africa and Numidia to be the same with the Novatians or Cathari, who wish to have no communion with those who have fallen in persecution, and adds, "Wherefore we are under no necessity in particular to treat any thing more fully concerning those (the Donatists) but we have judged that they are to be conjoined to such as are similar to them. But these (the Novatians) have more vehemently and more badly erred: considering them as people who agree in the same faith with Arius.* A more impertinent falsehood was never asserted, for some Novatians were present by the emperor's request at the council of Nice, and received the creed asserting one substance. Denys of Petau, in his notes on Epiphanius remarks, that the eighth canon of the council is on reconciling the Novatians to the general church.† These considerations, in connection with the passages already given from Novatian himself, and the repeated testimonies from Socrates already produced, prove the Novatians sound on the Trinity.

We may notice in passing, that the falsity of the statements of Epiphanius regarding the Novatians being Arians, at least renders neutral a similar declaration respecting the ÆRIANS, who arose in Pontus about 394. He calls Ærius an Arian who left the general church, and formed a new society.‡ Writers in the established church at this period frequently mention dissenters as Arians, merely because like the Arians, they were separate. The historian just named, gives distinctly four reasons for the Ærians leaving the general church, namely, because in said church the office of a bishop was distinguished as superior to that of presbyters, while the Scripture gives these as different names for the same office; because Easter was celebrated as a sacred solemnity; because stated fasts were observed, and because prayers were offered for the dead. As, however, these witnesses against episcopacy and incipient popery never appeared in Italy and France, we shall not further treat of them in this place.

* Epiphanii Opera, pp. 504, 505. † Ib. p. 254.
‡ Ib. tom. i. p. 905. Heresy lvi. against Ærius.

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CHAPTER V.

Opposition in SPAIN to the prevailing corruption—Vigilantius—In TRANSALPINE GAUL—Exuperius—Sulpicius Severus—Vincent—Germanus—Lupus—Prosper—Council of Orange—Sidonius—Patiens—Salvian—Salonius—Clovis, a king of the Franks, evangelical—In CISALPINE GAUL, or North Italy—Rufinus—Cromatius—Niceas—Bishop of Rome not supreme—Epiphanius of Pavia—Bishops of Turin, Milan, Aquileia, Ravenna, Pavia and Rome, all sound in the Fifth Century.

AFTER the death of Theodosius the Great, the Goths invaded the empire. In 410, they took Rome, and the whole of Gaul was ravaged with fire and sword by the Vandals, Swevi and Alans. Though these were Arians, yet by the vigilance of the pastors, the Gaulish Christians generally persevered in the Nicene faith. Nor do the Priscillianists who were Manichees, seem to have corrupted the Gauls, though they continued through the sixth century.

VIGILANTIUS, a native of Aquitain, and a priest in the diocese of Barcelona, was a witness at this period. He brought a charge of Origenism against Jerome, who for that reason, was displeased with him, according to the expressions in his seventy-fifth epistle, in 397. In the fifth century, prayers before the day of the ascension of Christ; acclamations in singing; the worship, not of God, but of the saints themselves at the tombs; and religious veneration for relics, and the sign of the cross, were first introduced into Gaul.* Vigilantius and others who opposed these practices, were sometimes called heretics in future times. Vigilantius, in 406, wrote against relics, and was answered by Jerome, who is praised by the bishop of Meaux, who falsely asserts, that Vigilantius alone opposed the honour of saints, and the worship of relics, for many others held the same views with Vigilantius. "O horrible!" says Jerome, "some bishops are also said to be par-

* Mosheim, cent. v. part ii. chap. iii. iv.

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takers of his crimes, if we may call them bishops who ordain none to be deacons except they be married, not trusting the chastity of any unmarried person." This shows also that the churches of Gaul did not enforce clerical celibacy. On the sixty-fifth of Isaiah, Jerome owns that Vigilantius had induced many in Gaul to abstain from frequenting the churches of the martyrs. Therefore the bishop of Meaux errs in asserting that Jerome had the whole church on his side. Vigilantius calls the worshippers of relics "idolaters who venerate the bones of dead men;" and Jerome denominates him a Samaritan and a Jew for reckoning dead bones unclean. "We do not worship and adore the relics of the martyrs," says Jerome, "and not even the sun and the moon; not angels, not archangels, not cherubim, not seraphim,—lest we should serve the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed forever. But we honour the relics of the martyrs, that we may adore him whose martyrs they are. Will the body of Moses be unclean which was buried by the Lord himself? As often as we enter the churches of the apostles and prophets, and all the martyrs, do we so often venerate the temples of idols? Are the tapers which are lighted before their monuments ensigns of idolatry?" When Vigilantius blames lighting tapers, he only follows the council of Elvira. The above is addressed to Riparius; and in his book against Vigilantius, Jerome goes on, "Vigilantius or rather Dormitantius has suddenly arisen, who with an unclean spirit, fights against the Spirit of Christ, and denies that the sepulchres of martyrs are to be venerated; declares that watchings are to be condemned; that alleluia is never to be sung except at Easter; that continence is heresy; that chastity is the summary of lust. In this man we are forced to oppose the wiles of the devil."

According to Jerome, the first heresy of Vigilantius, was his allowance of priests to marry, contrary to the custom of the ten provinces under the bishop of Rome, seventeen subject to Ephesus, and five in Egypt. Vigilantius did not believe the infallibility of Innocent of Rome, who had, in 405, written to Exupertius, bishop of Toulouse, on clerical celibacy. Jerome upbraids Vigilantius as sprung from the robbers, whom Pompey brought from the tops of the Pyrenean moun-

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tains, and collected in Calaguri, the city of strangers, and as "fighting not under the banner of Christ, but of the devil." "The Gauls," says he, "maintain a home-bred enemy, and suffer a man half mad, and fit to be bound in the chains of Hippocrates, to sit in the church." Jerome is displeased with Vigilantius for asking, "What need is there for thee not only so very highly to honour, but also to adore something which I know not, which thou worshippest in a little box carried round? Why dost thou by way of adoration, kiss a little dust wrapped in linen? We have seen almost a Pagan rite introduced into the churches." Jerome views Vigilantius as blaspheming the martyrs, and defends himself by Constantius bringing the bones of Andrew, Luke and Timothy; and by Arcadius approving of the transference of Samuel's bones to Thrace. He pleads that the God of Abraham is the God of the living, and therefore Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are alive to hear the worship of the people. Jerome adds, "'They follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth.' If the Lamb is everywhere, therefore, they also who are with the Lamb, are to be believed to be everywhere. And since the devil and demons wander through the whole world, and by too great celerity are everywhere present; are the martyrs after the shedding of their blood, confined shut up in a coffin, and are they not able to go out thence?" The reasoning is contrary to the ancients—to Augustine, and to the schoolmen. Jerome pleads, that the prayers of saints were heard when in this world, and much more when they are with Christ; that the tapers are not at noon, but to dispel the darkness to the watchers, and to honour the martyrs; that our Lord did not need the ointment any more than the martyrs do the wax tapers; that tapers honour the martyrs, but are wrong to idols; that Christ assigned lighted lamps to the wise virgins, and that the bishop of Rome celebrates mass on the tombs of the apostles, as on an altar. Vigilantius never denied the honour due to the saints, but refused that the souls of the saints are in their graves; that their relics are to be adored, and to enter the churches of the saints, that he might shew his aversion to superstition. Jerome does not solidly prove the saints omnipresent, nor maintain the lawfulness of worshipping relics. "O foolish man," says he, "who ever adored the martyrs?

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Who ever took a man to be a God?" He does not mention two kinds of adoration; and agrees with Vigilantius that we are to pray to saints, "not as even friends of God, and intercessors with God." The Roman Catholics, therefore, need not quote Jerome on the head of intercession. Vigilantius wished to revive the discipline of the council of Elvira, held in the beginning of the fourth century. He mentions some ignorant customs, not formally authorized, which might be explained in a tolerable sense. The general church never objected to him; and Protestants view him as defending purity, when superstition was rapidly advancing.*

Jerome states, that EXUPERIUS, bishop of Toulouse, carried the eucharist in a wicker basket. This practice would not suit the church of Rome, because the Romanists elevate it for adoration; the people dare not touch it, and it is in danger of being trodden under foot. Though according to Justin Martyr the eucharist was carried about in the second century, yet Jews, heathens, and Christians were not indiscriminately compelled to adore it.

SULPICIUS SEVERUS, a native of Agen, monk of Primuliacum in Guienne, though he writes a number of monkish fables, yet asserts many doctrines inconsistent with popish principles; for example, that an uncreated angel blessed Jacob. "The day before the brothers met, the Lord having assumed a human form, is related to have wrestled with Jacob; and although he had prevailed against the Lord, yet he knew him to be immortal, and desired to be blessed of him." He owns the second commandment, and distinguishes it from the first. "Thou shalt have no other gods before Me. Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image." He does not split the last commandment into two, for he thus concludes the decalogue,—"Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour. Thou shalt not covet any thing that is thy neighbour's." The preservation of both Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul from heresy, he ascribes not to the bishop of Rome, but to Hilary. "By the benefit of Hilary alone, our Gauls were delivered from the infection of heresy." He is an enemy to compulsion in religion, because he reproves some for asking

* Allix, Alb. pp. 24—40.

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the emperor to banish the Priscillianists. "And then Idacius and Ithacius began to proceed more keenly, thinking to be able at once to suppress the evil, but being ill advised, they approach secular judges, that by their decrees and executions, the heretics might be banished the cities. Thus, after many and abominable things on Idacius petitioning, an order was drawn from Gratian, at that time emperor." In this matter he considers the emperor as stirred up by the priests. "The emperor," says he, "according to this sentiment, had decreed to send tribunes to the Spaniards, armed with the highest power, who should inquire after heretics, and should take the life and goods from such as are found: nor was it doubtful but that storm was about to depopulate even the greatest number of the saints by the trifling distinction between the classes of men: because then a person was judged by the eyes alone, since any one was esteemed a heretic from his paleness and dress, rather than from his faith." Speaking of the violence used against some at Alexandria, who would not submit to the bishops, he adds, "Where the late reproach of the slaughter of the brethren was yet fresh; for although perhaps it was their duty to have obeyed the bishops, yet that so great a multitude living under the confession of Christ, ought not for this reason to have been afflicted, especially by the bishops." He mentions Martin as not exterminating heresy by force, for he had "that chief care, that the tribunes should not be sent to Spain with the power of the sword." He ascribes equality of power to Ambrose of Milan, and Damasus of Rome, "the two bishops, whose authority at that time was the highest in the church." In regard to carrying the images of saints, "It had been the custom," says he, "of the country people in Gaul, by a miserable madness, to carry about through their fields, the images of demons, covered with a white mantle." The custom arises from heathenism. He lays down a remarkable maxim for the Albigenses, "that the church is not built, but rather destroyed by gold." The church of Rome is displeased especially with this last sentence, as appears by the censures on the margin.* Sulpitius lived till 420.†

* Allix, Alb. pp. 40—46. † Pictet.

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Notwithstanding the prevailing darkness, there were schools at Marseilles, Lyons and Treves. In 428, VINCENT, a priest of the monastery of Lerins, a Mediterranean island, on the coast of Provence, in "the Memoir of a Pilgrim," expresses a wish to examine the whole Scripture, and condemns Pelagius and Julian, though he does not exactly follow Augustine. This is probably the work Commonitorium, from which Allix gives a few extracts. "The understanding, knowledge and wisdom, by the degrees of times and ages, as well of every individual person as of all men; as well of one man as of the whole church; ought to make progress, and mightily and extensively to increase, but every one in his own way, that is to say, in the same doctrine, in the same mind, and in the same judgment. But yet in such a manner, that this is really an advancement, not a change, of faith." On the use of the Fathers, he says, "which Fathers however we are to believe on this condition, that whatever either all or the greater number have in one and the same sense manifestly, frequently, and constantly confirmed, as in a kind of council of masters agreeing with one another by receiving, holding and teaching; that is to be held for undoubted, certain and firm." He states the supreme authority of the Scriptures, and the right use of tradition. "In the foregoing things, we have said that this has always been and still is the custom of the generality of Christians to prove the true faith in these two ways; *first*, by the authority of the divine canon; *secondly*, by the tradition of the church: not because the canon alone is not of itself sufficient for all things, but because most men interpreting the divine words according to their own pleasure, conceive various opinions and errors; and, therefore, it is necessary that the understanding of the celestial Scripture be directed according to one rule of the ecclesiastical sense; especially, to wit, in those questions on which the foundations of all Christian doctrine rest." He states, that we are "to have a view to the consent of universality, as well as of antiquity, lest we be either rent from the entire unity to a party of schism, or be cast headlong from the religion of antiquity, into the novelties of heresy."*

* Allix, Alb. pp. 47—49.

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About 430, John Cassian, who had been a scholar of Chrysostom, a deacon of Constantinople, and a monk from his youth, and who was at this time presbyter of Marseilles, began to invent semipelagianism. According to him, man can naturally choose what is morally good, but needs grace to accomplish it. He taught that sometimes grace is the first mover, as in the case of Paul and Matthew; that at other times, the will of man is the first agent, as in the instances of Zaccheus and the Thief.*

GERMANUS of Auxerre in Bourgoigne, and LUPUS of Troyes in Champagne, came over to Britain, preached diligently against Pelagianism, and for the present silenced it. They also instructed and baptized many of the Britons, who, under Germanus their teacher, defeated the Picts. The two bishops returned to the continent. The deacon, Palladius, was ordained bishop by Celestine, and missioned to Ireland, where he laboured with little success, and was sent as first bishop into Scotland, where he arrived in 431. "Scotland," says Milner, "had never before seen a bishop, and was in a state of extreme barbarism."† It cannot be denied that long before this period, there had been Christian churches in Scotland; but Dr Milner tells us their government had not been episcopalian.

PROSPER, a native of Aquitain, not the bishop of Reggio, nor the secretary of Leo I. but a layman, defended the truth against Pelagians and Semipelagians. Such eminent bishops of his time as Cassiodorus, Photius, and Vasquez, testify that hardly any bishops surpassed Prosper in knowledge. His testimony, therefore, concerning the faith of this century, must have great weight. In 433, he wrote against Collateur, the patron, that is, against John Cassian, the semipelagian.‡

In 441, the first council of ORANGE was held. Fifteen bishops of Narbonne Gaul, and the country around Lyons assisted. The seventeenth canon begins, "When the box and the cup are to be offered and consecrated by the mixing of the eucharist." Other copies read "are to be brought in." This shews

* Milner, pp. 533, 534.
† Beda in Milner, pp. 483—485. Mosheim, cent. v. part i. chap. i. § vi.
‡ Pictet, p. 41. Allix, Alb. p. 59.

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that the bread in the eucharist was carried in a casket or coffer without adoration, and that the consecrated bread being mixed with the wine, was viewed as consecrating the wine to represent the blood of Christ.* In 446, Germanus of Auxerre paid a second visit to Great Britain to assist the church against the Pelagians, and his labours in this cause had considerable influence. The miracles falsely ascribed to him need not be detailed. He died in 448,† and the effects of his exertions for a time checked Pelagianism, but as times became worse, orthodoxy declined. Prosper continued to publish what he reckoned truth. Against the Pelagians he wrote a heroic poem "on the Ungrateful," and "the epitaph of the heresy of Pelagianism and Nestorianism." He is the author of a chronicle down to 455. His letter to Rufin, combats the objections to the doctrine of Augustine.‡ He continued still to write against John Cassian, who, though he founded semipelagianism, and wrote on monkery, held views inconsistent with transubstantiation, A. D. 461. "No one placed on earth," writes he, "can be in heaven." He wrote inconsistently with auricular confession, "By the confession of sins, their abolition is granted; for saith he, 'I said I will confess my transgressions to the Lord, and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin.'" He also tells us, "that as long as the perfection of that primitive church remained untainted, this observation of lent had no existence."§ The writings of Prosper shew further the views in Aquitain on the eucharist. He speaks of "a small part of the body of Jesus Christ," and of "a small part of the sacrifice," meaning the sacrament of the supper, which was distributed in small pieces. Such expressions do not favour the corporeal presence. In his epistle to Demetrius, he ascribes all the validity of the sacraments to the work of God, and not to the minister.‖ About 461, Arnobius, a semipelagian of Narbonne Gaul, on the fourth psalm writes what directly opposes the carnal presence. "We have received wheat in the body, wine in the blood, and oil in the chrism." On Psal. civ. he asserts that Christ administers "not only the species of bread, but also of wine and oil."¶

* Allix, Alb. p. 57. † Milner, p. 493. ‡ Pictet, p. 41. § Allix, Alb. pp. 49—53. ‖ Milner, p. 533. ¶ Allix, Alb. pp. 60, 61.

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At this period, 472, SIDONIUS, a nobleman of Lyons, bishop of Clermont, and PATIENS the bishop of Lyons, were remarkable for their charity to their suffering brethren under the Vandals who extended their power in France, Spain and Africa, and who alone of all the barbarians persecuted the orthodox, whose cruel sufferings in Africa need not be here detailed. Patiens reclaimed many of the Burgundian Arians. A council in Gaul, of which we have only a confused account, shows that semipelagianism extensively prevailed. *

SALVIAN, a priest of Marseilles, somewhat superstitious, lived about 495. On account of the incursions of the barbarians, many denied the government of God. He therefore wrote eight books on Providence, addressed to Salonius the bishop. He demonstrates that it is our duty to believe what we read in the sacred writings; that in these, God testifies that he rules and judges; that it is intolerable pride to suppose any so good as to save others, since Noah, Daniel, and Job, could only save themselves; that Christians are not to swear; and that the monks have taken a new name, not a new life—have changed their dress, not their actions, and have abstained from marriage, not from rapine. In his book to the general church, he ascribes our salvation entirely to the sufferings of Jesus in our room and stead, and not to our merit. "For this salvation alone, what equivalent can man pay, for whom Christ gave himself by the suffering of extreme pains?" His sentiments regarding a dying careless sinner, shew he had little dependance on prayers for the dead. "If either the violence of the disease be such, or the carelessness of the sick hath been so great, as to continue in their spiritual infection till they are dying, then I do not know what to say or what to promise. It is better indeed to leave nothing unattempted, than to neglect a dying person; especially because I do not know whether the endeavour of any thing at the last breath may be a medicine; sure it is, that to try nothing is certain perdition." He considers the orthodox Christians with wicked lives, as even worse than the Arian Goths and Vandals. †

SALONIUS of Marseilles is one of the most famous bishops of Narbonne Gaul. On Solomon's words, "Drink water out of

* Milner, pp. 496, 497. † Biblio. Patrum, tom. v. in Allix. Alb. pp. 53—57.

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thine own cistern, and running waters out of thine own well," Salonius says, "By cistern he means the catholic doctrine, that is, that of the Old and New Testament; and by the well, he understands the depth and height of the same catholic doctrines, that is, the various meanings of holy Scripture." He does not own the Apocrypha; for to the question, how many books did Solomon publish? He answers, "Three, only according to the number of their titles, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song." He overlooks purgatory, for he writes,— "Every man is as it were a tree in the wood of mankind; by the south, which is a warm wind, is signified the rest of paradise; and by the north, which is cold, is signified the pain of hell." *

Clovis, a pagan, the fourth king of the Salii, a nation of Franks, had married Clotilda, niece, some say daughter of Gundebaud, king of the Burgundians. She differed from all her relations, and was a Trinitarian. She had a son, and her husband, in accordance with her wishes, allowed the infant to be baptized. The child died, and the king was dissatisfied. She became the mother of a second son who was baptized and lived. When Clovis was fighting with the Allemans at the village of Tolbiacum, he found himself in danger, and looking to heaven, prayed, "O Jesus Christ! whom Clotilda affirms to be the Son of the living God, I implore thy aid. If thou givest me victory, I will believe and be baptized, for I have called upon my own gods in vain." Victory was granted, and Clovis was instructed and baptized by Remi, bishop of Rheims, A. D. 496. Many of his subjects followed his example. He was the only prince at that period who professed orthodox Christianity. † The fable of a dove bringing a phial of oil from heaven at his baptism, and which is still preserved to anoint the French kings at coronation, is unworthy of refutation. From the Franks, the kingdom was named France instead of Gaul.

In regard to the state of religion in Cisalpine Gaul, or North Italy, in the beginning of the fifth century, we have the testimony of a presbyter and two bishops of Aquileia, on the

* Bib. Pat. tom. i. in Allix, Alb. p 58.
† Milner, pp. 512—515. Mosheim, part i. chap. i. § v.

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northern shore of the Adria. Aquileia was then a fortified large town, though now a small place. RUFINUS, a presbyter of Aquileia from 398 to 417, gives a list of the canonical books as we possess them, and calls those Apocryphal which we reject. At this time, however, Innocent of Rome was beginning to confound the inspired books with the apocrypha. Rufinus wrote a treatise on the apostles' creed, which is as different from the catechism of Trent, as the Protestants from Papists. His view of the local descent is by no means the same as the Romish. Though the Fathers did not view the descent as meaning Christ's burial, they all differed from the papists. At the commencement of the exposition, Rufinus notes the reception of the Lord's Supper "with the greatest respect," but not a word of its worship. Of CHROMATIUS, bishop of Aquileia, some commentaries and homilies on the fifth and sixth chapters of Matthew remain. He teaches that the Scriptures are perspicuous: that the Lord's Prayer contains all things necessary to salvation, which is the opposite extreme of the church of Rome; that the prison out of which there is no escape, till the last farthing be paid, is hell; that the afflictions of the godly are for correction, trial, and preparation for heaven, but not a word of their forming an expiation; that after adultery, the innocent party can marry; that it is impious in any case to swear; that the only union in the church is the unity of general belief; that Jesus Christ is the meat of the hungry, and the body of Jesus spiritually eaten, is our daily bread, which shews what he meant by eating the body of Christ, and what he meant by "being separated from the body of Christ," namely, exclusion from the sacrament of the supper. Chromatius paid no deference to Rome as head of the church, because when Anastasius a Roman bishop condemned Rufinus, as seeming to favour Origenism, the bishop of Aquileia wholly overlooked this procedure, and continued him in his communion. Pictet places his death in 410. NICEAS also, bishop of Aquileia, lived in 420, and in a book "to a fallen virgin," he says, "stick close to the exercise of repentance till the end of thy life, and never think of obtaining pardon, *ab humano die*, against an uncertain day, because he who has caused thee make this promise, has deceived thee. As thou hast sinned properly against

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the Lord, so seek thy remedy only at his hands." Here Ní-ceas at once condemns vows of perpetual virginity, auricular confession, and the priestly power of pardoning sin.*

Hitherto the Novatians had flourished at Rome, had enjoyed many churches, and had held in their communion large congregations. Celestine however who was bishop in the establishment from 423 to 432, banished the Novatians from the city, deprived them of their houses for worship, and constrained their bishop Rusticola to hold conventicles in private. By the assumption of secular power, the Romish dignitaries refused religious liberty to those who, with themselves, held the faith of one substance. The Novatians of Constantinople were more liberally treated, and they flourished in the east, but their history in those parts comes not within the compass of our present design.†

The supremacy of the bishop of Rome was not acknowledged, neither was he patriarch of the west in the fifth century. Accordingly the Africans sent deputies to the bishop of Milan as well as to Rome. Nay, in the year 431 according to Baronius, Theodoret addressed himself to the bishops of Milan, Aquileia and Ravenna, in opposition to the chapters of Cyril, of which Celestine of Rome had approved.‡ Thus neither Theodoret nor the three bishops in the north of Italy owned Celestine as superior to themselves. He was an enemy to Pelagianism,§ but his persecution of the Novatians show him deficient in charity, and ambitious for power. Another evidence of the independence of Milan appears in Flavianus of Constantinople appealing equally to Milan and Rome by name, against the council of Ephesus, which had in 449 cleared Eutyches. Now so fully was Leo I. of Rome convinced of his want of power over Milan, that he wrote the bishop in 451 to be pleased in his synod to approve of the letter which the said Leo had written to Flavianus on the incarnation of the Word, against Eutychianism.‖ Had Leo been patriarch of the west, or pope, he would not have courted the bishop of Milan; he would not have confessed in his epistles, that he had no right to ordain bishops among the

* Allix, Pied. chap. iv.
† Socrates, book vi. chap. ix.
‡ Mosheim, ib. part ii. chap. v. § vii. Allix, Pied. p. 111.
§ Milner, p. 486.
‖ Allix, Pied. ib.

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Gauls; he would not have sought from Valentinian the younger, the right of being appealed to; nor would he have declined to urge his prerogative when refused.* The bishop of Milan meeting occasionally in synods with the bishop of Rome, will not prove him patriarch or pope. His power, however, was rather confirmed in this century, because he was able to contend against the encroachments of the patriarch of Constantinople regarding Illyricum in 451, because he aided the bishops of Antioch and Alexandria against similar invasions, and because the barbarous kings found it their interest to court his good will.† During the episcopacy of Leo the Great, the sect of the Manichees flourished in Italy.‡ In 476, Odoacer king of the Heruli dethroned the emperor, became master of Rome, and king of Italy, and reigned till he was ruined by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, in 493.§ On the petition of Epiphanius bishop of Pavia, and of Laurentius bishop of Novara, two orthodox men, Theodoric pardoned all the adherents of Odoacer, except the leaders. He employed Epiphanius, and Victor bishop of Turin, who so softened Gondebaud the Burgundian king at Lyons, that in 494, he released six thousand captives, and took money only for such others as had been found armed. Epiphanius was equally successful at Geneva, in obtaining from Gondegesilas, the brother of Gondebaud, the release of captives. On his return to Italy, he obtained from Theodoric the restoration of their lands to the returning captives. Evangelical worship was also unmolested, and indeed these three Arian princes do not seem to have been disposed to persecute.¶ Some historians judge that from Theodosius to Charlemagne, Theodoric was the only barbarian prince really benevolent;‖ but the others now mentioned seem to have been at least humane. The kingdom of the Ostrogoths continued sixty years in Italy, and the power of the eastern emperors was merely nominal, though the Roman laws were continued, and the chief places filled by Romans, till Justinian in 552 wrested Rome from the barbarians.**

* Allix, Pied. pp. 115, 116. † Mosheim, ib. chap. ii. § vi.
‡ Beausobre, Hist. du Manicheisme, vol. ii. p. 752.
§ Mosh. ib. part i. § i. ¶ Milner, ib. pp. 510—512.
‖ Foreign Quarterly Review, No. xi. p. 255. ** Mosheim, ib.

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Epiphanius of Pavia, in dispensing the Lord's Supper, always stood with his feet together till the very termination of the mystical work, so that by the moisture of his footsteps he marked the place, and pointed it out to such as looked from a distance. Thus Epiphanius knew nothing of prostration before the sacrament, and his biographer and successor Ennodius, approves of his practice. When near his end he uttered the words,—"To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain." He was heard only to repeat psalms of consolation, such as the eighty-ninth, and in 496 breathed his last in these words:—"Into thine hand I commit my spirit, O Lord." "The heavenly soul," writes Ennodius, "returned to its own abode;" but he utters not a word of purgatory.*

From these details it appears that the bishops in the west did not at this time rise to such a lordly episcopacy as those in the east. Their power seems to have been curtailed by the presence of the barbarians. The bishops were constant moderators in the synods of presbyters in their respective districts. From the facts minutely stated, we see that the bishops of Aquitain and Narbonne Gaul, with those of Northern Italy in Turin, Milan, and Aquileia, as well as those of Ravenna, Pavia, and Rome, continued free from Arianism, whether under the Goths, Alans or Huns; the Sweves or Visigoths; the Heruli, Vandals, or Ostrogoths. Though some of these tribes persecuted the Trinitarians at first, they appear to have soon granted religious liberty, with the exception of the Vandals. The barbarous Arians and the asserters of the Nicene faith, are often classed in the same general church; yet they were evidently distinct in their church-fellowship. The friends of evangelical doctrine kept aloof also from Pelagians, and contended against semipelagians.

In the fifth century we have no account of any remains of the followers of Leon, whom we mentioned as having in the fourth century retired among the Cottian Alps, during the reign of Constantine. The sentiments of Leon doubtless continued, but as the bishops of Turin were orthodox in the fifth century, the Christians of the Valleys would not maintain a separate existence. These bishops under the barbarian kings

* Allix, Pied. pp. 30, 31.

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would not assume so much worldly grandeur as in other circumstances. All that the Waldenses plead is, their descent from the early or evangelical Christians in the north of Italy and south of France. "That man," to use the language of John Leger,* "would be undoubtedly ridiculous who should wish to persuade poor people that they do not belong to the race of Adam, because it is impossible for them to show the tree of their genealogy, and by their continual succession from father to son, that they are really descended from him. And if from this he should infer either that they are fallen from the clouds, or that they are sprung up like mushrooms in a night, or that these are a new race of men, he would be set down for absurd more than for subtile. The reason is, because learning from the word of God that the whole human race is 'of one blood,' and finding in them as in others the nature of humanity, we boldly conclude that they must proceed from the same stem. In like manner because the holy scripture declares that the true church is the same from the beginning of the world, and that all who hold the true faith which she teaches are her legitimate children; the inhabitants of the Valleys invincibly proving that they have always professed and still profess the same faith, are also without contradiction the true succession of the church, not local or personal, but of the church of the faith and sound doctrine, as the Holy Ghost teaches that Abraham is 'the father of them that believe,' though they be 'not circumcised.' And in the words of Jesus, 'Whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and my sister, and mother.' And again 'If ye were Abraham's children, ye would do the works of Abraham.' And as Gregory Nazianzen declares in his funeral oration over Athanasius, 'All those who follow the faith of Abraham are the true children of Abraham.'"

"So long as the church of Rome retained the true faith, and true religion established by the holy apostles, without any necessity of having recourse to the proof of genealogies and of the succession of families, their disciples and successors through all Italy, nay all the world will acknowledge that

* Histoire des Eglises Evangeliques des Vallées du Piemont, ou Vaudoises, part. i. chap. xx.

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each of the Italian churches," as Turin, Milan and Aquileia, "has had from thence the succession of faith as well as the Roman church has had, and that they all remain united with Jesus Christ their only chief, and in union with one another. And so far was it from being their duty to devise any schism or separation, that the very thought of it would have been criminal." Not till the church of Rome became incorrigible, did the churches of the Valleys leave her.

This is sufficiently liberal in a protestant writer of the seventeenth century. The orthodox churches of Italy and France acted faithfully in rejecting Arians and Pelagians; and though many corruptions were in the general church in these countries, yet evangelical Christians did not then know as we do now, that these unscriptural observances were to issue in the full formation of Antichrist. An apology therefore can be made for them remaining in such a church, which could not be sustained for us in returning to any church of a similar description. And indeed where is the episcopalian church that is equally free from Pelagian and Arian errors as the churches in the north of Italy and south of France were in the fifth century? All ministers were also chosen by the people, and ecclesiastical patronage was unknown.

CHAPTER VI.

Witnesses in France, Spain, and Italy against Popery in the Sixth Century—Nine Bishops in Lombardy and the Grisons reject the Bishop of Rome as a Heretic.

REMIGIUS, who had baptized Clovis, continued to labour with considerable success in converting to Christianity those Gauls who still continued in paganism.* Such as in Gaul adhered to the doctrine of Augustine, defended the truth

* Mosheim, cent vi. part i. chap. i. § ii.

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against the semipelagians. CÆSARIUS had been partly educated in the monastery of Lerins, now St Honorat. When proposed for bishop of Arles he hid himself among the tombs; but on being discovered, he was ordained at thirty, and held his place with distinguished honour for forty years. He was elected moderator of the council of Agde in Narbonne Gaul, in 502. Alaric the Arian king of the Visigoths at Toulouse, did not interrupt the meeting, at which twenty-four bishops were present. One canon provides that "all clergymen who serve the church faithfully, shall receive salaries proportionate to their services." These salaries must have been at this time raised by the church herself, because it does not appear that the Arian kings supported the sound bishops. If all clergy were paid in proportion to their services, the income of some would be very small. By another rule, no clergyman can alienate the revenues of the church: "In all churches the creed shall be explained to the competents," who are probably the applicants for baptism, "on the same day or week before Easter. All laymen who shall not receive the communion three times a-year, at the three great festivals, Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday, shall be looked on as heathens. To those who live in the country at a distance from the parish church, oratories may be allowed for the ease and convenience of their families; but on certain solemn festivals they must appear at their parish churches." Another canon of this council forbade auguries, divinations, and opening the Scriptures to make an omen of the first sentence that strikes the eye,—excommunication is awarded to the last offence. Again, "Laymen are ordered to remain in the church till the blessing is pronounced." One day Cæsarius observing some persons retiring from the church before the sermon, he exclaimed, "What are you doing my children? Whither are you going? Stay, stay for the good of your souls. At the day of judgment it will be too late to exhort you."

He delighted in praise, and observing the people talk, he induced them to join in the psalms with their spiritual guides. In a sermon still extant he exhorts to sing with the heart, and in another he writes, "Whoever in his prayers thinks on a public place of resort, or on the house he is building,

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worships that place or that house." He gave himself entirely to reading and preaching. When prevented from preaching, he caused other ministers read his sermons, or those of Augustine and Ambrose. His style was adapted to general utility. He was practical, searching, and opposed to idolatry and superstition. He was once ejected from his church by calumny, but Alaric discovering his innocence, restored him. Amidst the confusion of the times he was distinguished by acts of mercy.*

We know not the date of his works. On the design of the Lord's Supper he writes in the seventh homily, "Since he was now about to withdraw from our eyes his assumed body, and to carry it up to heaven, it was needful that the same day he should consecrate for us the sacrament of his body and blood, that he might be continually remembered by the mystery which was once offered up for our redemption." The consecration of the mystery is not a change by transubstantiation, but to be an external sign of Christ's body to be seen by faith, as he writes to one on baptism; "Thou art suddenly become clothed with a new dignity, and as it is not thy eyes but thy understanding that persuades thee that God has healed what was wounded in thee, blotted out thy sins and washed away thy stains; so when thou goest up to the venerable altar to be satisfied with food, thou mayest see by faith the sacred body and blood of thy God, admire it with reverence, reach it with thy mind, receive it with the heart, and above all, take it in with thy soul." This is not a corporeal or carnal eating of the body of Christ, but by faith. He asserts that the body which the priest distributes to be as really in a small part as in the whole, which agrees with the sacrament but not with the natural body. He mentions Melchizedeck's oblation of bread and wine, as a type of the sacrifice of Christ, and adds, "The Lord himself witnesses, 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, ye have no life in you;' which testimony is a most evident and strong argument against the blasphemies of Pelagius, who impiously presumes to maintain that baptism ought to be conferred upon infants, not to obtain life, but to attain the kingdom of heaven: for by these

* Milner, vol. iii. pp. 10—12.

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words of our Lord, pronounced by the evangelist, 'ye have no life in you,' it is plainly understood that every soul that hath not been baptized, is deprived not only of glory but of life." He mentions the practice of mixing water with the wine in the cup, which supposes the wine to be still wine after consecration, as well as the water is water.

The notion of Cæsarius and of other ancients, that there shall be a purgatorial fire at the last judgment, though erroneous, is very different from the Romish purgatory. His phrase "redeeming our sins by good works," may be understood of a man redeeming his character, but is unhappy, and too like the doctrine of merit. In the twelfth homily he urges the people not to leave the church, before the celebration of the Eucharist; and in the twentieth homily, he urges the country people to read the scripture. In the thirty-eighth homily he treats on the means of remission, but no mention is made of confessing to the priest, or of God giving the priest power to remit sin, though the Romanists reckon all other means vain without confession and priestly absolution. In homily twenty-ninth he treats of the efficacy of contrition, and in the Paris edition of the Bibliotheca Patrum, "read with caution," is marked on the margin.*

In 529 a council of thirteen bishops, with Cæsarius as moderator, met at Orange in Dauphiny, and condemned semi-pelagianism. They assert, "Adam's sin injured not only the body but the soul; it descended to his posterity; the grace of God is not given to men because they call upon him, but that grace is the cause of men calling upon him; the cleansing from sin and the commencement of our faith are not owing to ourselves but to grace. By our own natural strength we are not able to do or think any thing which may conduce to our salvation. We believe that Abel, Noah, Abraham, and the other fathers had not by nature but by grace that faith which Paul commends in them." To clear God from being the author of sin they add, "We not only disbelieve that some are predestinated to evil, but detest those who think so." Reprobation is not positive but negative, for men are not obliged, but left, to sin. In the fifth canon they

* Allix, Albigenses, pp. 62—66.

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assert, "If any one say that the beginning or increase of faith, and the very affection of belief is in us, not by the gift of grace, that is, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, correcting our will from unbelief to faith, from impiety to piety; but by nature, he is an enemy to the doctrine of the apostles." In the seventh canon they declare, "If any man affirm that he can, by the vigour of nature, think as he ought any good which pertains to salvation, or choose or consent to the saving, that is, to evangelical preaching, without the illumination and inspiration of the Holy Spirit, who gives to all the sweet relish in consenting to, and believing the truth; he is deceived by an heretical spirit." Probably Cæsarius and such councils were instrumental in checking semipelagianism, for Hilary of Arles had been of that sentiment.

The council of twelve bishops at Vaison in Provence, where Cæsarius was present, decreed, that country priests receive into their houses young men to educate for the ministry, by learning the Psalms, and by reading and studying the word. This was the ancient method; and at a later period, the Waldensian pastors were prepared in the same manner.

In the canons of the council of Clermont, in Aquitain Gaul, 535, we read, "To correct the abuse of obtaining bishopricks by the favour of princes, it is decreed, that he who is a candidate for a bishopric shall be ordained by the election of the clergy and citizens, and the consent of the metropolitan, without making use of the protection of persons in power. Otherwise the candidate shall be deprived of the communion of the church which he is desirous of governing."* Though ecclesiastical patronage had not been then introduced, yet the need of the above law shows there had been a verging in that direction. According to the said canon, many clergy in Britain and Ireland would be excommunicated. The council of Orleans, however, in 542, where RURICIUS of Limoges was a member, enjoined that he who wishes a parish church on his estate, shall endow it, and find an incumbent.† This cannot mean independently of the body of the hearers, else it is inconsistent with the canon of Clermont.

Ruricius had been elected bishop of Limoges in Limosin in

* Fleury in Milner, vol. iii pp. 18—22. † Ib. p. 23, and Allix Alb. p. 66.

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Aquitain Gaul, in 535. He assisted at the fourth council of Orleans, in 542, and at the fifth, in 549. Two books of his epistles remain. To Namacius and Ceraunia on the loss of their son he writes, "You have indeed reason to take much comfort from the will of Christ, since untimely death was his lot, that he has been pleased to take him away in that state to which he pronounces the kingdom of heaven to belong, that at the same time you might have a patron instead of a son, and leave off deploring him as lost, whom you see the Lord hath taken to himself. Wherefore let your faith wipe off your tears, since we believe that those who are dear to us do not lose their life, but change it. They leave this world full of sorrows, and hasten to the region of the blessed. They take their leave of this painful pilgrimage, that they may arrive at the land of rest." In another letter he explains Abraham's bosom, as meaning heaven, but not a word of purgatory. In another to a lady, he exhorts her to read the Scriptures, "But you ought to look for more perfect and great instruments in those divine writings from which these are taken, if ever you desire to perfect what you have begun, or attain what is promised you. If you thus seek, the Lord will give you both knowledge and strength to understand what you read, and keep what you understand."*

Fortunatus, a native of Italy, came into France in 575, remained in the service of Radegunda, and was ordained priest at Poictiers, but there is no certainty of his having been bishop. To the bishop of Metz, he writes, "You have deserved to be the vicar of Peter," and does not restrict this honour to the bishop of Rome. In his epitaphs on believers, he speaks of them as in heaven, explains Abraham's bosom as heavenly glory, and takes no notice of a middle state. In his exposition of the apostles' creed, he mentions only the ancient articles of that formulary, without any hint of the existence of the new articles added by the church of Rome.† He was a man of various erudition, and an ingenious poet, but the year of his death is not mentioned.‡

Ferreolus, bishop of Uzez in Languedoc, from 553 to 581,

* Biblio. Pat. tom. iii. in Allix, Alb. pp. 66, 67.
† Allix. Alb. pp. 68, 69. ‡ Mosheim, part ii. chap. ii. § ix.

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wrote in a very pious strain, and published rules for monks, with approbation of the bishop of Die, without consulting the bishop of Rome. He enjoins the monks to work that the public be not burdened, to receive only such as had arrived at manhood, and to read over the psalms every week. He urges on them the daily reading of the Scriptures, and reading the acts of the martyrs on the anniversaries of their martyrdom, but utters not a word of prayers to the saints.*

SERENUS, bishop of Marseilles, followed the example of Epiphanius in breaking the images which had been there introduced. Gregory of Rome censured him, and exhorted him anew to erect them, but to instruct the people not to adore them,† not recollecting that making images is forbidden, as well as worshipping them.

Hermenigild, son of Levigild, king of the Visigoths in Spain, in 584, married INGONDA, daughter of the king of France, who was an evangelical Christian, and was persecuted by her mother-in-law, the queen of Levigild. Ingonda persevered, and by the aid of Leander the bishop of Seville, converted her husband to the Nicene faith. Levigild oppressed the orthodox, his son resisted, was defeated, fled to a church, and on his father's promise of clemency surrendered himself. Sometime after, however, the king banished him to Valentia, and loaded him with irons. Ingonda fled towards the Grecian emperor, but died by the way. Levigild offered his captive son liberty on condition of his receiving the communion from an Arian bishop. Hermenigild continued firm, and the enraged sovereign sent officers who dispatched him. Levigild however repented, and employed Leander of Seville to instruct in the Nicene faith, Recared his second son, who succeeded his father, and established the Nicene doctrine in Spain. Arianism was destroyed in regard to legal support, and had no civil settlement in the world except among the Lombards in Italy.‡ By a canon of the second council of Saragossa, in 592, relics found in Arian churches are to be tried by fire by the bishop.

IN Italy, Theodoric the Ostrogoth was a mild prince. In

* Allix, Alb. pp. 67, 68. † Ib. p. 69.
‡ Gregory of Tours, book. viii. chap. ult. in Milner, pp. 30, 31.

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498, both Symmachus and Laurentius were by different parties elected bishops of Rome. They accused one another of detestible crimes, which were believed in both cases to have some foundation. The evils of a civil war were the consequence, and three councils failed to produce peace. Theodoric defended the legality of the election of Symmachus, but convened a fourth council to judge of the charges. Symmachus was repeatedly summoned, but refused to appear. The council acquitted him without hearing his accusers. The Laurentians did not acquiesce, and Ennodius of Pavia in Lombardy, in Cisalpine Gaul, wrote an apology for the council, but gives no evidence of Symmachus' innocence. Nay he adds, "God willed that the causes of other men be determined by men, but the chief priest of the Roman seat he has without question reserved to his own judgment." De Launoy and Dr Allix think this only means that human tribunals not being able to discover the truth in the case of Symmachus, it is left to the judgment of God; but Dr Mosheim views the refusal of Symmachus to attend the synod as illustrating the meaning of Ennodius, that the bishop of Rome is not accountable to an earthly tribunal, and thinks Ennodius "disgraced his talents and dishonoured his eloquence, by his infamous adulation of the Roman Pontiff, whom he exalted so high above all mortals, as to maintain that he was answerable to none upon earth for his conduct, and subject to no human tribunal." The Gothic princes limited this power by permitting none to be bishop of Rome without their approbation of every new election. By their regal authority, the princes enacted religious orders, or spiritual laws, and summoned councils. Consequently, the Pontiffs in this century profoundly submitted to kings and emperors, and did not attempt to subjugate these to their ghostly authority.* The emperors and nations were far from bearing with patience the yoke which the See of Rome was beginning to impose.† The bishop of Rome was now beginning to "exalt himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped: so that he as God, sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God."

* Mosheim. cent. vi. part ii. chap. ii. § ii. iv. ix. Allix, Pied. p. 32.

† Geddes' Dissertation on the Papal Supremacy, Miscel. Tracts, vol. ii.

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About the year 507, LAURENTIUS, bishop of Novara, was transported to the bishopric of Milan. Dr Allix mentions Ripomontius as citing a letter of Gregory of Rome to Laurentius of Milan, by which he sends him the pall, but views this letter as a political trick of the court of Rome to establish the edict of Valentinian III. in favour of appeals to Rome, which edict could be of no force, now that the Roman empire of the west was dissolved.* But there must be some mistake, for Gregory was not bishop of Rome till 590, or it may be another Laurentius. At the destruction of Milan he was banished, and afterwards returned. Three of his discourses preached after these occurrences are preserved. In the first, a sermon on the woman of Canaan, he encourages repenting sinners, but mentions no need for the absolution of the priest in order to pardon. "But thou wilt say, I have committed many and great sins. And where is the man who sinneth not? Do thou say, I have erred above all men; this confession is sufficient to me for a sacrifice. Do thou first declare thy iniquities, that thou mayest be justified." And again, "how durst a woman, ignorant of the law, and so wicked, so abruptly approach to the fountain of salvation? She did not entreat James, nor ask John, nor approach to Peter; but leaving all this, what saith she? I have no need of a sponsor: she takes on herself the patronage of her repentance, and alone runs to him, stops him with her voice, and exclaims, 'Lord, thou Son of David have mercy on me.' For that reason thou didst descend—for that reason thou didst assume flesh, that even such a one as I may speak to thee, and may ask with fiducial confidence, &c. There be many indeed who enter the church and make a noise in prayer, and having gone abroad they forget all. These are they who draw nigh with the lips, and do not conceive with the heart. If thou thyself dost not know thy sayings and thy prayers, how does God hear thee?" What would Laurentius have thought of prayer in an unknown tongue, where the understanding and heart cannot be engaged?

He does not restrict men to pray in a consecrated church or oratory. "Though thou art abroad, cry and say, 'O God

* Allix, Pied. pp. 27. 116, 117.

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have mercy on me.' Cry not with the voice, but with the mind, for God even hears the silent. Not so much the place as the sense is sought. Jeremiah is comforted in the dungeon; Daniel rejoices among the lions; the three young men leap in the furnace; naked Job triumphs in the open air; the thief on the cross finds a paradise. What, therefore, if thou shalt be in the public market? Pray within thyself. Do not wish to seek a place, thou thyself art a place. Pray in that place where thou shalt be. If thou shalt be in the bath, pray, and there is the temple. Is God every-where present? If thou seekest a man, it is said to thee, he is not here, or he is not just at leisure. Not so in the case of God. Thou hast only to say, 'O God, have mercy on me,' and he is near to deliver thee. Whilst thou art yet speaking, he declares to thee, 'behold here am I.'"

The second homily completely overthrows the pretended tribunal of penitence. "As soon as thou art come up from the font, thou art clothed with white raiment, and anointed with the mystical ointment. An invocation has been made over thee, and a threefold virtue is come upon thee. After the new vessel is furnished with this new doctrine, thenceforward he has constituted thyself a judge and disposer for thee." The human customs of clothing in white, and unction after baptism, seem to have been still continued.

In the third sermon, which is on alms, he uses these expressions, "Christ being once tinged, *tinctus*, in Jordan, sanctified the waters, but he always abides in the poor, and continually washes away the crimes of those who give themselves to him." His sentiment regarding Christ abiding in the poor, may help us to understand what the Fathers mean by Christ in the eucharist, especially when we find Laurentius writing in the second homily, "Thou wilt sprinkle me with water, mixed with the holy blood of thy Son." He just means that Christ dwells in his people, that he washes away their crimes by his blood applied to their hearts, and that his blood is signified by the wine in the cup, which was unwarrantably mixed with water.*

In 536, Belisarius the general of Justinian took Rome from

* Allix, Pied. pp. 27—31.

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the Goths, banished the bishop Silverius, and for money installed Vigilius. The Gothic power, however, continued some time longer through Italy.* The lower offices in the church were frequently obtained by bribes given to the bishops, and the bishop of Rome contended with the patriarch of Constantinople for superiority. Vigilius of Rome procured an edict of Justinian against the writings of Origen. The emperor also, in 544, erased three chapters from the acts of the council of Chalcedon, with a view to bring back to the church the Acephali, a violent branch of the Monophysites. Vigilius at first hesitated, but the emperor induced him to agree.† In 546, Justinian found at Constantinope, Dacius, bishop of Milan, and wished him to subscribe the edict against the chapters, which shews that the emperor considered the bishop of Milan is equally independent with the Romish bishop.‡ We have no account of Dacius' agreement to condemn the chapters. The conduct of Vigilius caused the bishops of Africa and Illyricum separate from him as an apostate, and he retracted his condemnation of the chapters. Justinian, in 551, condemned them anew, and in 553, convened the fifth general council at Constantinople, and the three chapters were declared heretical. Vigilius was sent into banishment, and not allowed to return till he had declared the chapters execrable blasphemy. The succeeding Roman bishop followed his example, but neither the authority of the Pontiff, of the emperor, nor of the council, was able to persuade the western bishops to reject the chapters. On the contrary, in the north of Italy and other places, many of them openly shewed themselves separate from the communion of Rome, and some of them were banished by order of Justinian.§ About this time, Narses, the general of Justinian, extinguished the kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy. He abolished also the Patricians, the senate and the consuls. Italy was annexed to the empire of the east, imperial Rome was converted into a dukedom, and the emperor's lieutenant or exarch was fixed at Ravenna. In 555, the unprincipled Vigilius died, and was succeeded by

* Milner, p. 23. † Mosheim, chap. iii. § ix. x. ‡ Allix, Pied. pp. 32, 33.
§ Mosheim, § x. xi. Allix, Pied. p. 33. Milner, p. 23. See Noris on Fifth Council.

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Pelagius. The bishops of the north of Italy, in 556, were still independent of Rome, because they rejected the council of 553. Pelagius of Rome earnestly solicited Narses to reduce them by violence to acquiesce in the decisions of said council, in regard to the three chapters, yet the aspiring Roman bishop could never accomplish his design. *

The imperial power in Italy was not long undisturbed, for the Lombards, a fierce and warlike people, led by Alboinus their king, and joined by several other German nations, issued from Panonia in the year 568, and invaded Italy during the reign of Justin. Having rendered themselves masters of the whole country except Ravenna and Rome, they erected a new kingdom at Ticinum now Pavia, on the north of the Po, eighty miles below Turin. To their natural ferocity, the Lombards added an aversion to the religion of Jesus, and at the commencement of their reign, the Christians suffered all sorts of calamities. The fury of these savages, however, gradually subsided, and their manners from time to time assumed a milder character.† In 571, the kingdom of the Lombards may be viewed as established, and it continued distinct till 965, when Otho the Great, of Germany, united it to the empire. In 587, Autharis the third monarch of the Lombards, embraced Arianism.‡

The emperors Leo and Justin, had called the bishop of Constantinople universal, but not in the sense that had alarmed the bishop of Rome who opposed the title in the east, and were themselves ambitious of that distinction, and indeed the flattery of Ennodius and others to the Roman Pontiff as *judge in the place of God*, encouraged such pretensions. Pelagius having died of the plague, Gregory was elected bishop of Rome in 590. He is said to have been evangelical; but when we consider that like his predecessors since 544, he condemned the three chapters, and called the Romans to wipe off their sins by repentance like the Ninevites and the thief, and to change their hearts, in order to avert the plague, we must hesitate ere we imbibe so favourable an opinion of him. He also appointed seven companies of the clergy, the abbots and

* Moshiem, part i. chap. ii. § iii. Milner, page 23. Allix, Pied. p. 111.
† Mosheim, ib. ‡ Mosheim, ib.

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monks, the abbesses and nuns, the children, the laymen, the widows and the married women, to march from different churches performing a litany, till they met in a certain place. They continued every morning at day-break, till the plague ceased. He assumed that the Roman See was superintendent of all the churches of the west, derived from Peter. He wrote all the bishops with kindness and authority, and was anxious for the conversion of the Lombards from Arianism. In 590, Autharis died, and his successor Agilulf, married his widow Theudilinda, a supporter of the Nicene faith, and who persuaded Agilulf to renounce Arianism. This encouraged Gregory, and for some time peace was obtained.*

In this century, the worship of images, the adoration of saints, and the belief of something like purgatory; the efficacy of good-works, the observance of human institutions, and the power of relics to heal the diseases of body and mind, were introduced as necessary to salvation. Gregory defended these things in his epistles, and distributed to the deluded multitude many wonder-working relics. A portion of stale oil from the lamps at the tombs of the martyrs was believed to have a supernatural power to sanctify and to defend from spiritual and temporal dangers. Gregory believing all the words of Scripture to be images of sacred things, expressed every thing in religion by rites and symbols. This and the remainder of the pagan pontifical laws and observances were the causes of the multiplication of ceremonies. Public worship was gradually interlarded with human hymns and other novelties. Gregory added many magnificent ceremonies to the sacrament of the supper, which was called the *canon of the mass*, and which was not for several ages adopted by all the churches. The former ceremonies in baptism were continued. In this century, imposing forms of consecration to excite external devotion, were devised. Supplications were appointed, and edifices erected to purchase their protection for themselves and neighbours. In imitation of the pagan model, festivals were appointed to these saints. For example, to recompense the heathen converts for their loss of the feast of

* Mosheim, ib. Milner, pp. 31—42, 50.

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Pan in February, the festival of the purification of the blessed Virgin was invented.*

When we consider that Gregory consented like his two predecessors to condemn the three chapters of Chalcedon, that he claimed a superintendence of the bishops of the west, and that he defended the corruptions of Christianity just mentioned, and even invented some of them, we are not surprised to learn that in the beginning of his pontificate, the bishops of the north of Italy or Lombardy, and of the Grisons, to the number of nine, in 590, rejected the communion of the Roman bishop as of an heretic. The emperor Mauritius had ordered their presence at the council of Rome, and their letter of excuse for absence is recorded by Baronius at this year. Their reasons are sustained on their protesting, that they cannot hold communion with Gregory. This secession began in the middle of the sixth century, continued till the middle of the seventh,† and was doubtless a means of preserving the churches at the foot of the Alps, independent both of the emperor and of the Roman See. These bishops did not believe that the Romish Pontiff is infallible; that leaving communion with him, is to lose communion with the church of Christ, nor that they held their ordination from him or his bishops. These separating societies did not become new churches any more than the Christian Jews, and apostles at first, but continued as formerly evangelical and independent of Rome.

If the nine bishops in Switzerland and the Grisons, in 590, saw reason to keep separate from the bishop of Rome, and to call him a heretic, the grounds for this treatment of Gregory were in a few years increased. This appears from the life of Gregory, written by Paul, deacon of Aquileia, near the close of the eighth century, unless we think there have been interpolations in after ages. Paul's book relates, that Gregory observed a lady smile when he gave her a piece of bread for the body of the Lord, and took it back. He prayed the Lord to manifest what the unbelieving woman could not see. He next went to the altar, lifted the pall, and shewed publicly his little finger stained with blood. Gregory then called the lady to believe that God, "by the sanctification of the Holy

* Mosh. part ii. chap. ii. § i, ii. and chap. iv. † Allix, Pied. p. 33.

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Ghost, has converted the bread and wine mixed with water, still remaining under their own kind (species) into his flesh and blood, at the Catholic prayer for our salvation." He then prayed God " to change that holy mystery into its original form, so as it might be possible for the woman to take it." This accordingly happened; and the lady and people had their faith strengthened. Gregory could easily dip his finger in blood, or convey to the bread blood unknown to the public. Or this story of feigned miracles might be invented and told to Paul, who lived two hundred years after the bishops in the Grisons and Switzerland had denounced Gregory as an heretic. After all, this miracle does not include so great a change as transubstantiation, because the species or kind, that is, the substance of the bread remains, and the change is only in the accidents. The appearance is not a real but a virtual presence. Gregory's invention does not support the real change and real presence. Instead of relics, Gregory put some pieces of cloth in a box for a great lord. When the carriers of the box discovered the cloth, they complained to Gregory, who laid one of the pieces of cloth on the altar of St Peter, and prayed. He then cut through the cloth "from which the blood immediately gushed." He addressed the multitude, and told them of consecrating the body and blood of Christ for the sanctification of relics, and of the blood of the martyrs appearing. Sigebert, in 441, says, Leo I. a Roman bishop, first introduced this deception. Moschus writes, that the eucharist in a heretic's trunk, turned to ears of corn. To punish Marsus for keeping a fast when he should have received the eucharist, it was changed to a serpent, and on the prayer of Melanius, it was re-changed, so that Marsus received it. Several of such fables, probably Paul might be silly enough to believe, but he says nothing of the change of the substance of bread and wine into the real body and blood of Christ. *

Gregory it is true did not assume the title of universal bishop, nay, he wrote vehemently against John of Constantinople for calling himself by that designation, and sternly declared, that " he who shall assume this title, is either Anti-

* Allix, Pied. pp. 52—56.

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christ or his forerunner."* John lived till 595, but never brought the western churches under him. Though not universal bishop, yet Gregory assumed the chief power over the bishops of the west, where the great body of bishops and people seem to have submitted to him, but for the reasons already mentioned, the nine churches in Lombardy and Switzerland maintained a noble independence. John Leger errs when he thinks the Waldensian treatise "on the invocation of saints," as old as this period, because it speaks of "this time that the man of sin has received power to introduce the new intercessions of the saints." He remarks, "Now this superstition began in the Latin churches in the sixth century, in the time of Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome, who then approved not only of all the foregoing invocations in the Greek church since 476, but added new invocations. He raised the saints to be little gods, dedicated temples to them, and appointed feasts for them. Instead of the invocation as formerly being private, and disapproved and opposed by the greater part of the church, Gregory began to put the holy Virgin among the litanies, which was in time followed by other saints."† It is by no means certain that "the new invocations" refer immediately to those introduced by Gregory, because other new invocations were frequently brought into the apostatising church at future periods; and though this treatise may be more ancient than the one on Antichrist in 1120, yet the language of the treatise on the invocation of saints is much farther from the pure Latin than it would have been in 590.

Though at this time many churches in the north of Italy refused image worship, the invocation of saints, and the superiority of the bishop of Rome, they still held communion with those parts of the general church which acted a similar part with themselves. Antichrist was now forming, yet judging by the balances of Scripture, "idolatry did not yet reign, and all the principal foundations of the truth subsisted in their first state." Those doctrines which the modern church of Rome maintains by fire and sword, were mostly unknown through the whole world. For several centuries

* Leger, part i. chap. xx. p. 133. † Leger, ib. chap. xxvi. p. 162.

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after, every Pope added something new regarding purgatory, pilgrimages, jubilees, meats, feasts, celibacy, the cross, transubstantiation, and the like Progress in these things is read in the popish writers Baronius, Eunuphius, Platina; and in the protestant authors, Juell against Harding, Du Moulin in his Novelty of Popery, and Daillè's Novelty of the Traditions of Rome, who show which Pope was the author of each corruption.*

CHAPTER VII.

Bishop of Rome declared Universal—The Bishops of North Italy continue Orthodox and independent of the Pope—Opposition to Popery in Narbonne and Aquitain—Dr Mosheim's opinion of the Waldenses in the Valleys in the Seventh Century.

In the year 602, Phocas having murdered the emperor Mauritius, usurped the imperial throne, and in order to extend his authority in the west, he granted to the bishops of Rome every favour in his power. Boniface III. the Roman bishop, availing himself of his influence with Phocas, induced him in 606, to deprive the bishop of Constantinople of the title of Universal Bishop, and to confer it on himself; which dignity has ever since belonged to the Roman Pontiff.† Many corruptions were invading the church, but the gangrene was yet curable, for the heresy had not proceeded to a general apostacy, nor had the teachers become generally perverse. In Germany and England, in Gaul and Italy, the fundamental points of religion had numerous defenders. At all events, the new doctrines had not infected the Valleys; the churches found themselves purely instructed by their faithful pastors;‡ and the nine orthodox bishops of Lombardy and the Grisons who had renounced the authority of the Roman bishop, persevered

* Leger, ib. chap. xx. pp. 132, 133. † Mosheim, cent. vii. part ii. chap. ii. § i. ‡ Leger, ib. chap. xx. pp. 33, 34.

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in their separation. Freedom in the election of pastors was generally maintained, for in 614 a canon of the council of Paris appoints, that he shall be ordained to succeed a deceased bishop, who shall be chosen by the archbishop, together with the bishops of the province, the clergy, and the people, without any prospect of gain: if, through compulsion or neglect, the ordination be otherwise conducted, the election shall be void. "The intelligent reader," says Dr Milner, "will hence judge of the state of ecclesiastical polity at that time."* This is as far as a modern Episcopalian could be expected to go; but he plainly means that in the settlement of ministers, popular election was then practised, though in many protestant churches the people are deprived of their rights in the choice of pastors. It appears that in those parts of England which submitted to the Pope's missionaries in this century, the clergy were appointed by the kings and popes, without regard to the Christian people. The Scottish, the British, and the Irish Christians, rejected the pope.†

During the first twenty-seven years of this century, the nine bishops of Lombardy and the Grisons were avowedly separate from the Pope, and Dr Allix remarks, that in the following years, they had as much reason as formerly to keep at a distance from Rome, because about 630, the Eutychian produced the Monothelite heresy, which ascribed only one will to Jesus Christ: this was the consequence of ascribing to him only one nature. Though Monothelitism arose in the east, yet the churches in Italy were called to contend against it, because Pope Honorius I. imbibed that heresy, and imposed silence on all who should oppose him. He died in 639. Martin of Rome in 649, in a council of the Lateran, consigned the Monothelites to the devil and his angels, though the emperor and the bishop of Constantinople were Monothelites. Martin was dragged to the east and treated with great cruelty. Maximus, an abbot at Chrysopolis, was also severely persecuted, but nobly refused any mean compliance. There is reason to suspect,

* Milner, ib. p. 119.

† Bede in Milner, ib. pp. 99—105.

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however, that Martin contended for superiority as much as for truth. *

An epistle of MAURUS, bishop of Ravenna, against the Monothelites, is inserted in the history of the council of the Lateran, A. D. 649. He calls himself "servant of the servants of God;" and observes that the Pope had invited him to be present at the council of Rome, but not as belonging to the Pope's diocese. That Maurus was independent of the Pontiff, appears from the latter not enjoining him by authority to attend, and from Maurus sending as his deputy, another Maurus, bishop of Cesna, with one of the priests of Milan. He declares that the only way to preserve purity of doctrine, is to adhere to the apostles, as the Fathers of the fifth general council had done. "The only and single remedy of God our Redeemer, and our Lord Jesus Christ, granted to all for the salvation of our souls, is that without doubt we hold those things which we have perceived by the preaching of the apostles, and the doctrine of the Fathers." He admits five general councils, but condemns that at Constantinople in favour of the Monothelites, though supported by the emperors. MAXIMUS, bishop of Aquileia, expresses the same sentiments, and explicitly condemns the Monothelite bishops, Cyrus, patriarch of Alexandria, and Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul, successive patriarchs of Constantinople. † Baronius ingenuously confesses, that at this period the church of Aquileia, and some others in Italy, held no communion with the church of Rome. ‡

MANSUETUS, bishop of Milan, flourished in 677, and some following years. He displayed no disposition to flatter the Popes, for in his letter to the emperor Constantine Pogonatus in 679, he declares that the greater part of Christian councils had been called, not by the bishops of Rome, but by the emperors, namely, that of Nice by Constantine, the second of Constantinople by Theodosius, that of Chalcedon by Martian, and the fifth general one by Justinian. He asserts that the faith of the church is contained in the apostles' creed, and that the present confession is only an explication of it. This

* Allix, Pied. p. 33. Milner, ib. pp. 120—127. Mosh. ib. part ii. chap. v. § vi—viii.

† Tom 6. Concil. p. 96, in Allix, Pied. p. 34.

‡ Allix, Pied. p. 111.

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demonstrates that under the Lombard kings, Pertharit and Cunibert, no other doctrine than the Nicene was maintained in Milan, and that the articles added by Pius IV. in the beginning of the sixteenth century, were then unknown. He praises the ancient teachers Leo I., Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, and others, and adds, "Whatsoever these have taught, judged, preached, or defended, we admit, and we receive their acts or statutes with all devotion;" which sentence has a special regard to the explanations respecting the doctrine of the Trinity, in opposition to the heresies of the fourth and fifth centuries. He mentions also "the venerable crown of Christ, Ambrose the Confessor, the preses of the church of Milan." Now, this letter to the emperor was written by Manmetus when presiding at a synod of the bishops of his diocese in 679, met to discuss the Monothelite question. In 680, the sixth general council met at Constantinople, as Pope Agatho had advised, whose legates were present. Deputies were also admitted from Mansuetus of Milan. BARBATUS, bishop of Benevento, a most zealous preacher of the gospel, was likewise in this council. Constantine Pogonatus the emperor, was president. The Monothelite heresy was anathematised, its abettors condemned, and Pope Honorius himself stigmatized as heretical in presence of the representatives of Pope Agatho. The legates of Mansuetus also agreed to denounce Honorius as a heretic, who had filled the papal chair from 626 till 639. All this proves that Milan was independent of Rome; that the church of Milan believed the Pope liable to heresy; that the deputies of Monsuetus blamed Pope Honorius for having been a Monothelite, and that we are to submit to the Pope, only in so far as he displays himself a believer in Christ.*

The Ambrosian liturgy, so called because Ambrose in the fourth century had dictated some of the collects, had been for some ages used in Milan, was used in the seventh century, and several that followed. It was evangelical, and in the ninth century was quoted by Walafridus Strabo, as Ambrosian. It *first* contained the psalms and divers other parts of the ancient Italian version of the Scriptures.

* Allix, Pied. pp. 34—36. Du Pin in Milner, p. 128. Mosheim, part ii. chap. v. § viii.

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The prayer for consecrating a cross before adoration, must have been added by a latter hand, for Adrian I. near the close of the eighth century, declares that the church of Milan did not then consecrate images. Hugo Menardus, on the sacraments of Gregory, candidly acknowledges that the words "for whom we offer to thee, or who offer to thee," were interpolated in the thirteenth century, that is, after the doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass was received. The words used at the feast of Barnabas, who is falsely reckoned the first bishop of Milan, regarding his cursing the heathen temple, a part of which instantly fell and killed the idolaters, are a story drawn from later legends, for almost all liturgies were in the time of Charlemagne changed by the Pope.

Secondly, The worshippers confess their sins to God, and their offences committed against one another. Chrodegand, bishop of Metz, during the time of Pepin, in his rules to canonicals writes, "At the first canonical hour, the clergy being assembled, they make their mutual confessions, saying, I confess to the Lord, and to thee my brother, that I have sinned." In this liturgy, the words "through the prayers and merits of the saints" were anciently used, but in the primitive church, "merits" meant simply godliness: not to obtain by way of justice, but in any way like the Roman office. "O happy fault, which obtained, *meriut*, so great salvation."

The Ambrosian liturgy had anciently no confiteor or confession to the Virgin, to the saints or angels. Such a confession is borrowed from Bennet, who lived in the Pope's diocese. It was in 816, copied into the acts of the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, but is not found in any of the ancient confessions. After the fourth century, favours from God were sometimes asked by the intercessions of the saints, but prayers were never addressed to them.

Thirdly, On the Lord's Supper, the liturgy of Ambrose, anciently mentioned only offering bread and wine to the priest. Even the most ancient schoolmen know nothing of offering the sacrament as a propitiatory sacrifice. The prayer of Anselm, falsely ascribed to Ambrose is absurd; "That I may offer to thee the sacrifice thou hast instituted, and hast commanded to be offered in remembrance of thee for our salvation; and receive it, most high God, dearest Jesus Christ

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I beseech thee for thy holy church." When the papists changed their opinion, it was necessary to alter the expressions. No office for the Fridays in lent was contained in the liturgy. The prayer after the communion calls the sacrament a *pledge* and *image*, which must be different from the things signified. "Having received this pledge of eternal life, we humbly implore thee, O Lord, that resting on apostolic suffrages, we may by manifest perception take and receive what we have now touched in the image of the sacrament." This prayer is found in the missal of Gelasius, and in other ancient ones. It contains communion under both kinds; and the following words the schoolmen found difficult to reconcile with the real presence; "Receive this offering on thy high altar, through the hands of thy angels, (ministers) as thou wast pleased to receive the gifts of righteous Abel thy servant." The following expressions in this liturgy decide the question, "Beseeching thee, O eternal God, that thy Son Jesus Christ, who has promised to be with believers to the end of the world, may also not desert those whom he has redeemed with respect to the mysteries of his bodily presence, and may not leave them destitute of the blessings of his majesty." "The mysteries of his bodily presence," intimate that Christ's real body is absent, though its image is present. This view is confirmed by some other books written by Ambrose on the sacrament, the genuinness of which is doubted by Allix, but which Mabillon assures us were found at St Gall under his name. From these we gather that the liturgy contained these words; "Make this offering to be ascribed to us, reasonable and acceptable, which is a figure of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ." Though the term "figure" is not in the edition of Pamelius, yet he refers to Ambrose on the sacrament, and in his sixtieth title, in the words of consecration, he quotes the place of Ambrose with the word "figure." In the edition of Ambrose at Paris, in 1529, the passage reads, "Because you wish to know it is consecrated by heavenly words, listen to the words. The priest announces,—make this offering, says he, to be ascribed to us, reasonable and acceptable, because it is a figure of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ." In 835, when Paschasius on the body

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and blood of Christ quotes this passage, he confounds the authors of the falsifications.

Fourthly, The prayers for the dead in that liturgy, that "they may sleep the sleep of peace," is contrary to purgatory. The substance of the prayer is, "To believers, life is changed, not taken away, and to such as died in the observation of the fear of God, a mansion of perpetual felicity is acquired," as we find in the prayer for many souls. In the next prayer, Abraham's bosom is explained of heaven, which view the church of Rome rejects.

Fifthly, Anointing the sick and possessed, is meant for recovery and pardon. It is very different from extreme unction. "By the infusion of the Holy Ghost, do thou strengthen and enrich the substance of the present oil, formerly accepted by thee, that whosoever of the human race shall be touched by it, may immediately pass to the nature that is from on high." The human invention of chrism for confirmation after baptism, had been practised since the fourth century, but the church of Rome converted it into a sacrament. The same remark applies to the benediction of fire and of fonts, and to wax candles at Easter.

Sixthly, No merit is pled, because remission is asked from God, who is "not a regarder of merit, but a giver of pardon. Do not thou look on mine iniquities, but let thy mercy alone help me who am unworthy."

Pamelius, who first printed this liturgy, owns that he has left out a great part of it to avoid repetition. In order to certainty in every thing, therefore, a perusal of the whole would be necessary were it attainable.* The church of Milan had at this period, and for some centuries later, its own liturgy, to which the clergy were bound to adhere, and were untrammelled by the rites and service of the church of Rome, which all the bishops of the Pope's jurisdiction swore at their ordination to observe. When Charlemagne afterwards conquered the Lombards, there is no proof that he attempted any change in the Ambrosian liturgy.†

In regard to the South of France, the Gothic Liturgy was

* Allix, Pied. chap. vii. pp. 36—45. † Ib. p. 112.

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used in Aquitain and Narbonne, in the latter part of the seventh century. Since two centuries later the office of the blessed Virgin was rejected in these parts, that service was not originally in this liturgy; and the same remark applies to other offices. The barbarism of the liturgy shews its age, and its purity of doctrine caused Gregory VII. suppress it two hundred years after. It contains the apostles' creed as the only confession of faith which these churches required of entrants into communion. The example of various saints is commemorated, but no prayer is addressed to them. Divers confessions of sin are made to God, but none to angels, to the Virgin, or to other saints. The bishop of Rome is simply called the first bishop; but the first has no power over the second, nor the second over the third. There is no adoration of the cross, and no prayer for the Pope. Paul as well as Peter is called the head of the church, nay, all the bishops of France "filled the chair of Peter," as well as the Pope. Peter was made bishop for his prayer and confession, "in whose confession is the foundation of the church; neither shall the gates of hell prevail against this rock," which is not Peter, but Christ. The gates of hell are not explained to mean errors, but the state of the dead from which believers in Christ, whom Peter confessed, are delivered. "Let us pray that the souls of the deceased, being delivered from hell, the infernal gates may not prevail over the dead." The term "merit," is used in a wide sense, prayers for the dead to be in peace do not mention purgatory, and supplications "for those who are at rest," do not assert they are in torment, but can be viewed as begging they may have part in the first resurrection or millenium. Each bishop is pastor and high pontiff over his own flock, for the prayer runs, "this day celebrating the anniversary of the decease of the high priest and our father, bishop Martin."

Chrismation is connected with baptism, but is not called a different sacrament. Consecrated wax tapers have not the virtue ascribed to them by the church of Rome.

In this liturgy there is no injunction to worship the sacrament of the supper after consecration, no notice of the real presence, no masses without communicants, and no communion under one kind. That which is taken with the mouth, is distinguished from that which is received with the heart.

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" Grant, O Lord, that what we have taken with our mouths, we may receive with our minds, and that the temporal gift may be to us an eternal remedy." The humanity of Jesus is above the heavens. " That they who rejoice that thou art their fellow in the nearness of the flesh, may be brought up to the unity of those highest citizens, above whom thou hast carried thy assumed body." The Lord's Supper is declared to be only a commemoration: " We remember thy suffering, and thy body broken for the remission of our sins," plainly alluding to " this do in remembrance of me." The manual then proceeds, " Thou didst command by Moses and Aaron thy servants, that the passover should be celebrated by the continual offering of a Lamb, until the coming of Christ; and hast commanded the same custom to be observed 'for a memorial.'" The outward symbolical body of Christ is received spiritually, for this direction is given, " Let us, dearest brethren, render thanks to our God, begging of him, that we who have spiritually received the sacred body of our Lord Jesus Christ, being freed from fleshly vices, may obtain spirituality." In the same manner, the dove at Christ's baptism, is called " the spiritual dove," because it pointed to spiritual objects. The eucharist is denominated " spiritual sacrifices.—He hath refreshed us with the heavenly bread and the spiritual cup." Ancient believers are copiously asserted to have eaten the same living bread that Christ bestows on us. Some parts of it answer the purpose of a directory and invitation to us, and other parts are direct prayer. God is asked to " be pleased to bless the gifts offered by his servants," which gifts are the sacramental elements. The Supper is explained as " the salutiferous representation of our Lord's offering up of himself, transfused into the spiritual sacrifice of which Christ is the offerer." The substance of the bread was not believed to be destroyed after the thanksgiving, because there is a prayer entitled, " A collect for the breaking of the bread after consecration," and the ordinance is denominated, " the sacrament of the body" of Christ. The petition is, " that these saving sacraments being received into our inward parts, may purify our soul, and sanctify our body.—We offer unto thee, O Lord, this unspotted sacrifice, this holy bread, and this saving cup, beseeching thee," &c. The words

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are often figurative, when Mabellon understands them literally. The reader feels disappointed that he has not published the entire canon; yet the parts he has inserted prove, that the bread is "the figure or representation of the sacrifice of our Lord." Respecting the living bread, the worshippers plead, that "what he formerly vouchsafed in a parable, he may now vouchsafe in truth." The term *truth* cannot mean the real presence, for they pray, "We beseech thee Almighty God, that as we now perform the truth of the heavenly sacrament, so we may cleave to the truth of the body and blood of the Lord." The death of Christ is here called "the truth of the heavenly sacrament."

The word *transformation* charms Mabillon, as when they pray, "That it may please thee to send down thy Holy Spirit upon these solemnities, that it may be to us a true eucharist, in thy own and Son's name, and of the Holy Ghost, for a transformation of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ thy only begotten; that it may bestow upon us who eat it, eternal life, and the everlasting kingdom to those who shall drink it; that thy blessing may come down upon this bread and wine, for the transformation of thy Holy Spirit." This just means, that by the authority of a Trinity of persons here worshipped, the elements are blessed or set apart to signify the body and blood of Christ, and they pray that the partakers may, by the Holy Ghost, have the thing signified, even spiritual blessings. Boethius on the consolation of philosophy, speaks of some who being "turned into malice, have also lost human nature. If it happen, therefore, that you see any one transformed by vices, you cannot reckon him a man." And Ratram, on the body and blood of our Lord, remarks, that Jesus Christ could change the manna, and the water from the rock into his flesh and blood, which certainly means to represent his body and blood. Yet this Ratram opposed Paschasius, the first publisher of the real change. In the liturgy, "the change of wine into blood" is mentioned, but this is only sacramentally, for it speaks also of changing "prayers into sacrifices," and of our bodies being "new sepulchres for thy body," meaning for that bread which represents his body. Christ is offered only by remembrance. The presence of virtue is meant, when they pray God "to come down into the

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present oblation, that it may afford healing to the living, and refreshment to those who are dead." The eucharist is a sacrifice, but only of praise and thanksgiving: thus in the seventy-eighth office, the words, " he offered up himself first to thee as a sacrifice, and first taught himself to be offered," point out the sacrifice on the cross, and the offering by way of remembrance. The expressions, " Let us receive that in the wine which flowed from thee on the cross," do not mean that Christ in heaven has the same blood he shed on the cross, and that Rome has that blood in keeping, but " let us have an interest in thy blood."

This liturgy was used among the Visigoths, and mentions no saint later than Leodegar, who died in 677. It continued in use till after the middle of the eleventh century, when Pope Gregory VII. found great difficulty in suppressing it.*

Such was the doctrine taught in the orthodox churches of France during this period, and the evidence detailed in the former part of this section, shews that the churches of Lombardy persevered in purity of doctrine, and were completely independent of the Papal See, nay, they judged the sentences of the Pope, and when occasion offered, they pronounced him an heretic. To use the language of Dr Mosheim on the seventh century, " the churches of Gaul and Spain attributed as much authority to the bishop of Rome, as they thought suitable to their own dignity, and consistent with their interests, nay, even in Italy, his supreme authority was obstinately rejected, since the bishop of Ravenna, and other prelates refused an implicit submission to his orders. Besides all this, multitude of private persons expressed publicly and without the least hesitation, their abhorrence of the vices, and particularly of the lordly ambition of the Roman pontiffs: and it is highly probable that the Valdenses or Vaudois had already in this century, retired into the valleys of Piedmont, that they might be more at liberty to oppose the tyranny of those imperious prelates."† Pilicdorf in his tract against the poor men of Lyons, reports as the common belief of the Walden-

* Allix, Alb. pp. 70—83.

† Mosheim, ib. part ii. chap. ii. § ii. where he calls John Leger, Antoine Leger, by mistake in his references.

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ses, "that three hundred years after Constantine, a certain one named Peter arose out of the region of Waldis, who taught the way of poverty, by whom the Waldensian sect was propagated."* Though Pilicdorf has by mistake placed Peter Waldo at this period, yet this shews his belief that the Christians of the valleys opposed the corruptions of the seventh century.

CHAPTER VIII.

Controversy regarding Images—The Pope becomes a Temporal Prince—Alcuin opposes the Worship of Creatures—Paulinus of Aquileia writes against the Adopteans and Papists—Paul of Aquileia defends Orthodoxy.

WHILE in the East, the contentious clergy often threw the state into confusion, they were in the West notorious for gluttony and tyranny. Such of the barbarians as were induced to profess Christianity, encouraged clerical ambition, because they had been accustomed in heathenism to consult their Druids in every important undertaking. The bishops of the West availed themselves of this circumstance to advance their power. Both kings and others gave lands and money to the church, under a notion that this would free them from mortifications in this world, and from punishment in the next. Cities, castles and provinces were given to churches, bishops and Monasteries; and the clergy became dukes, counts and marquises.†

In the church of St Sophia at Constantinople, hung a picture of the sixth general council which had condemned the Monothelites. The emperor Philippicus espoused their cause, and with the consent of John the patriarch, ordered the picture to be pulled down in 712. By imperial authority, a si-

* Bib. Pat. tom. iv. part ii. col. 815.
† Mosheim, cent. viii. part ii. chap. ii. § i—v.

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milar injunction was sent to Rome in regard to all images in churches. Pope Constantine resisted the edict, placed six pictures of the six general councils in the porch of St Peter's, and condemned the emperor as an apostate. Next year a revolution deprived the emperor of his throne.* In 716, the Northumbrian Christians who had long stood separate, were reduced like most of the English to the communion of Rome.† The emperor Leo the Isaurian, being fretted with the sarcasms of the Jews and Saracens, in 726 commanded all images, except that of Christ's crucifixion, to be removed from the churches, and strictly forbade them to be worshipped. The superstitious people in the Lesser Asia, in the islands of the Archipelago and in Italy, rebelled. In the last named place, the popes headed the insurrection, declared the emperor unworthy of the Christian name, and the rebels banished or massacred all the emperor's servants. In 730, Leo assembled a council at Constantinople, degraded Germanus, bishop of that place, for favouring images, ordered all images to be publicly burnt, and declared punishment by law against their worshippers. The Christian world was divided into Iconoduli or image worshippers, and Iconomachi or contenders against images. So violent were popes Gregory II. and III. in defence of images, that they tore the Italian provinces from the Grecian empire.‡

The barbarous nations called Christian, viewed the Pope as similar to the pagan arch-druid, and the popes encouraged this notion from the pretended authority of antiquity. Excommunication by the Roman bishop, always terrible since Constantine, now deprived men of the rights of citizens, and freed subjects from their allegiance to their sovereigns. In 751, Pepin thirsted for royal power, and asked Pope Zachary if a people might not set aside a weak prince, and elect a brave one in his room? The Pope needing the aid of Pepin against the Greeks and Lombards, returned such an answer as the usurper desired. Childeric the king was deprived of authority, and Pepin enthroned in his stead over the French. The Greek emperors still governed a part of Italy by their exarch at Ravenna. In these parts were many confusions after

* Mosh. chap. iii. § ix. † Bede in Milner, p. 107. ‡ Mosh. § x, ix.

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the edict of Leo III. against images, in 726. Constantine VI. who succeeded him in 741, was equally zealous in the same cause. The Lombards interfered under Aistulphus, and obtained in 752, the possession of the Greek provinces in Italy, because the emperor required all his energies to keep in obedience his subjects in the East. Thus the Exarchate, after continuing 183 years, was terminated. In 754, the emperor called a council of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops at Constantinople, who condemned not only the *worship*, but even the *use* of images. John Leger remarks, that at this period two leading grounds of separation from the Roman church did not exist, "the worship of images and transubstantiation." Both these, he observes, were "indignantly cast out, and even prevented by the declaration of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops at that time assembled at Constantinople. This is incontestably evident, both in regard to the matter of images and of transubstantiation at the same time, when they defined that there is one image, namely, the bread and wine in the eucharist, which represent the body and blood of Christ." The bread and wine are an image of the body and blood of Jesus, and cannot therefore be the reality. This must condemn the worship of the sacramental image, as well as of every other one.

The opposition of this council was not all that the Pope Stephen II. had to alarm him, for he was informed that Aistulphus, the Lombard, was meditating the siege of Rome, and the possession of all Italy. Stephen hastened to France, dissolved the oath of fidelity that Pepin had taken to Childeric in 751, and anointed the usurper anew, with his wife and two sons. He had been formerly anointed by the pope's legate, Boniface, though his predecessors had been proclaimed only by being lifted on a shield, A. D. 754. This same year Pepin crossed the Alps, and defeated Aistulphus, who was compelled to deliver to the See of Rome the Exarchate of Ravenna, Pentapolis with twenty-one cities, and many castles and territories, which he had seized in the dukedom of Rome. In the following year, A. D. 755, the Lombard again besieged Rome, was anew defeated,* and the domains were afresh given to

* Mosheim, part ii. chap. ii. § vi.—viii. Leger, part i. chap. xx. p. 134.

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Stephen and his successors. On the death of Aistulphus, Desiderius of Tuscany, by promises to Stephen, was made king of the Lombards, and delivered to the Pope the dutchy of Ferrara, and two other fortresses. Paul, who succeeded Stephen in 757, cultivated the friendship of Pepin, because the emperor still held some maritime parts of Italy, and the Lombards were powerful. In the East, Constantine punished the worshippers of images, and forbade prayers to the Virgin Mary. He and his predecessor Leo, had endeavoured from time to time to detach from the popes their possessions in Sicily, Calabria, Apulia and Illyricum, and to subject the bishops in these places to Constantinople. If these contentions did not raise the controversy regarding the procession of the Holy Ghost, they rendered the settlement more difficult. The Greeks asserted that the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father, and the Latins maintained that he proceeds from the Father and from the Son. The latter are charged with adding to the creed of Constantinople, the words, "and from the Son." But surely the Western Christians were at liberty to alter a mere human formulary, with a view to render it more Scriptural. The controversy was first regarding the doctrine, and then respecting the interpolation. In 767, a council met at Gantilly, near Paris, under Pepin, when the question was discussed in presence of the emperor's legates. Each party contended for its own views, and no accommodation was effected.* At this synod, images were condemned. Here the bishops of Aquitain assisted, and thus agreed to the Scriptural doctrine of the procession of the Spirit, and condemned images.† In 768, Charlemagne succeeded Pepin; and in 774, he overturned the kingdom of the Lombards, sent Dideric or Desiderius their king into exile in France, and proclaimed himself Lombard king.‡ That the Pope might sanction his design of becoming emperor of the West and se-

* Mosheim, § xii. and chap. iii. § xv. Milner, pp. 163, 164.

† Allix, Alb. p. 113.

‡ In the close of 1830, C. Troya of Naples, announced for publication, after much research, "A Political History of Italy, and of the Social Condition of the People under the Dominion of the Longobards." This has been till now the most obscure part of Italian history.—*Foreign Quarterly Review, for Jan.* 1831, *p.* 271, *Literary Notices.*

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cure an entrance for him into heaven, according to the superstitious notion of the time, Charlemagne proceeded to Rome, and presented Pope Adrian with several cities not contained in the grant of Pepin. By a kind of feudal tenure, but with few marks of dependance, the Pope got possessed of the dukedom of Rome, and the Exarchate of Ravenna. Adrian also wished to have possession of the city of Rome, which had been granted by Constantine, and other donations granted by other emperors and princes in the parts of Tuscany, Spoleto or Benevento, Corsica and Pavia. Though Adrian did not then bestow the title of emperor, yet he conferred on Charlemagne and his successors, the right of confirming the elected Pope, of inspecting the lives of the clergy, and of presiding in councils, and approving of their decisions. Charlemagne seems to have given up the places, reserving to himself the supreme dominion, and granting to the church a subordinate jurisdiction.* Though the Pope's power was considerably bounded, yet he was now become a temporal prince, whose earthly possessions were at first inconsiderable, but now extending to the dukedom of Rome, the Exarchate of Ravenna, and a great part of the kingdom of the Lombards. At this period, Daniel's prophecy † regarding the beast of the Roman empire of the West, divided into ten kingdoms, or with ten horns, and three of these plucked up by the Pope, or little horn, seems to have been fulfilled: "It was diverse from all the beasts that were before it, and it had ten horns. I considered the horns, and, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things."

In France the Gallican liturgy, very different from the Roman, was still much used, as was also the Gothic liturgy, which was even more distant from the Romish. With a view to bring the French churches under subjection, Adrian engaged Charlemagne to abolish these obnoxious formularies, but their suppression was not effected.‡ In 775, Constan-

* Mosheim, ib. § x.—xvi. † Dan. vii. 7, 8. ‡ Allix, Alb. p. 83.

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tine VI. was succeeded by the emperor Leo IV. who, like his father and grandfather, was zealous to destroy images, and enacted penal laws against their service. In 780, Irene the empress procured by poison the death of Leo, and held the reins of government during the minority of her son Constantine. To confirm her authority she entered into alliance with pope Adrian, and in 786 summoned the second council of Nice, which abrogated by her influence the imperial laws against idolatry, reversed the decrees of the council of Constantinople in 754, restored the worship of images and of the cross, and enforced a superstitious regard for relics. The pope's legates, and other bishops to the number of three hundred and fifty, were present, yet the decisions were not universally obeyed, except in the Pope's Italian dominions. Most of the Latins tried to steer a middle course of preserving but not worshipping the images. Charlemagne, by advice of the French bishops, employed a divine, asserted by many to be Alcuin his preceptor, an Englishman, to write four books on images.* Rufin,† an Englishman, writes, that "in the year of our Lord 792, Charles the king of France sent into England the acts of the second council of Nice, which he had received from Constantinople, in which many things are found which, alas, are contrary to the true faith, especially that it was proper to adore images,—a thing which the church of God holds in complete execration. And Alcuin has written an epistle against this book, admirably well proved by the Holy Scripture, in name of our bishops and of our primates, and sent it to the king of France, with the same book." Mosheim states that Charlemagne sent the book to Adrian in 790, and consequently either he or Rufin mistakes the date by two years. According to the life of Alcuin, he was in England in 789, and took a journey to France in 792. His book was approved of by the bishops of Italy, Aquitain and Provence. "England," says Dr Allix,‡ "condemned the decrees of the second Nicene council, and

* Mosheim, part ii. chap. iii. § xii.—xiv.

† In Leger, part. i. chap. xx. who mentions also Symon Dunelm, Roger Howden, as relating the same thing. Mosheim gives this also as the sentiment of Heuman and Bunau.

‡ Alb. p. 84.

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censured them by the pen of the famous Alcuin. His writings were subscribed by all the bishops of England, and sent to Charlemagne."

The following excerpts from Alcuin's book against images will speak the sentiments of the approvers in England, Italy, Aquitain and Provence. "They are content with the prophetical, evangelical, and apostolical writings. Faith is principally to be exercised on the Hebrew truth. It is no small error to serve any thing with religious worship besides him who saith, 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.'" On the worship of saints and angels we find, "Forasmuch as we see that John in the Revelation is restrained from worshipping him (the angel); and that Peter the pastor of the church forbade the worship of the centurion; and that the chosen vessel, together with Barnabas, with a strong opposition rejected the adoration of the Lycaonians; we are without doubt to conclude from these examples, that adoration, which only belongs to God, who alone is to be worshipped and alone to be served, is not to be rendered to any creature whatsoever, except by way of salutation to express our humility. The gospel rule enjoins the adoration of God alone. Neither men nor angels are in the least to be adored, save only by that adoration which is given to express our charity as a salutation." The treatise speaks of the saints in heaven interceding for the good of the saints on earth; and this is proceeding rather rashly, but divine worship is denied them. No other sacraments are mentioned except baptism and the eucharist. So far is the author from believing the infallibility of the Pope or council, that he denies it to be a universal one, though approved by the Pope.

The fathers of the second council of Nice said, there is as much warrant for the images as for the elements in the Lord's Supper; thus, "As the body of our Saviour passeth from the fruits of the earth into an excellent mystery; so images formed by the industry of artificers, pass to the veneration of those persons, according to whose likeness they have been wrought." This doctrine is condemned by the treatise in words which show that the writer knew nothing of transubstantiation; namely, "That the eucharist is made by the hand of the priest, and by calling on the name of God,

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both people and priest joining their prayers in the consecration of it; whereas images stand in no need of consecration, but are made at the discretion of the painter. Moses rejected the custom of worshipping images. The Psalmist has declared, that they that make them, are 'like unto them.' The sacrament is of divine institution; whereas the insolent use of images is not only without Scripture, but also directly contrary to the writings of the Old and New Testament. Our Saviour never instituted the memory of his sufferings, to be kept up by the works of artificers and worldly arts, but by the consecration of his body and blood. He was not willing that the faith and confession of him should be expressed by pictures, but by the mouth and the heart."

The sacrament is rather too much exalted, as if men could not be saved without it; but there is not a word of its being adored. The author remarks, that the anathemas of the second council of Nice, against such as do not worship images, "strike at the saints of old, of whom we never read that they adored them;—at the martyrs, who from the baptismal font, passed immediately to the kingdom of heaven, without any adoration of images;—against little infants, who cannot worship." After shewing that no artificer can make an image of Jesus Christ, we read, "Jesus Christ did not offer up to God the Father for us in sacrifice, any image or prototype, but himself." Here is the doctrine of Christ's substitution of himself in our room and stead. The Lord's Supper is mentioned as the body and *truth*, compared with the *image* and prototype of the shadows of the law. In other respects, the elements are sacred signs which are not to be confounded with the things signified. In opposition to legal shadows, Alcuin subjoins, "Now Jesus Christ, the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth, is come, he hath now accomplished the law. Christ has bestowed on us not sacrifices of beasts, but the sacrament of his body and of his blood, and has not said, this is the image of my body and of my blood; but 'this is my body which is given for you,' and 'this is my blood which is shed for many for the remission of sins.'" This treatise speaks of the bread as Christ's body, only by a *sacrament* or *mystery*, which are synonymous, because what is called "the mystery of the body and the blood,"

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is denominated " the sacrament of his body and blood." Even the Greeks did not adore the eucharist, but gave it simple veneration, which they bestowed on the cross, the altar and the gospel.*

At this period flourished PAULINUS a native of Friuli in Lombardy. He was a great favourite with Charlemagne, and in the first part of his life, preached the gospel to the pagans of Carinthia and Styria, and to the Avares, a nation of Huns. In 776, at the age of fifty, he was ordained bishop of Aquileia, where he laboured twenty-eight years till his death.† In 791, Paulinus presided at the council of Friuli, which defended against the Greeks the procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son; vindicated the proper Sonship of Christ against Felix and Elipandus, who said that Christ as man is God's adopted Son; but as this error was more fully exposed in the more general council of Franckfort in 794, we shall defer a full account of it till that year. At Friuli, acts were made against the simony, incontinence and drunkennes of the clergy.‡

The circulation of the treatise of Alcuin against the worship of images, produced a considerable impression against the second council of Nice, the empress, and the Pope. One effect was the convocation of a synod at Eliberis, now Granate, in Spain, where it was concluded " that there should not be images in the church at all," as appears in the acts of council. Pope Adrian who was afraid of acknowledging even Charlemagne himself as his superior, composed an answer to the four books of the work against images. Yet neither the Pope's authority, nor his argument, was able to support the cause he wished to maintain, for not only England and Spain, but also Germany and France, felt great aversion to image worship. Consequently the churches of the Valleys of the Alps, which then and afterwards formed one body with the pure churches of Dauphiny and through Lombardy, were not at all defiled by the service of images. Of this we have an illustrious proof in the synod of Frankfort on the Maine, con-

* Allix, Alb. pp. 84—91. † Jones' Hist. of the Church, vol. i. p. 454.
‡ Pictet, Indice Des Conciles, Allix Pied. p. 49.

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vened by Charlemagne in 794.* At this general synod, the bishops of Lombardy, Aquitain and Provence were present.† There were three hundred bishops in all, who re-examined the doctrine contained in Charlemagne's four books, solemnly confirmed it, and unanimously condemned the worship of images.‡ "The false synod of the Greeks, for the adoration of images, falsely reckoned and called the seventh, was condemned by all the bishops," as Winfrid reports. This is also testified by Strabo the monk of Egolism, by Ado of Vienne, Reginus Prunienses, the seven books of Charlemagne, and in a book against Hincmar of Laudun, by Hincmar Archbishop of Rheims. This Hincmar having stated this condemnation "from the Holy Scriptures, and the traditions of the ancients," adds, "composed in a large volume which I myself have read in the palace of the emperor, containing the reasons of that destruction and rejection, which was by him sent to Rome by some bishops deputed for that purpose."§

Another question also occupied the attention of the synod of Frankfort. Elipand, archbishop of Toledo, had asked Felix, bishop of Urgella, "In what sense is Christ the Son of God?" Felix had answered, that in his divine nature, he is *truly* and *essentially* the Son of God; but as man, he is the Son of God only nominally, and by *adoption*. Elipand agreed, and propagated this doctrine in Spain, while Felix spread it in Septimanca. Adrian and the greater part of the Latin doctors, viewed this doctrine as Nestorianism, by representing Christ as divided into two persons. Its abettors were called Adoptians. Felix had been successively condemned in the councils of Narbonne in 788, of Ratisbon in 792, and was also declared erroneous in that of Frankfort in 794. He was afterwards worsted in the council of Rome in 799, and ultimately by a nominal, rather than a real change, retracted his doctrine at the synod of Aix-la-Chapelle.‖

The bishops of Lombardy were present at Frankfort, and aided in condemning images. Adrian himself acknowledges that the church of Milan did not then consecrate images.¶

* Leger part i. chap. xx. p. 134. Mosh. § xiv. † Allix, Alb. pp. 84. 92, 93.
‡ Mosheim, ib. § Leger, ib. ‖ Mosheim, chap. v. § iii.
¶ Allix, Pied. p. 38.

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They were sound on the Sonship, and while the council was sitting, Charlemagne ordered Paulinus, bishop of Aquileia to write against Felix and Elipand.*

In the book against Felix and Elipand, Paulinus states, that the council was convened by the king, not by the Pope; that it consisted of a multitude of presidents, *antistites*, presbyters and deacons only; that Charlemagne addressed the synod against Elipand; that the church cannot be overrun by heresies, which he understands as meant by the gates of hell; and that the true church does not mean those under the Pope, but the church universal. He does not rest the authority of the synod on the confirmation of the Pope, for Felix and Elipand, he writes, are to be excommunicated "after the judgment of a full synod." The Pope was not consulted till after the sentence of excommunication was passed, and Paulinus by direction of Charlemagne, informs the Pope of the fact, whom he too highly compliments as "the high priest our lord and father Adrian, the most blessed Pope of the first seat."† In a long essay, he proves that Christ is not the Son of God by adoption. The Father is he who begat one co-eternal with himself—a Son without time and all beginning; and another, who is Son, is begotten, because the Son is he who is begotten without beginning by the Father, not putatively, but really. The Son may be believed another, because the Son is begotten without beginning by the Father, not putatively but really. And the Holy Ghost may be believed to be another, because the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son. And the Father is not one thing, and the Son another thing, and the Holy Spirit another thing, but they are inseparably *one thing*, not *unus* but *unum*, because there is one person of the Father, another of the Son, another of the Holy Spirit; but the unutterable mystery of the divinity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is one and equal, consubstantial and co-eternal, because God is one. For we confess a union in essence, but declare a Trinity in the distinction of persons.‡ Christ is "true God and true man, and in each is the proper, not the adopted Son of God, but eternally from

* Jones Hist. of the Church, vol. i. p. 454.

† Bib. Patrum, tom. iv. part i. pp. 315, 316, 319, 322. ‡ Bib. Pat. p. 319.

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the Father, temporally born of his virgin mother, consubstantial in his own" nature " with God the Father and Holy Spirit, and also consubstantial with us in our nature."* Towards the close, he speaks of the intercession of the Virgin, and of Peter, and of all the saints, on the supposition that the saints after death plead for the welfare of the living, but never hints that we are to pray to the saints, though he urges the bishops to pray under the encouragement that glorified saints intercede, and charges them by the suffrages of the council, to defend Charlemagne.† Felix was again condemned in the councils of Rome and Aix-la-Chapelle in 799.‡

Paulinus wrote another treatise against Felix. " We nowhere find any one to assert that Christ is an adopted Son, or God merely in name. We have examined the synods of the West. But in every place through all the synods and books of the holy doctors, we always read one proper Son of God, and that he is declared the one true God in two natures: one Christ, not two Christs: not two Gods, one true, another only by name: nor two Sons, one proper, another adopted: but always one proper Son of God the Father, and the same true God.§—The catholic faith holds that in Christ there are two proper and perfect natures, the divine nature which has proceeded con-substantially from, *ex*, God the Father before all times: and the human nature, in which in the fulness of times, he himself, the same Son of God assumed flesh, and became real man. The Word is united with the flesh in an ineffable manner, so that the Word itself, of which the blessed evangelist John asserts, 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God,' we declare made flesh, 'and the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us,' that is, with us: although that Word was not changed into flesh, and that flesh may be called God, although it has not been changed into the nature of the Deity. Jesus Christ is the one Son of God, the one Lord God. On account of this unity, the Son of Man is said to have descended from heaven, and the Lord of glory is said to have been cru-

* Bib. Pat. ib. p. 322.
Mosh. Pictet, Indice Des Conciles.

† Ib. pp. 322, 323.

§ Bib. Pat. tom. iv. part. ii. p. 3.

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cified.*" On the greater dignity of a proper than of an adopted Son, he writes, "What was able to proceed from God, except the true God? For the Spirit is God, and the whole catholic church sings, believes and declares the words in the creed: 'We believe also in Jesus Christ the only begotten Son of God, sprung from the Father before all ages: Light of Light, true God of the true God, sprung, not made, consubstantial with the Father, by whom all things were made: who on account of us men, and on account of our salvation, descended from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, and became man: but was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, suffered and buried and rose again the third day, and ascended to heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father, and is to come again with glory to judge the quick and the dead, of whose kingdom there will be no end.' Look with the eyes of your heart, and understand the consequence of this most solid creed. Why is it that you divide him into *two sons*, one sprung from the Holy Spirit, and the Virgin Mary, whom you assert adoptive; the other of God the Father, whom you call true? Christ, according to the catholic faith, and by the publication of the Scriptures, has two nativities, the one of the Father without time; the other, of his mother, without the conjunction of a man, and that he has the proper nature of these two nativities, one and the same God: one and the same man, one and the same Son Jesus Christ."

On the second chapter of Philippians, he writes, "Christ so received the form of a servant, that he should not lose the form of God in which he was equal with the Father. We neither follow the Nestorian division, which on account of the two natures, wished to insert two persons in Christ; nor the confusion of Eutychus, which on account of one person, willed that there be one nature in Christ.† Your untaught temerity divides him into *two sons*, the one proper, the other adoptive; but if Christ is the proper and adoptive Son of God the Father, he is on that account one and another. In like manner, if in divinity he is the true God, and in humanity God by name, he is one and another, and so thinking ye are by no

* Bib. Pat. p. 5. † Ib. p. 6.

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means able to avoid for yourselves, the impiety of the Nestorian doctrine: because whom he divides into two persons on account of two natures, him ye divide into two Sons and into two Gods, by the name of *adoption* and *declaration*.* Therefore the Son of God became the Son of man, according to the reality of nature, sprung from, *ex*, God, the Son of God, as according to the reality of nature from, *ex*, man, the Son of man. Not two Christs nor two Sons, but God and man one Son. Whom therefore we also call only begotten, remaining in two substances, as the reality of the creature contributed not by the natures being confused or intermixed, as the Timotheans wished, but the creature united in association. Therefore God assumed man,—man passed over to God, not by a versatility of nature, but by the reputation of God, that neither might God be changed into the human substance by assuming man, nor man into the divine, although honoured with God.†"

Paulinus comments on a variety of Scriptures in proof of the proper divinity of Jesus Christ.‡ On the ninth chapter of Isaiah he states, "This child who is born is also the Prince of Peace, the Father of the future age, and the Mighty God. What room is there for shifting? This child who is born cannot be separated from God who is born in him, for whom he has declared born he has called the Father of the future age, he has declared the Mighty God. Of whom the prophet speaks in the foregoing discourse, 'Behold a virgin shall conceive and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel,' which the evangelist Matthew says, 'being interpreted is God with us.§'—We are old men in the sins of Adam; but converted into new men by the grace of baptism through Jesus Christ. We are adopted and predestinated to be sons of adoption. Which predestination you assert that Christ has equally with us, not attending to the testimony of the apostle, that Christ is predestinated in one way, and we in another. He asserts that he was 'predestinated to be the Son of God with power;' in what power except that of divinity? But that we are predestinated

* Bib. Pat. p. 7. † Ib. p. 8. ‡ Ib. p. 11. 12. Luke ii. 11. John xx. 28. § P. 18. Isaiah ix. 6, 7. and see p. 19. Tit. ii. 13.

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through him to the adoption of sons. We have predestination through him, not he through us.* The mystery, *sacramentum*, of his birth, or also of unity in God and man, is greater than the condition of all creatures.†—The Son of God in two substances, namely of God and man, as he was formerly the proper Son of God, losing nothing which he was, although he assumed what he was not, making no division in the property of his person, nor a commixture in the conjunction of natures.‡ Thou confessest the Lord our Saviour Christ; but thou deniest him to be God.‖ Christ was delivered up, by God the Father, on account of the salvation of the human race; by the traitor, that he might gratify his avarice; by himself, that he might fulfil the effect of his Father's will; by the Jews, that they might show the wickedness of their own perfidy.§ The Son of God is eternally sprung, *aeternaliter natus est*, from the Father.¶ God himself was made man, and of two substances is one person, God and man.** I wonder you are not afraid to introduce a new nuncupatory name in Christ, since the heretics who have gone before thee, using this very thing, have been cut off from the church.†† Nor can God be called a part of his person; otherwise the Son of God was not entirely God before he took on the form of a servant and grew."‡‡ Paulinus states that Christ's prayers in his bloody sweat are to "show the reality of the humanity assumed, and that he might show the approach of the Father accessible to our deprecations.‖‖ Adore him therefore with us, the King of the heavens, the Lord of all, the real Son of God the Father, the true God our Saviour, to whom be eternal honour, everlasting power, *virtus*, perpetual praise for ever and ever, Amen."§§

These expressions demonstrate the soundness of the views of Paulinus regarding the Trinity, the person of Christ, and the Atonement for our salvation. Dr Allix*** gives several more extracts from the same essay, which express the sentiments of the bishop of Aquileia on various other points.

* Bib. Pat. p. 22. † Ib. p. 26. ‡ Ib. p. 30. ‖ Ib. p. 43.
§ Ib. p. 50. ¶ Ib. p. 59. ** Ib. p. 63. †† Ib. p. 64.
‡‡ Ib. p. 71. ‖‖ Ib. p. 73. §§ Ib. p. 76.

*** Allix Pied. p. 47—52. He uses an edition of Paulinus different from the one out of which I translated the above pieces.

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Paulinus is far from believing the real change and the carnal presence, for he describes the Eucharist as "a morsel and bit of bread," and maintains "that it is either death or life in the mouth of him that eats it, according as he possesses or does not possess faith.*—For this reason he (Christ) is called the Mediator, because he is the middle person between both the disagreeing parties, and reconciles both into one.—Lastly, Paul is not a mediator, but a faithful ambassador of the Mediator. "We are ambassadors for Christ, be ye reconciled to God." An advocate is one "who intercedes for those that are already reconciled, as our same Redeemer doth."† He therefore rejects saints as mediators. The substitution of Christ in our stead, he clearly teaches and rejects every other Redeemer, "For our Almighty Lord, the Son of Almighty God, because he has redeemed us by the price of his blood, is justly called the true Redeemer by the confessions of all the redeemed. He, I say, is not redeemed, because he was never captive; but we are redeemed, because we were captives, sold under sin, that is, bound in that hand-writing of the decree, which he took out of the way, blotting it out with his blood, which the blood of none other Redeemer was able to do. He fixed it to 'his cross, openly triumphing over it in himself.'"‡ In the same page he restricts the sacrifice of Christ's priesthood to his incarnation, and what he did on the cross, with no mention of the sacrifice of the mass, thundering anathemas against all human satisfactions, because the blood of the redeemed is incapable to blot out the smallest sin, which power belongs to Christ alone.§ He holds the same view with Protestants regarding the perspicuity of Scripture, because he reproaches Fœlix with wresting the Scripture to his own destruction.‖ Paulinus founds the church, not on Peter, but on Jesus. "And although he (Peter) were the first in order of the apostles, yet he was long silent, because the Lord condescended to inquire, not what they, for whom Peter alone was to answer, but what men, thought of the Son of Man."¶ He teaches that only Christ, and consequently not the Virgin, was con-

* Tom. vii. Concil. p. 1766, in Allix Pied. † Ib. p. 1790. ‡ Ib. p. 1792.
§ Ib. p. 1792. ‖ Ib. pp. 1795, 1796. ¶ Ib. pp. 1800, 1801.

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ceived and born without sin. "Because he alone, and in a singular manner was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin, came forth God and man from the womb without sin."* Our author states, that the human nature of Christ can be only in one place at the same moment. Consequently, when it is in heaven, it cannot be really in the eucharist on earth. "For the one nature, that is, the human, was only on the earth; the other nature, that is, the divine, was every where, both in heaven and earth. Therefore, because there were two things, namely, something divine and something human; the one was able to be in heaven and everywhere, and the other only on earth. Whole everywhere, because he is the one and omnipotent God. The human nature did not come down from heaven, neither was there, till having been taken up to God, it ascended corporeally into heaven."†

In celebrating the eucharist, he asserts that believers feed on the divine nature of Christ, which must be only metaphorical, and cannot be oral manducation of his real body. "Or for what reason, if he is an adopted Son, does he not have eternal life who does not eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and does not drink his blood? 'Whoso eateth my flesh,' says he, 'and drinketh my blood has eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.' The power of raising up at the last day belongs to none but to the true God. For flesh and blood can be referred to the human nature by which he is the Son of Man, not to the divine nature. And yet if that Son of Man, to whom this flesh and blood belongs, because one and the same individual is the Son of God and the Son of Man, if he were not the true God, his flesh and blood could in no way afford eternal life to them that eat and drink them. Whence also the Evangelist John saith, 'And the blood of his Son cleanseth us from all sin.' Or whose flesh and blood give life to those that eat and drink them, except those of the Son of Man, whom the Father has sealed, who is the true and omnipotent Son of God? For both the living bread descended from heaven for us, who gives life to the world; and

* Ib. p. 1808. † Ib. p. 1833.

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'he who eateth of it shall never die:' for he himself saith, 'I am the living bread that came down from heaven.' Because thus the bread of life came down from heaven, which always remained in heaven, even as the Son of Man descended from heaven, who because he was one and the same Son of God, never left heaven."*

Dr Allix† justly remarks, than an attentive observer will perceive that Paulinus denies what the church of Rome affirms, and asserts what the church of Rome rejects, in regard to the eucharist, the intercession of Christ, and eating his flesh and drinking his blood. He survived till 804.

With Paulinus, notice may be taken of PAUL, a native of Lombardy, a deacon of the same church of Aquileia, and in favour with Charlemagne, who removed him from that place after he had taken captive the last of the Lombard kings. We have already noticed Paul's life of Pope Gregory.

By the orders of Charlemagne, Paul made a collection of homilies from the works of Origen, Ambrose and Chrysostom; of Jerome, Augustine and Leo; of Maximus, Gregory and Bede. This collection, the monarch caused to be published in Narbonne, Aquitain, and all his other dominions. Consequently in Lombardy. This compilation for a considerable time retarded the introduction of a variety of novelties and superstitions. These Fathers combated a multitude of corruptions on their first appearance, but which through the endeavours of the popes, afterwards prevailed. The leading doctrines of the Romish church are not taught in these homilies, and even those gathered from Leo, Feriæ 2, 3, 4, which treat of the eucharist, make no mention of the real change.‡ Though Paul might believe some of the superstitious reports respecting false miracles, he seems on the whole to have been a good man. If such men as Paul and Paulinus held intercourse with the Pope, they had a view to his amendment. This is the view of Jonas of Orleans, in the following century, who anathematized the worshippers of images, though he went far in corruption.§ In this century private masses for those detained in purgatory, consecration of bells, and

* Ib. p. 1836. † Pied. p. 52. ‡ Allix, Pied. pp. 56, 57. Allix, Alb. p. 92. § Allix, Pied. pp. 47.

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many external fopperies brought gain to the clergy. Charlemagne attempted to stop some of these, but his undue regard for the Pope, from political motives, crippled his exertions. He tried to bring other churches to the music of the church of Rome. The churches of Milan, under Paulinus, as well as Corbetta, persevered in their original modes of worship.* But the churches of the Valleys, at this period, were more pure than most of the churches in the vicinity, with all their laudable zeal against images, for even Voltaire in his additions to General History, informs us, that Alcuin himself, in one of his epistles, written about 790, complains that the doctrine of auricular confession, was not then received in the churches of Languedoc and the Alps.†

Thus far purity of doctrine has been maintained by the churches of Lombardy, to which the Valleys of the Cottian Alps belonged; and the lamp of the gospel continued to burn even when the darkness around became exceedingly dense. These Valleys were like Goshen, and might well bear for their coat-of-arms, a torch and seven stars, with the motto, "*Light shines in darkness*," from which circumstance, doubtless, the principal Valley, Lucerna, received its name.‡ In the Valleys and other parts of Lombardy, the people of God held communion with such parts of the professed Christian church as did not consent to the general corruption. But when they could not hold intercourse with the Romish church, without joining in the image-worship, heresy, idolatry, and spiritual adultery of the Babylonish Harlot, the churches of the Valleys openly divorced her, and finally separated from her communion. This was materially done with regard to the subjects of the Roman Pontiff in the close of the eighth century.

At this period the churches of the Valleys, and other parts of Lombardy, opposed the endeavours of the Pope and his adherents to oblige them to adore images, the cross, relics, and departed saints, and to compel them to proceed to Rome for pardons. Their opposition to Antichrist was strikingly displayed at the council of Frankfort, of which Paulinus of Aquileia was so distinguished a member, and which council

* Mosheim, part ii. chap. iv. † Gilly, p. 81. ‡ Leger, part i. chap. xxi. p. 137.

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failed to persuade Pope Adrian, and the church of Rome to renounce image-worship and superstition. John Forbes, a Cone, theological priest and professor in the academy of Aberdeen in Scotland, in his Historico-Theological Instructions,* says, the Waldenses "are powerfully opposed to the adoration of images from the time people wished to introduce them into the church," that is to say, from the eighth century.

Though transubstantiation and the mass, as at this day established, were not then introduced, the churches of the Valleys and other parts of Lombardy were openly detached from the Romish church. The Valleys never received the Romish abuses, and never needed reformation from these abominations. They were as determined against the rising superstition, as Luther and Calvin were opposed to it when matured.† The histories of France, Italy, Piemont, and the inquisitors of the Valleys agree, that the churches of the Valleys were independent of the Roman, in the end of the eighth century. Some of them assert, that since these times, "they have always continued to oppose themselves to the Romish church, and to resist her orders." Others state that "they have done this from time immemorial."‡

CHAPTER IX.

CLAUDE in France and Turin writes in defence of Scriptural religion--His treatise at large against the Worship of Images and the Sign of the Cross—He views the Pope as Antichrist—Bishops of Milan and Lyons, and others decry the Pope—Turin, Milan and Aquileia resolutely denounce, and are still independent of the Pontiff.

CHARLEMAGNE having subdued all France, Italy, and Germany, with the greater part of Hungary, and a portion of Spain, was by Pope Leo III. in 800, declared emperor of the

* B. vii. chap. xiv. in Leger, part i. chap ii. p. 14. † Leger, chap. xx. p. 132, and xxi. p. 141. ‡ Ibid.

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West. In 804 died Alcuin and Paulinus,* but when the Lord calls off his servants he raises others, for at this time he qualified CLAUDE to be an eminent witness for truth in France and Italy. He was a native of Spain, and a disciple of Felix of Urgel, but did not adopt his views of the Sonship. He was a counsellor of Charlemagne, and an opposer of images, pilgrimages, relics, the supremacy of the Pope, and the pre-eminence of the church of Rome.† In 813, Charlemagne convened five councils, namely, those of Mentz, Rheims, Tours, Cabillon or Chalon, and Arles in Narbonne.‡ At the synod last mentioned, there were twenty-six canons, and the archbishop of Narbonne with his suffragans, assisted. The decisions of this court shew that the churches of Aquitain and Narbonne still adhered to the Scriptures in matters of faith and worship. The Fathers began their proceedings with a profession of their faith in the articles of the Athanasian creed, which they ordained to be preached to the people of their charge, without any notice of those peculiar articles which the church of Rome at present imposes.§ The emperor Charlemagne, who was a philosopher, a soldier, a politician, and a man of integrity, died in 814, and was succeeded by Louis the Meek. There is reason to believe that at this era the churches of Lombardy, like those in other situations, were on the wane in regard to heavenly affections, because Angelbert, bishop of Milan, wrote to Louis,—"To our great sorrow we have found that there is hardly any remainder of holiness or sincerity in the churche, and corruptions are crept into her." But the Lord had prepared Claude to stem the torrent of irreligion. For several years he had lived a chaplain at the court of Louis, and his favour with him and with his imperial father, as well as his writings, are a sufficient vindication of Claude from any suspicion of the Nestorianism of Felix.‖

In 815, Claude wrote three books on Genesis, and the same year published a commentary on Matthew. Several

* Milner, v. iii. pp. 193. 195. Eccl. Hist. of France, cent. ix.

† Leger, chap. xx. p. 132. chap. xxi. pp. 140, 141. Allix, Pied. p. 56. Illyricus, b. ix. in Leger, ib. p. 138.

‡ Eccl. Hist. of France, ib. § Allix, Alb. chap. ix. pp. 91. 92.

‖ Allix, Pied. p. 58.

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manuscripts of this latter work are in existence. Some of them are in England. Dr Allix copies from one in possession of a M. Theyer. On the paragraph containing the institution of the Lord's Supper, Claude writes, "The solemnities of the ancient Passover, which were used in commemoration of the ancient deliverance of the people of God from Egypt, having been finished; he proceeded to the new Passover which he wished the church to celebrate in remembrance of her redemption; namely, that instead of the flesh and blood of the lamb, he might substitute the sacrament of his body and blood, and might show that he is the very individual to whom 'the Lord hath sworn and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec.' He himself breaks the bread which he holds out to the disciples, to show that the breaking of his body will not take place without his own choice and administration; but as he says in another place, he has 'power to lay down' his life, and has 'power to take it again.' Which bread he also blessed before he broke, for the sake of a certain sacrament. Because he was to suffer, he assumed human nature, which he himself, together with the Father and Holy Spirit, filled with the grace of a divine virtue. He blessed and broke the bread, because he designed that the humanity assumed thus undergo death, and that he might demonstrate that a power of divine immortality is really in it. And therefore he taught that he is to be quickly raised from the dead.—He gave thanks who undertook the stripes of the iniquity of others. He who exhibited nothing worthy of stripes, blessed when humbled under stripes. Hence he shows what every one ought to do when under the lash of his own fault. To show what he may do who is subjected to reproof, if placed under stripes, he who is equal to the Father gave thanks. 'For this is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for many,* for the remission of sins.' Because the bread strengthens the body, and the wine produces blood in the flesh; the former is mystically referred to the body of Christ, the latter to his blood."

Claude then explains the unwarranted custom of mixing

* Claude's phrase is *pro multis*, which Dr Allix incorrectly renders "for all."

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water among the wine, as meaning our union with Christ, and proceeds, "The expression, 'This is my blood of the New Testament,' has respect to the distinction of the old, which was dedicated with the blood of goats and calves; the lawgiver while he sprinkled exclaimed, 'This is the blood of the Testament which God has commanded you. It was therefore necessary that the patterns of things in the heavens should be purified with these; but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these,' according to what the apostle through the whole epistle to the Hebrews declares by a most beautiful exposition and full reasoning, distinguishing between the law and the gospel." On the words, "I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, till that day when I shall drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom," Claude thinks there is an allusion to the synagogue or house of prayer, as God's vine or vineyard in Isaiah, which produced many virtuous men to delight God, though there were many strange vines. "But the Lord having suffered in the flesh, and risen from the dead, it was time that that legal and figurative observance should cease, and those things which were conducted according to the letter, having been changed into a spiritual sense, should be better held under the New Testament by the assistance of the grace of the Holy Spirit. As if he openly said, 'I shall no longer take delight in the carnal ceremonies of the synagogue, among which also these sacred observances of the Paschal lamb held a principal place: for the time of my resurrection shall approach, when I myself being placed in the kingdom of God, that is being exalted in the glory of immortal life, I shall with you be filled with a new joy, for the salvation of the same people regenerated from the fountain of spiritual grace.'—'When I shall drink it new with you,'—he wishes to be understood that this is old, when he calls that new; because he had therefore taken a body from the offspring of Adam, who is called the old man, which in his suffering, he was to deliver to death; whence also by the sacrament of wine he commends his blood, what other new wine ought we to understand, except the immortality of our renewed bodies? Because when he says, 'I will drink with you,' he also promises to them the resurrection of their bodies to put on immor-

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tality. For 'with you' is not to be received as declared in regard to the same time, but in regard to the same renovation. For the apostle also declares that we are 'risen with Christ,' that by the hope of a future inheritance, he may produce even present joy: and because he declares of 'this fruit of the vine,' that it is also 'new,' he thus signifies that the same bodies shall rise according to the heavenly renovation, which bodies are now to die according to oldness. If you shall understand the Jews themselves to be this vine, from the oldness of which he now drinks the cup of suffering, it is also signified that that nation is to approach to the body of Christ by a newness of life; 'when the fulness of the Gentiles is come in, all Israel shall be saved.' 'And when they had sung an hymn, they went out into the mount of Olives.' This is what we read in the Psalm, 'The meek shall eat and be satisfied: they shall praise the Lord that seek him.'" Jonas of Orleans, after Claude's death, in a preface to Charles the Bald, charges him with Arianism, but he is vindicated by the above avowal of Christ, his Father and Holy Spirit, and by his describing the Son, "who is equal to the Father." Neither is there in the above large extract, any doctrine like transubstantiation, but the opposite view; for he says that the bread when blessed "is a certain sacrament;" that the bread is "mystically referred to Christ's body," and the wine to "his blood;" and that the bread and wine are the sign or sacrament of his "body and blood."*

In 816, Claude published a commentary on the Galatians, dedicated to the Abbot Dructeramnus,† in which he ten times asserts the equality of all the apostles with Peter. He maintains that the supremacy of Peter consists only in his founding the church among Jews and Gentiles; that Jesus Christ is the only head of the church; that the doctrine of merit is unfounded; that traditions in religion are to be anathematized; that faith alone saves; that the church is liable to error; that prayers to the dead are useless, and that the superstition and idolatry of the Roman See are to be deprecated.‡ This is his only commentary that has been printed at large.

* Allix, Pied. pp. 59, 62—64. † Allix, ib. p. 59. ‡ Bib. Pat. Paris, tom. i. pp. 789, 800—814, 829, 842, 844. in Allix, ib. pp. 60, 61.

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About the same time he dedicated his exposition of the Ephesians to Louis the Meek, who with Dructeramnus,, had advised Claude to write on all the epistles, which work he accomplished, and the manuscript of which is possessed by the monks of St Germains, in two volumes, which were found in the library of the abbey of Fleury, near Orleans. *

Louis wishing to prevent the pope's introduction of image worship in the important station of Turin, appointed the eminent Claude bishop of that place, in 817. Jonas of Orleans cannot deny this to be the reason of the emperor's selection. Without defending the abstract right of magistrates to appoint church officers, all must perceive that seldom has any individual been better qualified for his situation. Father le Cointe conjectures with great probability, that this promotion occurred in 817. At some future period the title of archbishop was conferred on the bishop of Turin, † in which diocese the Valleys are situated; and it is not likely the Christians of these parts would refuse communion with Claude, since he so vigorously opposed the worship of images and other abominations of Rome. In a book against Claude in 820, Jonas states, "that this bishop has been most careful to preserve his whole diocese in his sentiments." This is confirmed by many, and especially by Bellarmine, ‡ who asserts, "that the identical belief which was publicly taught and professed in those Valleys of Piedmont in the year 820, was the very same which is at this day professed and owned by the Reformed churches." In 821, Claude published his exposition of Exodus in four books, addressed to Theodemir, to whom he likewise dedicated what he wrote on Leviticus in 823, of which the monks of St Germains possess the manuscript, which formerly belonged to St Remy at Rheims. § Of this work on Leviticus, the following are some of the expressions as extracted by Mabillon.

"Because you have commanded me to write, I have undertaken it, not for your instruction, but for your satisfaction. But it is your duty the more to judge it with truth,

* Allix, ib. p. 60. † Allix, Pied. p. 60.

‡ Leger, part i. p. 174. This shows Dr Mosheim rather incorrect in dating Claude's advancement to Turin so late as 823. § Allix, ib.

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and by examples to stimulate yourself to the practice of true charity, which is the most excellent of all virtues. And I assure myself, that I can more easily attain the possession of that virtue by means of your prayers, than by any strength of my own.—The beauty of eternal truth grows not old by length of time, she minds not places, she suffers not herself to be overtaken by night, she does not conceal herself in shadows, nor expose herself to our bodily senses. She is near to all in every part of the world who turn to her, who love her in reality. To all she is eternal. She is everywhere. She publishes abroad, she instructs within, she changes and converts those that behold her. She suffers not herself to be violated by any one. None can judge her, none can judge well without her. In this idea of my faith, I separate all change and alteration from eternity, and in this eternity I discover no space of time, for the spaces of time are composed of future and past motions of things. Now, there is nothing past or future in eternity; for that which passes ceases to be, and that which is to come has not yet begun to exist. Eternity is always present; nor has it ever existed in such a manner as not to be still present; nor ever shall exist except in such a way as to continue present.—We are not commanded to go to the creature that we may be happy, but to the Creator who alone can constitute our bliss." After illustrating the happiness of man in a good God, he quotes the following from Augustine's Treatise on the True Religion.

" Wherefore we owe no religious worship to those who are departed this life, because they have lived religiously. We must not look on them as persons who require our adorations and homage.—We must honour them, because they deserve to be imitated; but we must not worship them with an act of religion. If they have lived wickedly, we owe them no respect at all in whatever part of the world they are. That which is honoured by the highest angel, must be honoured by the lowest of men.—An angel takes not his wisdom from any other quarter than man does. The truth of an angel, and that of man, are both derived from the same fountain, that is, from the same Eternal Truth and Wisdom. For by a pure effect of that Eternal Wisdom, it happens that the power of God, and that unchangeable wisdom, consubstantial and co-

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eternal with the Father, in order to accomplish the adorable mystery of our salvation, has vouchsafed to take on him our human nature, that he might teach us that we owe our adorations to him who alone deserves to be worshipped by all intelligent and rational creatures. We ought likewise to believe that those good angels who are the most excellent ministers of God wish us, along with them, to worship the only one God, by the alone vision of whom they are happy. For we are not happy in beholding the angels, neither can that vision ever make us blessed; but we shall be happy in beholding the Truth, by means of which we love and congratulate the angels. Wherefore we honour them with our charitable respects; but not like slaves. We build no temples to them, neither do they wish in any such a manner to be honoured by us, because they know that whilst we are good, we are the temples of the living God." Claude then proceeds:—

"These are the highest and strongest mysteries of our faith, and characters most deeply imprinted in our hearts. In standing up for the confirmation and defence of which truth, I am become so great a reproach to my neighbours, that when they see us, they not only scoff, but point at us, one to another. But God, the Father of mercies, and Author of all consolations, has comforted us in all our afflictions, that we in like manner might be able to comfort those that are pressed with sorrow and affliction. We rely on the protection of Him who has armed and fortified us with the armour of righteousness and of faith, which is the tried shield of our eternal salvation."

In this last paragraph, he alludes probably to the complaints made against him at the court of Louis the Meek, and to his former writings against the adoration of images, saints, and relics.* But Claude did not satisfy himself with merely speaking and writing in opposition to the worship of images, for in this same year, 823, he ordered all images, and even that of the cross to be cast out of the churches, and committed to the flames.†

Oudin states, that he saw in a library at Hainault, a com-

* Allix, Pied. pp. 69—72. † Mosheim, cent. ix. part ii. chap. iii. § xvii.

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mentary of Claude on the book of Ruth, but does not mention its date.*

The synod of Paris, in 822 or 824, defended Claude. It was convened on occasion of Michael Balbus, emperor of Constantinople, consulting Louis the Meek and his son and colleague, Lothaire, on the subject of images.† We are to recollect that Pope Adrian wrote in defence of the second council of Nice, and endeavoured to answer the book of Charlemagne, which was confirmed by the council of Frankfort. The divines at Paris declare that Adrian in his reply, used "testimonies which are superstitious, and not at all to the purpose, answering what he thought fit, and not what was agreeable." They drew up a new collection of arguments against superstitious worship, with a view to recal Pope Pascal and his party from doating on images.‡ In the book of the Imperial Decrees, page 750, "on the worship of images," there is an admirable letter of Louis and his son Lothaire to the Pope, sent by an Italian, Jeremiah, bishop of Siene, and Jonas, bishop of Orleans. In the name of the emperors and of the Parisian assembly, the council of Frankfort is defended, and the two bishops are enjoined to oppose the Pope and his clergy, "by patiently and modestly disputing with him respecting that matter." This shews that when the ninth century was pretty well advanced, the Roman Pontiff was by no means the infallible judge of controversies.

In 824, Pope Pascal died, and the indefatigable Claude wrote to Theodemir Dungulus, a treatise, which Jonas of Orleans says Claude himself called "An apolegetic prescript," and in which he not only defended his own conduct in expelling images and crosses from the churches, but opposed many prejudices of the multitude. In opposition to the Greeks, he denied all worship to the cross, treated relics with contempt, and censured pilgrimages.§ The treatise by itself is lost, but Theodemir in his answer, gives a copy of it, and is thus the means of preserving it in spite of the inquisitors. The epistle of Claude, Leger mentions as in his possession, with the answer of Dungulus; and Peter Masson, on the

* Allix, ib. p. 60. † Leger, part i. chap. xx. p. 135.
‡ Allix, Alb. p. 93. § Mosheim, ib.

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epistle says, he had another book of Claude, like a psalm book, against the church of Rome.* The epistle shews the doctrines of Claude, of his clergy, and of the Valleys which are situated in the diocese of Turin, and is so valuable on this account, that I shall present it entire.

"By a certain rustic bearer, I have received your letter, full of babbling and folly, with the articles added under the heads, in which heads you declare that you are troubled because a report is spread out of Italy concerning me, through all France, even to the confines of Spain, that I have preached a certain new sect contrary to the rule of the Catholic faith, which report is most entirely false. Neither is it a wonder if the members of Satan, who called our Lord himself both a deceiver and one that had a devil, have spoken these things of me. I, who hold unity, and proclaim the truth, teach no new sect. But I have repressed, opposed, fought and destroyed, and with the assistance of God, I do not cease to the utmost of my power entirely to destroy sects and schisms, superstitions and heresies. But this thing, therefore, happened, because after being pressed, I undertook the burden of the pastoral office, being sent by the pious Prince Louis, son of the holy church of the Lord, and I came to the Italian city Turin. Against the order of the truth, I found all the churches full of the defilements of accursed things and images, and because all men worshipped them, I began alone to destroy them. All opened their mouth to speak against me, and unless the Lord had helped me, they had probably swallowed me up alive. For since it is expressly said, 'Thou shalt not make to thyself the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the waters under the earth,' the saying is not to be understood only of the resemblance of strange gods, but also of celestial creatures, or which the human understanding was able to conceive in honour of the Creator. To adore, is to praise, to venerate, to beg, and to pray; to supplicate, to invocate, and to pour out prayer. But to worship is to govern, to observe, and to perform duty; to frequent, to venerate, to love and to choose.

"These people against whom we have undertaken to de-

* Leger, part i. chap. xxi. p. 140.

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fend the church of God, declare, 'We do not think there is any thing divine in the image which we adore, but only for the honour of him whose effigy it is, do we adore it with so great veneration.' To which we answer, that if the images of the saints who have relinquished the worship of devils, are venerated, they have not left idols, but have changed the names. For if you write or paint on the wall the images of Peter and Paul, of Jupiter, Saturn or Mercury, neither are the latter gods, nor the former apostles, neither the latter nor former are men, nor are they changed by this name. The error, however, both then and now, remains the very same.

"Surely if men had been to be worshipped, they ought to be adored alive, rather than dead, that is, when they have the similitude of God, not when they have the similitude of beasts, or what is more true of that of stones or logs of wood, a similitude wanting life, feeling and reason; from which consideration, we may surely be persuaded; for if the works of God's hands are not to be adored and worshipped, how much less are the works of human hands to be adored and worshipped, and less in honour of those whose similitudes they are said to be, because if the image which thou adorest is not God, it is by no means to be venerated in honour of saints, who do not at all arrogate to themselves divine honours. And therefore it is especially to be considered, that not only he who worships visible figments and images, but also who worships any creature whether celestial or terrestrial, whether spiritual or corporeal, instead of the name of God, and from these expects the salvation of his soul, which is from God alone; he belongs to the number of whom the Apostle says, 'They worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator.'

"Wherefore dost thou humble and bow thyself to false images? Why dost thou bend thy slavish body before vain images and earthly figments? God has made thee erect, and when other animals are prone and tend to the earth, thou hast a sublime state, and thy countenance is raised up to heaven and to God. Thither look, thither raise thine eyes. Seek God in things above, that thou mayest be able to want things below. To high celestial things raise thy heart aloft, who bringest thyself down to the lapse of death with the senseless image which thou worshippest. Why by it, and

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with it, dost thou fall into the ruin of the devil? Preserve the sublimity in which thou art born, continue such as thou art made by the Lord.

" But these cultivators of false religion and superstition allege, ' We worship, venerate, and adore the cross painted in remembrance of our Saviour, and devised for his honour;' who are pleased with nothing else in our Saviour but that which was pleasing to the ungodly, the reproach of his passion, and the derision of his death. Concerning him they believe what impious men also admit, whether Jews or pagans, who do not believe his resurrection, and have not known to consider any thing of him, except in their heart they believe and retain that he suffered and died, and is continually swallowed up in death, and do not observe nor understand what the Apostle announces, ' Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more.'

" Against whom we answer, that if, because Christ hung on the cross, they wish to adore every log of wood made in the form of a cross, they must worship many other things which Christ acted on by the flesh. For he hung on the cross hardly six hours, and yet he was nine lunar months, and upwards of eleven days in the womb of the Virgin, which, at the same time, are two hundred and seventy-six solar days. Therefore let virgin girls be adored because a virgin brought forth Christ. Let mangers be adored, because as soon as he was born he was laid in a manger. Let old rags be adored, because as soon as he was born he was continually wrapped in swaddling clothes. Let ships be adored, because he frequently sailed in ships; from a small ship he taught the multitudes; he slept in a ship; and from a ship commanded the winds, and gave orders to cast the net on the right side of the ship, when that great predicted capture of fishes was made. Let asses be adored, because sitting on an ass coalt, he proceeded even to Jerusalem. Let lambs be adored, because it is written of him, ' Behold the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world.' But these cultivators of perverse doctrines wish to eat living lambs, and to adore them painted on the wall. Let lions be adored, because it is written of him, ' The lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, hath prevailed.' Let rocks be adored, because when he was taken

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down from the cross, he was laid in a rocky sepulchre, and the Apostle says of him, 'that rock was Christ.' But the rock Christ, the lamb and the lion, are used figuratively, not properly; by signification, not by substance. Let the thorns of brambles be adored, because from that material, a thorny crown was placed on his head at the time of his passion. Let reeds be adored, because by the soldiers his head was struck from blows of reeds. Lastly, Let lances also be adored, because when on the cross, one of the soldiers with a lance opened his side, whence flowed blood and water, the sacrament from which the church is formed.

"All these things are ridiculous, and to be lamented rather than to be written. But in opposition to fools, we are obliged to propose foolish things, and against stoney hearts, to cast, not arrows and sentences of the word, but volleys of stones. Return again to your heart, ye prevaricators, who have departed from the truth, who love vanity and are become vain, who crucify the Son of God afresh and expose him to shame, and by this you hold in troops the souls of the miserable, having been made the companions of devils. By estranging them from their Creator, through the wicked sacrileges of images, ye hold them cast and precipitated into eternal damnation. For God commands one thing, these people do another. God commands to bear, not to worship the cross. These people wish to adore it, but are not willing to bear it either corporeally or spiritually. For in this manner to worship God, is to depart from him; for he hath said, 'If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and let him take up his cross and follow me.' Because, indeed, unless any one depart from himself, he does not approach to him who is over him: neither is he able to apprehend what is beyond himself, if he does not know to sacrifice what he is.

"And in regard to what you say, that I 'hinder men to go to Rome for the sake of penance,' thou speakest falsehood. For I neither approve nor disapprove of that journey, because I know that neither is it against all, nor is it good for all: neither does it profit all, nor does it hurt all. I wish first to ask thyself, if thou knowest that to go to Rome is to perform penance, why hast thou for so long a time destroyed so many souls, whom thou hast detained in the monastery, and hast re-

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ceived into the monastery for the sake of penance, and hast not sent them to Rome, but hast rather made them serve thyself. For thou sayest thou hast a company of a hundred and forty monks, who have all come to thee for the sake of penitence, and have given up themselves to the monastery, not one of whom thou hast permitted to go to Rome. If these things are as thou declarest, that to perform penitence is to proceed to Rome, what wilt thou do concerning that sentence which the Lord utters,—'Whoso shall offend one of these little ones who believe in me, it were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the midst of the sea, than that he should offend one of these little ones who believe in me.' No offence is greater than to hinder a man to go that way by which he may be able to reach eternal joys.

"For we know that the evangelical words of the Lord and Saviour are not understood, where he says to the blessed apostle Peter, 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my church;' and 'I give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' On account of these words of the Lord now declared, they wish the stupid race of men who have lost all spiritual understanding to go to Rome, in order to acquire eternal life, and after a few things this race understands it of the heavens. He who in this manner, as is above said, understands the keys of the kingdom, does not locally require the intercession of the blessed Peter, because if we exactly consider the propriety of the words of the Lord, it was not said to him, 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind in heaven shall be bound on earth, and whatsoever thou shalt loose in heaven shall be loosed on earth.' And by this it is announced that that ministry is so long granted to the superintendants of the church, as they travel in this mortal body, but when they have paid the debt of death,* others shall succeed in their place, who obtain the same judiciary power, as it is written, 'Instead of the fathers shall be thy children, whom thou mayest make princes in all the earth.'"

* Acland, p. xxix. renders this "the debt of nature," though his author Dr Allix renders it literally as I have done, "the debt of death." Death is not the debt of nature, but of sin.

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" Return ye blind to the true light which enlightens every man that cometh into this world: which 'light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not.' Ye who do not look at that light are in darkness, and walk in darkness, and know not whither ye go, because blindness hath blinded your eyes. Hear this also ye unwise among the people, and ye fools be wise in time, who in going to Rome seek the intercession of the apostle. Hear what the most blessed Augustine, often mentioned, says against you, for in the eighth book on the Trinity, he declares among other matters, 'Return therefore with me, and let us consider why we love the apostle, whether is it on account of the human figure which we have very well known, because we believe him to have been man? No, surely: else there is not now one whom we may love, seeing that that man does not now exist; for his soul is separated from the body, but that which we love in him we also now believe to live.' When God promises, every faithful one ought to believe; how much more when he sweareth what he indeed saith,—'Though Noah, Daniel and Job were in it,' that is, if there were any of as great sanctity as these were, 'they shall deliver neither son nor daughter.' He declares these things with this design, that no one may confide in the merit or intercession of the saints, because unless he hold the same faith, justice and truth, which they held, by which they pleased God, he shall not be able to be saved.

" The fifth objection against me, and which thou sayest displeases thee, is, that the apostolic Lord has honoured me with this charge. This thou hast said of Paschal the bishop of the church of Rome, who is now dead. But he is called apostolic as the apostle's keeper, or discharging the duty of the apostle. Certainly he is not to be called apostolic, who sits in the chair of the apostle, but he who fulfils the apostolic duty. For concerning those who hold that place and do not fulfil the duty, the Lord hath said, 'The Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses seat: all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works, for they say and do not.'"*

* Bib. Pat. vol. iv. part ii. pp. 147—152.

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In 828, Theodemir Dungulus replied to Claude. He advocates images as useful to commemorate events, to instruct the vulgar, and to honour the saints. He quotes various scripture instances in which creatures are honoured with civil respect, but owns that is not the worship which is due to God.* In support of the sign of the cross, he refers to several scripture passages,† and pleads from Isaac bearing the wood, from the brazen serpent, and from Rahab exhibiting the sign of the red thread.‡ In defence of seeking the intercession of the saints, he argues from God being the God of the "living" who "follow the lamb whithersoever he goeth," and alludes to the intercession of Moses for Israel, of Stephen for his enemies, and of Paul for his mariners.§ He quotes the songs of Paulinus in honour of the martyr Felix and of Clarus, where, among much that is not objectionable, there is some unguarded language. He refers to Vincent, to Gregory of Tours, and to many others who write in honour of the saints, but these writers do not say they are to be worshipped. "To omit other things," says Dungulus, "how or in what manner can a bishop have power who abhors the Lord's cross; abuses, violates, and destroys ecclesiastical duties, namely, baptism, chrism, imposition of hands, benediction or any kind of consecrations, or the celebration of mass without the inscription of that salutary sign of the cross, without which sign none of these sacred things can be rightly and purely performed.—How, I say, can he be truly reckoned among the worshippers of Christ, while he refutes and detests those things which the Catholic church exercises? In litanies and other offices of the church he will mention or name no one of the saints, or celebrate their anniversary feasts, but passes over all these things, despising them as a vain observation and a useless custom. Lest he appear to ask any thing of God by the intercession of them to whom he prefers himself, he compares their relics to the bones of cattle, to dry logs, and to stones. He prohibits lighting lamps and wax candles in the church by day, and turning the eyes in prayer to the

* Bib. Pat. pp. 155—168. † Ezek. ix. 4. Matth. xxiv. 29. John xix. 37. Eph. iii. 14. Rev. vii. 2, 13. xiv. 9. which last he thinks fulfilled in Claude. ‡ Bib. Pat. ib. pp. 169—174. § Ib. p. 176.

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earth, as if God were not everywhere, and as if this did not seem to be a mark of humility and of devout prayer." Dungulus frequently refers to the publican refusing to cast his eyes to heaven.*

In the third book of his chronicles, Genebrard calls the doctrines of Claude and his followers, in rejecting the traditions of Rome, Calvinistic,—speaks of "the Calvinists following the opinion of Claude of Turin," and denominates the Waldenses Calvinists. If Claude does not write against the mass, the reason is, because it was not then invented, or was not become an article of faith, as Robanus a celebrated Roman Catholic doctor demonstrates in his works on the Institution of the Clergy,† and on the Universe.‡ At that time, therefore, the people were by no means compelled to consecrate feasts to a host, to adore or to kneel before it.§ The carnal presence was only partially introduced, but Paschasius brought it broadly forward twenty years after Claude died. The celebration of masses, indulgences, auricular confession, and communion under one kind, were then unknown.‖

As Turin was at this time independent of the Pope, so was Milan, as Ughellus owns in his life of Angilbert. Ughellus states, that "Angilbert Pustrella, in 827, succeeded his predecessor of the same name. This is that Angilbert whom the felicity of so much dignity corrupted, after having at first used moderation for some time, he had prudently governed the church of Milan; for having been supported by the privileges and favours of Charlemagne, and being dear to the emperor, Louis the Meek, and Lothaire his son, he revolted from the Roman church in such a manner, that by incredible pride, he was not ashamed to contend with the Roman pontiff regarding power and dignity. The very bad example had such an influence on his successors, that for these two hundred years, this contumacy led astray and infected them."¶ Louis the emperor appointed his eldest son, Lothaire, to govern Italy, Pepin to Aquitain, and Louis to Bavaria, all with the title of kings. These revolting against the emperor, he, in 829, by the authority of the clergy assembled at

* Bib. Pat. pp. 184—198. † B. i. chap. 31. in Leger p. 140.
‡ B. v. chap. 11. in Leger ib. § Leger ib. ‖ Acland, p. xxxi.
¶ In Allix, Pied. p. 112.

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Lyons, retired to a monastery, and Lothaire was emperor till 840, when Louis died.* Though during this period Agilbert defended the right of the church against the invasion of the Pope, to which some ignorant prelates of the West submitted, yet we find him eight years after his election sitting in the council of Mantua along with the legates of the Pope, who never preferred any complaint against the bishop of Milan, which they would have done had not his right been incontrovertible.† Christianus Lupus, in some notes on the council of Pavia, held in the middle of the eleventh century, owns that in the middle of the ninth, the diocese of Milan did not acknowledge the laws of the popes in their councils, but avowed independence of their regulations.‡

Hitherto all Christians had believed that the body and blood of Christ are received by such as exercise faith in the Lord's Supper. But in 831 or 835, Pascasius Radbert, a monk, and afterward abbot of Corbey, in his treatise "On the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ," taught regarding the manner of Christ's presence, that after consecration, the bread and wine retain only the outward figure, under which is present the same body that was born of the Virgin—that suffered on the cross, and that was raised from the dead.§ This was the first avowal of transubstantiation.

AGOBARD, a native of Spain, lived long in Aquitain, and was appointed assistant and successor to Leidradus, archbishop of Lyons. He was deposed for fomenting the rebellion of the sons of Louis the Meek, but afterwards restored. He was contemporary with Claude of Turin, and his works express the general sentiments of the bishops of France and Germany. He was "a man full of divine knowledge and of great holiness." He wrote against image-worship, the invocation of saints, sacrilege, simony and antichrist. In matters of difficulty, the bishops of Narbonne carefully consulted him.‖ In his epistle to the emperor, Agobard maintains the canons of the Gallican church, which some despised, because unautho-

* Eccl. Hist. of France, cent. ix. † Allix, Pied. p. 113.
‡ Ib. pp. 117, 118. § Mosheim, chap. iii. § xix.
‖ Allix, Alb. p. 93. Leger, part i. chap. xx. pp. 135. The celebrated lawyer Papirius Masson, edited his Works at Paris, with a Preface in 1605.

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rised by the Pope. In disputing against Felix of Urgel, he does not apply the first promise to the blessed Virgin, and does not read, "she shall bruise thy head," but "he shall bruise thy head." In the same place he states, that such as from humility confess themselves sinners, and yet think themselves without sin, are pure Pelagians as John teaches, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us; but if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins." Regarding John, Agobard adds, "If like you he had been inclined not to have mean but high thoughts of himself, he had something of which to glory, because he lay in the bosom of the Lord, and was beloved of him above the rest of his disciples. The Apostle James also asserts, 'In many things we offend all;' which if any one shall imagine not to be spoken in truth, but by way of humility, let him know that in that matter he follows Pelagius." Against those who reckon Papal interpreters equal to the apostles, he writes, that "the blessed father Augustin, in his book against Faustus, the Manichee speaks not only of those who have been blamed by learned men, but also of those who have been approved of after this manner. 'Which sort of writings, that is to say, expositions, are not to be read with a necessity of belief, but with a liberty of judgment; for those books only that are of divine authority are to be read, not with a liberty of judgment, but with a necessity of belief, which form the Apostle himself delivered, saying, Quench not the Spirit; despise not prophecyings; prove all things, hold fast that which is good; abstain from every appearance of evil.'" These things are inconsistent with an infallible interpreter in the Fathers, the Pope or his councils. On the sacraments in the beginning of the tenth chapter of first Corinthians, he states the difference between the believers under the Old and New Testaments. "The great sacraments of salvation which are wrought by the Mediator for *us* and for *them*, save us as being already past, but them as yet to come, because we believe and hold what is past, they believed and held what was to come. They held them only in their minds as figures of future things; but we in an open profession, vows and declaration of things past under the signification of sensible sacraments, as the two men who carried one cluster of grapes on a staff,

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performed indifferently the same work, only the one man had it behind his back, and the other before his face."* There is nothing here like the doctrine of the real presence.

Though the Papists make Agobard a saint, yet his work against pictures and images is prohibited to be read, and is inserted in the Index Expurgatorius. At this we do not wonder, for he declares that we are to adore no image of God except that which is God, even his eternal Son; that it is folly and sacrilege to worship images, or to call them holy as the second council of Nice has done; that the use of images is idolatry, though men do not ascribe divinity to them; that it is paganism to use images any other way than as a memorial, and that images are of as little use to Christians, as the picture of a mower to the man who cuts the grass, or of a soldier to the hero.† After quoting the first and second commandments, he gives the words of Augustine, who teaches that "in this commandment every representation of God is prohibited which men might pretend to form."—"This precept speaks not only of the images of false gods, but also of all the celestial and terrestrial creatures which the human mind could be able to discover, even in honour of the Creator: 'The Lord spoke to you out of the midst of the fire, ye heard the voice of words, but ye saw no similitude.'‡—If Hezekiah, a godly and religious king, broke the brazen serpent, made by God's express command, because the mistaken multitude began to worship it as an idol, for which his piety was very much commended; much more religiously ought the images of the saints, with their own approbation, to be broken and ground to powder, which were never set up by God's authority, but are absolutely human inventions."§—"If therefore it is not duty to adore the works of God's hands, not even in honour of God, how much less shall it be duty to adore, to serve and to honour the works of the hands of men, under pretence that it will honour those whose images they are said to be." ‖

In the treatise "On the Invocation of Saints," the first chapter is inscribed, "That no Mediator is to be sought be-

* Allix, ib. p. 94. † Allix, ib. pp. 95, 96.
‡ In Leger, part i. chap. xx. p. 135. § In Allix, p. 96. ‖ In Leger, p. 136.

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tween God and man, except him who is God and man." The second chapter is to demonstrate, "That no creature worshipping God, wishes to be worshipped instead of him."* In regard to dedicating churches to saints or angels, he considers the authors worthy of excommunication. "If any of us should erect a temple of wood or stone to any saint, though the most excellent, we deserve on that account to be anathematized from the truth of Christ, and from the church of God, because by such an action, we should give that worship to the creature, which is due only to the Creator. Having related how the faithful buried the bones of Polycarp in one place where they intended to meet to encourage one another by his example, he declares all further honour or worship to be unlawful, and adds in conclusion, "We ought not to sacrifice except to God, we ought not to invoke any but God."

He writes "against the Sacrilege and Simony of the churches of Rome," and "against Antichrist and the Merit of Works." In these Agobard appeared like a Calvin. In this century many new rites were introduced. Saints were canonized, images adorned and tapers lighted at noon day. There was a multiplication of processions, splendid dresses for the priests, and masses for the dead. The feast of All-Saints was added by Gregory IV. and that of St Michael introduced from the East. By the influence of the barbarians, the Latins observed more heathenish customs than the Greeks, such as the trial by cold water, by duel, and by fiery ordeal. These were defended by such men as John Scott, Angelome, Remigius of Auxerre, Walafrid, Strabo and Amalarius. Such of the errors as appeared before Agobard's death, were by him refuted, and the arguments of the defenders were proved to be weak, childish or forged. He is said to have died in 840, aged sixty-one; and the seed sown by him in Lyons, the second city in France for population, and the first for commerce, was preserved, and yielded some fruit in the tenth and eleventh centuries in Provence and Languedoc, till it was further cherished in the twelfth by the Waldenses and Peter Waldo, from whose disciples, pastors were provided for all corners of Europe.†

* In Leger, p. 136. † Allix, pp. 96, 97. Leger, ib. Mosh. chap. iv.

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CHRISTIAN DRUTHMAR, a native of Aquitain, and monk of Corbie in Picardy, did not hesitate to oppose his abbot, Paschasius Radbert, on the real presence, as appears from his commentary on Matthew. On Christ instituting the Supper, the monk teaches,—" He took bread which strengthens the heart of man, and which of all things is most efficacious to support the human body. In it he places the sacrament of his love. But much more does that of spiritual bread fully strengthen and comfort all sorts of creatures.—He broke the bread himself, because he voluntarily offered himself to suffer. That he might fill and satisfy us, he cheerfully broke the mansion of his soul, as himself asserted, 'I have power to lay down my life, and have power to take it again.'—He gave to his disciples the sacrament of his body for the remission of sins, and the preservation of charity, that they in remembrance of this his act, might always perform in figure what he was now about to do for them, and might not forget that declaration, 'this is my body,' that is, in the sacrament.—As amongst all sorts of food, bread and wine are found the most effectual to strengthen and refresh our weak bodies, he with good reason judged proper by these two to ratify and confirm the ministry of his sacrament; for wine not only exhilarates, but also increases blood, and therefore is the blood of Christ with great propriety thereby typified.—God has commanded us, having spiritually changed his body into bread, and the wine into blood, to remember by these two what he has done for us with his body and blood, and not to be ungrateful for his most endearing love and charity.—When he says, 'This is my blood of the New Testament,' the words are added in contradistinction to that of the Old Testament, which by the blood of goats could not purge away sin from those who were still in bondage to sin.—From the hour of his supping with his disciples, he would drink no more wine till he was become immortal and incorruptible after his resurrection. Since he was pleased not to administer the sacrament of his body and blood to his disciples till they had supped, and since we are not commanded to receive it fasting; the Lord's design may be to shew that the figurative testament was enjoined only till the true was come, and that he had now terminated the Old Testament, and insti-

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tuted a New one. He therefore celebrated the Old before the New.*

Thus Claude of Turin, Angilbert of Milan, Agobard of Lyons, and Druthmar of Corbie, all taught evangelical doctrine. Claude departed this life in 839,† and Agobard in 840. In this latter year, Louis the Meek died in the monastery, and his son, Charles the Bald, having obtained the ascendency over his brothers, became king of France. Charles allowed Louis the title of king of Italy; and on the death of the latter, was crowned emperor by the Pope.‡ In 840, the priest and monk Bertram, "learned and famous for piety," wrote against the new doctrine on the Lord's Supper. In a catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, Tritheimius assures us, that "this Bertram was the most excellent doctor of all Italy, and that he has not found his equal in all Germany." He taught the same views as the Reformers.§ About 843, Jonas, bishop of Orleans, published an outrageous writing against Claude, and gives an unfaithful representation of Claude's arguments, "which I wish," says Illyricus, "to present to the prudent reader, because by the small extracts he is not able to judge of the great utility of the excellent work." Claude's work, however, is given us by Theodemir, and a translation of it is above inserted. "God has been pleased," says Illyricus, "that we possess this and other writings entire of this excellent bishop, that we might see many other errors of Rome much more amply refuted and condemned."‖

Jonas attempts to shew that the Romanists are the true church, and that Claude supported a sect; that images are to be used, not for worship, but to help memory; that Latreia is to be distinguished from other words in worship; that the

* The papists are sadly vexed with this passage from the Lyons manuscript. Sextus Senensis asserts, that in another copy, after the sentence, "This is my body," that is, in the "sacrament," the words "truly subsisting," are written. Though that other copy has never been produced, yet the editor of the Cologne edition of the Bibliotheca Patrum has placed it on the margin. But the edition of Druthmar, published by Wimfeling in 1514, with the arms of the Pope, and privilege of the emperor, contains the passage as above written. The assertion of Cardinal Perron, that the Protestants have corrupted the place, is without foundation. Allix, Alb pp. 97—100.

† Allix, Pied. pp. 78, 79. ‡ Eccl. Hist. of France. § Leger, ib. p. 141.
‖ Catalogus Testium, Lib. ix. in Leger, part i. p. 140.

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bodies and bones of martyrs are to be honoured, and that it is most presumptuous in Claude to compare the worship of an ass with adoring the holy cross. From the preface of Jonas, we learn, that he wrote four years after Claude's death, and thus displays his wisdom, for Claude would have instantly extinguished the whole treatise. Jonas in his preface proceeds, "I am creditably informed, not only that the error on which we treat begins to revive in the minds of his disciples, but rather that the Arian heresy begins to spring up, on which he is said to have collected certain monuments of books, and by a clandestine subtlety, to have left them in Amarium of his bishopric, to oppose the simplicity and purity of the Catholic and Apostolic faith.—The error which he followed was, that of the two heretics, Eustathius and Vigilantius. But not content with these two plagues, he shewed himself to have been in life and death a follower and disciple of Arius—namely in life, by teaching and preaching; in death, by leaving the same error written by him in his wicked books. Because the sect of the same Arius having been condemned by the holy Fathers, having been stabbed by the catholic sword under a perpetual anathema, which sect is said to be revived by the same Claude, it is necessary that with the reviver it be by ecclesiastical men again struck and frustrated with the weapons of the holy Scriptures." The editor of Jonas, De La Bigne, observes on the margin regarding the excerpt from Claude, "that there is nothing in it which proves Claude an Arian."* The passages already given from Claude, shew him sound on the Trinity, and on the divine and human natures in Christ.

In the year 844, a treaty between the Earl of Barcelona and Charles the Bald, was in the Abbey a St Saturninus, subscribed with ink mixed with the wine in the eucharist, which the monks would not have allowed, had they believed transubstantiation.† In 845, Pascasius Radbert published a new and enlarged edition of his essay on "the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ." He was opposed by Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mentz, by Heribald and others. John Scotus Erigena, or John Scott of Irish birth, wrote accurately,

* Biblio. Pat. vol. iv. part i. pp. 537—576. † Allix, Alb. p. 101.

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clearly, and philosophically, to prove the bread and wine to be signs and symbols of the body and blood of Christ. This treatise has been lost. Bertram wrote on the same side, yet he is not quite consistent.* The councils of Mentz in 848, under Rabanus, and of Quiercy in 849, under Hincmar, condemn GODESCHALCUS for teaching the Scriptural doctrine of predestination. The sufferer was a Saxon and monk of Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons. By Hincmar he was deposed, severely whipped, and imprisoned twenty years till his death. John Scott and Amalarius opposed him, but he was supported by Bertram, by Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, by Loup, abbot of Ferrieres, by Remi of Lyons, and by Florus a deacon. In 853 he was condemned anew at Quiercy. But in 855, the council of Valence in Dauphiny, consisting of the clergy of Lyons, Vienne, and Arles, under Remi, Godeschalchus was vindicated. The council of Langres, consisting of the same clergy, in 859, confirmed the decrees of Valence. This also happened at Tousi in 860, where the bishops of fourteen provinces were assembled. Godeschalchus was represented by his adversaries as teaching that God, in predestinating men to destruction, propels men to sin by an irresistible necessity; whereas his doctrine was, that God resolved to save the elect only; that Christ died only for the elect, and that he doomed to misery such as he foresaw would go on in sin. We have no information whether he affirmed that the elect believe by free-will, or whether God grants them special and saving grace. The former is the view of Arminians, the latter is the doctrine of Calvinists and Apostles. Personal animosities between him and Rabanus Maurus are said to have laid the foundation of his imprisonment. Hincmar wished to lay aside the ancient hymn, "O Triune and one Deity, we beseech thee,"—but Bertram shewed it did not lead to Tritheism. About this time Pascasius Radbert asserted that Christ was born without opening the womb of the Virgin, and charged Bertram, who opposed him, with denying her virginity. Godeschalcus survived in prison till 868.†

* An English version of Bertram's book "On the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ in the Sacrament," was published at Dublin in 1753. See next reference.

† Mosheim, ib. chap. iii. § xix.—xxvi.

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GUNTER, archbishop of Cologne, and THEUSGAND, archbishop of Treves, boldly contradicted the innovations and authority of the Pope. Understanding in 863 that Nicolas I. was forming a scheme to excommunicate them, they thus address him: "Both we and all our associate brethren, despising thy sentence as impiety, do not wish to hold communion with thee. We are satisfied with the communion of the whole church, of the brotherly society, which thou dost arrogantly contemn, and of which by thy pride thou holdest thyself unworthy, excommunicating thyself by thy own sentence; since he who does not keep the precepts of the holy apostles ought to be an anathema as thou art, who violatest the divine laws, and despisest the sacred canons. Know thou that we are not thy friends, nor are we thy clergy, as thou boastest."

All the bishops of the north of Italy were at this time independent of the Pope. This has been already shown in regard to those of Turin and Milan. The same independence appears in 866, in regard to Aquileia, the archbishop of which sent a legate to Photius patriarch of Constantinople, who in a council excommunicated pope Nicolas, who in support of the ex-patriarch Ignatius, had four years ago anathematized Photius. This is not all, for the bishops of Italy addressed to Photius and all the eastern patriarchs, an excellent epistle, probably carried by the legate from Aquileia against the Pope. "From the parts of Italy we have received synodical epistles, containing innumerable evils and faults, concerning which the inhabitants of Italy complain against their own bishop. Among other evils they complain of that tyranny which he wishes to usurp over them, and with floods of tears they call us to the defence of their churches." So far was all Italy from submitting to the Pope, that in the ninth century synods were held in opposition to him.* The writers of the epistle do not approve of the corruptions of the east, but they abhor papal usurpations. Photius wrote a reply to the archbishop of Aquileia, under an impression of his being of his own sentiments, and supporting his cause against the Pope.† Photius contended with Nicolas

* Leger, ib. chap. xx. pp. 136, 137. † Allix, Pied. p. 79.

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regarding the dominion over the newly converted province of Bulgaria, and charged the church of Rome with fasting on Sabbath, using milk and cheese on the first week of Lent, prohibiting the marriage of priests, giving only bishops the power of anointing baptized persons, and adding to the creed of Constantinople the words "and from the Son." In 867, Photius was answered by Hincmar of Rheims, Odo of Beauvais, Æneas of Paris, Ado of Vienne and Bertram. This year Basil the new emperor of the east recalled Ignatius, and so far pleased the new pope Adrian, but Bulgaria was still a bone of contention.*

In order to destroy the power of synods and metropolitans, the female pope John VIII, seconded by the emperor Charles the Bald, endeavoured to subject the bishops of France and Germany to Ansegisus, archbishop of Sens, as their primate; and as the pope's vicar to execute his decrees, and to inform him of the most important affairs of the French and German churches, to be decided at Rome. In 876, the bishops of Aquitain and Narbonne in the council of Pontyn, opposed these measures. This was the last considerable effort to preserve their ancient discipline. The popes knowing that the kings in Italy needed their assistance, they, by artful management gradually became absolute masters, and future synods were an empty name.† In 878, Ignatius died, Photius was restored to the patriarchate, and the Greek emperor promised to cede Bulgaria to Rome, but in 879 he refused. Pope John, or rather Joan, excommunicated Photius as did her successor, Martin II. In 884, John Scott died, as Gilly states; and in 886, the emperor Leo sent Photius to a monastery, where he died in 891. The popes demanded the deposition of all priests and bishops ordained by Photius, but the Greeks refused to submit to the arrogance of Rome,—the eastern and western divisions of professed Christendom became totally separate, and to this day they continue distinct. The east was now overwhelmed with superstition and idolatry, and the Paulicians were the only people in those parts deserving the appellation of a Christian church.

In the ninth century various bishops in France, as this sec-

* Mosh. ib. § xxix, xxx.

† Allix, Alb. pp. 101, 102.

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tion demonstrates, opposed the Pope. Had the plan of this work required, we might have showed that several English bishops did the same. But this opposition appeared especially in Lombardy, in which the Valleys are situated. The bishops of Turin, Milan and Aquileia refused the adoration of images, the cross, relics, and saints. They persevered in the doctrine of the holy Scriptures, openly rejected the papal usurpations, and not only remonstrated with the Pope himself, but by their letter to the eastern patriarchs, complained to the churches of the east.* The grand prior Rorenco produces a remonstrance of the Waldenses, dated 19th November 1599, in which they say, "That it is not some fifties of years since they have had the knowledge of the pure truth, and that the persons addressed were not able to be ignorant that for more than five, nay, six hundred years before, they had not learned the same as new. Remark, reader," adds Leger, "that they speak of their doctrine as well known to be taught in the Valleys by their ancestors, and continued since the year 900, which corresponds with the time in which I have said they separated from the communion of Rome."† When they saw the church of Rome incorrigible, they finally abandoned her, though during the tenth century they maintained fellowship with the other churches of Lombardy, because still independent of papal domination.

CHAPTER X.

Carnal presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper opposed in the Tenth Century.—Synod of Rheims declares the Pope Antichrist.—Bishops of Lombardy still independent of Rome—Churches of the Valleys more and more determined to avoid Popery.

In the tenth century the clergy of the Romish church were degraded to the lowest pitch by their ignorance, indolence,

* Leger, ib. chap. xx. pp. 136, 137. † Leger, ib. chap. xxvi. p. 163. where he quotes Rorenco's Memoirs, chap. xxxviii. p. 132.

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and gross immorality. In the east, matters seemed equally bad, but the popes were perhaps more defiled than the patriarchs. Baronius, Verner Rollenbinx, a friar of Westphalia, Nicolas Vigner, historiographer to the king of France, and others, describe this age as the reign of darkness, superstition and barbarism. The doctrine of the real presence was now generally received, though it was not yet an article of Faith. In 914 and following years, Ælferic, bishop of Malmsbury in England, opposed this absurdity, as Usher informs us.*

Rathier, a monk of Lobe, near Liege in Brabant, was in 928, by a council of Italian bishops and the order of the emperor,—not by the Pope,—appointed bishop of Verona in Lombardy. Mosheim states that the Anthropomorphites revived, and Rathier, bishop of Verona wrote against them.† They pleaded from the places in which hands are ascribed to God,‡ and from those in which he is described as a king on his throne. Besides the priests, the people imbibed this heresy from observing pictures and images of God like a king on a throne. Angels were also painted like men with wings, and arrayed in white. In this we perceive the effect of images, "those teachers of lies," when exhibited among an ignorant people. These notions Rathier condemns in his first sermon on Lent, in which he refutes the fancy of many in his diocese, that the mass of St Michael called the second Feria, is more excellent than any other mass,—that it is performed every Monday in the presence of God, and that therefore on Monday people ought to resort in crowds to the churches dedicated to St Michael. The avarice of the priests of St. Michael was probably the cause of these notions. Rathier refuted them by stating that there is no temple in heaven,—that angels cannot celebrate a mass with corporeal bread and wine, and that they are nourished with the praises of Christ as with food. In his synodical epistles addressed to the priests of his diocese, he speaks inconsistently with transubstantiation. "The habitations of our hearts are to be prepared for Christ, who is about to come to us by the

* Leger. ib. chap. xxii. p. 142. † Allex, Pied. pp. 80—56.

‡ Job x 8.

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substance of his body and blood.—Wicked priests eat the goat and not the lamb."* He is obliged to enjoin his priests to learn the Apostolic and Athanasian creeds. D'Achery publishes an epistle of Rathier, in which he speaks too favourably of the real change, but the friend whom he addresses evidently holds the opposite view, which indicates that the doctrine of Pascasius was with difficulty introduced. Rathier ascribes consecration to prayer, declares communion under both kinds, prohibits private masses, and forbids communicating on fast-days till afternoon. He names eight deadly sins which nomination intimates his ignorance of the seven sacraments of Rome in reference to seven sins. He anointed the sick, but this action was not the last sacrament. He authorized priests to impose penance for secret sins, but reserves to himself the infliction of penance on public offenders, which exhibits a remainder of the ancient discipline. He admitted of purgatory for slighter sins, yet let us wonder that in such an age he retained any portion of true light.† In 932, Manasses, bishop of Milan, who had power over five bishoprics, simonically and wickedly sold that of Verona, and expelled Rathier, who was succeeded probably by Zeno.‡

In some of his future writings, Rathier refers to the fact of his having been driven from his charge. In the tenth century, the churches of Lombardy did not own the Pope's supremacy, for Rathier declares they believed that "all bishops hold the place of Peter in the churches.—If the Pope become a wicked, perjured, or adulterous man—a hunter or a drunkard, what will become of the complaints brought to him? He will laugh at those who complain, he will favour those who are like himself." Rathier, in his apolegetic essay, writes "concerning a certain clergyman going to that city where all things are sold, as Sallust expresses himself, bringing as it were, apostolic letters, bought there for a price, as all things were of old. In all ways this clergyman smote me as well as my successors with the sword of an anathema, that if henceforward any should intermeddle with clerical affairs, he should be perpetually condemned with an anathema:" in which

* Allix, Pied. pp. 81, 82. Mosheim, cent. x. part ii. chap. v. § iv.
† Allix, ib. pp. 84—86. ‡ Allix, ib. pp. 80. 88.

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passage the author seems to refer to the simony by which his bishopric had been bought, and he had been ejected, but he despises the Pope's anathema. He hesitates, "if it can be rightly said of any mortal that he is universal Pope," and humourously adds regarding his ejected condition, "I am weary with being a universal bishop, that is, one that wanders from place to place, and without a seat." He complained to the Pope and to the councils of France, Italy, and Germany, and laments "the general contempt of the canons of the church from the layman (ah, wickedness) to the most high Pontiff." He describes the Italians as most debauched, and the clergy as differing from the people only in their canonical habits. "How are the whole universality of shavellings destroyed, since there is not one among them who is not either an adulterer or a sodomite." After all, Rathier too much follows an ignorant age, by ascribing undue authority to the Pope's decretals, and to transubstantiation, by defending the celibacy of the clergy, by enjoining people to abstain from their wives and from flesh, twenty-eight days before advent, and twenty before christmas, and by blaming such as fasted only twenty days instead of forty.*

Zeno of Verona, either one of Rathier's predecessors, or perhaps the bishop thrust in when Rathier was ejected, writes as one who does not fully believe the real presence. In a sermon on Judah and Thamar, he proceeds, "The devil is the father of all those who live corruptly. And, Oh, how far is that man from eating the venerable flesh of the Lord, and drinking his blood, in whom the devil dwells by these three vices, pride, hypocrisy, and luxury, though the man may seem to communicate with the faithful? Since our Lord tells us, 'Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him.' Since also by conversion this can be likewise rendered, 'He who dwells in me and I in him, he eats my flesh and drinks my blood.' For the man in whom God dwells, and he in God, I do not see how the devil can rest in him: but he remains in him, who by hypocrisy and pride, is shadowy and empty, being dissolved by luxury. What therefore does he eat when he communicates? If thou

* Allix, Pied. pp. 86--89.

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answerest 'judgment,' thou agreest with the apostle, and admonishest me in like manner to understand that for that action he shall be judged, that is damned; because while he was unworthy, he dared to eat the flesh and to drink the blood of Christ; and therefore what ought to have been to him salvation, is to him damnation. But since my inquiry at present is concerning the bodily substance which he receives, I shall now speak to myself, and thus I am at a loss; for since to the worthy receiver it is true flesh, although it appear bread which it had formerly been, and blood which is wine. What this act is to the unworthy receiver, that is, to him who does not abide in God, is, I confess, so far from being expressible, that to me it is altogether inconceivable."*

Odo, a native of Aquitain, was in 927 elected abbot of Clugny, in which a monastery had been founded by Duke William. Though in the collections of Odo, some expressions may be construed to favour the real presence, yet the abbot of these Benedictines formed excellent rules for order and discipline. The authors of the ancient customs of this monastery, evidently did not hold the sentiments of Pascasius. Whatever confused views Odo entertained of the carnal presence, he never owns its consequences, for he died at Rome in 942, when he received the eucharist, but there is no mention of adoring it. And neither of his previous confession, nor of extreme unction, is the slightest intimation given, because doubtless he knew nothing of these sacraments.†

Atto, bishop of Verceil, flourished in the middle of the tenth century, A.D. 950. In his capitulary addressed to the priests of his diocese, he charges them, on pain of interdiction, from wine for forty days, to learn the creed of Athanasius as a compend of faith. He enjoins them to explain the Apostles' creed to such as apply for baptism, but takes no notice of the peculiar doctrines of the modern church of Rome. In his liturgy, he forbids masses without communicants, burial in churches, selling burying-places, and the ordination of priests without title. He commands ministers to read, to pray, and

* Allix, Pied. pp. 82, 83, who states that this writing is preserved in Rathier's Treatise on the Contempt of the Canons, part i.

† Allix, Alb. pp. 102, 103. Mosh. ib. chap. ii. § xi. xiii.

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to labour with their hands, which last employment was afterwards condemned in the Waldenses. He allows nothing to be read in churches, except the Old and New Testaments, and the history of the sufferings of the martyrs may be repeated only on their anniversaries. He condemns baths of holy water. His chapter on the eucharist fallen down, and on him that vomits in three days, though rather superstitious, yet shews he believed it to be really bread. Public repentance had not yet given given way to the confession to the priest. Like the council of Friuli, he improperly reduces the matters of faith to the Lord's Prayer. He asserts that the Scriptures are the only foundation of religion, ranks several books as apocryphal, which the church of Rome afterwards admitted, and refuses the writings of the Fathers, except with this caution, "Prove all things: hold fast that which is good."

In his treatise on the judgments of bishops, he thinks the church founded on the confession of the apostolic faith; and that she subsists by the faith and love of Jesus, by receiving the sacraments, and by observing the precepts of our Saviour. He condemns the decision of ecclesiastical quarrels by two champions fighting a duel: thinks the New Testament forbids all swearing, as the Waldenses sometimes thought, and judges it wrong in bishops to bear arms, even for the interest of the church. He conceives that the order of bishops and that of presbyters, were the same in the time of the apostle Paul; that the people have right to a share in the election of bishops; that the laity can judge of the behaviour of bishops; and that spiritual guides are not to be elected because of noble blood, but for their faith and charity. Yet in this work he exalts too much the power of the Pope.

In his letters, as well as in his capitulary, he speaks of a branch of Manichees as in his diocese, finds fault with some of his people who will not fast on Saturday; quotes a law of the Lombards which forbids the marriage of a god-son with a god-mother, but does not notice marriage as a sacrament; thinks the she-priests in the canons, were the primitive deaconesses, who taught in public and baptized women, and judges that the priests who had married before ordination, should abstain from their wives. In Odo we see a man re-

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taining a considerable portion of the ancient doctrine, but very much infected with prevailing errors.* Rathier who had been in 932, unjustly expelled from Verona, was in 954 appointed bishop of Liege, where he remained till his death in 974.†

So far were the Popes at this time from being able to persecute such as refused their authority, that we find whole synods convened against them in Italy and even in Rome. Not only the churches of the Valleys which had now renounced communion with the Pope, but many kingdoms which had not gone so far, despised his bulls and orders. Leutprant, whose authority the Romanists will not refuse, relates, that in 963, the emperor Otho, and the synod of Rome, deposed Pope John XII. "a most wicked monster rather than a man." The libel is addressed to the Pope in name of the emperor; of the archbishops of Liguria, Tuscany, Saxony, France and other places, and of the other clergy. "They have reported to us things so filthy concerning thee, that they might make play-actors ashamed. We shall specify to thee some of them in writing, for a day would not be sufficient to enumerate them all. Know thou, therefore, that thou art accused of murder, of perjury, of sacrilege, and of incest, and that that accusation is not made by a few persons, but by all those both of thy own order and of political order, and even by two of thy own sisters, who still maintain a thing horrible to hear, that thou drankest strong wine for the love of the devil, that thou hast sought the succours of the idol Venus, and of demons," and other charges. In short, this letter cites the Pope to appear personally in the synod, with certification, that if he do not compear, the court will proceed against him. The Pope replied, "We have heard say, that ye will create another Pope. If ye do this, I excommunicate you from God Almighty." But the bishops answered him, "If thou defer coming to the synod, we shall not delay thy excommunication, and we shall turn it against thyself, because we have just grounds to proceed to that censure." In the end, the synod deposed the Pope, and created in his stead Leo VIII.‡

A similar instance of disregard for the popes we have in

* Alliz, Pied. pp. 89—92. † Ib. p. 80. ‡ Leger, part i. chap. xxii. p. 143.

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the synod of Rheims, whose archbishop Arnulf, was deposed, and Hugh Capet in 991, raised to that dignity, Gerbert, who had been educated in the monastery of Aurillac in Auvergne of Aquitain, and who was tutor to Robert, the son of Hugh Capet.* The synod which met at Rheims in 992, elected Arnulf, bishop of Orleans, moderator, who in his address declares to the synod, "that the Pope is destitute of true charity, of true knowledge, and of salutary science; that he is nothing else than antichrist, sitting in the temple of God, and shewing himself that he is God; that he is nothing but a statue and an idol; that to consult him, is to imitate those who consult idols; that it is evident to all, that the time of the manifestation of antichrist has arrived, and that the mystery of iniquity is working."† Leger gives this sentence as the purport of the address of Arnulf, and it corresponds to the words as related by a respectable writer. "Let us bear with our primates as long as we can, and in the mean time seek spiritual food where it is to be found. Certainly there are some in this holy assembly who can testify, that in Belgium and Germany, both which are near us, there may be found real pastors and men eminent for religion. For if the animosities of kings allowed us to seek the judgment of the bishops in those parts, the state of matters would be better than in that venal city which weighs all decrees by the quantity of money.—What think you, reverend Fathers, of this man the Pope, placed on a lofty throne, shining in purple and gold? Whom do you account him? If destitute of love, and puffed up with only the pride of knowledge, he is antichrist sitting in the temple of God."‡

In an apology for the synod which had deposed his predecessor Arnulf of Rheims, Gerbert expresses sentiments similar to those declared at the synod of Rheims, for he asserts, that if the course of war should prevent the bishops going to Rome, they should still have power to hold councils. In a letter to Seguin, archbishop of Sens, he asserts, "I do resolvedly affirm, that if the Pope of Rome himself should sin against his

* Allix, Alb. p. 103. † Leger, ib.

‡ Dr Thomas Newton on the Prophecies, vol. iii. p. 161. in Milner, vol. iii. p. 247, 248. Newton, by mistake, makes Gerbert the speaker.

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brother, and having been often admonished, should not hear the church, that this same Pope of Rome ought to be looked upon as a heathen and a publican." On these words Baronius exclaims, "Here is a sentence indeed, worthy to proceed only from the mouth of some great heretic, or of some most impudent schismatic, which abrogates all sacred councils at once, cuts the throat of canons, strangles traditions, and treads under foot all the rights of the church." Regarding the necessity of communion with the church of Rome, Gerbert adds, "If he (the Pope) therefore judge us unworthy of his communion, because none of us will comply with him in his anti-evangelical sentiments, yet he cannot separate us from the communion of Christ.—And what separation can be greater than to debar any believer from the body and blood of the Son of God, which are daily offered up for our salvation?" In a letter to Wilderod, he confutes the false decretals forged with a view to assert, that before Syricius, all the east submitted to the Pope; and in a discourse to bishops, thus expresses himself: "Wo is me, if I do not open the locks of human ignorance with those keys of the kingdom of heaven, which all of us who are priests have received in the person of Peter." On simony, he asks, "Who, brother bishop, confers episcopal grace? God or man? God without doubt, but yet by man. Man lays on the hand, and God confers the grace.—Why does the priest impudently look for money? God is willing to bestow it on man for nothing, but the ravenous bishop demands money." This confession of faith contains only the Apostles' creed in his twenty-sixth letter, where he adds, "I do not condemn second marriages; I do not blame the eating of flesh; I own that reconciled penitents ought to be reconciled to the communion. I believe that in baptism all sins, whether original or actual, are forgiven; and profess that out of the Catholic church nobody can be saved." Probably he does not restrict the Catholic church of Rome.

Gerbert speaks nothing of the Romish traditions, nor defends the second council of Nice. LEUTHERIC, archbishop of Sens, who lived till 1032, was a disciple of Gerbert, and Clarius, a monk of Sens, charges Leutheric with founding the heresy of Berengaire in the eleventh century. A curious fact must be stated, that Gerbert became Pope Sylvester II. in

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998, and filled the papal chair four years. Yet this change is no argument against his sincerity at the time he wrote. Such a change occurred in the prior of Clugny, who in 1073, became Gregory VII. and in Æneas Sylvius who became Pope Pius II. in 1458. *

The documents now adduced demonstrate, that during the tenth century in France, some ecclesiastics at Clugny and Orleans, with the synod of Rheims, judged for themselves, and denounced the Pope's authority; and that in Italy, a similar part was acted by the bishops of Verona and Verceil, by the synod of Rome. Many in England and Germany shewed also opposition to the Pontiff. At this period therefore the Pope was not universally viewed as infallible, and above the judgment of human tribunals. In Lombardy, not only the bishops of Verceil and Verona, but also those of Turin, Milan and Aquileia, continued doubtless in this century free of the power of the Roman Pontiff. The bishops of these places had, in the eighth century, materially separated from the Romish communion, and in the ninth century, avowedly renounced the Pope. We cannot therefore conceive that in the tenth century, the bishops and churches of these parts would voluntarily thrust their necks into a yoke which they had previously shaken off; nor that they would gratuitously submit when no external molestation was offered them, and when, according to the general account of historians, the popes abandoned themselves to all sorts of immoralities. We must also consider that in the first part of the eleventh century, the bishops of Turin, Milan and Aquileia, had not yielded to the domination of the bishop of Rome. During the tenth century, the fundamental doctrines of Christianity were still maintained in the Lombardian churches, but many superstitions, errors, and impieties were now introduced, and matters were rapidly preparing for that final subjection of the greater part of these churches to the papal authority, which was effected in the next century.

In the tenth century, the churches of the Valleys are mentioned as more zealous than the neighbouring churches in opposition to the Pope, and as distinct, though not separated, from

* Allix, Alb. pp. 103—107, 199.

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the other churches of Lombardy; because Roman Catholics speak of the heresy of the Waldenses, as at this time settled in the Valleys, while they notice no heresy as existing in the other churches of North Italy, though the latter had not yet submitted to the Pope. Here the enemy of the Waldenses, MARCO AURELIO RORENCO, joint lord of the Valley of Lucerna, and grand prior of St Roc, ought to be a witness of great weight. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the abettors of Rome considered him as the most diligent, subtle and efficacious instrument to harass and ruin the poor people. In the study of their history, he became old and decripped, and in 1632, published an Italian book, entitled, "A Narrative of the Introduction of the Heresy into the Valleys of Piedmont." In this work he complains that "the heresy of the eighth century continued in the Valleys in the ninth and tenth centuries." In another essay of the same author, named "A Historical Memorial," printed at Turin in 1645, he in pp. 13, 14, decides boldly and magisterially the whole controversy in favour of the Waldenses of the Valleys, after he had laboured more than ten years for their ruin. In this treatise he states, that since the eighth century, Claude of Turin, and his diocese, which included the churches of the Valleys, were separated from the church of Rome; that Claude declaimed against the Romish doctrine; that he opposed himself to the introduction of images, and the adoration of the cross; and that he opposed the worship of the saints, and the use of pilgrimages. In one place of this work, Rorenco fairly declares that "this doctrine continued during all the ninth and tenth centuries;" and in another place, that "during all the tenth, there was not in those parts any thing new, but only the continuation of preceding heresies." And again, "that no certainty can be had of its origin, and which was not a new sect in the ninth and tenth centuries." After such confessions from such a pen, writing with the approbation of the clergy of Turin itself, there is no room for evading the evidence.*

Another document may, however, be produced from the

* Leger, part i. chap. xxii. p. 144. chap. xxviii. p. 173. and chap. ii. p. 14, 15.

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friends of the Waldenses. In the year 1658, Sir Samuel Morland presented to the library of the University of Cambridge, a number of manuscripts, either originals or authentic copies, which he had brought over from the Valleys of Piemont.* Both Morland and Leger† declare, that "in the volume D, are many excellent and heavenly meditations regarding the miseries, tribulations, and shortness of this life; as likewise on repentance, good-works and the like, written on parchment in the language of the ancient inhabitants of the Valleys." Morland adds, "but the letter almost worn out with age, which, according to many probable circumstances of the place and manner of its preservation, is judged to have been written at least six or seven hundred years ago." Reckoning from 1658, the date of the manuscript will be as old as 958 or 1058.

Therefore we shall not amass other proofs to demonstrate, that in the tenth century, the inhabitants of the Valleys did not join the communion of Rome, but constantly persevered in the rejection of her errors. Nay, the Vaudois at this period more eminently opposed Rome, than the other churches of Lombardy did, because not only the Waldenses and their friends make this assertion, but Rorenco mentions the heresy of Claude as continued in the Valleys in the tenth century, without noticing its extension to the other Lombardian churches, which, in the next century, submitted to the Pope, while the Valleymen persevered in opposition to antichrist.

* Morland, pp. 9—21. † Leger, part i. p. 22.

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HISTORY

OF THE

WALDENSES.

BOOK I.

ELEVENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Explanation of the term WALDENSES, and of several other names of this people.—PAULICIANS from the East arrive in France and Italy.—Some of them burnt in Orleans, who were not Manichees.—Different appellations of the Paulicians.—GUNDULF a Paulician Pastor very popular in Italy.—Synod of Arras condemns seventeen Articles in which the Paulicians differ from the Church of Rome.

HITHERTO the Waldenses have held communion with the churches of Turin, Milan, and Aquileia, because they were evangelical and had never submitted to Rome; but in the eleventh century the Pope obtained the ascendency over these churches, and on this account the Vaudois declined church-fellowship with them. For this reason also these Lombardian churches will henceforth be less noticed than formerly in this work. Order requires a few remarks regarding the origin and use of the appellation *Waldenses*, and of various other names applied to the churches of which we treat.

Considering the eminence of PETER DE WALDO who appeared in 1160, we feel no surprise that many historians, both friends and enemies, have derived from him the noun Waldenses; but we can prove that both their doctrine and name existed long before he was born. With respect to doctrine, we need only appeal to our Introduction. The word Waldenses was

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also employed earlier than Waldo. John Forbes a Cone,* professor in the academy of Aberdeen in Scotland, has been already noticed as mentioning the Waldenses in the eighth century, and he states that they "had their party entirely formed and well reinforced at the time of the creation of pope Innocent II. in the year 1130," that is, thirty years before Waldo was known. A variety of papers which historians universally call Waldensian, are dated in 1120, and which we shall review at that year, show that the Waldenses did not commence with Peter Waldo. But this seems completely settled by the words of the Noble Lesson in 1100: "If any man love those who are good, he must needs love God and Jesus Christ. Such an one will neither curse, swear, nor lie. Now such an one is termed a *Waldensian*, and worthy to be punished."

Accordingly others incline to take the name from JOHN WALDO, the contemporary, confident, and adviser of Berengaire, who in 1049 followed his counsel. This is the view of Illyricus, who writes, "Berengaire having been dissuaded by Waldo, of whom the Waldenses have taken their name, refused to meet with the council of Verceil in Piemont."† The same opinion is adopted by the Magdeburg centuriators,‡ and by Nicolas Vignier.§ Many historians however call this man not Waldo, but Baldo or Baldon.

We agree with those writers who derive the appellation Waldenses or Valdenses from the Latin *Vallis*, a valley; and take the French name Vaudois, and the ancient term Valdes from *Val*, a valley, and from *Vaux*, valleys. Beza, on illustrious men, is so far from believing the Waldenses to have obtained their designation from Peter Waldo of Lyons, that he considers him to have been so called because he adopted the Waldensian sentiments. Though Beza may not be correct in the latter statement now made, he is quite right in writing that "Valdo or Valdenses, and the other name Vaudois, have all taken their first denomination from the Valleys." M. Congnard, advocate to the parliament of Normandy, in his

* Historico-Theological Instructions, book vii. chap. xiv. in Leger, part i. chap. ii.

† Catalog. Test. in Leger, ib. ‡ Cent. ii. chap. ix. col. 455. in Leger, ib.

§ Eccl. Hist. in Leger, ib.

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treatise on the female Pope Joan, states, "That the Vaudois have had the name because of the Valleys where they inhabited." He delivers this as a sentiment not peculiar to himself, but as so well supported that it is by historians preferred to every other, and is the explanation of the Waldenses themselves. The old French writers also call the Vaux by the name of *Vallons*, Valleys. Such as hold nearer the Italian, employ Valli, or *Val* with *di*, to distinguish one Val from another, as Val di San Martin, Val di Perosa, Val di Lucerna. From the French Val and the Italian Valli, is sprung the Italian Valdesi. From the French plural Vaux, originates Vaudois and the name *Vaudés* used by the Waldenses themselves. In the same way the Swiss call one of their Cantons *Pais de Vaux*, because situated in a series of hills and valleys. From the Latin Vallis, a valley, arise the names Valdenses, anciently Vallenses, and Convallenses used by Du Thou.

These names may be given to the inhabitants of the Valleys by a common custom, as we speak of Piedmontese, Italians, Germans and others, from their places of residence. In this way Du Thou says Alpins, Inalpins, Cisalpins, Transalpins, in regard to their situation among the Alps. Yet something more than abstract allusion to the place of habitation is conveyed by the term Valdenses. Though the word in itself refers only to the persons dwelling in the Valleys, and does not necessarily intimate whether their religion was pagan or Christian, yet by an easy transition their religious views were attached to the denomination. In a similar way, the Waldenses in Picardy were called Picards, as meaning not merely the place but their religion. Those in Albi were called Albigenses, as following the doctrine of the Valleys introduced into Albi. When we speak of Turks we convey the idea not merely of the inhabitants of Turkey, but of such as profess the Mahomedan faith. In these cases the majority of the people were of a certain religion, which was associated with the proper name. The evangelical churches of the Valleys of Piemont formed the great body of the inhabitants, and hence the Vaudois or Waldenses are such as in these places witnessed against the corruptions of Rome, unless some qualification is added to restrict the term to the dwellers in those parts, without regard to the churches. Hence when

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the natives of other countries adopted the doctrines taught in the Valleys, they were also denominated Vaudois or Waldenses, as we shall see regarding the witnesses in France, Germany, England, Bohemia, Calabria, and other places, who either mediately or immediately derived their theology from the Valleys, to which those destined for the holy ministry in those countries resorted as to a University for instruction. * Ebrard of Bethunia in Flanders, in 1212, calls these people Wallenses, because they dwelt in "the Valley of Tears,"—an appellation which may well be metaphorically applied in regard to the Alpine valleys, † and other places where they dwelt. The term Waldenses, therefore, in a strict sense means the evangelical churches in the Valleys of Piemont; but in a wide signification it points out all the evangelical opponents of the errors of Popery, during the dark ages. Hence we apply it to the present work as a generic term, for all those witnesses whose history is detailed.

From a conviction of their excellence, Roman Catholics have frequently honoured them with the designation of *good men.* In Italy, they were *Fraticelli*, or little brethren; and in their own tongue, *Frairots.* From the places to which they extended, they have been nominated Albigenses, Transmontains, Paterines, Piccards, and Bohemians. In the same way the name Gazares was given to some of them who lived in Gazaria or Little Tartary, though others derive this designation from a German word meaning *execrable.* From their pastors they have been named Leonines, Petrobrusians, Henricians, Lollards, Arnoldists, Josephists, Esperonists, Wyclifites, and Hussites. Sometimes they have been reproached as Arians, Manichees, Siccars or Cut-purses, and the like miscreants, even as Jesus himself was reckoned Beelzebub. In mockery they were in Flanders denominated Turlepins or companions of wolves, because in persecution they fled to the woods: in France, Tesserands or weavers, because a number of them were of that occupation; and in various countries they were mocked as Catharists or Puritans, ‡ a denomination formerly applied to the Novatians and to the Paulicians, of whom we must take notice.

* Leger, part i. chap. ii. † Allix, Pied. p. 167. ‡ Moreland, p. 12. 13.

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With the Waldenses those *Paulicians* have been classed, who in the tenth, and beginning of the eleventh century, arrived from the east in Switzerland, Lombardy, and Aquitain. Nor is there great injustice in this classification, because they held similar views with the Waldenses, regarding Popery and the fundamental articles of Christianity. They have been also subjected to similar reproaches of being Catharists and Manichees. Duty therefore requires us to give some account of the Paulicians. At an early period of this century, the the *Berengairians* appeared in France, held Waldensian views, and of them we must also take some notice. About the middle of the century, the churches of Turin, Milan, and Aquileia, lost their former independence, and submitted to the Pope; while the *Paterines* of Milan, and the *Waldenses of the Valleys*, continued to maintain a noble independence of Rome, and have persevered to this day as a distinct society. According to the order of time, therefore, we shall in this chapter give some details of the Paulicians; in another, state the rise and principles of the Berengairians; and in a third, relate the separation of the churches of Lombardy from the Paterines and Waldenses, with the history of these last to the end of the century.

The PAULICIANS arose in 660, by means of a Christian deacon returning from Mahomedan captivity, and presenting a copy of the Gospels and Epistles to Constantine at Mananalis, near Samosata or Semisat in Syria, who had lodged him. Constantine diligently read these books, formed a church on the model given in Paul's writings, and called the people Paulicians from the name of the apostle. Peter Siculus, though a prejudiced Romanist, writes, that Constantine was formerly an opponent of the Manichees, that he now more resolutely cast aside every Manichean book,* and that the people loudly denied themselves to be Manichees. In the ninth century when Peter wrote, he says their principles were, *first*, That there is one supreme God, and another God

* Peter is therefore most inconsistent in asserting that Constantine became a Manichee by reading the Bible, and threw away Manichean books from fear of punishment.

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who introduced sin. Some foes have explained this in the Manichean sense, but Peter never charges them with Manicheism here. *Secondly*, That the Virgin Mary does not deserve divine adoration. *Thirdly*, That there are three persons in one God, and that Jesus became incarnate. They believe the other Christian doctrines, but refuse the conversion of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, which was beginning to be hinted by some when Peter wrote. *Fourthly*, That the sign of the cross is to be contemned, and is a ground of their separation. *Fifthly*, That the Scriptures are to be read, and the Pope is not supreme. They did not deny, though they might not possess, the Old Testament. *Sixthly*, That there is no ground for the different orders of clergy in the Roman church, and that pastors are fellow-pilgrims.

Ademar of Cavennes, monk of St Epargue at Limoges, states, that the Paulicians were first noticed in Aquitain in 1011.* The Greeks who had banished them to the west, represented them as a violent and bloody faction; but if the Paulicians were exasperated against the Greeks, this feeling was excited by the Grecian cruelty towards them. The first religious assembly which the Paulicians formed in Europe, is reported to have been at Orleans. Its principal members were twelve canons of the cathedral of Orleans, eminently distinguished for their piety and learning. Among these, LISOSIUS and STEPHEN held the first rank, and a considerable number of citizens in the higher classes adhered to the society.† Rumour states that an Italian lady stood at the head of this section of Christians; but this is contradicted by some copies of the writings of Ademar, who informs us that these canons had been instructed, not by the female from Italy, but by a country man from Perigueux. Glaber gives the same account. The Paulicians attracted public notice in 1017, and Ademar gives the relation of a council at Charoux against them. D'Achery does not detail the acts of the synod which condemned them, but the statement of a private individual of Chartres, who wrote what passed in the synod. These documents represent the canons as similar to Manichees, and Dr Mosheim seems to countenance this notion; but we

* Allix, Alb. pp. 108, 109. †·Mosheim, cent. xi. part ii. chap. v. § i, iii.

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may justly doubt whether they were of that sect, because there is no probability that either a female foreigner or a peasant was capable in so short a time to convert such a number of proselytes to Manicheism among the canons and citizens of Orleans, to form secret conventicles, and to propagate so monstrous doctrines as those of the Manichees. Nor can we suppose the canon Stephen, who had been confessor to the queen, so ignorant as to embrace the enthusiasm of the Manichean system. Only one witness who had been an apostate from the Paulicians' communion, makes this assertion. Though the people were publicly interrogated, yet the proceedings were written from the declarations of this man, long after the sufferers were executed, and posterior to the death of Robert, king of France, in order to justify the bloody deed. In the acts, the accusations are inconsistent with each other, and all are evidently intended to defame them. In these acts the Paulicians vindicate themselves from the leading principles of the Manichees, especially on the article regarding the creation of the world partly by a good and partly by an evil God. At their martyrdom they expressed a hope the very opposite of the Manichees, and their enemies bear testimony to the sanctity of their lives. The denial of transubstantiation is no peculiar badge of Manicheism, but simply shows that, like many others, they opposed the new doctrine of Paschasius. The accusation of their rejecting baptism is connected with the pretence of their being Manichees, who frequently discarded both the sacraments of the New Testament; and we are to recollect that all who refused the popish ceremonies in baptism, or denied its necessity to salvation, are viewed by papists as utterly refusing that ordinance. The insinuations of incest and the like abominations, are refuted by the testimony borne by enemies to the excellence of their morals. D'Achery states that queen Constance with a stick put out the eye of Stephen; that Arefartus pretended willingness to become a Paulician in order to discover their opinions; and that the Romanists raised the body of Theodatus three years after death, to discover by water if he had been a heretic when alive. These actions were worthy of the papists in the dark ages. The bishop of Meaux, had he chosen, might have consulted these details without deceiving his

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readers by adducing the name of Vignier, who repeats what he found in historians, but does not mention the canons as Manichees. The martyrs suffered at Orleans in 1017,* but their doctrine was not exterminated, for Peter the monk of Vaux Cernay, who writes the history of the Albigenses two hundred years after, traces the Albigensian opinions from the Paulicians of Orleans, and informs us that Simon Montfort, descended from Almaric, natural son of Robert, king of France, persecuted the Albigenses; and "that his zeal signalized itself above all, in that he was careful to oppress and exterminate that pernicious sect and heresy, which all along from the year 1017 lifted up the head at Orleans."†

Though the reader may differ from us, and think the Paulicians to be Manichees, yet the two following chapters manifest that there were many witnesses at this time in Italy and France, independent of the Paulicians. Vignier has published a fragment of an ancient author, who calls them Catharini, and relates their settling themselves in Lombardy, Tuscany, and La Marche. This author states that about the year 1023, their first bishop was called MARK, who had derived his ordination from Bulgaria, but who afterwards apostatized, and on the solicitation of one Nicetas, a pope from Constantinople, took orders from him, and entered into the order of Druncaria.

We do not deny that some real Manichees from the east about this time took refuge in France and Italy, but we assert the Paulicians to be a distinct people. Though Mosheim too much confounds the two societies, he remarks on the Paulicians, "That we find in history another branch of this numerous sect, whose errors were not accompanied with the crimes that were laid to the charge of their brethren." Excepting on the article of marriage, they are not accused of Manicheism. Gerard attributes their seeming piety to the terror of punishment. Glaber speaks of certain heretics who appeared in Italy; who were persecuted by the bishops and nobility; who sent forth their disciples to itinerate through

* Allix, Alb. pp. 110—113. The date given by Allix, Mosheim, and Milner, for burning the canons at Orleans, is here followed, though Hallam's Hist. of Mid. Ages, vol. iii. p. 464. dates this in 1007.

† Petri Hist. Alb. præf. p. 3.

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the country, and who withdrew multitudes from the opinions of Paschasius Radbert. GUNDULF was one of the most celebrated Paulician pastors in Italy, and among other places the itinerants carried the same doctrines into the diocese of Liege and Cambray. In vain did Gerard bishop of Cambray and Arras, use violence to compel them to make a particular confession of their belief, which he learned only from the newly converted proselytes to the Paulician faith. In 1025, Gerard held at Arras a synod against some of the Paulicians in that neighbourhood, who had lately left the Roman Catholic communion. Gerard and D'Achery give an account of this synod. From the preface of Gerard addressed to Reginald bishop of Liege, we gather that the people owned themselves the disciples of Gundulf, who had instructed them in the evangelical and apostolical learning, and that they received and practised no other doctrine. Gerard states he had heard a report that they abhorred baptism; that they rejected the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour; that they denied the use of penance after sin; that they made void the church; that they detested marriage; that they owned no virtue in the holy confessors, and that they pretended only the apostles and martyrs are to be reverenced. These may be considered as the chief counts in the indictment. On the various interrogations by the bishop in synod, distinct answers are given.

First, The bishop urged, that Christ had established the absolute necessity of baptism, and pled from an erroneous view of the words, "Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God," and "except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." The Paulicians answered, "Our law and discipline which we have received from our Master is evidently in accordance both with the evangelical decrees, and with the apostolical institutions, provided any one will diligently examine them. For this is the description of our discipline: it consists in leaving the world, in bridling carnal concupiscence, in providing food by the labour of our hands, doing injury to no person, and in exercising charity to all who are zealous in the prosecution of this our design. When this righteousness therefore is observed, there is no need for baptism, but when this righteous-

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ness is evaded, baptism cannot avail to salvation. This is the sum of our justification, to which the use of baptism can superadd nothing, since this end includes every evangelical and apostolical institution. But if any one say that some sacrament lies hid in baptism, this is made void by three causes: The *first* is, because the reprobate life of ministers can afford no saving remedy to the baptized: The *second* is, because whatever vices are renounced in the font, are afterwards repeated in the life: The *third* is, because to a little child which does not make a choice, does not run, knows nothing of faith, and is ignorant of its own salvation, and of its own good; which can have no present desire of regeneration, and make no confession of faith; the will of another, the faith of another, and the confession of another seem by no means to belong."

The bishop in reply to this, attempts to demonstrate the absolute necessity of baptism to salvation, whence we gather that the Paulicians had adopted their opinions in opposition to such popish notions as those taught by the bishops, viewed baptism only as a mystical representation of the engagement of the baptized person to live a holy life, and did not set a high value on the mere external sign.* The remark of Dr Allix seems a just one, that the Paulician assertions on baptism arose from that principle of the human mind by which, in avoiding the one extreme, men run to the other. "Gundulf," says he, "seeing them, (the papists) assert that whosoever was baptised, could never be damned, falls to an indifference for baptism, thinking it sufficient to keep to the essentials of that sacrament." This plainly states that Gundulf practised baptism, but omitted those superstitious rites invented by the Romish Church. Allix adds, "and the same we are to suppose of their anabaptism, and some other articles," which shews that the writer believed Gundulf to have re-baptised such as were baptised by the Romanists. According to the report above given from Gerard, Gundulf went to the extreme of being too indifferent about the baptism both of old and young.

The Paulicians are mentioned as properly laying great stress on the thing signified, but little on the external sign, for they

* Allix, Pied. pp. 93—96.

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maintained that when practical "righteousness is wanting, baptism cannot avail," and every genuine protestant will assent to this proposition. They consider the hidden thing sacramentally contained in baptism to be made void in three cases, namely, when the ordinance is administered by ministers of a "reprobate life," and indeed such persons have no warrant from Christ to dispense his ordinances, and their ministrations cannot be expected to be a "saving remedy." *Secondly*, They consider baptism unavailing, when vices renounced "in baptism are afterwards repeated." The *third* case is, when the volition, the faith and the confession of another, are viewed as belonging to the little child which cannot will, nor know, nor believe, nor confess. They might maintain this view of the professions and vows of parents, and yet practise infant baptism, for many observe pædobaptism who deny that the profession and vows of the parents are transferred to the children, and consider as still more absurd, that the knowledge and faith of parents are imputed to the infant. The vows of a father at the baptism of his child bind himself to the performance of the duty he owes to his offspring. The child is indeed favoured by having the outward sign or washing of internal regeneration, by being dedicated to God, by receiving, if spared, a Christian education, and by beholding a holy example. Had the document stated, that the Paulicians discarded the baptism of infants, and were zealous in baptising adults, the Paulician sentiments would have been similar to those of the modern Antipædobaptists, whom, when evangelical in their doctrine, and holy in life, we can recognise as brethren in the Lord.

The second article on which Gerard examined the Paulicians, regarded the carnal presence of Jesus Christ in the Lord's Supper. The second chapter of this century shows that this doctrine was by no means received in Narbonne and Aquitain. The Paulicians also declared to Gerard their objections to transubstantiation, namely, that the body of Jesus Christ, since his ascension, is in heaven; that the corporeal eating of the body of Jesus Christ cannot avail, because Jesus has taught that "the flesh profiteth nothing;" and that the body of Jesus, if carnally eaten, would no longer continue to be one entire body, because it would be divided through

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innumerable places. Mosheim is therefore incorrect in asserting that the Paulicians neglected baptism, as not essential to salvation, and in adding, "they rejected for the same reason the sacrament of the Lord's Supper." But the account of Gerard imports that they observed the Supper, and that the only controversy with the Romish church on this ordinance regarded the real presence. The chief answers produced by the bishop, are some apparitions extracted from Paschasius, whose doctrine was much opposed in north Italy, where Geza had attempted to give it currency by publishing a book on the subject, from which Mabillon gives an extract in his *Iter Italicum*.

In the third article, they disbelieved any sanctification to consist in the consecration of churches or altars, and maintained that prayers and other parts of worship are as acceptable to God in private houses, as in these edifices. In this manner they displayed their detestation of the idolatry practised by the use of consecrated images.

The next accusation was their refusal to bow or show reverence to an altar, though consecrated with holy oil, for they considered such consecrations as superstitious.

Another charge is, that they disapproved of the use of perfumes with incense, in imitation of the ceremonial law. They condemned anointing the possessed, the sick, and the catechumens, and the unction of bishops and priests at consecration.

They viewed as an intolerable superstition the use of bells in the churches, and the virtue ascribed to their sound in driving away tempests and the power of the devil. Bells were then baptized.

Next, like presbyterians and independents, they denied the establishment of the different orders of ministers then received in the western church, such as bishops, archbishops, cardinals, and the like. They gave the imposition of hands in private, and in this way they conferred power on their church officers. Dr Mosheim seems wrong therefore, in stating, that they "went so far as to maintain that the appointment of stated ministers in the church was entirely needless." They bestowed ecclesiastical functions, but this was in an unconsecrated house. Perhaps Mosheim thinks ordination invalid, if not in a consecrated church.

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Again, these Italians judged burial in consecrated places to be the effect of sacerdotal covetousness, for the priests sold the holy ground at a high price to the people, whom they persuaded to believe that there is greater sanctity in the sacred spot than in other parts.

Gerard further accuses them with rejecting *penance* after baptism. This species of voluntary punishment was much practised in the eleventh century; in opposing it the Paulicians seem to agree with the Novatians, and possibly some remains of these early witnesses still existed. At this time penances began to be imposed, in order to satisfy divine justice, and doubtless this was an additional reason why those Italians opposed such penal works.

Another objection to these culprits was, they denied that the sins of departed spirits can be in any degree atoned for by the celebration of *masses*; by the distribution of alms to the poor; or by a *vicarious penance*, that is, a course of mortification and voluntary suffering of some living person in their stead, in order to procure their absolution. On the contrary, Gerard maintains that the works of the living, alms, masses, and the satisfactions which persons imposed on themselves for the dead, were indeed of great efficacy for the salvation of the deceased. From the proofs of Gerard we clearly perceive that these Paulicians witnessed against the doctrine of purgatory, and against those practices which its belief had introduced into the church.

An additional reason for Gerard discarding these people is, their viewing marriage as an abomination, their condemning indiscriminately all connubial bonds, and their declaring matrimony a state in which salvation is impossible. "This eleventh article," says Dr Mosheim, "is scarcely credible, at least as it is here expressed. It is more reasonable to suppose that these mystics did not absolutely condemn marriage, but only held celibacy in higher esteem, as a mark of superior sanctity and virtue." The correctness of this opinion may be gathered from Gerard never charging them with encouraging the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, for various separatists from the Romish communion have been accused of condemning marriage, in order to indulge in unlawful connections. We are also to remember that if the Pauli-

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cians refused to solemnize marriage in a consecrated place, and denied it to be a sacrament, the Romanists would view them as condemning marriage. At the end of the articles, Allix remarks that even under compulsion, the Paulicians are "not made to confess any thing that resembles Manicheism, except on the matter of marriage;" and even here their views may be understood in a right sense. In times of trouble and commotion, the apostle recommends virginity: "Now concerning virgins, I have no commandment of the Lord.—I suppose therefore that this is good for the present distress, I say that it is good for a man so to be." Regarding the Paulicians, Dr Milner* declares, "I cannot believe they held marriage as unlawful, though they are charged with this sentiment by their enemies; and it is not to be doubted, but that on the whole they were of the true church of Christ."

The twelfth count accuses them with refusing veneration to confessors and saints, with reserving this veneration for apostles and martyrs only, and with maintaining that there is no virtue in the dead bodies of saints after they are returned to dust. This Gerard attempts to refute, by examining the miracles performed by every bishop in his own diocese, before the people brought to the tombs the marks of their veneration of any confessors.

A further point, to use the words of Dr Mosheim, was, that "they declared the use of instrumental music in the churches, and other religious assemblies, superstitious and unlawful." Dr Allix says this charge consisted in their "finding fault with the singing of psalms which was *then received in the church*, under a pretence that such as then made use of them, were sometimes obliged to curse themselves, by repeating the imprecations contained in said psalms." The psalms were then sung in the church, and the Paulicians do not seem to have objected to the use of the psalmody, but they disapproved of two things,—the accompaniment of instrumental music, and the form of imprecation in which some of them are expressed. Many serious but unthinking Christians of the present day, avoid those psalms in which evil is denounced against David's enemies. These objectors do not

* Vol. iii. p. 289.

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consider that the Psalmist is a type of Christ, who can appeal to God for his perfect innocence, that David was free of the gross transgressions his foes imputed to him and that all saints should aim at universal purity. The declarations of wrath on others are prophecies, and not desires of revenge: for example, the prediction in the hundred and ninth psalm was fulfilled in Judas, as we learn from the first chapter of the Acts, where the words are ascribed to the Holy Ghost. We are also to recollect that, excepting the first phrase in verse sixth, the whole prophecy down to verse twentieth is in Hebrew expressed in the future. In the great majority of similar psalms that seem in our version to imprecate revenge, the future is employed in the original;* and some versions have been injured by the translators too implicitly following the seventy, or such as like them frequently render the future by the imperative. The Spirit of God never encourages a vindictive disposition either under the Old or New Testament.

In the fourteenth particular, the Paulicians are charged with refusing reverence to the cross on which Christ suffered, with denying that it was more sacred than other logs of wood, and with maintaining that it had no virtue, because made by human hands. Consequently they refused to it the smallest degree of religious worship.

They also refused worship to images of our Saviour on the cross,—of the blessed virgin,—of saints, and angels. Nay, they wished these images entirely removed out of the churches.

The sixteenth accusation states, that they were shocked with the subordination and distinctions established among the clergy, and with the different degrees of authority conferred on them. They refused obedience to these ministers of the church, that is, to bishops, archbishops, deans and prepositi. The model of this government they thought derived from the hierarchy of angels, treated of by Dionysius the Areopagite. The Italians, viewing these offices as unscriptural, refused obedience to those invested with them. Allix thinks their aversion to these different degrees of authority in the church, arose from the abuse which they perceived in the west, and

*See Scott on Psalms x. 2. lv. 15. lix. 12—15. cix. 6—20. cxl. 9, 10. and the like, where the future is used. When the imperative frequently occurs as in Psal. lxix. 22—28. the passage seems to express Christ's sentence on his enemies.

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especially in Italy; but they evidently considered the principle of different orders of ministers as a bad one, and Allix allows that the multiplication of so many ecclesiastical offices appeared to them opposite to the institutions of the primitive church.

The last article respects the righteousness which they are charged with arrogating to themselves by good works. Their anxiety for practical holiness as preferable to forms and professions, is unjustly represented by Gerard as a renovation of the doctrine of Pelagius, to which he opposes the notions of Augustine, and asserts the necessity of adhering to the church of Rome in doctrine, as being the same which Peter preached at Rome, and which his successors propagated through all the west.

The acts of this synod of Arras state, that these Italians were convinced and confounded by the eloquence of Gerard. The bishops cast them into prison for three days, at the end of which time, the acts state that they abjured their opinions. This confession and abjuration had been extorted from fear of punishment, threatened both at Leige and at Arras. Professing not to understand the excommunication in Latin, an explanation in Italian was given, which they were compelled to subscribe, and each to place the sign of the cross before his name. Even under compulsion, they are not induced to confess themselves Manichees. Though some of these people were induced to recant at Arras, yet multitudes of them were stedfast in Italy and other parts. In the doctrine of Gundulf and his brethren, we find the substance of those articles which the Waldenses from age to age maintained against the church of Rome in regard to faith and worship.

Thus, before the year 1026, we find even in Italy the Paulicians professing a belief contrary to the opinion of the church of Rome, and who highly condemned her errors: a body of Christians who sent abroad their missionaries to oppose the reigning superstitions through Italy and France, several years before the Waldenses in Piemont and Milan, separated from the other churches in Lombardy, because of the latter submitting to the Pope.*

* Allix, Pied. pp. 96—100 whose authority is Gerard's Preface to Reginald bishop of Leige. Mosh. ib. chap. v. § iv.

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CHAPTER II.

Berengarius in France opposes Popery—Condemned in the Councils of Rome, Verceil and Paris—Entrapped to recant at Tours, and twice at Rome, yet is afterwards bold—Narbonne and Aquitain continue sound, and their bishops reject the Pope, Gregory VII.—Berengarians increase and hold the same belief as the Waldenses and Calvinists regarding the Supper, and other points.

The Paulicians from the East, who entered Switzerland, France, and Italy, whose history in the eleventh century is detailed in the foregoing chapter, were not the only witnesses in the West against the Romish corruptions.

In France there was still a godly seed who had continued faithful, for the dioceses of Narbonne and Aquitain had not at this period quitted the faith professed, nor the modes of worship practised by their ancestors. This appears from the chronicle of Ademar of Cavennes, extending from the beginning of the French monarchy to the year 1080. He states, that at the synod of Gentilly, under Pepin, in the middle of the eighth century, against the images of the Greeks and Romans, the bishops of Aquitain assisted. Though Ademar seems to mistake the age of Bede, he writes concisely the preservation of the true theology. "Bede taught Simplicius, and Simplicius Rabanus, (whom the emperor Charles sent for from beyond seas, and made a bishop in France,) who instructed Alcuin, and Alcuin informed Smaragdus, Smaragdus again taught Theodulphus of Orleans, and Theodulphus, Elias a Scotsman, bishop of Angoulesm. This Elias instructed Heirious, and Heirious left two monks, Remigius and Vebaldus, surnamed the Bald, his heirs in philosophy."

This clearly shews the judgment of the churches of Aquitain to be in opposition to the doctrine of transubstantiation, for they followed Bede, whose homilies, Paul the deacon of Aquileia in the close of the eighth century, as we have related, had inserted in his collection, along with those of Ambrose, Chrysostom, Augustin, Maximus and others, for the use of the pastors of Gaul. Now, the views of Bede were in

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the eleventh century continued in Aquitain, and in addition to the sentiments formerly given from Bede, we are to recollect that on the third psalm, he extols the patience of our Saviour to Judas, because he did not exclude him from the holy supper, "in which he delivered to his disciples *the figure* of his most sacred body and blood." On the institution of the sacrament, he declares that "because bread strengthens the body, and wine produces blood in the flesh, the bread is *mystically* referred to the body of Jesus Christ, and the wine to his blood." Bede therefore was quite in opposition to eating the real body of Christ.

The churches of Aquitain shewed also great deference to the judgment of Alcuin, who influenced the writings of Charlemagne, especially those against images, in which works we find his assertions in the eucharist to be against Paschasius. Theodulphus, bishop of Orleans, was followed, in whose writings are many things contrary to the present church of Rome. The Christians of Aquitain held the sentiments of Rabanus Maurus, whom the abbot Heriger has so much decried, for asserting that the eucharistical body of Jesus Christ enters the intestines along with the other food; and whom one Waldensis in his epistle to Martin, ranks with Heribald and the heretics of Germany.

The writings of Ademar shew that the members of the churches in Narbonne did not in their communion adore the elements in the supper, for he relates, "that, A. D. 1028, to prepare themselves to oppose the Moors of Corduba, who had invaded their coasts, they received the eucharist at the hands of their priests," without mentioning adoration of the sacrament in a danger so extreme and so fearful.* Some may condemn the reception of the Lord's supper before battle as enthusiastic, but the judicious Christian can explain this practice as tending to lead the recipients to act only on the defensive, to avoid a revengeful spirit against the Moors, and especially to guide them to right exercise of soul in prospect of falling in defence of their country against foreign invaders.

Such is a general view of Aquitain and Narbonne in the eleventh century, which convinces us that the churches of

* Allix, Alb. pp. 113—115.

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France did not universally receive as infallible the Pope's assertion of transubstantiation. Though the greater part of the Western church was now completely over-run with anti-christian weeds, yet there were certain districts of the Lord's vineyard in which the original cultivation was continued. Nay, where the thorns and briars of popery had closely sprung up, a beautiful lily might occasionally be discovered, and God sometimes raised his witnesses even in the Romish church, who left her when better instructed, like some who had followed Absalom in simplicity. Bad as matters had now become in the Romish communion, all the articles of faith established by the council of Trent at a later date, were not yet enjoined by the doctors, and a number of persons contended against a variety of the Roman errors.* Near the close of the tenth century, mention was made of Leutheric or Lenseric who is charged with paving the way for the Berengairians who appeared in the eleventh century. In 1004, Leutheric taught that only sincere Christians receive the body of Christ. BERENGAIRE was more enlightened, and entirely rejected transubstantiation.† He was a disciple of Fulbert, and became deacon of St Maurice in Anjou.‡ Helgald in his abridgement of the life of Robert, king of France, proves that the doctrine of Lenseric, archbishop of Sens, contemporary of Robert, was "marked as the same doctrine which Berengaire unceasingly maintained, and even increased at that time." Berengaire used the rules of logic, and the subtleties of metaphysics to expound the Scriptures, and defend his own peculiar opinions. He is noted for his opposition to the real presence, which Lanfranc, his opponent, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, absurdly tried to defend also on philosophical principles, and was followed on the same side by Anselm of the same See. These men were much more moderate and wise, however, than their successors in promoting the natural and noble alliance between faith and reason, religion and philosophy.

Illyricus gives at large the doctrine of Berengaire, which, both on the eucharist and other points, was the same as that

* Leger, part i. chap. xxiv. p. 150.

† Mosh. Cent. xi. part ii. chap. iii. § xiii. ‡ Eccl. Hist. of France, p. 73.

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of the Waldenses and the Reformers. Boxhorn, under the year 1039, writes, "that the arch-deacon, Berengaire, though Alman, bishop of Brixen wrote against him, was not at all moved, and published his doctrine respecting the mysteries of Jesus Christ. He was altogether orthodox, although almost all the other doctors had suffered themselves to go into erroneous opinions in compliance with the Pope of Rome." Berengaire was principal of the school at Tours, and afterwards archbishop of Angers. He was of a most acute genius, extensive learning, and exemplary sanctity. In 1045, he publicly maintained the sentiments of John Scot, and warmly opposed the monstrous positions of the substantial change in the Lord's supper, which change was calculated to captivate a superstitious age. He nobly persisted in asserting, that the bread and wine in the eucharist retain their natural and essential qualities, and are no more than figures and external symbols of the body and blood of the divine Saviour. This accurate sentiment was no sooner published than it was opposed by certain doctors of France and Germany.* "Illustrious for piety, as well as erudition, he perceived that a great many new doctors endeavoured to lay the foundation of transubstantiation with great ostentation, who refused to listen to the sense of Augustine, and of the other ancient doctors of the church, and who wrested to a new sense certain sacramental expressions. He opposed to these corruptions, the true doctrine taken from the universal and orthodox sentiment. In order that the faithful might be confirmed in the true doctrine, he refuted the novelties by the Word of God, by the testimony of the ancient theologians, and even by the books expressly published in defence of the innovations.—Pope Leo IX. irritated with the opposition which not only a certain one, Lantfranc, Fervard, and others, but above all this Berengaire managed against him, convoked a synod at Rome, and condemned him in his absence. Since Berengaire did not on that account desist to maintain his doctrine, the same Pope convened another council at Verseil in Piemont, in the year 1049, to which Berengaire was regularly cited, but he refused to appear, because he feared the ambushments of the

* Mosheim, ib. § v. xiii. Leger, ib. p. 161.

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Pope, and was dissuaded from attending by his friends, and particularly by Fervard and John Waldo," from whom Illyricus by mistake takes the name Waldenses or Vaudois, " who have followed the doctrine of Berengaire. He sent, however, two of his clergy to maintain his cause in the synod, which condemned the book John Scot had written respecting the eucharist, although collected from Augustin, and from the common consent of orthodox writers." *

Such is the account of Berengaire, given by Illyricus. The abbot Gezo had copied Paschasius Radbert's book, with a view to its wide circulation in Italy, and Berengaire's friends shielded themselves by the writings of John Scot.† Accordingly the council of Verceil not only condemned Scot's writings containing the obnoxious sentiments, but consigned them to the flames.‡ Allix,§ by mistake, dates this council in 1059 instead of 1049, but adds properly that " the Italians almost immediately separated themselves from the communion of the Pope of Rome." This refers to the Vaudois of the Valleys and Milan, who left the neighbouring churches for submitting to the Pope in 1059, for the decisions of the council of Verceil were causes which prepared the way for this step.

" Berengaire viewed with indifference the roaring of the lion," says Usher in allusion to Pope Leo, " nay, he did not desist by words and writings to provoke those who were present in the council, calling Leo, not the highest pontiff, but the greatest pomp-maker and pulp-maker, and who by the infatuation of Lanfranc, convoked the foolish council of vanity." The archbishop of Armagh confirms his statements by the authority of Guitmund, bishop of Aversa in Italy.‖ Some think the disputations of Berengaire, with his antagonists, laid the foundation of the differences between the Nominalists and Realists. The Logicians all agreed that the object of logic is Universals, since particular things are changeable. The Realists, following Plato and Boethius, believed the Universals to be Realities; and the Nominalists, taking Aristotle and Porphery for masters, said that Univer-

* Illyricus, Catalogus Testium, b. vii. in Leger, part i. chap. xxiv. p. 150.
† Allix, Pied. p. 124. ‡ Mosh. ib. chap. iii. § xiii. § Pied. p. 124.
‖ Usserius de Succ. et Statu Ecclesiæ, cap. vii. in Leger, part i. chap. xxiv. p. 150.

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sals were mere words. Berengaire might support his view of the eucharist by the doctrine of the Nominalists, whose chief was John the Sophist, so called from his subtlety. Odo was leader of the Realists.*

The example of the councils of Rome and Verceil was followed that same year by that of Paris, summoned by Henry I. of France. Berengaire and his numerous adherents were threatened with all sorts of evils, spiritual and temporal. These menaces were in part executed against Berengaire, whom Henry deprived of his revenues; but neither this severity, nor threatenings, nor fines, nor synodical decrees, were able to shake the firmness of his mind, or to induce him to renounce his doctrine. Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, was his most formidable enemy. In a letter of Durandus to Henry I. of France, in 1050, the writer complains on Berengaire "for introducing ancient heresies in modern times." For several years, however, we hear little of the controversy; and Berengaire, whose supporters were as numerous as his foes were powerful, enjoyed for a time the sweets of liberty and peace,† though deprived of the emoluments arising from the Roman Catholic church establishment.

Berengaire convinced of the truth of his principle regarding the Supper, still continued boldly to publish it, gradually increased in strength, and his followers became daily more numerous. Pope Victor, the successor of Leo, convoked a council at Tours, where Hildebrand, afterward Gregory VII. acted the part of Pope's legate; but Berengaire perceiving himself about to be oppressed, dispelled the rage of his adversaries by a writing, in which he simply declared, "that on this article he embraces the common sentiment of the church."‡ Dr Mosheim speaks of two councils at Tours in 1054, but his translator says, "other historians mention but one council, and place it in the year 1055." The adversaries of Berengaire represent his declaration as a solemn abjuration of his opinions, but if he made peace with the Romanists by a recantation, this was an act of dissimulation, for he and others persisted in supporting his former views, but with circum-

* Mosh. ib. chap. i. § viii. ix. † Mosh. ib. chap. iii. § xiii. Gilly's Researches, p. 59. ‡ Illyricus, ib. in Leger, ib.

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spection and prudence. Pope Nicolas II. felt much exasperated on hearing of the progress of the principles of Berengaire, and in 1058, summoned him to Rome with a view to overawe him. In the following year, A. D. 1059, he convened a council at Rome, at which Berengaire was entrapped, and declared his agreement to embrace whatever belief that venerable assembly should prescribe. The Pope and council unanimously appointed Cardinal Humbert de Bourgogne, to write out a retractation and confession of faith for Berengaire, which he publicly signed and confirmed by a solemn oath. Among other tenets equally absurd, this confession asserted, that "the bread and wine after consecration, were not only a *sacrament*, but also the *real body and blood of Jesus Christ*; and that this body and blood were handled by the priests and consumed by the faithful; and not in a sacramental sense, but in reality and truth as other sensible objects are." This proposition contains such an insult on the first principles of reason, that we cannot conceive it was able to allure the acute and philosophical mind of Berengaire, and can be viewed in no other light than as an odious act of dissimulation. Accordingly, he had no sooner returned to France where he was countenanced and supported by his old friends and protectors, than he expressed the utmost detestation and abhorrence of the sentiments he had been obliged to profess at Rome, solemnly abjured them in discourse and writing against Humbert, and zealously returned to profess and defend his former assertions which had always been his real judgment, and accorded with the faith of the primitive church. This repentance is attested by Lantfranc, an Italian archbishop.* By Nicolas II. enforcing the celibacy of the clergy, many pastors in France were by him deprived of their ministry in the papal church, rejected the dominion of the Roman See, and, because they entered into the marriage relation, they were viewed by the Pope's creatures as mere laymen.†

Ever since Pope Adrian I. in the eighth century, wished Charlemagne to abolish the Gallican liturgy, many changes and additions of new articles had taken place in the Roman

* Mosh. ib. § xiv. Boxhorn, Univ. Hist. in Leger, ib. p. 151.
† Allix, Alb. p. 130.

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one, by which means it gradually differed from the Gallican, and still more widely from the Gothic. The liturgy last mentioned, the tyrannical Gregory VII. who filled the papal chair from 1073 to 1086, undertook to suppress, because much opposed to the corruptions introduced by the Popes from the eighth century to his pontificate.* In the council of Rome 1074 and 1075, Gregory was equally severe with his predecessors against what he reckoned simony, and against the marriage of the clergy. On account of such decisions, not only many people and ministers in the North of Italy, as already related, refused the communion of the church of Rome, but this example was followed in Aquitain and other parts of France. Consequently the diversity of doctrine regarding the Lord's Supper, though a principal reason, was not the sole cause of Berengaire and his adherents forming a communion distinct from the Roman. Gregory excommunicated and deposed all such clergy as have been just mentioned, and denounced the ordination of such men as null. For this reason papists represent the pastors of the Waldenses, Paterines, Berengairians, Paulicians, and Albigenses, as were laymen.† According to Sigebert, many in the Romish church wrote against Berengaire, and a considerable number in the same community wrote in his favour. With the latter class agreed his own bishop, Bruno of Angers, when he was archdeacon. In 1075, Giraldus the legate of Gregory was obliged to call a council at Poictiers in Aquitain, at which place Berengaire narrowly escaped murder, as we learn from the chronicle of Maixant, who relates the circumstances of his deliverance, which the enemies of Berengaire are pleased to exclude.‡

In 1078, Gregory cited Berengaire before a synod at Rome, and by allowing his confession before Nicolas II. in 1059, to be set aside, tacitly admitted the fallibility of the Pope. The persecuted Berengaire was induced through timidity again to make and swear a declaration, that "the bread laid on the altar became, after consecration, the true body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin, suffered on the cross, and now sits at the right hand of the Father:" and that "the wine

* Allix, Alb. p 83. Mosh. ib chap. ii. § ix. † Allix, Alb. pp. 205—207.
‡ Ib p. 204.

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placed upon the altar, became after consecration, the true blood which flowed from the side of Christ." The Pope was pleased, but Berengaire's enemies viewed the statement as ambiguous, which it really was. They therefore wished Berengaire put to the fiery trial, but Gregory refused, and being considerably inclined to favour him, agreed to convene another council.* Accordingly next year the Pope summoned a synod at Rome, and cited the suffragans and abbots of the bishopric of Milan to attend. This was doubtless meant as a test of their obedience to the papal authority, but the grand object of the council was to oppose Berengaire, whose disciples were rapidly increasing both within and without the pale of the Romish church. Hugo de Verdun, abbot of Flavigny, in his chronicle, informs us that the council met in the church of the Saviour; that when they discoursed on the body and blood of Jesus Christ, they expressed diverse opinions, and that the greater number asserted the bread and wine by the consecration prayer, and the invisible operation of the Holy Ghost to be converted substantially into the Lord's body, born of the Virgin, and which hung on the cross, and into the blood which gushed from his side when pierced by the spear. Hugo, says the advocates for transubstantiation, defended their views "by authorities from the Greek and Latin fathers," but this sentence is not found in the records of the council.†

The records of council add, that some being "smitten with long continued blindness, endeavoured to prove by certain cavils, that it is only in figure, because the substantial body sits at the right hand of the Father." This argument threw the council into great difficulty, and Gregory was in such perplexity that he knew not in whose favour to decide, but as Matthew Paris and Benno inform us, he appointed three cardinals to observe a time of extraordinary fasting and prayer, to entreat God to declare whether the opinions of Berengaire or the church of Rome is the true one. He cast a consecrated host into the fire, which shews he did not believe it to be the real body of Christ.‡ The record states, that before the coun-

* Mosh. ib. chap. iii. § xvi. † Allix, Pied. pp. 125, 126. 253.
‡ Leger, part i. chap. xxiv. p. 151.

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cil met on the third day, the light of the Holy Ghost was vouchsafed, and the opponents of the truth ceased to contend.* Consequently, by this council, Berengaire was induced to read, subscribe, and assent by oath to a third confession of faith, "that the bread and wine, by the mysterious influence of holy prayer, and the words of our Redeemer, are substantially changed into the true, proper and vivifying body and blood of Jesus Christ." He was required also to add to his second confession, a solemn declaration, that "the bread and wine, after consecration, were converted into the real body and blood of Christ, not only in quality of external signs and sacramental representations, but in their essential properties, and in substantial reality." The Pontiff sent him home with redoubled marks of his esteem. From the force of conscience, however, Berengaire no sooner returned to his residence, than he publicly renounced what he had subscribed at Rome, and published an elaborate treatise against it. On this occasion Lanfranc and Guitmund wrote to oppose him, but Gregory would do nothing to vindicate the council, and is believed to have been satisfied with Berengaire's second confession, and in a great measure to have adopted his sentiments, which appears by Berengaire's treatise published by Martini, and from Gregory's epistle to Berengaire; to which he alludes, and in which Gregory states, that he was forced to the second council by the enemies of Berengaire, and that he had an answer from the Virgin Mary to keep by the words of Scripture, which words Berengaire had never opposed.† The greater part of the bishops of North Italy were present at the council, and as they had only lately submitted to the Pope, as we shall state in the next chapter, were not fully initiated into the belief of transubstantiation. Berengaire indeed was evidently not the originator of the opposition to the real change in those parts, because the words, "a long continued blindness," in the manuscript records of the council uttered against the adversaries of the real presence, refer to those who had opposed this doctrine ever since Paschasius Radbert. The writings of John Scot, which were burnt at Verceil in 1049, had raised much of the opposition to this popish dogma. The adoration of the host

* Allix, ib. p. 253. † Mosh. ib. § xiv.

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was as yet unknown, for the denial of this idolatry is never charged against Berengaire.*

A considerable part of the dioceses of Aquitain and Narbonne Gaul rejected the authority of the popes, and condemned the errors of the councils against Berengaire, but the precise year of this rejection is not mentioned. Probably this happened when Gregory VII. endeavoured to cause the French bishops like vassals to swear an oath of fidelity to him, which proceeding aroused pastors and people to assert their liberties. At the same time Gregory attempted to change the service of the church.† Indeed, the character of Gregory became so obnoxious, that in the year 1079, a council of nineteen bishops met at Mentz to consider of his deposition, and in 1080, another convened, with the same view at Brixia, the episcopal city of Tirol. Benno and Conrad of Ursberg say he was charged with the opinions of Berengaire, and therefore some plead that the bishops in North Italy did not believe Berengaire; but we are to recollect that the great body of the council were Germans, who, besides impeaching him with doubting the real presence, call him a magician, necromancer, and antichrist. Gross immoralities and the corruptions predicted by Paul were alleged against the visible head of the Romish church. The Italian bishops had, therefore, sufficient ground to concur in his condemnation, though they might not find fault with his hesitation regarding the real presence.‡

The church of Rome was unable to overthrow the party that adhered to the tenets of Berengaire, though she employed for this purpose both craft and violence. Usher records, that the Berengairian or Waldensian heresy, as it was called, about the year 1080, extended in France, Italy, and England. On the authority of Guitmond, a papist, he remarks, that not only the meaner sort of persons in the villages, but the nobility in the cities were infected. He relates, that during the reign of Willian the Conqueror, and of his son William Rufus, that is, from 1066, to the end of the century, the Berengair-

* Allix, Pied. pp. 43. 126. 252, 253. † Allix, Alb. pp. 128, 129.

‡ Allix, Pied. pp. 251, 252. Trithimius and Marianus, in Leger, part i. chap. xxiii. p 148.

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ians greatly abounded in England, and that in 1087, Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, wrote a treatise against them.* Sigebert, in 1081, admits the great agitation produced by the Berengairian doctrine. "In those days," says he, "France was disturbed by Berengaire of Tours, who asserted that the eucharist which we take on the altar is not really the body and blood of Christ: whence many disputed against him, and for him, both by words and writings."† Balduin, under 1084, proves that the doctrine of Berengaire not only increased in France and Italy, but extended far and wide to England, and was "so well preserved in the Valleys, whence we have proved that the inhabitants called themselves Waldenses, that to speak of a Berengairian was to speak of a Waldensian." In like manner Serrar says, "they whom they call Calvinists, they formerly called Berengairians and Waldenses."‡ Usher following William of Malmesbury, assures us that, notwithstanding his forced retractations, Berengaire persevered in his doctrine till his death. Pegna on the directory of the inquisitors asserts, "that Berengaire was never converted from his first sentiment, and that he never abandoned the doctrine which he appeared to retract." Baronius, at 1085, and P. Merssai confirm the perseverance of Berengaire. His doctrine continued to extend as Matthew of Westminster tells us; and the collector of the Roffensian history at 1087, even says, "that the doctrine of this Berengaire, spread more and more, and had corrupted all the Saxons, Italians and English."§ When Balduin, at 1084, and Matthew mention the Italians, French and English, as corrupted by Berengaire, the reference is to their opposing the real presence.‖ The enemies of Berengaire loudly inveighed against him, but he made few remarks, and continued to teach his doctrine. At the council of Bourdeaux in 1087, he stated his religious belief. His enemies affirm he was then penitent, and afterwards died in the Romish faith, but this is a mistake, for he adhered to the confession he made at Rome in 1078 in its *spirit*, but not in its literal sense. Gregory was satisfied with it, and adopted no

* D'Anvers on Baptism, the Christian Britons and Waldenses, p. 276.
† Allix, Pied. p. 124.
‡ Leger, part i. chap. xxiv. p. 152.
§ Leger, ib. p. 151.
‖ Allix, Pied. pp. 122, 123.

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steps against Berengaire for retracting his confession of 1079. The Roman church was not yet quite fixed regarding the nature and *manner* of Christ's presence in the eucharist, and Gregory did not wish to pry into this mystery, but the council of 1079 influenced him. Berengaire retired from public life to the isle of St Cosme, near Tours, and spent his time in penitence and sorrow for his equivocations. His real sentiments are expressed in his letter to Almann: "The true body of Christ," says he, "appears to be placed on the table itself, *but* the *true* body of Christ is *spiritually on it in the inner man*, uncorrupted, unstained, untouched, only to be *spiritually eaten* by those who are members of Christ." This shews he meant only a spiritual presence. In this he "persevered all along to his death," says Boxhorn, "which happened in the year 1091." Mosheim places his demise in 1088."* Even his enemies admit, that he was a man of eminent piety, but his instability in his religious profession, must lower his character in the eyes of impartial judges. Though he was a good man, and led to the investigation of the question of transubstantiation, yet his unsteadfastness has diminished the honour which he would otherwise have received in the history of the church. Sigisbert tells us, that after the condemnation of the doctrine of Berengaire, Heriger, abbot of Lobes, did not cease to write against the real presence as "a new heresy invented by Paschasius, contrary to the ancient and true doctrine, collecting against transubstantiation a great many writings of the fathers concerning the body and blood of Jesus Christ."†

The Berengairians held views similar to the Waldenses and Paterines. Lanfranc states, that the Paterines asserted that the true church remained among themselves—that like Berengaire, they accused the church of Rome of error, and that they called her "the congregation of the wicked and the seat of Satan." Guimond, bishop of Aversa, in his first book against the Berengairians, accuses them with overthrowing as far as they could lawful marriages, and the baptism of infants,‡ because they did not account marriage a sacrament, and did not in baptism practise the Romish superstitions.

* Mosheim, ib. § xviii. with the notes. Boxhorn, Univ. Hist. in Leger, part i. chap. xxiv. p. 151. † Leger, ib. ‡ Allix, Pied. p. 123.

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CHAPTER III.

Churches of Aquileia, Milan and Turin, lose their Independence, and submit to Rome—Paterines of Milan deny the Pope's authority—Waldenses in the Valleys nobly refuse to apostatize with the Lombardian Churches, by subjecting themselves to the Pope—Description of the Valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, Pragela, and San Martino—List of the Churches of the Valleys in the eleventh century—Church Order—Separation from the Romish Church increases—Account of the Noble Lesson and the Catechism, two Waldensian Books of this Century.

We are now arrived at that period, when, in the Valleys of Piemont, distinct regular churches are named, whose members had lost all hopes of returning to the general church. Though during the former centuries, the Christians in the North of Italy had never submitted to the bishop of Rome, yet in the eleventh century, the people of Lombardy, with the exception of the Waldenses, Berengairians, Paulicians and Paterines, ceased to contend against the encroachments of papal power, and finally owned the Pope as visible head of the church. At this time the Waldenses not only refused as formerly to acknowledge the Pope, but declined church fellowship with those Christians in Lombardy who allowed themselves, after their fathers had for centuries withstood the popish authority, to be degraded under the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome.

At this time seven cardinals, the bishops and the cardinal's clerks of the Roman See, claimed a right independently of the civil authorities, to elect a visible head to the church, which choice was to be confirmed by the clergy. * Hitherto Aquileia, Milan, and Turin had rejected the authority of the bishop of Rome, but, alas! we have in the eleventh century to detail the ultimate submission of these places to the Pope,† which subjection was opposed by some clergy at Pataria in Milan, and by the Waldenses in the neighbourhood of Turin, who henceforward abandoned all church communion with these

* Mosheim, cent. xi. part. ii. chap. ii. § vi. † Acland, pp. xxxii. xxxiii.

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Northern Italian churches, which had never hitherto obeyed the decisions of any council unless their deputies assisted.*

Before relating the circumstances of the Pope obtaining power over the Lombardian churches, and the final separation of the Waldenses, we are to recollect that in the year 1049, a council by appointment of the Pope, Leo IX. met at Verceil between Turin and Milan, where John Scot and Berengaire were condemned, and transubstantiation was asserted. A full account of Berengaire's opposition to the real presence has been given in the preceding chapter.† The decisions of Verceil would shew the Waldenses the corruptions of the Romish church, and prepare them for deserting the churches of Turin, Milan and Aquileia, whenever these joined the Pope. Among various points which Leo disputed with Michael Cerularius, bishop of Constantinople, were the controversies between Leo himself and the clergy of the North of Italy, for the Pope wished to impose on these clergy certain articles, such as celibacy, from which the Greeks left the ministers of religion at liberty. This led to the examination of the points at issue, and paved the way for that breach which soon followed in the church of Milan and in Piemont, when the Pope's authority was established in these parts.‡ The law of the Pope was so much enforced, that the married clergy were driven from their benefices by temporal authority, themselves excommunicated, and the sacraments administered by them declared null and void. This tyrannical injunction of a single life was the cause of much immorality among the popish ministers, and Leo employed Peter Damian, cardinal of Ostea, to write against these gross impurities. Benefices were also bestowed by bishops and laymen, for money, separate from ordination. The Pope declared this simony and heresy, decried such ordinations as void, and removed all benefices from the hands of laymen. Ordinations, by a warrant from emperors and other princes, were also accounted simonical and null, unless a fine was paid for the use of the bishops and archbishops. Bruno, bishop of Ast, in the life of Leo IX. writes, that at this period the church was so much corrupted, that almost all

* Maurus of Ravenna, in Allix, Pied. pp. 113. 118. † Allix, Pied. pp. 126, 127. ‡ Ib. p. 122.

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ministers were either simoniacs, or ordained by men of this description, yet he thinks such as deny the validity of Romish ordination on this account, carry the matter to an undue extreme. He alludes to some who separated from the Roman church, and denied the legality of the ordination of her priests. He judges that baptism administered by simoniacs, like baptism by Arians, can be rendered valid by the imposition of hands being added, and remarks, that there have been always some not guilty of simony. Maurus Marchisio remarks on Bruno, that sacraments "received from an unknown simoniac or heretic," are valid, because the recipient is ignorant, and receives them with a good intent. Bruno, in another treatise, judges that ordination received with a good intention from an unknown simoniac, is valid, but that orders conferred by an open simoniac, ought to be repeated. The church, however, only reckons such ordinations invalid by refusing liberty to execute the functions, the power of jurisdiction, and the possession of the benefice. Guido, Berald, and Suarez, judge such ordinations valid, but the most of Roman Catholics materially destroy the succession of their own clergy.*

At this time the papists also viewed ordinations authorized by emperors and other princes as no better than simony, and refused to sustain such ordinations without the payment of a fine, for the use of the bishops and archbishops. The popes therefore took occasion from these circumstances to bring all appointments of this description into their own hands, and to usurp supremacy over the churches in the North of Italy. Accordingly, in the year 1059, Nicolas II. under pretence of arresting the progress of this simony, and of stopping the advance of Nicolaitanism, that is, as he explained the matter, the marriage of the priest, sent Peter Damian, and Anselm, bishop of Lucca, to Milan with a view to subject that place to the Roman See. Damian informs us, that on his arrival at Milan, the clergy stimulated the people to express their discontent with the design of this legation, asserting, "that the Ambrosian church ought not to be subject to the laws of Rome, and that no right is competent to the Roman Pontiff of judging or arranging any thing in that place. The indig-

* Allix, Pied. pp. 246—250.

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nity would be too great for her who has been ALWAYS free under our forefathers, to be to the reproach of our confusion subjected to another church: which may God forbid."

When the bells rung, the people convened, proceeded to the palace of the archbishop, and, according to the report of friends, put Cardinal Peter Damian in danger of his life. They express their indignation, that in the synod of the priests of that metropolis, Peter had the boldness to sit above Wido the archbishop. Peter ascended the pulpit, and preached on the dignity of the Romish church, asserting that the prerogatives of other Sees had been granted them by the emperors, that the Roman See alone held its primacy from Jesus Christ, and that those who refused to obey her dictates, rendered themselves heretics. In the sequel, he affirms three palpable falsehoods, that Nazarius and Celsus had been sent by St Peter from Rome to Milan—that St Paul had missioned to that place Protasius and Gervasius, and that Ambrose of Milan had recourse to the authority of Syricius to purge his diocese from the heresy of the Nicolaitans. From a book on the sacerdotal dignity, falsely ascribed to Ambrose, the preacher added a passage in which the author professes in all things to follow the church of Rome as his mistress. *

As might be expected, the whole population of Milan did not submit to these new determinations concerning Simony and Nicolaitanism. The Milanese church had hitherto declined the idolatry and authority of the Roman Pontiff, and at the present attempt of the Pope to establish his supremacy over the North of Italy, one from Alciata named ARIALD, a deacon of Milan, a clerk of the taxes, who reckoned this procedure wicked in itself, and disgraceful to the clergy of Milan, persuaded LANDULF COTTA, prefect of the people, to oppose openly the whole proceedings. When Wido, the archbishop, depending on the favour of the nobility, assented to the pretensions of Damian, the populace willingly listened to Cotta, and the controversy was on both sides exceedingly keen. †

On examination, Damian, according to his papal notions, found almost all the clergy guilty of Simony or of Niolaitanism, but instead of deposing them in the name of the Pope, he

* Allix, Pied. pp. 118, 119. † Sigonius in Allix, ib. p. 121.

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adopted a dextrous expedient, better fitted to attach the different partizans to Rome. He had recourse to a dispensation, which, in connection with his evangelical sermon, soothed the irritation both of the ecclesiastics and of the community. He caused all in the sacred office promise never to exact any fee directly or indirectly from those whom Wido should ordain in future, charged him to anathematize the Nicolaitans or married clergy, and induced him solemnly to engage on the gospel to exterminate these heretics. Peter imposed a penance on the archbishop and his clergy, and afforded them the means of purchasing indulgences, which have been in all ages instruments of enriching the church of Rome, and of lowering the price of sin. In addition to these injunctions, he required Wido and the other ecclesiastics who submitted to him to swear to receive the decrees of the seven general councils, the last of which was the second council of Nice, enjoining the use of images in worship, which the bishops of Milan and of other places in the North of Italy, as well as those of France, Germany, and Spain, at the council of Frankfort in 794, had rejected. Damian concluded his work, by restoring to them the ornaments of their orders in the midst of the mass. Wido, in a council of clergy, soon afterwards declared the right of priests to marry, but they never renounced the Pope.*

Cotta, however, and a goodly number, continued to contend for the expiring liberties of the church. And "the priests who had wives," says Sigonius, "were obliged in bashfulness to perform divine service in a place which is called Patria, whence by way of reproach they were by the boys named *Patarines*."† The reasons of this separation were, because the Pope wished to be supreme—because he enforced idolatry—because he obliged his clergy to abstain from marriage, and because only the Pontiff and his bishops were allowed to appoint ministers. These seceding presbyters performed their sacred functions in a place of Milan called Patria, Pataria or Patarea, which affords a distinct foundation for the name Patarines, which origin of the term seems preferable to the derivation of it from the Latin *patior*, to suffer, because they were persecuted.

* Allix, ib. pp. 119, 120. † Ib. p. 121.

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Dr Mosheim states, that these dissenters called the Pope and his adherents by the name Paterines or Manichees, for condemning the married priests.* They might well call the Roman Catholics Manichees, who superstitiously despised marriage, and it was with an ill grace that the Romanists applied the name Manichees to the Paterines, who favoured matrimony in ministers and people. Mosheim, however, gives no good reason for the separatists calling the papists Paterines, and we can conceive of none unless that it is used as synonymous with Manichees. He agrees with us, however, that the name is derived from Patria, in which these seceders "held their assemblies; and it is well known that to this very day, a part of the city of Milan is called Patria, or Contrada di Patarri."

Guichnon in his Genealogical History of the House of Savoy, inserts in the eleventh century, some letters by Pope Nicolas, and his legate Damian, to Adelaide, marchioness of Susa. Allusion is there made to some refractory bishops of Piemont, who opposed the Pope's authority, were therefore deposed, and probably entered into communion with the Vallenses.†

Lanfranc tells us the Paterines asserted that the true church remained among themselves—accused the church of Rome of error, and called her "the congregation of the wicked, and the seat of Satan." Bonizo, bishop of Sutri, defends the right of the Pope, over the North of Italy, and relates the rise of the Paterines. On the questions agitated by them, and the Waldenses with the Romans, he says in his paradise of Augustine, "Diligently search in a manly manner concerning the sacrament of baptism and the eucharist, of the body and blood of Christ."‡ He treats of sacrifices and alms for the dead.

Indeed, both the friends and enemies of the Paterines view them as similar to the Waldenses or Subalpini of Peter Damian, and in fact, the former were so near the latter in locality, and in witnessing for the same cause, that historians have

* In his notes he appeals for his opinion to Arnulph, to Anton. Pagi. Cret. and to Lud. Ant. Muratori.

† Acland's Compend. of the Hist. of the Waldenses, pp xci. xcii.

‡ Allix, Pied. p. 123, 124.

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justly mentioned the Paterines as a class of Waldenses. The Vaudois maintained the same doctrines in the Valleys of Piemont in the diocese of Turin, which the Paterines taught in Milan. The Waldenses have always asserted the liberty of ministers to enter the marriage relation, because neither in the Old nor the New Testaments has ever God deprived them of that freedom. Now, the popish law denying this right was a leading ground of the Paterines refusing to be subject to the Church of Rome, and their other articles agreed with the principles openly avowed by the Waldenses.*

As the Waldenses of the Valleys at this critical juncture persevered in their refusal to be subjects of the Romish hierarchy, and have continued to this day to contend against popery, we shall now proceed to describe the Valleys in which they resided, to name the churches which existed in the eleventh century, and to endeavour to ascertain from authentic documents, their religious belief at the same period.

We formerly, in the first century, mentioned the ten divisions of the Alps, and the two parts of Cisalpine Gaul or Lombardy, formed by the Po running through it, with the various smaller departments. In the second division of the Alps, denominated the Cottian Alps, to the north of Mount Visco, from which the Po issues, the river Pelicis arises, and farther North, the Clusius, now the Cluson appears, both of which run into the Po. On the banks of these three rivers, the Po, the Pelicis, and the Cluson, are the Valleys of Piedmont in which the Waldenses, Vaudois or Valleymen have always dwelt, whose history we detail in these volumes. The territory anciently belonged to the Taurini, whose capital was Taurasia or Taurinium, now Turin.

Ammianus Marcellinus relates, that when other chiefs were conquered, "Cottius alone lying hid in the narrow defiles, and in the imperious asperity of the places, bad defiance to Cæsar and the Roman legions." In like manner the Waldensian flock remained independent when almost every other submitted to the Pope. In some of the surveys of the diocesian divisions of the middle ages, as in that of Peter de Marca, the Cottian Alps are not included in any one of them.†

* Ib. pp. 121, 122.

† Gilly's Waldensian Researches, pp. 64, 65.

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The most southerly of these Valleys, is the Valley of the Po, so called from that river; but there were only a few of the Vaudois, of whom we treat, who resided in this Valley. Proceeding northward, the next is the Valley of LUCERNA on the banks of the Pelicis, which river rises at the Alp, called Pra, runs through Lucerna, and falls into the Po, south of Turin. In the course of the Valley, ten smaller streams are added to the Pelicis, on each of which streamlets, a small vale is formed. One of these vales is the famous Angrogna, so called from the small river, which from the north, augments the Pelicis. Angrogna is a deep vale to which there is access only by a pass on the east, and by another on the south. Lucerna is above twenty miles in length, is of unequal breadth, and produces corn, wine and chesnuts, fruits and pasture. From the most ancient times, the inhabitants of the Valley of Lucerna have borne on their coat-of-arms, a torch surrounded by darkness, with the inscription, *Lux lucet in tenebris*— "Light shines in darkness." From this circumstance, and not from the river Lucerna which runs into the Pelicis, the Valley received its name. Well might the people use this device, which can be viewed as a kind of symbolical emblem of that more glorious lamp of the gospel dispensation which they were destined to support, while in the surrounding territories during the middle ages, "darkness covered the earth, and gross darkness the people." When Egyptian gloom shrowded the popish inhabitants, God's Israel inhabited Goshen.

Further north, and twenty-five miles south-west from Turin, is the Valley of PEROSA, so denominated from a fortress which commands its entrance on the east. It is fifteen miles long, and on the Cluson, which runs into the Po. In the course of the Valley of Perosa, the Cluson is enlarged by five other accessions of water. As we ascend the Cluson, to the westward is the Valley of Cluson, in the course of which the river is helped by twelve auxiliaries. Still higher among the Alps, and also on the Cluson, lies the Valley of PRAGELA, in which the river is increased by five augmentations, and at the source the Cluson arises from a place called Sestrieres. At the top of the Valley of Perosa, the Germanasco joins the Cluson. On the Germanasco, is situated the Valley of San Martino. This river spreads into eight branches, which are

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all united before it empty itself into the Cluson. This Valley is twenty miles long, and is accessible only by a narrow cavity, which is only the breadth of the Germanasco. In this Valley are produced wine and fruit, chesnuts and pasture. On the mountains which are often covered with snow, are found hares and marmotes, wolves and bears, with a variety of other curious animals.*

During the centuries of which we have treated in the Introduction, Piemont being a part of the empire, and latterly a fief, was subjected to the same political changes as the neighbouring provinces, and the witnesses in the Valleys were intermixed in a great measure with the other Christians in the North of Italy, which had never submitted to the dominion of Rome; but now that Aquileia, Milan, and Turin, have acknowledged the papal supremacy, and are trodden under foot of the gentiles, we henceforth abandon them, and confine our lucubrations to the Waldenses of the Valleys which have been just enumerated, and to their brethren in other quarters who contended for the same great cause.

At this period "all the world wondered after the beast," and received his mark in their right hand or forehead. What Athanasius on the Arians writes to the Anchorites, was verified in the eleventh century: "From that time the true Christians were constrained, like the great prophet Elijah in ancient times, to conceal themselves, and to retire into the caverns of the earth, to have it in their power in secret and retired places to lift their pure hands in solitude to God." Ephraim the Syrian, in his sermon on antichrist, asserts, "that then men should inquire with great eagerness to discover if the Word of God were still preserved in any corner of the earth." Abbe Ioachim declares, "that the church of the saints would be universally concealed, because the elect of God would so preserve among themselves the true wisdom, that they would not dare to preach in public places." But the words of Thomas, the angelic doctor, on the ninth chapter of the Revelation, are still more applicable to our researches, both in regard of what we have stated, and respect-

* Leger, part i. chap. i. Playfair's Geog. vol. iii. pp. 199, 282, 283. Lempriere's Class. Dic.

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ing what is before us: "At first when antichrist shall be born, before he has extended his power, the gospel shall be publicly preached; but in the following period, when he shall have arrived at his great domination, then the preaching shall be only private, and not more general, because this would be to cast pearls before swine."

After the generality of the people in the North of Italy lost their independence, by becoming disciples of the Pope, the poor Waldenses were obliged to preach only among the mountains, in the midst of the woods or in the villages. They sought situations that were recluse and removed from the communion of Rome, as in the valley of *San Martino*, above the bridge of Rabious, drawing towards the Alps in those vales in which are the communities of Salse, Macel, Rodoret and Prali. In the valley of *Perosa*, only at Taluc, Pevy, Grand Diblon and Dormiglious; at Prarustin, San Bartolemeo and Roccapiatta; at de li Gaudini, towards the mountain of Vachere; and in the valley of *Lucerna*, only in the famous community of Angrognia, in those of Bobbio and Roras, and some vales of that of Villaro. The whole inhabitants of these places were unwilling in any respect to own the Pope, whose priests in these parts were few, who were very well pleased to draw the tithes, to receive the means of jovial living, and to leave the Waldenses undisturbed. If in other parts of these valleys the evangelicals assembled to hear the word of God, they met in the night, in the most retired private houses, and frequently in grottos, caves and caverns, in order to avoid the rage of their enemies. From the circumstance of these followers of the Lamb being obliged to meet in the woods, their persecutors have accused them of committing every species of abominations.* The stedfastness of so goodly a number at this time, affords a tolerable proof that the Christians in the valleys had been hitherto accustomed to the same principles which they now avowed, and continued through so many ages to declare in the face of sufferings and death.

When the generality of the Lombardian churches were taken captive to mystical Babylon, the Waldenses and Pate-

* Leger, part i. chap. xxiv. p. 149.

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rines remained as they had hitherto been. The promise given to the ancient Jews, when carried away by the Chaldeans, may be said was here fulfilled. There shall be "a great forsaking in the midst of the land. But yet in it shall be a tenth, and it shall return and shall be eaten, as a teil tree and as an oak, whose substance is in them, when they shall cast their leaves: so the holy seed shall be the substance thereof." *

"If we possessed a continued history of the churches of the Valleys," says Dr Allix, "it would appear that they have always exactly preserved among them a church government in the same manner as it was established in the midst of the eleventh century, after their separation from the church of Rome, which happened in the time of Wido, archbishop of Milan, in the year of our Lord 1059." This refers to the separation of the Waldenses from the churches in the North of Italy, at the period when these churches owned the supremacy of the Pope; but strictly speaking, the Waldenses never deserted the authority of Rome, because they never had been under it. Allix adds, "and they distinguished their clergy into three orders, bishops, priests and deacons." For a long time past, some of the clergy in the North of Italy had been called bishops, but they were very different from the lordly bishops of popish and prelatical churches. They diligently laboured, and seemed to have assumed little more authority than to act as presidents at their meetings, and to stimulate the clergy to diligence. There is no reason to believe, that even in the latter half of the eleventh century, the Waldenses held the bishop to be an officer superior to the teaching presbyter or ordinary minister, because in a treatise on the discipline of the Valleys dated 1120, they mention only two orders of church officers, which must overturn the reports of Wolfius and Alphonso a Castro, regarding these three orders among them in 1160. Though the moderator of the Waldensian synods was elected for life, the churches carefully avoided calling him bishop. Allix observes that proof could be adduced "that their ministers exercised these holy functions extraordinarily, to the edification of the people;" and "that

* Isaiah, vi. 12, 13.

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it is not true that they gave leave to laymen to administer the sacraments." *

The Waldenses, with the inferior clergy and those people of Milan who did not submit to the Pope, may be viewed as forming one religious communion. In the year 1066, Baronius tells us that Andrew the monk relates that Wido put the deacon Ariald the Paterine to a violent death. Though Allix thinks this was written to render Wido odious, yet the transaction is quite consistent with the proceedings of future bishops against those in Lombardy, who refused subjection to the church of Rome, and the fact that Wido became unpopular among his clergy and others some time afterward, renders it probable that he had been addicted to tyranny. The popes made several unsuccessful attempts to recover the separating clergy in the dioceses of Milan and Turin. In 1067, pope Alexander II. commissioned two plenipotentiaries to Milan to confirm what Peter Damian had done. These new legates passed the former decisions into orders and regulations to be rigidly observed, because they had been pronounced in the name of God, St Peter, and St Ambrose. On the impenitent, that is, on the clergy who continued in matrimony, these commissioners expressly pronounce the same anathema that was incurred by Corah, Dathan and Abiram, and by Judas, Pilate and Caiaphas. †

In 1073, Gregory VII. succeeded Alexander II. in the papal authority, and followed the same practice of cursing the Paterines of Milan and the bishops who took part with the emperor; but we learn from Gregory's epistles to the Lombards, that these enemies of his usurpation were by no means "terrified by their adversary." On the contrary, the Milanese clergy elected Godfrey for their bishop instead of Wido. On this account Gregory viewed them as the great enemies of the Christian religion, and in 1077 did not consider himself secure against them, because they took the part of Henry IV. of Germany in opposing Gregory, whom they judged to have been justly deposed. Gregory, however, had got into the good graces of the countess Beatrix, and of her daughter Matilda, countess of Tuscany, who called the bishops of Lom-

* Allix, Pied. pp. 238, 239. † Ibid. pp. 127, 128.

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bardy who opposed Gregory, the forerunners of Antichrist. By the influence of these two personages, Gregory endeavoured to strengthen himself against the obnoxious bishops,—tried to withdraw the bishop of Pavia from the side of the Milanese ecclesiastics,—excommunicated Godfrey, and ordered the sentence to be published through the whole earth. By his address in stimulating rebellion in Germany, he also engaged the emperor Henry to abandon the cause of the people and ministers of Milan, and of the bishops of Lombardy, who were all called Simoniacs, because they were willing, in opposition to the enterprises of the popes, to maintain the rights of the emperor in reference to the investiture of bishops with the ring and crosier. The Italian bishops were displeased with Henry for appearing almost naked before the Pope, at Canusium the residence of Matilda, and agreeing not to appear in royalty till the Pope should grant him liberty. In 1080, the Pope again excommunicated Henry, and confirmed Rodolph emperor. Henry in a council at Metz and a synod at Brixen, chose a new Pope, and defeated Rodolph, who died of his wounds. In 1081, he marched against Matilda, and in 1084, took Rome, and placed Clement III. in the papal chair, who crowned him emperor. Gregory died next year. * Probably the Waldenses and Paterines did not appear very prominently in these controversies: If they favoured the views of the emperor, they were taught by his cowardly submission to one Pope, and the election of another, to look to the Lord alone to send forth labourers into his harvest.

For the remainder of this century, two rival popes commonly contended with each other; the one supported by the emperor, the other by Matilda and the party which had defended the claims of Gregory. In the year 1089, Bonizo of Sutri was killed by those of Placenza, while defending the cause of the Pope against the emperor, whom he had cruelly abused in his writings. He wrote an account of the Paterines.

Adelaide, widow of Herman, duke of Suabia, held vested in her person the Marquisite of Susa and the Dutchy of Turin,

* Allix, Pied. p. 128. Mosheim, cent. xi. part ii. chap. ii. § xiv—xviii. where the controversy of investitures is discussed.

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both fiefs of the empire, to the latter of which the Valleys belonged. In 1033 she was married to Odden, count of Savoy; in 1091 she died, and her grandson Humbert II. claimed her territories. This claim was opposed by the other issue of Adelaide and the metropolitans of Turin, down to 1252,* when the dukes of Savoy finally prevailed, and are to this day lords of the Valleys.

We do not deny that at this period a portion of that superstition which was general in the western church, infected the Waldenses of the Valleys and Milan, yet the true religion may exist where such weakness prevails, but no society can be acknowledged as the real church of Christ, which maintains doctrines contrary to our senses, to our reason, to morality, to the true worship of God, or to the merit of Christ. But some may reasonably ask, can any document be produced to inform us of the doctrines of the Waldenses at this time? To this inquiry an affirmative answer can be given, and candour requires us to hear these men declare their own sentiments. They best know their own religious belief, and no one is to be believed in preference to themselves. On this account we shall introduce in this and the following centuries, several excellent specimens of their doctrines copied from the originals preserved in the Universities of Geneva and Cambridge.† Two of these Waldensian treatises are dated in the very last year of this century, namely, *The Noble Lesson*, and *The Catechism*. These papers are inserted at large in the Appendix to the present volume, and in this place some remarks may be made regarding the language in which they were written, their date, and their contents.

With regard to the language spoken at this period in the parts of which we write, we must recollect that "after the repeated invasions of the Northern tribes, Teutonic, Gothic, and Sythian idioms mixed themselves with the dialects spoken in Italy, especially in the great plains between the Alps and the Appenines, where at last the Longobards permanently settled.‡ With regard to sounds, the Venetian is soft and

* Guichnon, vol. iii. p. 93. † Leger, part i. In the Appendix to vol. ii. will be given a list of the Manuscripts deposited in these places in the Seventeenth Century.

‡ Foreign Quarterly Review, No. ix. being for Nov. 1829, p. 154.

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musical, the Sicilian and Genoese are accented and emphatic, the Milanese and Piemontese have a soothing tone of good nature, whilst the Neapolitan bears an expression of irresistible drollery.*

Owing to the incursions of the Moors into Spain, the Arabic tongue, as well as the Spanish, was cultivated, and the former improved the latter. As on all occasions the Arabs versified, probably the Spanish vulgar poetry arose from this source. The Spanish or Limosin, spoken in Catalonia, was derived from the Latin; and from the Catalan, the Provençal language of the Troubadours, in which the Noble Lesson is written, took its rise. The Greek tongue, long used at Marseilles, communicated an additional polish to the Provençal speech, which proceeded originally from Catalonia, and not the Catalan from Provence. This appears from the expressions of Raymond Vidal, an early Troubadour: "There is no language natural or polite, but the Limosin" or Catalan. And Gaspar Scuolano, an old historian, explains this: "The third and principal language of Spain is the Limosin, for it was used in all Guienne and Provence, and is still spoken in Catalonia, Valencia and the Islands." In the course of the next century, the Catalan altered the idiom of Marseilles. The poetical language of the Troubadours of the middle ages sprung from Catalonia, and the counts of Barcelona introduced and cultivated this rhyming poetry. Long before this period, the French under Charlemagne had invaded Spain, but the Spaniards received their chief polish from the Moors, especially by the conquest of Toledo in 1085. At the siege of that place, was present William of Poictiers, the first Provençal poet of whom we have any information, yet the poetic art probably existed in Provence, previous to this date.† Dr Allix ‡ writes, "They had at this time in Italy a language different from the Roman, distinguished into several dialects, according to the distinct provinces, and much resembling the language spoke [spoken] in Provence, which owes its original to the Limosin tongue, which is a corruption of the Latin."

* Foreign Quarterly Review, No. ix. being for November 1829, p 164.
† Ib. for September 1828, Art. i. on Arabic Literature, pp. 1—28.
‡ Allix, Pied. p. 168. Leger, part i p. 25.

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John Leger, speaking of the Waldensian papers which Perrin has inserted in his history, observes, "all which books are written in the language of the Waldenses, partly Provençal, partly Piemontese." The language used by the Waldenses in the Valleys, seems to have been a mixture of the Piemontese and Provençal tongues, the latter of which, as already said, was from the Catalan, which was a corrupt Latin. From these considerations, the Noble Lesson, and all writings in the Provençal dialect would be understood in Catalonia, in Provence, in the Valleys, and in the adjacent provinces.* The Troubadours could not learn poetry from the classics, because they were too ignorant, and Homer was unknown from the fourth till the fourteenth century. Along with the improvements of language, the Moors introduced modern refinements of manners.† The Noble Lesson, like the Troubadour poems, is written in rhyme, and in long stanzas. A specimen of the language, with an English version of the whole, will be found in the Appendix. The learned reader will perceive that the Latin is the ground work of the Noble Lesson.

All the Waldensian historians date this treatise in 1100, and they conceive it bears internal evidence of this age by the words, "One thousand one hundred years are already entirely accomplished, since it was written thus, that we are in 'the last time.'" The words are from John, whose epistle was written in the course of the first century, though eleven hundred years were not absolutely complete since the beloved disciple wrote the words quoted. But the writer of the Noble Lesson evidently does not calculate odd years, and counts whole time from the incarnation. He reckons from the beginning of the Christian era, and therefore eleven hundred years had exactly elapsed since the commencement of the first century, in which the words of the Apostle were committed to writing. The writer of the Lesson, speaking only of centuries, naturally said, 1100.‡ The Waldenses also, who were not critically acquainted with the date of the epistle, have

* Allix, Pied. p. 168. Leger, part i. p. 25.

† Foreign Quarterly Review, ib.

‡ Probably he may not refer in particular to 1 John ii. 18. but to the general mode of speech in the New Testament, as in Acts ii. 17. 2 Tim. iii. 1. Heb. i. 2. 1 Pet. i. 5, 20. 2 Pet. iii. 3. Jude 18.

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universally given it this date, and we know that the Troubadour poetry, which is imitated in this production, was cultivated in Provence and the neighbouring districts, previous to the year 1100. We have therefore no authority to alter this date. The objection of the Romish bishop of Meaux, that the style resembles the latter part of the twelfth century, will not apply to a manuscript which has always borne its own date. The Latin might be known still in some measure in France and Italy, for Bernard, a Frenchman at Pisa and Milan, when he used Latin even in the first part of the twelfth century was understood, but new languages had been formed before 1100, and the writers of the Lesson doubtless used the dialect most generally spoken, and most likely to continue. The fact of Peter Waldo being obliged to translate the Bible in 1160—1180, from the Latin to the common tongue, is a sure indication that the Latin was getting rapidly into desuetude, if not utterly unknown by the commonalty.*

A few observations may now be offered regarding the contents of the Noble Lesson.† When we reflect that the work is in poetry, we feel the greater confidence in its genuineness, because the expressions are not so easily altered as in prose, as language changes, "which," says Allix, "cannot be so well done in a piece of poetry, wherein nothing can be easily changed without spoiling the whole composure." The Noble Lesson divides mankind into two classes, the one of which shall receive a reward of eternal happiness,—the other of everlasting misery. We are urged to read the Scriptures, and to consider that few are saved. The Lesson enjoins us to honour God the Father as the first moving principle;—to implore the aid of the Son, and to seek the illumination of the Holy Ghost; and teaches, that "these three are but one God," whom we are to love. It rehearses the leading facts in Scripture history,—the fall, the deluge, the confusion of tongues, the call of Abraham, the Egyptian bondage, the passage through the red sea, giving of the law, journeyings in the wilderness, entrance of Canaan, Jewish kings, and the Babylonish captivity. Also the birth, life, miracles, death and exaltation of Christ; with the commission, preaching

* Allix, Pied. p. 166—169. † See Noble Lesson at large, Appendix, No. I.

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and success of the apostles. The treatise then states the difference between true and false pastors, and points out the character of those people that love good men, and who must needs love God and Christ. They will not curse, swear, lie, nor commit adultery, kill, or be deceitful, and arecalled Waldenses. It then states that the popes, cardinals, bishops, abbots, and other officials of Rome, cannot pardon or absolve, but God alone remits iniquity. The paper concludes with the doctrine of the last judgment. "Now," says Dr Allix on the Noble Lesson,* "I defy the impudence of the devil himself to find therein the least shadow of Manicheism." After eulogising this paper for its excellence in morality, the modes of worship and the refutation of popish errors, he adds, "that no Papist can imagine it to be any thing else but the work of a true Christian and a protestant." Dr M'Crie† having mentioned the satires of the Troubadours "written in the ancient language of Provence, but read by the inhabitants of Italy and Spain," adds, "It is a curious circumstance, and may be considered as reflecting honour on a sect which has been so unmercifully traduced by its adversaries, that the *Noble Lesson*, and other religious poems of the Vaudois, which are among the earliest and rarest monuments of Provençal poetry, contain few of those satirical reflections on the clergy which abound in the writings of their contemporaries, who remained in the Romish church."

The other document is an example of the doctrine of the Waldenses, in an excellent *Catechism* dated 1100.‡ The Barba or Uncle, that is, the pastor, asks the question, and the child answers. Dr Allix§ finds a difficulty regarding the date of this paper, because "that Catechism quotes the Scriptures as distinguished into chapters, which was not till after the midst of the thirteenth century." But we may just remark, that there is no reason to believe that the manuscripts used by Leger and Morland were the autographs of 1100, but were copies written after the Bible was divided into chapters, which have been by the transcribers inserted in the Catechism, in the same manner as the translator of Perrin

* Allix, Pied. p. 166.
† History of the Reformation in Italy, p. 12.
‡ Allix, Pied. p. 169.
§ See Catechism, Appendix, No. ii.

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has added also the verses, though they are not in the copies of the original as exhibited by Leger and Moreland. This formulary bears in many respects a resemblance to the Shorter Catechism of the Scottish churches, by teaching in the beginning that the end of God's creating man is that he may know him and serve him, and be saved by his grace. It divides religion into "faith, hope, and charity;" refers to a living and dead faith, and enumerates the articles of belief from the creed, with the privileges of Christians, and the duties which in charity we are to perform to God and man. It enforces obedience as a proof of faith, and teaches that Jesus suffered for our redemption, justification, and all the blessings of salvation. Here the Waldenses assert, "God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit,—three persons yet but one essence. The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, and is one person of the Trinity,—and according to the divinity, is equal to the Father and the Son." These expressions show that the soundness of the Vaudois on the Trinity is beyond all question, and afford a proof of the assertion of Peter Boyer, that the errors of the Eutycheans, Nestorians, Arians and others, never took root in the Valleys.*

The Catechism describes external and internal worship, which is to be ascribed to God alone, to whom we are to address the Lord's Prayer. It declares that we do not believe in the church but concerning the church; that she consists of the elect who are saved by the grace of God, through the merit of Christ, being gathered together by the Holy Ghost. Marks of the true church are given from the ministers who preach sound doctrine, set a good example, and duly administer the sacraments. False priests are described as idolatrous and simonical, and as teaching that the virtue of sacraments consists in outward ceremonies. The Catechism states the doctrine of word and sacraments, with the hope of grace and of glory,—the hope of grace as consisting in redemption, remission, justification, adoption, sanctification,—and the hope of glory, which is destroyed by a dead faith, by seeking to the saints for salvation, and by submitting to antichristian authority, words and benedictions, sacraments, relics, and the

* Boyer's History of the Vaudois, Advertisment.

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like. Mary had grace for herself, but none to communicate. Saints have communion substantially "by the Holy Ghost, in God by the merit of Jesus Christ," and ministerially in the church by the word, sacraments, and prayer. The true saints persevere to life eternal in the enjoyment of God.

These statements in the Noble Lesson and Catechism, must convince the discerning reader, that the church which used such subordinate standards had attained correct views of the fundamental principles of the gospel, and must have been accustomed to accurate distinctions in doctrine. They kept the middle course between legality and licentiousness, and were evidently not infant churches.

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HISTORY

OF THE

WALDENSES.

BOOK II.

TWELFTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Review of the Waldensian Treatises on the Fear of the Lord, Tribulation, and the Lord's Prayer.—The Pope's Legates.—Peter Bruys in the South of France.—Analysis and Review of the Waldensian and Albigensian Confession of Faith, Book on Antichrist, Exposition of the Apostles' Creed, Confession of Sins, Book of Discipline and Church Government, and the Spiritual Almanack.—Doctrinal sentiments of Bruys.—Henry, a bold coadjutor of Bruys.—Anselim of Milan still wishes to be independent of Rome.—Arnulph, Archbishop of Lyons, opposes Popery, and suffers death.—Martyrdom of Peter Bruys.—Milan finally subjected to the Pope.

A considerable number of Waldensian treatises, written near the beginning of this century, are preserved by historians. The language seems the same as the Noble Lesson and the Catechism, and which was then spoken in Catalonia, the South of France, and the North of Italy. The first tract "On the fear of the Lord," connects that grace with love to God and man, enforces it on all, and cautions us against an undue attachment to the riches of the world. "It is not enough," says Leger on this paper, "to be well instructed in the fear of God, and in the pure doctrine; the most difficult matter is to persevere even to death in spite of all the temptations and persecutions which are raised by the devil, the world and our

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own flesh. See now in what manner the ancient Barbs at that time had fortified beforehand all their flocks for trial." In the same dialect, "a Treatise on Tribulation," is added. Then follow "Two Explanations of the Lord's Prayer" in the Catalan tongue. The former is incomplete, and contains a gloss on the preface, and the first three petitions. The latter is entire.* The other papers will be noticed in their turns.

The Pope's power, by legates, was now nearly absolute in France. In 1102, William, archbishop of Ausch, was appointed papal plenipotentiary in the diocese of Ausch. In 1107, Paschal II. appointed Girard, bishop of Angoulesm, to be his vicar in the provinces of Bourges, Bourdeaux, Tours, and Britain, as the commission published by D'Achery testifies. Before the tribunal of such dignitaries, all causes regarding religion were to be tried.† This circumstance will aid us in distinguishing the church of Christ from the church of Rome: yet the mere fact that any society is separate from the Romish communion, will not prove it a branch of the true church.

About 1110 appeared PETER DE BRUYS, priest of Toulouse. In a variety of places, he exercised most zealously his ministerial functions. He publicly and boldly denominated the Pope the Prince of Sodom, and the church of Rome Babylon, and the mother of harlots. He inveighed against the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament, and against the sacrifice of the mass. He condemned the worship of images, prayers to saints, and the single life of the clergy, with pilgrimages, and the multiplicity of holidays.‡ He was one of the most celebrated teachers of those whom the greater part of historians call Albigenses, who, on a great many occasions in the present history, are manifestly of the same sentiments with the Waldenses. Nicolas Vignier, in his Ecclesiastical History, under the year 1214, states, that in Provence and other parts of France, a number of Waldenses were burnt, and adds, "of whom a hundred years before the heresy of the Albigenses was sprung,' that is, the Albigenses existed in

* See these four dissertations in the Appendix, No. iii. † Allix, Alb. p. 126.
‡ Ecclesiastical History of France, p. 92.

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1114, as derived from the Waldenses. Leger, treating on Waldo translating the Scriptures, informs us, that he was "powerfully aided and helped in this sacred work by the writings of the Albigenses of Provence, who, having proceeded from Piemont, were before him formed into a body of churches very considerable, whose doctrines had been extended in divers other places of France, and particularly in Lyons itself, as will be proved in the sequel of this history." *

In this early part of the twelfth century, the Albigensian barbs or pastors, enjoying respite from persecution, applied themselves to the study of the Scriptures, and at the hours of relaxation, cultivated poetry, as appears by the Noble Lesson and other poems. The people who left the Romish church, appropriated, to support the new worship, those sums that had been given for saying masses. They came to have chapels in the chief castles. All ranks attended, and many noble persons were converted.† We shall now produce several more papers, written by the Waldenses and Albigenses of this period, which display the knowledge and judgment of the writers. There is every probability that Peter Bruys had his share in the composition of these documents. To some of them we are assured he adhered.

We properly begin with the Confession of Faith, dated by Leger, Morland and Boyer, in 1120. Sismondi on the Albigensian faith of the following century states, that at that time he can still refer to the Confession written in the former century by Peter Bruys, which was Albigensian as well as Waldensian.‡ Though the term "Waldensian" alone is usually prefixed to it, yet its being in the true old Provinçal language, and having been penned by Peter Bruys, seem to warrant the assertion of Sismondi. It is found in the collection of papers called the Spiritual Almanack, and demonstrates the doctrinal soundness in those who adhered to it. The adherents maintain the twelve articles of the summary called the Apostles' Creed, but we are to recollect, that the Waldenses, in their copies of the Creed, never mention descending into hell, and

* Leger, part i. chap. ii. pp. 12. 14.

† Dr M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Spain, pp. 30, 31.

‡ Sismondi's History of the Crusades against the Albigenses,—Introduction.

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believing in the holy catholic church. In this confession they believe in one God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and enumerate and acknowledge the canonical books of Scripture, exactly as we possess them. They give a list of the Apocryphal books, but expressly declare, that these are not read to confirm the authority of church doctrine. After mentioning some of the divine attributes, they assert that Adam was made after God's image, but sinned by listening to Satan, and moral evil thus entered our world; that Christ was promised to the Fathers, who received the law, to convince them of sin and of the necessity of a Saviour; that in due time Christ came, not for our good works, but to offer us grace; that he is our shepherd, priest, and sacrifice, our righteousness and advocate, who died for the salvation of believers; that he is the only Mediator, to the rejection of Mary and other saints; that after this life, there are only two places for men, and no purgatory; that feasts, vigils, abstinence from flesh and masses are an abomination; that sacraments are only signs of grace; that men may be saved without sacraments, provided they cannot attain them; that there are only two sacraments, and that we are to obey the secular power. *

The Waldenses, however, did not content themselves with continuing generally to reject the traditions of Rome, opposing themselves courageously to the Popes, and absolutely refusing to return to their communion, but, besides their Confession of Faith, they, in the book on Antichrist, published in their common language, and bearing the inscription, "This is the cause of our separation from the Roman Church," give an express and explicit testimony against the various errors of popery. Leger † states, that Bruys adhered to the book which exhibits "the cause of separation from the Roman church," and probably his hand was engaged in its composition. The historian De Serres, under the year 1223, declares, that he possesses a copy of it written on parchment, and in Gothic characters. The publishers of the treatise, in distinct chapters, "reject absolutely purgatory, images, the invocation of saints, and the sacrifice of the mass," which was attempted to be introduced, there having been, as Allix remarks, few mas-

* See Appendix, No. iv. † Part i p. 153.

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ses for the dead before the twelfth century. They repudiate, "Transubstantiation, the authority of the Pope and his decrees," and "teach that baptism does not save by the work wrought as if the grace were attached to the element, but that it must be wrought in covenant (alliance) with God; that masses for the dead are nothing but follies and impieties; that priests and monks ought to marry rather than burn with lusts; that men ought not to adore nor to venerate the cross; that the defence of eating certain meats on particular days, is superstitious; that men are not under obligation to receive any doctrine not conformed to the canonical Scriptures."—Such is the account which Leger gives of this book, and the perusal of it fully justifies him.* The genuineness of the Testimony against Antichrist is attested by one of the greatest enemies of the Waldenses, namely, by (Petrus Cluniacensis) Peter of Corunna, or rather Peter of Clugny, in his first and second epistles, as Illyricus states in his catalogue of the witnesses for the truth, book xv.† Besides these tracts connected with the book on Antichrist, we insert those on marriage, orders, confirmation, extreme unction, and fasting. In these statements the Albigenses and Waldenses deny the first four of these to be sacraments, and show that fasting is not a stated, but an occasional duty. They detest those fasts which abstain from flesh, feed luxuriously on fish, and neglect alms to the poor. Some of the barbes married to shew that they did not condemn marriage in ministers. Some remained single from the gift of continence, and others from a wish to serve the churches by missions, especially after 1180. in Bohemia, Germany, and other places.‡ In favour of the antiquity of these declarations on antichrist, Mr Gilly observes, that the term transubstantiation is not used, and which was introduced by Innocent III. at the council of the Lateran, in 1215, though the thing meant was long before asserted. Nor is canonization condemned, which first occurs in a papal bull, 1165, but Reinerus in 1250, writes of the Waldenses, "they likewise contemn canonizations." Therefore the papers on antichrist must have been written before canonization was

* See App. No. v. † Leger, part i. chap. xxiv. p. 153. Allix, Pied. p. 202.
‡ Leger, ib. and chap. xxxii. p. 202.

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known. For the same reason, these documents make no mention of the service of the rosary, which was invented by the inquisitor Dominic, at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Nor is the inquisition once alluded to.* These circumstances are favourable to the date 1120, usually given by historians, and probably some parts of these papers are much older. Additions would be made to the testimony against antichrist, as the various corruptions were introduced.

There is an Exposition of the Apostles' Creed by the Waldenses and Albigenses, in which they quote, 1 John v. 7. in defence of the Trinity, and they defend all the doctrines now found in that summary except descending into hell and believing in the holy catholic church. Among the documents we have by the same peoples, an explanation of the Ten Commandments, dated by Boyer 1120.† It contains a compend of Christian morality. Supreme love to God is enforced, and recourse to the influence of the planets and to sorcerers, is condemned. The evil of worshipping God by images and idols is pointed out. A solemn oath to confirm any thing doubtful is admitted, but profane swearing is forbidden. Observation of the Sabbath, by ceasing from worldly labours and from sin, by good-works, and by promoting the edification of the soul through prayer and hearing the word, is enjoined. The fifth, sixth and seventh commandments are explained in the ordinary way. On the eighth precept, not only theft, but fraud, coining base money, gambling for gain, and trifling away time, are condemned. False witnessing, lies and slanders, are severely censured under the ninth; and covetousness, with all internal lustings, are denounced under the tenth precept. The conclusion states, that the two parts of the law are the enforcement of our duty to God and to our neighbour, and teaches that the use of the law is to convince men of sin, in order to persuade them to confess it, and to plead for pardon at God's throne of grace.

Among the papers is found a Confession of Sins,‡ which is common both with the Waldenses and Albigenses. It is evidently not intended as a form of prayer for public assemblies,

* Gilly's Waldensian Researches, pp. 40, 41.

† See Appendix, No. vi.

‡ Ibid. No. vii.

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being expressed in the first person singular, but is clearly meant to be a help to secret prayer. Personal sins in heart and life against God and our neighbour are bewailed, and pardon and repentance are implored for Jesus' sake.

To another book of authority, we must pay particular attention, which is entitled, "The Ancient Discipline of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piemont." Perrin calls this the discipline under which the Waldenses and Albigenses lived. The original is in a Spanish dialect, which is thought rather older than the Provinçal language used in the confession of 1120, already noticed, but the tongue is radically the same. The Spanish, with slight variations, was spoken in Provence and the Valleys. Moreland informs us, that this important treatise was extracted out of divers authentic manuscripts, written in their own language several centuries before either Calvin or Luther. No writer mentions any copy as dated earlier than 1120. The nature of discipline is explained both in regard to individuals, and the society of the faithful. The pastors are educated by learning on their memories a large portion of the Bible—they ask a call from the people, and are set apart by the imposition of hands. These ministers are under the inspection of one another, and are provided with food and clothing, by the persons whom they teach. The church's right to elect governors, and to have a diversity of elders ordained is asserted, and ministers committing gross sins are to be deposed. The duty of instructing children in the catechism formerly analyzed, and of correcting them, is stated. Mention is next made of choosing lay-elders for government; of public collections to defray the necessary expenses of such as travel on foreign missions, and to be given in alms to the poor; and of the pastors assembling in council once a-year. In his discourse on the barbes of the Waldenses, Leger informs us, that their discipline in the consistory or session, which governs each particular church, and in the synod, is imperfectly understood on account of many papers being lost in the disorders, but he communicates all he was able to collect. "With regard to their synodical constitutions," says he, "the rest of their old writings relate, that the barbs or pastors assembled 'once a year to treat of their affairs in a *General Congregation*,' or

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Synod. And the Italian manuscript which can be seen with the others in the University of Cambridge, dated 1587, declares, that 'this congregation was always ordinarily convened in the month of September, and this for a great many hundred years before, and that they have seen assembled in one individual congregation in the Vallon of Laos, in the Valley of Pragela, even to a hundred and forty of these barbes.' The manuscript adds, 'that they have always had their consistories, and their exercise of discipline most exactly observed, except in the times of persecution: and that then these barbs held their consistories in secret, and made their congregations,' or synods, 'in winter, when the snows deprived their enemies of courage to go and search them out.' In such a season, not one of them ceased to preach in his own place. They were often obliged to perform these exercises in the height of the Alps."* The Book of Discipline next specifies the nature and design of ecclesiastical rebuke, with the case in which recourse should be had to excommunication. Lawful marriage is defended. The evil committed in taverns is described in strong language. The sin of balls and dancings is detailed at great length, and in highly coloured statements: these amusements are viewed as a violation of the dedication of youth to God in baptism, and as breaking all the precepts of God's law. This treatise also teaches us not to be induced by the men of the world to indulge in sin, nor to seek revenge on persecutors, and concludes by directing to the means of avoiding sin and cultivating holiness. This System of Discipline was approved by Luther, Melancthon, and Bucer, whose words we give along with the work itself, which contains nothing favourable to the assertion, that the Waldenses and Albigenses were Episcopalians in the modern sense.† The statement of Reiner in the thirteenth century, that the Waldenses had a bishop who alone ordained, is false, because the president of the Waldensian synods was called moderator, who indeed was continued for life, but who had not power to ordain without some of his brethren joining with him like any other synod or association of pastors, in which the moderator takes

* Leger, part i. chap. xxxii. pp. 201, 202. † Appendix, No. viii. with the Remarks there made.

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the lead. We may also learn from the Waldensian moderator, the limited power of the bishops of ancient Lombardy.

The Waldenses had also a book of authority called The Spiritual Almanack.* This seems to have been a collection of smaller pieces, as several of the papers already noticed are contained in it. We mention some that have not yet come in our way. On the nature of a sacrament, the sign is distinguished from the thing signified, namely, the grace of God by the suffering and righteousness of Christ. Circumcision and baptism are mentioned as of the same nature. We are taught that it is a duty to bring children for baptism—that baptism is to be in the full congregation—that external baptism is not sufficient, and that the popish ceremonies on the infant are discarded. In the Lord's Supper, the elements and actions are signs of believers being one body, of their being ingrafted into Christ, and of their promise to persevere in his service. The words, "this is my body," are declared to be taken sacramentally and truly, but not identically and measurably: so also is the cup to be understood. The ordinance is to be connected with thanksgiving, prayer, and preaching the Word. On marriage, the duties of the parties are detailed, and what follows on that subject, with all that is said on orders, chrism, confirmation, extreme unction, and fasting, are the same as in the book on Antichrist. On the visitation of families and of the sick, we are told that the messenger of the Word must teach not only in the congregation, but from house to house; and must comfort the afflicted by setting forth, that God is compassionate, that we are to submit our will to his, that grief and poverty are no sign of God's hatred of us, that the Son of God suffered more from God and man than we are able, and that he drunk the cup of wrath in our stead. The sick person is to be directed to hope for salvation in Jesus Christ alone, and to be reminded of the promises in Christ. When men die, the survivors are to be comforted, and to be exhorted not to lavish expenses at the funeral, on sumptuous entertainments or on superstition.

These writings are mentioned as existing in 1120, but the slight diversity of dialect suggests a probability that some of

* Appendix, No. ix.

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them, as the discipline, might be earlier, or that they were composed at different places. At all events, the Waldenses and Albigenses have unanimously agreed that these declarations express their sentiments in regard to the doctrine, worship, government, morality and discipline of the church; and demonstrate that primitive Christianity was still preserved in the Valleys and the South of France. The Christian religion had continued uncorrupted, as Boyer remarks, "from the time the Waldenses received it, till these acts were made."

In all likelihood PETER BRUYS had a hand in composing several of these treatises. We are assured by Leger that he adhered to the book on Antichrist, and very possibly wrote it. At any rate, we may view it as publishing his religious principles, and may compare that book with the views which the enemies of Bruys have ascribed to him. Peter, abbot of Clugny, testifies, that Peter Bruys, from whom the Albigenses were called Petrobrusians, taught almost twenty years in Arles, Embrun, and Gascoin, in which last place he took refuge from the persecution which this same Peter of Clugny stimulated the bishops and archbishops to exercise against him. Peter urges the prelates not only to preach against him, but to pursue him in his retreat "with armed force by laymen." The heresies which the abbot charges against Peter Bruys are five, which we give in the adversary's own language, with some remarks.

"The first consisted in denying that infants could be saved by baptism, when they are under the age of reason; and that the faith of the parents can be available to those who are not of age to believe." This is a reason why Bruys has been called a reviver of the heresy of the Manichees. Some Manichees previous to this era had settled in Languedoc, and the bishop of Meaux and others of his sect, wish mankind to believe that Bruys was a Manichee, though Baronius a Roman Catholic does not appear ever to have heard of this charge. The position contained in the words of Peter of Clugny, is by no means the same as the Manichean doctrine, because the Manichees commonly altogether rejected baptism, as well as the Lord's Supper, while the abbot only asserts that Bruys denied that baptism saves infants. But since Leger assures us that Bruys adhered to the book on Anti-

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christ, which declares "the cause of separation from the Romish church," let us examine the said book, and we shall find these words,—"The third work of Antichrist consists in this, that he attributes the regeneration of the Holy Spirit unto the dead outward work, and baptising children *in that faith*, and teaching that thereby baptism and regeneration must be had." Now any protestant advocate for the baptism of infants can consistently maintain this doctrine, and the words of the abbot seem just a distorted view of the expressions from the book on Antichrist. Taking the one to explain the other, the accusation is just that Bruys denied that this "outward work" of baptism can save, and asserted that parents obtaining baptism "in that faith" that the outward work saves, can be of no avail to such as are not of age to believe.* Dr Allix seems wrong when he concedes that the libel by the abbot "comes very near the opinion of the Hieracites;" because that class of men denied salvation to all infants who died before the use of reason.† Allix is thought by some more correct in some following remarks regarding the abbot attributing to the Petrobrusians a kind of anabaptism: he adds, "We shall find afterwards that this error was not general among them, because the disciples of Peter Bruys and Henry reject it as a slanderous imputation, and because the malice which appears in the wording of this calumny is nothing but the effect of that hatred wherewith Peter de Clugny was inflamed against these pretended heretics."‡ Were Bruys and Henry fairly shown to hold the same views with the modern evangelical baptists, we would cheerfully own them as God's witnesses; but the words of the book on Antichrist do not condemn the baptism of infants, for they only censure baptism 'in that faith,' that the dead outward work saves, and therefore Bruys, and Henry his fellow-labourer, with the Waldenses and Albigenses, appear to have practised infant baptism, as their confessions show.§

"The second heresy," says Peter, "consisted in maintaining, that no temples or churches ought to be built, and that

* Allix, Alb. chap. xiv. and Treatise on Antichrist.

† Mosheim, cent. iii. part ii. chap. v. § xi. ‡ Alix, ib.

§ See several remarks on this subject, added to the book on Antichrist in the Appendix.

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those already built, ought to be destroyed; and that Christians did not need holy, that is, consecrated places in which to worship God." This is just a consequence drawn from the aversion of the Petrobrusians to the popish churches, because of the idolatry there committed, and because of the consecration of these churches to the saints. These people thought the Pope antichrist, and judged that those houses containing monuments of his authority, ought to be pulled down.

"The third consisted in asserting, that they ought to break down and burn the holy crosses, because that figure, and that instrument wherewith Jesus Christ had been so cruelly tormented and put to death, was so far from being worthy of adoration, veneration, or any other kind of supplication, that it ought to be dishonoured with indignity, broke to pieces and burnt, to revenge our Saviour's torments, and his death." This is by no means the doctrine of the Manichees, who denied that Jesus Christ really died on the cross. This charge contains exactly the doctrine of Agobard, who maintained that neither veneration, adoration, nor supplication, was due to pictures; and the Petrobrusians asserted the same of crosses, which were to be broken rather than worshipped. The monks endeavoured to raise the popular fury against Peter Bruys, by their asserting, that on Good Friday, he had broke several crosses to boil his victuals. Though this is improbable, yet some may think there was no great sin in such an action, and that the wood was applied to a better purpose than to form an object or instrument of worship. The book on Antichrist condemns images and crosses.

"The fourth consisted not only in denying the truth of the body and blood of our Lord, which is offered up every day, and continually by the sacrament of the church, but also in maintaining that it was nothing, and ought not to be offered." To this charge, the Petrobrusians must plead guilty, for it is proved by all the treatises which we have reviewed, when the Lord's Supper is mentioned. They all deny the real change, but do not, like the Manichees, entirely condemn the New Testament feast. The ancient liturgy spoke of the members of the church offering bread and wine to be used in the communion, and read "who offer up unto thee," but when the

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doctrine of the real presence was established, the priest read, "*for whom* we offer up to thee," meaning that he offered the mass as a sacrifice to God in the room of the people, before offering it to the people themselves. This idea of an offering to God for the worshippers, was more fully introduced in the thirteenth century.

"The fifth was constituted in deriding all the offerings, prayers, alms, and other good-works done by the faithful who are alive, for those that are dead, because they could not by any of these means afford them the least comfort." This representation rejects purgatory, with prayers, alms and good-works for the dead, and is proved by the book on Antichrist and other public papers to which the Petrobrusians adhered. The Manichees likewise might reject these figments, yet this rejection was not peculiar to Manichees, and therefore constituted no proof that the Petrobrusians were of that sect.

Coccius brings a sixth article against Peter Bruys, namely, teaching that priests and monks ought to marry rather than live a single life, defiled with impurity.*

In his catalogue of the witnesses, Illyricus tells us, that Peter Bruys constantly persevered more than twenty years to maintain these articles in Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny, and particularly in the dioceses of Gap and Ambrun, included in the same Alps as the Valleys, but under the dominion of France.† From this man, the Waldenses and Albigenses have been called Petrobrusians.

Another eminent preacher of truth, contemporaneous with Bruys, was HENRY, an Italian by birth, a monk and a hermit.‡ He was a disciple of Peter Bruys, at least he adopted similar views, laboured in the same work of reformation in Switzerland and France, and was much celebrated in the year 1120.§ He taught in the same places with Bruys. From him the Albigenses have been called Henricians.

In all the former centuries, we have made appear, that there was in the South of France, a continual succession of witnesses against the encroachments of Rome, and that at

* Allix, Alb. ib. † Leger, part i. chap. xxiv. p. 153.
‡ Mosheim, cent. xii. part ii. chap. v. § viii. § Leger, ib. p. 154. chap. 32. Morland, book i. chap. viii. Perrin, book i. chap. ix.

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various times companies left the Romish communion, but a more vigorous opposition publicly appeared in the beginning of the twelfth century, as we see in the treatises reviewed. The Albigenses held the same sentiments as the Waldenses, yet they did not generally come from the Valleys of Piemont, but belonged to France. About the year 1125, Radulph, abbot of Tron, returned from Italy through the southern parts of France, because "he heard that that country was polluted with an inveterate heresy concerning the body and blood of our Lord." This shews that the opponents of the real presence were now very numerous, and held the same sentiments on the Lord's Supper which Berengaire taught in the former century, who bestowed the title of "mystical Babylon" on the church of Rome.* Though in the eleventh century the churches of Turin, Milan, and Aquileia submitted to the Pope, yet in the twelfth some degree of anxiety about independence of the Pope still remained. This appears in the election of Anselm Pustrella, the fifth of that name, to be archbishop of Milan, in 1123, who, two years after, in 1125, following the advice of a few, proceeded to Rome to confer with Honorius II. and his cardinals. There he defended with powerful arguments the ecclesiastical customs of the Ambrosian church, and the honours of that archiepiscopacy and city. The Pope then addressed him: "Brother, you being a bishop, have premeditated and come to this place; but if you wish to enjoy the authority of archbishop during my times, it is necessary that you receive the gown *(pallium)* from my hands; or at the altar of St Peter as I have received it." On this the bishop of Milan adjured Roboald of Alba, to give him his advice. Roboald replied, that he would suffer his nose to be slit to his very eyes, sooner than he would give him advice to accept the gown at Rome, and thus make provision to impose on the church of Milan, this new and grievous measure which Pope Honorius was designing for her. Therefore that archbishop returned to Milan without the gown, and brought back with him the same bishop of Alba. But he did not ascend the archiepiscopal seat until Ubert, his secretary, swore that his Lord Anselm did consent to no diminution of the

* Allix, ib. pp. 131, 132.

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honour of the church of Milan, and till the same Roboald, bishop of Alba, confirmed him by his authority. Henceforward this archbishop recovered his seat, and the castles of the archbishopric, at the disposal of the clergy and people.*

Even in a nominal connection with the church of Rome, there were some in the South of France, like Anselm at Milan, who opposed the Roman corruptions. Here ARNULPH, archbishop of Lyons, deserves to be mentioned, who opposed himself with so much zeal to the corruptions of the papal clergy in doctrine and life. Platina and Hugo Sabellicus remark, that he "preached the divine law through Italy and France, and lastly at Rome, with a great concourse of people." In the Hirsuage Chronicle, Trithemius writes, that "in the time of Pope Honorius II. Arnulph came to Rome, a man of great piety, and an excellent preacher, who, when preaching the pure word of God, boldly reproved the impurity and other vices of the clergy. He so much recommended apostolic simplicity and holiness, that he was admired by the nobles of Rome as a true disciple of Jesus Christ, but the cardinals and clergy caused choke him by night, *(le firent egorger de nuit)*." Leger understands this as meaning, that he was hanged *(pandu)* at Rome, by the rage of his enemies. Illyricus in his catalogue writes his biography at length, and relates, that some time previous to this period, the clergy had for the same cause, and exactly in the same way, treated a monk named, like himself, Illyricus.†

After the persecuting bishops and archbishops stirred up by Peter de Clugny, had obliged Peter Bruys to remain somewhat retired, they so closely watched him by their votaries, that they seized him at St Gilles, a city of Languedoc, where they instigated the populace to burn him to death. This was in 1130, and to the great satisfaction of Peter de Clugny and Baronius, because they considered Bruys as then punished for burning the crosses.‡

* Ughellus and Landulf in Allix, Pied. pp. 113—115.

† Leger, part i. chap. xxiv. p. 152.

‡ Mosheim, ib. § vii. Davity on heresies, p. 350. in Leger, ib. p. 153. Allix, Alb. p. 139. To the latter two writers whose dates are 1124 and 1126, I prefer that of Mosheim, who gives the commencement of the ministry of Bruys in 1110, and all parties allow it continued twenty years.

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Peter de Clugny thus reproaches the Petrobrusians: "O ye masters of errors, and blind leaders of the blind, the dregs of heresies, and the relics of schismatics." These Petrobrusians were exactly and determinately joining themselves to the Berengarians, whom Peter calls "the relics of schismatics." A Scriptural union with the church of Rome was not now practicable, because of the errors she maintained, and of her tyranny over churches and states. Before this date, the separation of the greater part of the people in the dioceses of Narbonne, Toulouse, Agen, and other places from the Romish communion had taken place, and the Petrobrusians were now ranked among them. Hence, in his second epistle, Peter de Clugny proceeds, "In your parts, the people are re-baptised, the churches profaned, the altars overthrown, crosses burnt, and flesh eaten on the very day of our Saviour's passion. Priests are whipped, monks are imprisoned and forced by terrors and torments to marry. The heads of which contagion, ye have indeed, by the divine assistance, and by the help of catholic princes, driven out of your country; but as I have already said, the members yet remain amongst you, infected with this deadly poison, as I myself lately perceived." Thus the same disorders prevailed in these dioceses, which Segebert had formerly observed.* If priests and monks deserved punishment by the civil law, why spare them?

The bishops in the North of Italy, who had been excommunicated by the Popes as Simoniacs, and as married, had continued to exercise their functions without troubling themselves regarding these censures. But we do not read that either Anselm of Milan, or any of the Italian excommunicated bishops, ever joined themselves to the Paterines. In 1134, the celebrated Bernard, abbot of Foncaud, laboured to reunite the diocese of Italy with the Pope. His object was to advance the interest of the Pope's friend, the emperor Lotharius, against Conrad and such as joined with him in opposition to papal errors. Bernard succeeded in effecting this re-union at Milan, and we do not find that the bishops of North Italy afterwards continued separate from the Roman communion; nay, the probability is very strong, that said

* Allix, Alb. pp. 207, 208.

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bishops were all reconciled to Rome. But Bernard's 131st epistle shews, that this union at Milan, in regard to some of the lower orders of clergy was imperfect and wavering. A small number of ecclesiastics and people refused to submit to Rome. These ministers who continued in secession, were inconsistently considered by such as re-united, to be mere laymen, and to have no authority to preach the gospel or to administer sacraments, which view was afterwards continued by Roman catholics, in regard to all ministers not of their communion. The clergy who declined submitting to Rome joined the Vaudois, and though we cannot name them, the statement is not false, because by the intrigues of the pope, the greatest uncertainty in these matters has prevailed. Ughellus and other Roman Catholics declared such bishops as are not confirmed by the pope, to have no authority, and the inferior clergy not authorised by the pope's bishop, to have no power. Many such clergy concealed their titles to avoid the hatred of the Romans, who always destroyed the memorials of such men. The bishops of St Asaph and Bangor in Wales, opposed the usurpations of Austin the monk in the sixth century, and for that reason the successors of these bishops are not known in history for five hundred years. The bishop of Bangor cannot name three of his predecessors from the time of Austin till the conquest, because at the latter period the English were doubtless careful to extinguish every memorial of the opposition to popery by the bishops of these places. *

CHAPTER II.

HENRY and others oppose the peculiarities of Popery—Henricians extensive—Henry's doctrines and Martyrdom.

AFTER the cruel death of Bruys, his doctrine was not eradicated in the South of France, but maintained by Theucholin

* Allix, Pied. pp. 250—255.

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or Tudéme, Peter de Blois, and John Rosalin, a learned man, and one of the chief restorators of the university of Paris: also by the very learned Peter Alexander,—by one named Arnould, who died at Paris, and by other illustrious personages. But the man of chief eminence at this date was HENRY, who has been mentioned in the foregoing chapter. Having once been a monk, he might retain a degree of superstition, and seems not to have had such an aversion as Bruys from the sight of a cross, for he sometimes carried one in his hand.* He taught however the vanity of oblations for the dead, the invocation of saints, and the excommunications of priests; of the pilgrimages of the faithful, and the consecrations of chrism and oil; consequently he was indicted as a heretic.† This is similar to the account of his doctrines in the same quarter. The writer honours him and his followers as "apostolic, simple and homely men, whom many of the clergy and bishops, nay also of the lay princes, condescend to favour." Bernard imputes to them the doctrine "that the fire of purgatory is a fancy, because the souls departing from the bodies go most directly either to damnation or to rest; that prayers for the dead are most unbecoming; that the pontifical Roman synagogue is by no means the church."‡ In a letter of the same Bernard to Aldephorisus, Earl of Gilles, to excite him to banish Henry, he writes, "How great evils have we heard and known that Henry the heretic has done and is doing every day in the churches of God? He wanders from place to place through your country in sheep's clothing, being indeed a very ravenous wolf; but according to the hint which our Lord gives, we know him by his fruits. The churches are without people, the people without priests, priests without reverence, and lastly, Christians without Christ. The churches of Christ are viewed as synagogues, the sanctuary of God is denied to be holy; sacraments are no longer esteemed sacred; holy feasts are deprived of festival solemnities; men die in their sins; souls are frequently snatched away to appear before the terrible tribunal, who are neither reconciled by repentance,

* Mosheim, cent. xii. part ii. chap. v. § viii. Leger, ib. p. 154.
† Life of Bernard, b. ii. chap. v. in Pantaleon's Chronographia Eccl. p. 92.
‡ Leger, ib.

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nor armed with the sacred communion. The life of Christ is denied to Christian infants, by refusing them the grace of baptism, nor are they suffered to draw near unto salvation, though our Saviour tenderly cries on their behalf, 'Suffer little children to come unto me.'"* Henry is charged with denying the sacredness of the sacraments, but this only means that he denied the real presence in the Lord's Supper, and the popish ceremonies in baptism. In regard to his view of infant baptism, no remarks need be added to those offered in regard to the sentiments of Bruys on this subject, for Henry as well as Bruys must be considered as adhering to the book on Antichrist, especially since Leger remarks that Roman Catholic writers of this period call the witnesses indifferently Petrobrusians, Henricians, and Waldenses.

According to the above extracts, Bernard speaks of the Henricians as greatly increased in his own time, not as a new class of Christians, but as long rooted, and in short as holding the same tenets with Bruys.† No candid judge who reads the above statements, will believe these Henricians acknowledge the Romish church as a true church, because they held themselves at a distance as from "a heretical synagogue," in order to maintain the "apostolic" doctrine. Baronius does not charge Henry with any thing like Manicheism, but on the contrary distinguishes him from those heretics whom Bernard calls apostolics, in his sixty-sixth homily on the Song.‡ Baronius adds that Henry superadded this position,—"That God is mocked by the songs which are added in the churches." Peter de Clugny earnestly opposes Henry in asserting this position, but it contains no great crime, and is a testimony against present corruption, for Isidore on offices owns that the singing then used was an innovation. The popes had now abolished the Gothic liturgy in Languedoc and the neighbouring provinces depending on Spain, and the Roman liturgy substituted was more favourable to the present opinions. A sort of rhyming verses called *proses* was introduced, but the words were so ridiculous, so foolish, and so full of novelties, both in regard to the worship of the saints and the fables they contained, that such as desired

* Allix, Alb. pp. 145, 146. † Leger, ib. ‡ Allix, ib. p 147.

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wisdom in prayers and praises, must have viewed them as profanations. The hymns composed by king Robert on queen Constantia, afford a specimen of such songs: "O Constantia Martyrum,—O constancy of the martyrs." Now since Henry condemned such profane punning, he was not a Manichee.

Baronius quotes Bernard calling Henry an apostate monk and an adulterer. That he deserted his monastery is evident, and by this course he designed to render himself useful. No doubt Bernard will charge all with uncleanness, who plead for the marriage of priests.* Mosheim considers the occurrence as wonderful, that a man who had been a monk and a hermit should undertake to reform the superstitions of the times; yet such was the case with Henry, who left Lausanne, a city of Switzerland, and travelled to Mans. Banished thence, he removed successively to Poictiers, Bourdeaux, and the countries adjacent. These journeys were doubtless undertaken to propagate his principles, which, as Bernard remarks, were the same as those of Bruys.†

The reign of Louis VII. commenced in 1137, and continued forty-three years. A letter addressed "To Louis VII. the Youth, written by the archbishop of Narbonne," must have been dated near the commencement of the reign of that monarch, because he is described as a junior, a young man. "My lord the king," says the archbishop, "we are extremely pressed with many calamities, amongst which this one most of all affects us, which is, that the Catholic faith is extremely shaken in this our diocese, and St Peter's boat is so violently tossed by the waves, that it is in great danger of sinking."‡

At this conjuncture, pope Eugenius III. a disciple of Bernard, visited France, obtained particular information of the multitudes who opposed the church of Rome, and appointed cardinal Alberic, bishop of Ostia, his legate to the people of Toulouse, and to the Count of St Gilles, who had been formerly addressed by Bernard against the Henricians. Soon after the Count went to the Holy Land, where he was poisoned, and the queen was supposed to be the projector of the nefarious deed. The work of persecuting Henry was not how-

* Allix, Alb. pp. 147—149. † Mosheim, ib. ‡ Allix, ib p. 134.

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ever neglected, for Bernard solicited Alberic the legate to cause him be arrested and carried before Eugenius at the Council of Rheims, who sentenced him to be taken to Tolouse in irons, and burnt to death in 1147. Others place his martyrdom in 1148, and say he died in prison.* At this time Bernard was in Aquitain and Narbonne, engaged in preaching down the opinions of the Albigenses, but so deeply had these taken root, that he made little progress. Therefore the disciples of Waldo were not the first who introduced anti-papal principles into this quarter, as Romanists wish us to believe, and as Perrin takes for granted, though some of Waldo's adherents may have retired into these parts, where they found friends who held views similar to their own.†

CHAPTER III.

Paulicians and Waldenses distinguished from Manichees.

SINCE a class of *Manichees* during this century existed in France and Germany, with whom many Romanists have purposely confounded the Waldenses, Paulicians, and Albigenses, we judge proper to devote a few pages to inquire into the sentiments of these Manichees, and to show by the authority of the more candid Roman Catholics, that the Waldenses and Albigenses are quite distinct from them.

In the beginning of the eleventh century, some account was given of the PAULICIANS arriving in the West, and of their religious principles, who seem to be described in a manuscript Latin Chronicle of the abbey of Corvey,‡ lately discovered, and believed to have been written about the beginning of the twelfth century. The passage which seems to refer to the Paulicians, like other Roman Catholic writings,

* Mosh. ib. Allix, ib. p. 147. † Ibid. pp. 132, 133.
‡ Planta's History of Switzerland, 4to. edit. vol. iii. p. 93.

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calls the teachers of these dissenters laymen, and runs thus: "Laymen out of Swabia (Suavia), Switz (Suicia) and Bavaria, wished to humble our religion, and the faith of all the Christians of the Latin church: those men having been seduced from the ancient progeny of the simple men who inhabit the Alps and the neighbourhood, and always love ancient things. Their merchants out of Switz, often enter into Swabia, Bavaria,* and North Italy, who learn their bibles by heart, and are averse from the rites of the church, which they believe to be new. They refuse to venerate images, disregard the relics of the saints, feeding on herbs, seldom eating flesh, some of them never using it. We therefore call them Manichees. Some of these come to us from Hungary."—We regret that the quotation is here broken off, because its continuance might have more clearly illustrated the connection between the Paulicians and the Waldenses. We see however the antiquity of the Christians of the Alps, that the Paulicians who came into France and North Italy, from Swabia and Switzerland, from Bavaria and Hungary, mixed with the Alpine Waldenses, and that the only reason why the Paulicians were branded as Manichees, was because they lived on herbs, and seldom ate flesh. This does not appear the same principle with that of the elect among the Manichees, who are bound never to use such provision. Multitudes from poverty, and papists in Lent, avoid butcher meat, but these are not Manichees. The Corvey manuscript does not suggest the smallest hint that the people mentioned resembled Manichees in other respects, such as in regard to the good and evil God. The Waldenses, Albigenses, and Paulicians were now so intermixed, that we find the distinction of these from one another difficult, and indeed it is in a great measure unnecessary.

We find reason to believe, however, that in the West a remainder of the Manichees existed in this century, against whom *Ermengard* wrote about the same era, though the precise date is not discovered. Gretzer, the Jesuit, long afterward published his work, and it is inserted in the Bibliotheca Patrum. Gretzer declares he knows nothing of the author

* See Mosh. cent. vii. part i. chap. i. § ii, iii. Milner, vol. iii. p. 112. in which authors the Boii are the Bavarians.

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except what is mentioned in the manuscript, "that he was formerly not only a heretic, but a heresiarch." For the sake of joining the church of Rome, he had deserted some society that she reckoned heretical, and consequently we are apt to suspect his candour in regard to dissenters. Gretzer acts a most unjust part when he titles this treatise "Against the Waldenses," because that community is not once named in it. The author professedly writes against the Manichees, for he calls the objects of his reprehension such heretics as assert and believe that the world and all visible things were made, not by the omnipotent God, but by the prince of evil spirits: that there are two gods, the one Omnipotent and the other malignant: that the law was not given to Moses by the omnipotent God, but by the prince of malignant spirits: that Moses was a magician: that a man and woman, mixing in matrimony, cannot be saved: that the conception and birth of John Baptist were announced by a demon: and "that Christ neither had real flesh, nor truly died."—He writes against all these doctrines, and then condemns the heretics for despising churches and altars made with hands, and the songs from the Old and New Testament. He defends the carnal presence against such as say, that in the word of Christ we eat his flesh and drink his blood; and baptism, against those who teach that imposition of hands is necessary. He justifies penance, and opposes the heretical imposition of hands, as a consolation to wash away the sin of eating eggs and cheese. Against the heretics he asserts the resurrection, the invocation of saints, and prayers for the dead.*

Mabillon has done us a service in preserving a letter of *Evervinus*, Præpositus of Steinfield, in the diocese of Cologne, on the Lower Rhine in Germany. This epistle was addressed to the celebrated Bernard, and the author avowedly writes of two societies of people,—the one class, so far as he describes it, evidently consists of a kind of Manichees,—the other is not charged with any such errors, and appear to be Paulicians or Albigenses. Evervinus, who wrote about 1140, states, that some heretics returned, and that one of the heretical bishops and his companions defended their opinions by

* Biblioth. Pat. tom. iv. part i. coll. 1059, 1060, 1235, 1262.

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the words of Christ and the apostles, in opposition to the Roman Catholics, in presence of the archbishop, many nobility, clergy, and commonalty. The heretics, finding themselves rather at a stand, begged that a day might be appointed to dispute their points, and if their leaders shall not be able to defend their belief, they will join the church of Rome. Instead of granting this reasonable request, the Romanists tried for three days to persuade them to recant, but when they did not succeed in drawing them off from their principles, the popish people, "incited by overmuch zeal," burnt the reputed heretics, who suffered death with the greatest constancy. Evervinus states, that these heretics assert, that the church is only among themselves, who do not seek to join house to house, like the monks and others of the Roman church; that they themselves lead a holy life, and suffer persecution with the apostles; that false apostles adulterate the Word of God, and are at peace with the world; that they and their fathers being born apostles, have continued in the grace of Christ, and shall continue to the end of the world, and that to distinguish them from one another, Christ saith, "by their fruits ye shall know them," which fruits are the footsteps of Christ. The letter-writer then continues,—"In their diet they forbid all manner of milk, whatsoever is made of it, and all that is procreated of copulation. This is what they oppose to us concerning their conversation. As to the sacraments, they conceal themselves, yet did they openly confess to us, that daily at their tables, when they make their meals, they, according to the form of Christ and his apostles, do consecrate their meat and drink into the body and blood of Christ, by the Lord's Prayer, to nourish themselves therewith as being the members and body of Christ. But as for us, they say that we do not hold the truth in the sacraments, but only a kind of shadow and tradition of men. They also openly confess, that besides water, they baptized also with fire and with the Holy Ghost, and had been themselves so baptized;—that this other baptism was to be performed by the imposition of hands; that every elect (for so they called all those that are baptised among them) has power to baptize others who are found worthy, and to consecrate the body and blood of Christ at meals. For first, by the laying on of hands, they receive

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some of their auditors into the number of *believers*, and then they have leave to be present at their prayers; until, after having sufficient trial of them, they make them *elect*. They contemn our baptism, condemn marriage, but the reason why, I could not get out of them, either because they durst not own it, or rather because they knew none."

Here is a pretty exact and circumstantial description of a sect of the Manichees, particularly in what is stated regarding food, marriage, and the division of the members of the society into hearers and elect. The elect are just the baptized, who are admitted to full membership. The hearers are not so baptized, and are not full members.

Evervinus goes on to describe another religious society, which seems to have consisted of PAULICIANS, and which he distinctly discriminates from those mentioned in that part of his epistle already noticed. "There are also some other heretics in our country, who are altogether different from these, by whose mutual discord and contests, they were both of them discovered to us. These deny that the body of Christ is made on the altar, because all the priests of the church are not consecrated. For the apostolical dignity, say they, is corrupted by engaging itself in secular affairs, and sitting in the chair of St Peter; yet because it does not wage God's warfare as Peter did, it has deprived itself of the power of consecrating, which was so great in Peter; and what it has not in itself, the archbishops and bishops who live like men of the world cannot receive from it, namely the power of consecrating others. To this purpose they alleged the words of Christ, 'The Scribes and Pharisees sat in Moses' chair, what therefore they bid you, that do,' as if such as these had only the power of preaching and commanding, and nothing more. Thus they make void the priesthood of the church, and condemn the sacrament, except baptism only, and this only in those who are come to age, who they say are baptized by Christ himself, whosoever be the minister of the sacraments. They do not believe infant baptism, alleging that place of the gospel, 'Whosoever shall believe and be baptized, shall be saved.' All marriage they call fornication, besides that which is between two virgins, male and female, quoting for this purpose the words of our Saviour, with which he answers the

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Pharisees, 'What God hath joined, let no man put asunder,' as if God did only join such together in the way he did our first parents. As likewise those words of our Saviour, which he speaks to the Jews in answer to what they objected to him regarding the bill of divorce, 'from the beginning it was not so;' and the following words, 'Whosoever marries her that is divorced, commits adultery;' and that of the apostle, 'Let marriage be honourable to all, and the bed undefiled.'"

Thus these Cathari, who were probably the Paulicians, denied the corporeal presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, and maintained that the popish archbishops and bishops had secularized themselves so as to be unworthy of the character of God's ministers. They are spoke of as denying the Lord's Supper, but this probably means nothing more than their disbelief of the real presence. They rejected the five bastard sacraments of the church of Rome, but practised baptism. We are not informed regarding their external mode of administering baptism, but it was "only to those who are come to age, who they say are *baptized by Christ himself*, whosoever be the minister of the sacraments." In what follows, they are said to deny the baptism of infants, a charge which Roman Catholics bring against all who refuse their superstitious additions to the ordinance. If they refused infant baptism, they were not Waldenses from Piemont, but likely Paulicians, who, in rejecting the baptismal superstitions of Rome, might run to the extreme of entirely neglecting infant baptism. Evervinus does not mention the use of water, from which he probably means us to understand that their minister gave the outward signs of the baptism of the Holy Ghost, namely, imposition of hands, holding the book over the individual's head, pronouncing blessings and reverent prayer, as we are afterward to give the description from Eckbert, which is not restricted to either class of the heretics he describes. What is said regarding marriage, is like the rigidity of a superstitious age.

Evervinus proceeds to state, how these Cathari rejected the intercession of the saints, the merit of fasting and purgatory, charges which he does not bring against the former class of heretics. "They put no confidence," says he, "in the intercession of the saints; they maintain that fasting and other

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afflictions which are undertaken for sin, are not necessary to the just, nor to sinners; because at what time soever the sinner repents of his sins, they are all forgiven him; and all other things observed in the church, which have not been established by Christ himself or his apostles, they call superstitions. They do not admit of any purgatorial fire after death; but that the souls as soon as they depart out of the bodies, do enter into rest or punishment, proving it from that place of Solomon, 'If the tree fall toward the south or toward the north, in the place where the tree falleth, there it shall be:' by which means they make void all the prayers and oblations of believers for the deceased." The rejection of these articles of the Roman Catholic faith, is not ascribed to the former class of Catharists, who seem to have been Manichees, and this circumstance strengthens our opinion, that this latter society was Paulician.

After urging Bernard to lift his pen against these different sorts of opponents, whom he compares to wild beasts and monsters, Evervinus concludes, "Those of them who have returned to our church told us, that they had great numbers of their persuasion scattered almost everywhere, and that amongst them were many of our clergy and monks. And as for those who were burnt, they, in the defence they made for themselves, told us, That this their heresy had been concealed from the time of the martyrs until these times; and that it had been preserved in Greece and some other countries." This directly declares that their religion called by Evervinus "heresy," came from the East, and these were evidently the descendants of the Paulicians, who had come to the West from these oriental regions. "These are those heretics," continues Evervinus, "who call themselves Apostles, having a Pope of their own; whereas the other despise our Pope, and yet own themselves to have no other besides him." The Paulicians had over them no individual called a Pope, like the Roman Catholics: the writer must just refer to the pastor or other man of the greatest influence in the society. The other body, who he says had no Pope, seems to have been more disorderly, less under ecclesiastical discipline, and appear, as we have stated, to have been Manichees. According to the strict grammatical connection, the following part of the

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letter will refer to the Manichees; but as the author has above stated nearly the same things regarding them, he probably intends the Paulicians in what follows: "These apostles of Satan have amongst them continent women (as they call them), widows, virgins, their wives, some of whom are amongst the number of their *elect*, others of them *believers*; as in imitation of the apostles, who had power to lead about women with them. Farewell in the Lord."* Thus the Paulicians like the Manichees divided themselves into elect and believers or hearers. As in this respect they resembled the ancient Manichees, their enemies have uncandidly applied to them that name, as if they had adopted the whole Manichean system. Both bodies were called Catharists: Dr Mosheim clearly distinguishes the Paulicians from the Manichees.†

The reader will ask, Did *Bernard* write against these dissenters from the church of Rome? He did; and his statements are contained in the sixty-fifth and following sermon on the Song of Solomon, where he confounds all the Cathari, whether Manichees or Paulicians, and little apology can be made for him, as he was in possession of the distinction of Evervinus. He asserts that they forbid swearing, yet allow their disciples to perjure themselves to preserve their religion; that they hide their religious sentiments, and thus prove them impure; that they reject the Old Testament, yet seems doubtful, and Eckbert his friend speaks of their being "armed with the words of the Holy Scripture; that probably" they "do not receive Paul," as he has "heard of some," for they are "not all agreed in all things, though all differing from the Romanists; that they concealed their opinions; and that their dwelling in the same house with women to whom they were not married, proved their unchastity. But Bernard does not here make allowance for the rigour of persecution, and evidently admits that some of the Cathari received the whole Bible. In the next sermon, he charges them with condemning marriage, or allowing it only between virgins; with not deserving the title apostolical; with abhorring milk, and whatever comes of copulation, and therefore being Manichees; with consecrating the body and blood of Christ at their common tables; with mocking infant baptism, prayers for the dead, and the invo-

* Allix, Pied. pp. 139—145. † Cent. xii. part ii. chap. v.

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cation of saints; with contemning the sacraments, slandering the ecclesiastical orders, and disobeying the Pope; and with being found guilty when tried by water, because the water did not admit them. He is displeased with the people that struck them, because this rather belongs to the magistrate. He tries to remove the offence occasioned by their dying like martyrs; thinks they should be obliged to quit their women, or be excluded from the church; and is displeased with the princes, bishops, and others who support them, and who alledge they cannot condemn persons who neither confess nor are guilty of crimes. Bernard speaks of the same people with Evervinus, but tries to confound them, yet owns they are not all of the same sentiments. Fear of persecution and of trial by water caused them conceal their opinions. They were not all Manichees, for the Manichees refused wine.* Bernard died in 1153.

Eckbert the monk of Schonauge in the diocese of Treves on the Moselle in Germany, wrote against the Catharists about 1160. He declares that they secretly rebaptize all who come to them; that they assert baptism is of no use to young ones, because they can neither ask it nor make a profession of their faith; and that he judges the baptism of children right, because it is in the room of circumcision, because the privileges of the New Testament are larger than under the Old, because Christ blessed children, and because the prayers of parents in behalf of their children shall be heard. He informs us that they entirely laid aside water in baptism, and shows the Scripture warrant for the use of that element in the initiatory ordinance of Christianity. He evidently describes Manichees. Some of his expressions are—"The defence of this error ye take from the words of John:—'He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire.' Hence it is that in this manner ye re-baptize those whom ye receive into the society of your Catharism;—ye having convened in some obscure hidden place, luminaries are copiously placed in all the walls—the people stand in an orderly manner in a circuit, with great reverence, because a holy thing is done, which, however, is more pleasing to the

* Allix, Pied. pp. 145—148, 150.

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devil than to God. The unhappy one who is to be baptized, or Catharised, is placed in the middle, and the Archcatharist stands up to him, holding in his hand a little book appointed *(deputatus)* for the office; which, placing on his head, he pronounces benedictions, which are rather to be called maledictions, while the others who stand around are praying. In this manner their baptism is performed; and they make him a child of hell, not of the kingdom of God. And this baptism is said to be performed by fire, on account of the fire of the lights which burn in the circuit."*

Regarding the Catharistic view of transubstantiation, Eckbert writes:—"They believe that the body and blood of the Lord are in no way made by our consecration, or can be perceived by us through communication; but they call their own flesh the Lord's body: and in this, that they nourish their own bodies with the food of their own table, they say, that they make the Lord's body. A certain faithful man, who left their society, affirmed, that in regard to the Lord and Saviour, they err; that they said Jesus was not born of a virgin; that neither had he really human flesh, but a pretended kind of flesh; nor arose from the dead, but pretended death and the resurrection." What is here stated concerning Christ's humanity, death, and resurrection, is pure Manicheism. Regarding the Supper, Eckbert proceeds: "While Christians celebrate Pasch, they celebrate for it a certain other feast, in which Manes their heresiarch was killed, whose heresy, without doubt, they follow; which feast the blessed Augustine, against the Manichees, has declared to be called Beina: but my informer said, from his own recollection, that it is called Malilosa, and celebrated in autumn."

Regarding the origin of human souls, these Catharists believed the doctrine of the ancient Manichees. "They said that human souls are nothing else than those apostate spirits, which, in the beginning of the world, were ejected from the kingdom of heaven; and that in human bodies they are able, by good works, to merit salvation; but that this is only among those that belong to their sect."† In his thirteenth

* Sermon i, vii, viii. in Biblioth. Pat. tom. iv. part ii. coll. 79, 80, 100—109.
† Bib. Pat. tom. iv. part ii. coll. 30—82. Sermon i.

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sermon, Eckbert treats also on human souls, and shows that these are not apostate spirits, who can merit salvation in the body; yet, he says, this is none of the errors of Manes, who, however, holds many things equally bad; and Eckbert is not certain if all the Catharists maintain this doctrine. By this distinction he is more than usually candid.* Having stated the sentiments of the Persian Magi, and of Manes the founder of the Manichees, he mentions, that after his death they were divided into the Matharians, Catharists, and Manichees, who more strictly followed their master; "But they," says he, "who were called Catharists, were reckoned more vile than all the others, on account of certain secret impurities which they particularly practised; whose doctrine and life those undoubtedly follow of whom we now speak; and whence they were called Catharists, that is, the more purified."†

If we compare the second body of people described by Evervinus with what here follows from Eckbert, we shall see that the latter as well as the former writes now of the *Paulicians*, as he has above written of the Manichees, though he is not so honest as to point out the distinction. "Concerning the souls of the dead they hold this sentiment;—that in the very hour of their departure, they go either to eternal blessedness, or to eternal damnation. For they do not receive what the universal church believes, to wit, that there are certain purgatorial punishments, in which the souls of the elect are for a time tried for their sins, from which they have not been purged to the full, in this life, by condign satisfaction: for which cause, therefore, they judge it superstitious and vain to give alms—to celebrate masses for the dead; and they deride the ringing of bells which we practise, which, however, for a pious reason, are used in the churches, namely, that the living may be admonished to pray for the dead, and may be excited to remember their own death. They altogether despise the masses which are celebrated in the churches, and reckon them of no avail: for if they accidentally approach with the people among whom they dwell to hear mass, or even to receive the eucharist, they do this altogether dissemblingly, lest

* Bib. Pat. ib. Sermon xiii. † Ibid. Sermon i.

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their infidelity should be able to be noticed; because they say that the order of the priesthood has altogether perished in the Roman Church, and in all the Catholic churches, and that true priests are not any where to be found, except in their sect."*

So far as we can judge, these Catharists of the *Paulician* class were a church of Christ, true witnesses against the Antichristian Church, and quite different from the *Manichean* class. Though Eckbert uncandidly or ignorantly represents *all* the Catharists as Manichees, owing to similarity in some opinions and discipline, and by a quotation from Augustine regarding the ancient Manichees, yet he is constrained to own that they were *not all* of the same sentiments with these ancients, nor the same with one another, for he adds: "Yet they have mixed many things with the doctrine of their master, which are not found among his heresies. They are also divided among themselves, because some things which are said by some of them are denied by others."† This shows that Eckbert rather intentionally confounds these different religious associations, in order to make them all Manichees; and this remark will apply to many of the writers on the Catharists in the twelfth century.

Eckbert complains that the Catharists "are increased to those multitudes throughout all countries—that the Church of God is in great danger of the poison they scatter everywhere against her; for their words spread like a cancer, and like a flying leprosy, run every way infecting the precious members of Christ. These in our Germany we call Catharines; in Flanders they are called Piphles; and in France, Tesserands, from the art of weaving, because a great many of them are of that occupation. They declare that the true faith and worship of Christ is nowhere to be found but at their meetings, which they hold in their cellars and weaving-rooms."‡ The articles charged against the Petrobrusians bear a considerable resemblance to those laid against the Catharists, in this part of Eckbert's work, who were evidently Paulicians, or indeed the Waldenses themselves.

* Bib. Pat. tom. iv. part ii. col. 80. Sermon i.

† Quoted in Allix, Pied. p. 152. ‡ Bib. Pat. ib. Sermon i.

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In 1140, Evervinus at Cologne describes two classes of dissenters, the one Manichees, and the other Paulicians or Henricians. The Catharist martyrs at Cologne, mentioned by *Godfrid* in his annals, are not charged with any of the monstrosities of the Manichees, and seem to have been Paulicians or Waldenses. "In the year 1163, certain heretics of their sect who are called Kathari, coming from the parts of Flanders to Cologne, began to meet in a hidden manner in a certain barn. But, while on the Lord's day they did not enter the church, they were perceived and detected by those who dwelt among them. These people having been represented to the Catholic Church, and examined for a sufficient length of time concerning their sect, seeing that by no probable means they were able to be corrected, but most pertinaciously persisted in their purpose, they were ejected from the church, and delivered into the hands of the laity. The laymen leading these people without the city, on the 5th of August, committed them to the flames. Their number was four men and one young woman. She was almost saved by the sympathy of the multitude, who thought she might be terrified by the death of the others, and might acquiesce in more sound counsel. She having suddenly escaped from the hands of those who were holding her, cast herself ultroneously into the fires and perished."*

In short, the Paulicians, who are frequently called Catharists, in order to confound them with the Manichees, were very different from that sect, and appear to have held many principles similar to those of the Petrobusians, Henricians, or Waldenses; and in fact during the lapse of years, the Paulicians became indistinguishable from these. This chapter may be concluded by the words of *Mezeray*, who in his Chronological Abridgement of the History of France,† on the year 1163, writes, "That there were two sorts of heretics; the one ignorant and loose, who were a sort of Manichees; the other more learned, and remote from such filthiness, who held much the same opinions as the Calvinists, and were called Henricians or Waldenses, though the people ignorantly con-

* Cæsarius, lib. v. cap. 19, in the Prolegomena to Rainerus against the Waldenses—Bib. pat. tom. iv. coll. 723, 724.

† Published at Amsterdam, 1763, and quoted by Allix, Alb. p. 149.

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founded them with the Cathari, Bulgarians, and the like." Here the historian distinguishes the Manichees and Cathari, from the other classes of dissenters from the Romish communion. The bishops and clergy of Rome usually confound them all as Manichees, though Evervinus is an honourable exception.

CHAPTER IV.

PETER DE WALDO appears at Lyons.—His Conversion, Doctrines, Manners, and success in Preaching against the Church of Rome.—Council of Tours against the enemies of the Roman Church in Toulouse, Gascoin, and Languedoc.—John, Archbishop of Lyons, prohibits Waldo from Preaching, who refuses to submit.—Council of Rome under Alexander, deposes the Emperor, and execrates the Waldenses.—Waldo and his followers obliged to fly through Narbonne and Lombardy.—Sentiments of Waldo and his adherents.—Waldo preaches in Dauphiny, in Provence, in Languedoc, in Picardy, in the Low Countries, and in Bohemia, where he dies.

AT this era the Church of Rome enjoined all men to believe, under pain of death, that in the Host, the bread is transubstantiated into the body of Christ, as large as when he died on the cross. Men were to bow the knee, to beat the breast, and to worship it as God. The Waldenses, and all who opposed this absurdity, were consigned to a violent death, as we have already stated regarding Peter de Bruys and Henry. The Lord, however, did not leave himself without witnesses, because further to check the progress of the Roman errors in France and other places, he raised PETER DE WALDO, a rich citizen of Lyons, a man of learning, and who, by the grace of God, became eminent in piety and zeal.*

PETER DE WALDO, Waldus, Valdensis or Falidesius, is considered by respectable writers to be so named because he was born at Vaux or Waldum, a town in the marquisite of Lyons, on the east borders of France, afterwards called Vandra.† Philichdorf calls it the city Walden, situated on the confines

* Perrin's History of the Waldenses, part i. book i. chap. i.

† Petrie's History of the Church, cent. xii. chap. iii. § 18. Mosh. cent. xii. part ii. chap. v. § 11, and Note G.

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of France; and Gretzer in a note states that it is in the Marchia of France, and that one of the manuscripts of Philicdorf's work against the Waldenses adds, that it is opposite to Germany.* Gretzer cannot mean the province of La Marche, which is near the middle of France. Philicdorf states that the Waldenses in his time asserted, that Peter Waldo was from the region of Waldis.† From these statements we gather that he received his designation from the place of his nativity, called Waldum, Walden or Waldis. The opinion of some that he obtained his appellation because he adopted the doctrines of the Waldenses, seems erroneous; as also the current assertion that they were named Waldenses from their following him, because they were so called long before he was known.

Lyons was famous for its flourishing churches in the primitive ages, and was also remarkable as the starting point of the labours of Waldo in the twelfth century. Regarding his conversion to Christ, historians remark, that his first convictions of the necessity of seeking salvation, arose from a striking circumstance. He had supped one night with some of the more opulent citizens of Lyons, and before they separated they were engaged in some amusement. In the midst of the sport, one of the company profanely swore by God, and instantly fell on the floor a corpse. This astounding accident went to the heart of Waldo, and caused him henceforth make the welfare of his soul his chief concern. He formed a holy and constant resolution to detach entirely his affections from the earth, to transplant them to heaven, and to pass the remainder of his life as a fellow-citizen of the saints, and of the household of God, and to imitate the holy apostles.

To attain these excellent ends, he applied himself entirely to the study of the Scriptures, and caused them to be written in the vulgar tongue. Some affirm that he was master of various languages, and translated the greater part of the books, adding a number of ancient testimonies. In this work he was aided by the writings of the Albigenses of Provence, whom we have mentioned at 1114. Having acquired considerable skill in the Scriptures, and in the works of the

* Bib. Pat. tom. iv. part ii. col. 779. † Ib. col. 815.

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Christian Fathers, and generously bestowing his riches on the poor, his house began to be both a Bethel and a Bethlehem,—a house of God and a house of bread. To an innumerable multitude of poor souls famished and unrighteous, he distributed the true celestial food. His attendants having greatly multiplied, he was obliged to preach in public places, which were changed into temples, and which were very frequently more full of hearers than the most splendid churches of the city. He and his coadjutors did not fear to preach and to prove their doctrine from the Scriptures. The purport of his assertions was, that the Church of Rome had left the faith as it is in Jesus; that she is the whore of Babylon, and the barren fig-tree which the Lord cursed; that we are not to obey the Pope, who is not the head of the church; that monkery is an unsavoury carrion, and the mark of the beast; that purgatory, masses, dedication of temples, and worshipping saints, are inventions of the devil. He published the gospel through town and country, obtained numerous adherents, and missioned intrepid and zealous preachers.*

His *manners* were consistent with his holy doctrine; and the greater number even of adversaries render him the testimony of a charity and piety altogether unexampled in so corrupted an age. He was an opulent man, and parted with all his riches to relieve the poor and succour the afflicted. In short he led a life quite above reproach. Boxhorn, in his Universal History, remarks, that "although this Waldo had dared publicly to condemn and reprehend the vices of the ecclesiastical order, who so much perverted the truth of doctrine that it was alienated from holiness of life, nevertheless, his opponents bear admirable witness to the sanctity of his life and virtue."

Notwithstanding the opposition of the Pope and clergy, his *success* was most singular.† Some authors affirm that he and his followers denied swearing and all *forms* of supplication except the Lord's Prayer. Their other prayers would be extemporaneous. Be this as it may, Waldo and his fellow-labourers went on teaching all who chose to lis-

* Leger Hist. du Vaudois, part i. chap. ii. pp. 12, 13. Perrin, chap. i. Du Thou, lib. vi p. 116. b.

† Leger, ib. p. 13.

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ten. They blamed the vice and luxury—the excesses and arrogance of the Pope and his dignitaries. In short, the new preachers removed almost all the sanctions of the Roman Church as useless and superstitious.* In the year 1163, the Council of Tours was assembled by Pope Alexander III. against the heresy of Gascoin, and of the country about Toulouse. The council declares the antiquity of this supposed heresy, speaks of the meetings of these people; and the title of the canon justly refers them to the Albigenses. "In the country about Toulouse, there sprung up long ago† a damnable heresy, which, after the manner of a cancer, by degrees diffusing itself to the neighbouring places, has already infected a great many people through Gascony and other provinces. And while after the manner of a serpent it conceals itself among its own windings, in proportion as it creeps in a more hidden manner, it so much the more grievously demolishes the Lord's vineyard among the simple inhabitants. Whence we command bishops and all priests of the Lord dwelling in these parts, diligently to watch, and under the interdiction of an anathema, to prohibit every one, as soon as the followers of that heresy shall have been known, from affording them a receptacle in his land, or presuming to bestow protection. But neither let any commerce be held with them in selling and buying, that the comfort of humanity having been lost, they may be compelled to return from the error of their way. But whoever shall have endeavoured to go contrary to these things, let him be struck with an anathema as a partaker of their iniquity. But if these shall be found by the Catholic princes, they shall be cast into prison, and amerced with the loss of all their goods. And because from diverse parts they frequently convene in one hiding place, and have no cause for dwelling together, except their consent in error, let them who dwell in one habitation be detained; let other conventicles be also searched, and if they shall be found, let them be forbidden by canonical authority."‡

This canon expressly declares that this pretended heresy

* Pantaleon's Chronogr. Eccl. p. 94.

† Boxhorn's copy reads *lately*, but Allix and Leger read *long ago*.

‡ Allix, Alb. pp. 133, 134, 216. The extract is translated chiefly from the Latin copy of William Newbury, as given in Boxhorn, p. 731.

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had appeared "long ago," not knowing where to date its beginning. Leger states that "the canon adds that from this length of time it had not only gained the quarters of Toulouse, Languedoc, and Provence, as well as Lombardy, but that it was deeply rooted and extended through Gascoine and other provinces, as William of Marpburg reports in his second book of the Affairs of England." We also observe that most severe methods were used to reduce these opponents of Rome.*

During this progress of Waldo and his friends, John de Belles Maisons was archbishop and governor of Lyons. He inhibited Waldo from teaching, because being a lay person, he exceeded the limits of his profession and condition in life; and declared if he persisted, he should be excommunicated and treated as a heretic. Waldo replied, that in a matter of such infinite importance as salvation, he could not hold his peace, and that he must obey God rather than man. The archbishop, as directed by the Council of Tours, endeavoured to have him apprehended, but by the favour and influence of his relations and well-wishers, he was protected, continued in Lyons, and for three years, that is till 1166, escaped his enemies.†

For some time there were two rival Popes, namely, Alexander III. who in 1159 had been elected by a majority of the cardinals, and who was received in France; and Victor IV. who had procured the votes of the minority, was supported by the emperor Frederic, and was owned in Italy and Germany. In 1164 Victor died, and the emperor elected Pascal III. who was confirmed by the Germanic diet, A. D. 1167. In the same year Alexander assumed spirit to return to Italy, and held at Rome a Council of the Lateran. In this assembly he solemnly deposed the emperor, relieved his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and exhorted them to rebel against him.‡ In this council Alexander is reported to have anew cursed the Waldenses.

Though for some time Waldo and his adherents in Lyons were protected by the influence of their friends, yet they could

* Allix, ib. p. 134. Leger, part i. chap. xxiv. p. 155.
† Perrin, ib. Du Thou, ib. ‡ Mosheim, ib. chap. ii. § x.

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not always evade their enemies. The brilliancy of the light emitted by this company of Christians so troubled the archbishop, that he increased his diligence to exterminate the society. Waldo and his followers were compelled to retire to distant places in 1166, and afterwards, where they propagated their religion with amazing success,* and the wise were taken in their own craftiness. Du Thou having stated the anathemas of the Pope against the witnesses of Lyons, proceeds:— "Whence being hated and execrated by all, they were dispersed as strangers through the province of Narbonne, Lombardy, and especially among the Alps, where having obtained a most secure retreat, they lay hid for many years. They circulated that the church of Rome having renounced the faith and doctrine of Jesus Christ, is the harlot of Babylon, and the barren tree which Christ cursed in the gospel, and commanded to be pulled up; that we ought not at all to obey the Pope, nor the bishops who foment his errors; that the life of the monks is the sink of the church, and diabolical; and their vows of chastity are vain, and serve no other purpose than to encourage the infamous amours of young men; that the orders of a priest's house are nothing else than the mark of the beast in the Revelation; that purgatory, the mass, the worship of saints, and prayers for the dead, are nothing else than the invention of Satan. To these chief and certain heads of their doctrine, others were added concerning marriage, the resurrection, the state of the soul after death, and meats."† On this last sentence, Leger, in the chapter to prove the Waldenses neither Manichees nor Arians, remarks, that "it is impossible to say any thing more express to purge them of heresy, especially from that of the Manichees, which nevertheless is most generally and opinionatively imputed to them." This Leger thinks has arisen from many of the Waldensian "pastors or barbs remaining unmarried, that they might be in the better state to be sent to preach in Poville, Calabria, Alsace, Bohemia, and other places where it was judged proper."‡

* Perrin, ib. Allix, Pied. p. 180, who dates the actual persecution by the archbishop, in 1172, but this seems too late.

† Du Thou, ib. ‡ Leger, part i. chap. xix. p. 129.

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In the same place Du Thou proceeds, "Peter Waldo being chased from Lyons, retired into the Low Countries, had a great number of followers in Picardy, passed into Germany, visited the towns of Saxony, and at last settled in Bohemia, where those who received his doctrine were for this reason called Picards." In the various places where Waldo and his followers rested, they diligently propagated their religion. They founded famous churches in Dauphiny, Provence, Picardy, and the Low Countries. But a more particular account may be given.

Albert of Capitan relates, that when Waldo retired out of Lyons, he travelled into *Dauphiny*. And Claude de Rubis informs us, that on the mountains of Dauphiny he conversed with certain peasants yet capable of receiving the impressions of his belief. The Waldensian churches of Dauphiny and Provence continued longer in a flourishing condition than in any other place in Europe. Most respectable churches were formed at Des Faulques and Beauregard in Valentia, and at La Baulme near Crest. These churches continued long, because in the year 1319, the Inquisition prosecuted several persons in them for maintaining the Waldensian doctrine: the documents of which prosecutions were in the hands of Mr Perrin in 1619. The most celebrated churches of Dauphiny, however, were those of the Valley of Fraissinier, near Ambrun, of Argenterie, and of the Valley of Loyse, which valley, on account of the Waldenses in it, was called Val-lute, as if defiled by every species of licentiousness. *

Waldo next laboured in *Provence*; and the Waldenses who inhabited districts in Cabrieres, Merindol, La Coste, and the adjacent places, have been considered as sprung from those of Dauphiny and Piemont. On the first arrival of the Waldenses in Provence, the country where they settled was a desert, but in a few years they rendered it most fertile in corn, wine, and oil; in olives, chesnuts, and other fruits. From this place those Waldenses emigrated who two hundred years afterwards went to Calabria. †

From Dauphiny and Provence, Waldo proceeded to *Languedoc*, where he left excellent pastors, who arranged their

* Perrin, book ii. chap. iii. † Ib. chap. viii.

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adherents into churches, and continued to instruct them. The eradication of these churches afterwards cost the Pope and clergy much trouble.* There is every reason to believe that the seed sown by Peter Bruys, Henry, and other Waldensian preachers in Dauphiny, Provence and Languedoc, paved the way for the cordial reception of Waldo in these provinces.

Vignier writes, that Waldo travelled north to *Picardy*, where, under the divine blessing, his labours were in a short time of so immense advantage, that great multitudes adhered to his doctrine, who were soon after called to suffer grievous persecution under Philip Augustus of France, who reigned from 1180 to 1223, and who was stimulated by the clergy to take arms against the Waldenses of Picardy.† D'Aubigni relates, that those of the dispersion of Waldo, who saved themselves in Picardy, planted their religion so extensively in that place, that about 1188, its enemies could not root it out, but only weakened it by causing three hundred houses of gentlemen to be razed, by destroying several walled towns, and by consigning multitudes to the flames. The Waldenses in Picardy were afterwards multiplied, and never so much persecuted till the sixteenth century.‡

In his zealous career, the Lyonese Reformer arrived in the *Low Countries* and *Flanders*. Here is a district still called the Waloon Countries, where the Waldenses deeply struck root as appears in the first table of divisions by S. Aldegonde. This territory carries all the appearance of deriving its name from these religionists, because there is not found in all these departments either valley or river, either town or community, from which the term Waloon can be taken. It must have originated from the Waldensian refugees, who, if they did not actually proceed from the Valleys, must, like Waldo, have adopted sentiments similar to those of the Valleymen.§

On leaving the Low Countries, Waldo moved into *Germany*, laboured especially in *Saxony*, and ultimately settled in *Bohemia*. A Bohemian historian, on the authority of Hagecus, states, that certain professors of religion, disciples of

* Perrin, book ii. chap. ix. † Ib. book i. chap. ii. Leger, part i. p. 157.
‡ Ib. Leger, part ii. p. 339. § Leger, part ii. p. 339.

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Peter Waldo, who had been chased from France into Germany, arrived in Bohemia in the year 1176, and having selected for their residence Saaz and Laun on the Eger, they obtained an immense number of associates. The Waldenses formed a union with the Bohemians and Moravians, who held a religious communion distinct from the Roman church, and in their modes of worship followed the Greeks. The Waldenses led these people to purer doctrine, more Scriptural worship, and stricter discipline, and from time to time supplied them with teachers from Italy.* According to William Mappeus, Peter Waldo died in Bohemia in the year 1179.†

This seems the true date of the first introduction of the Waldenses into Bohemia. A number of the Bohemians had still resisted the encroachments of Rome, and the Waldenses confirmed, purified and settled them in their church order and doctrine. The jesuit Gretzer in the dedication of his Triad of three authors against the Waldenses to Peter Abbot of Salemitan, admits from Dubraf "that the Bohemian Waldenses drew their origin from those ancient Waldenses, and besides that long ago, this fatal and dismal pestilence was imported, as into other countries, so also into the kingdom of Bohemia by the disciples of Waldo."‡ Cardinal Hosius in Book I. of the Heresies of his Own Times, and Lyndanus in his Analytical Tables, acknowledge that the doctrine of the protestants of Bohemia, "was nothing else than the leprosy of the Waldenses, which had infected all Bohemia; when the greater part of the kingdom of Bohemia, following the doctrine of Waldo, who had retired into Bohemia, separated from the Roman church."§ Esrom Rudiger, in his "Short Narrative of the Churches of the Brethren of Bohemia," thus confesses: "The Waldenses for at least two hundred and forty years, precede our origin."‖

But these people were not satisfied with the enjoyment of religious freedom, for, like Waldo, they possessed a most enterprising missionary zeal. Chytræus testifies that almost

* Regenvolscii Summa, lib. i. cap. iii. Holmes Hist. of the United Breth. p. 15.

† Allix, Pied. p. 183. Perrin, book ii. chap. ix. Holmes, p. 6. According to Venema, quoted by Sismondi, Dubravius in his Hist. of Bohemia, says, Waldo came into Bohemia in 1184.

‡ Bib. Pat. tom. iv. part i. col. 1059. § Leger, part i. chap. xxix.

‖ Leger, ib. chap. xxvii. Perrin, book ii. chap. ix.

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two centuries before Huss, the Waldenses had scattered through Bohemia the seeds of their instruction. The Waldenses, and the Bohemians who united with them, enjoyed for a considerable time rest and toleration, and divine worship was regularly conducted. Their assemblies were held in the most public manner, but in some cases they were obliged to be private. Good order and discipline were maintained; collections were made in support of their brethren dispersed in distant countries; missionaries were sent into England, Hungary, Brandenburgh, and Pomerania. Long before the appearance of Huss, the scriptural Christians of Bohemia had carried their principles from that country into Moravia, Poland, Silesia, and several regions on the Baltic shore, though neither very openly nor extensively. For two centuries they continued in quietness, after which they were subjected to persecution.*

CHAPTER V.

Two Female Martyrs of the Waldenses at Rheims.—Conference with the Albigenses at Alby.—Not Manichees.—Council of the Lateran.—Bernard of Foncaud's Treatise against the Waldenses and Albigenses.—Law of Lucius III. against them.—Persecution by Innocent III.

We have said that Peter Waldo when he retired from Lyons laboured to extend the gospel in Dauphiny, Provence, Languedoc and Picardy. In various parts of these provinces the Albigenses resided, and doubtless he treated these as Christian friends, who in fact were just the Petrobrusians, Henricians or Waldenses, who encouraged Waldo, and who were instruments of procuring for him a favourable reception.

Satan and his agents were grieved for the success of the gospel, and stirred up violence against its professors. The clergy, and such as possessed power, exercised it to extin-

* Regenvolsius, ib. La Trobe's Select Narrative, p. 26.

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guish the increasing light. A relation may here be given of the martyrdom of two female Waldenses at Rheims, the precise year of which is not mentioned, but it happened when William was archbishop of that place, and in the reign of Louis VII.

During the reign of Louis of France, the father of Philip, an old and a young woman of the Waldensian persuasion suffered death for their religion. When William, archbishop of Rheims, and uncle of Philip, was on a circuit, Gervais, master of Tilbury, one of his clergy, saw a girl in a solitary situation, and, as he afterwards confessed when a canonical, he approached her, made inquiries regarding her parents and her work, and like a courtier felt an affection towards her, which was not honourable. Scarcely allowing her eye to alight on him, she solemnly replied, "Young man, God by no means wills that I become a mistress to thee or to any man! because if I should lose my virginity and my body should be once corrupted, I should doubtless without remedy be subjected to eternal damnation." "On hearing this," says Radulph, who writes the narrative, "Mr Gervais at once understood that she belonged to the impure sect of the Publicans,—a reproachful name given to the Vaudois."* "Observe, dear reader," as Leger writes, "whence this brave master discovered the impurity of the sect of the Waldenses, namely, from the exemplary chastity of their daughters." These dissentients from the Romish faith were in many places searched out, and cruelly murdered. Accordingly when the archbishop approached during this conversation, he caused her to be apprehended and brought before him and his clergy at Rheims. They used many authorities and arguments to confute her supposed error. She answered that she was by no means sufficiently instructed to overturn such pleadings, but that she had in the city a certain matron who would easily repel all their objections. The old woman was immediately cited before the archbishop, who, along with his clergy, questioned her from the Scripture; but she with the greatest readiness contradicted his interpretation of the Old and New

* Boxhorn, p. 717. et seq. gives it from the MS. history of Radulph of Cogeshall, an English Monk.

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Testament, and seemed well acquainted with her Bible. As neither the old or the young woman could be convinced by authorities of Scripture, by threatenings, or by blandishments, they were imprisoned till next day. On the morrow they were anew sisted before the archbishop, clergy and nobility, in the archiepiscopal hall, and again urged to renounce their error. They again firmly persisted in their sentiments, and were both condemned to the flames. While the servants were preparing to drag them to the fire which had been kindled to consume them, the venerable old woman thus addressed her judges: "Infuriated and unjust judges! Do ye imagine that ye shall burn me with your fires? I fear not your judgment. I am not terrified with the prepared flames."

After all, the monk tells us the old woman did not publicly suffer death, and relates a most silly invention to render her ridiculous; namely, that she pulled out a ball of thread and cast it through a large window, exclaiming "Receive." "On this," says Radulph, "she followed the clew through the window, having been carried away, as we believe, by the ministry of malignant spirits, who formerly bore away Simon Magus into the air." This has been evidently devised for circulation in a superstitious age, to account for the absence of the old woman, who seems to have sadly puzzled the clergy. No person could tell on what land she alighted: the likelihood is, that her persecutors were afraid she would confound them before the public, and therefore privately removed and assassinated her. These were the demons who carried her away, and in all probability Satan acted his part in the tragedy.

The young woman, however, was reserved for public martyrdom. Neither reasoning nor the offer of riches could induce her to recant. Though she could not argue she could burn for Christ, because this witness for religion and chastity was consumed to ashes, to the admiration of multitudes. "She emitted neither groans, nor tears, nor complaint," continues Radulph, "but constantly and cheerfully, like a martyr of Christ, endured every torment of the burning flame." This is the account of an enemy, who tries to explain her constancy by an easy assertion, that the ancient martyrs suffered from piety, but the modern sufferers con-

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temn death from hardness of heart. Radulph also repeats the Manichean principles, and very conveniently charges them on the Waldenses, but the distinctions made in the third chapter of this century sufficiently explain the matter.*

Their innocence of this crime, however, will further appear from the conference at Alby, as related by Roger Hovedan in his annals on the year 1176. He calls them Arians, and others name them Manichees, "because," says Gretzer their slanderer, "they embrace the errors both of the one and the other class, at least some of them do." The Jesuit is treating of the Waldenses, but dares not assert that they embraced *all* the errors of those whom he assumes to be heretics; nay, he thinks Roger ought to be corrected in calling them Arians.† Gretzer remarks that the account given by Baronius is similar to that of Roger, who states that they called themselves good men, that they were supported by the militia of Lombez, that they taught unchristian principles, and that they did not own or acknowledge the Old, but only the New Testament:—these last two charges will be soon refuted.

When questioned they declined speaking of their faith and of the baptism of infants, but "concerning the body and blood of our Saviour, they asserted that he who received it worthily was saved; and that he who received it unworthily procured his own condemnation." They afterwards declared also their sentiments on baptism. They admit the propriety of bishops and priests being in the church, but when impeoper persons are ordained, they are ravening wolves, hypocrites and deceivers; and though finely decorated, are like the priests who betrayed our Saviour. After some reasoning on both sides, the parties by mutual agreement chose judges with consent of the bishop of Alby. One of the prelates then pronounced sentence: "I, Gislebert, bishop of Lyons, at the command of the bishop of Alby and his assessors, do judge that they are heretics; and I condemn the opinions of Oliver and his companions whenever they are: and we judge this from the New Testament: for this reason therefore, to confirm the divinity of the Old Testament, I bring proofs drawn

* Boxhorn, Univ. Hist. pp. 717—720. † Bib. Pat. tom. iv. part i. coll. 1059, 1060.

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from the New, and thereby oppose these heretics." A reason here adduced by Roger, explains the sense in which these Waldenses did not hold the Old Testament, "because they owned that they received Moses, the prophets and the psalms, only in those particulars which Jesus and his apostles had by their testimony approved, and not in others." This is equivalent to the assertion, that they disused those practices of the Old Testament that Jesus and his apostles have set aside, namely the ceremonial law; but they retained all the rest.

Another reason given by Roger for calling these people heretics is, their backwardness to confess their faith, but they afterwards to the public declared their belief, and our Lord at certain stages of his examination chose to observe a profound silence. Roger next produces proofs for infant baptism, solves the objections taken from infants wanting faith, and adds, "we say that it is by the faith of the church, or of their god-fathers, as the man sick of the palsy was healed by the faith of those who presented him, and let him down through the tiling of the house." This explains the reason why the Waldenses are so frequently charged with denying the baptism of infants, to wit, because they commonly rejected god-fathers, and the notion that the faith of others is imputed to children. Nothing more is meant here, for Roger afterwards informs us, that they avowed infant baptism. He considers the Waldenses as heretics, because the body of the Lord cannot be consecrated but by a priest, and in a church; because they do not obey the priests; and because they condemn carnal connection in marriage, from which charge, however, they vindicate themselves. Further, they are condemned because they separate from the Roman Catholic church, they do not stand when they dispute concerning the gospel, and they judge when they ought only to answer. Roger does not allow the right of private judgment, and quotes a number of places regarding wicked men becoming worse, rebuke and delivering men to Satan. They did not enforce the confession of sins to the priest, but to one another. They declared the bishop who had pronounced the sentence to be an heretic, a hypocrite, a wolf in sheep's clothing, and a malicious persecutor. The bishop declared himself ready to vindicate the

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sentence before the Pope, Louis of France, Raimond, count of Toulouse, or Frenkwel.

On this the Waldenses, seeing no hope of favour from the bishops, turned to the populace with these words, "Good people, the faith which we confess, we confess for your sakes." The bishop replied, "you speak for the sake of the people, and not for the sake of God," and they rejoined:

"We believe that there is only one God in three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and that the Son of God hath taken our flesh upon him, that he was baptized in Jordan, that he fasted in the wilderness, that he hath preached our salvation, that he suffered, died, and was buried, that he descended into hell, that he rose again the third day, that he ascended into heaven, that he sent the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost, that he shall come at the day of judgement to judge both the quick and the dead, and that all shall rise again. We know also, that what we believe with our heart, we ought to confess with our mouth. We believe that he is not saved who doth not eat the body of Jesus Christ, and that the body of Jesus Christ is not consecrated but in the church, and by the priest, be he good or bad; and that it is no better consecrated by a good than by a bad one. We believe also, that none can be saved but those that are baptized, and that little children are saved by baptism. We believe also that man and wife are saved, though they be carnally joined, and that every one must repent with his mouth and heart, and be baptized in the church by a priest, and that if they could shew them more from the gospels they would believe and own it."

Nothing here resembles Manicheism, for there is not a word of the good and evil god, but only of one God. Nor are baptism and the Lord's Supper condemned, for the Waldenses rather go to the opposite extreme of urging the necessity of these in order to salvation. The reality of Christ's human nature, and the right use of marriage are stated: the opposite of Arianism is also asserted, namely, "One God in three persons," who are mentioned without the slightest hint of the inferiority of one person to another.

The bishops wished the people to return "to the unity of the church," and to confirm by an oath their faith, "as the

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Catholic church holds and believes." They declined swearing at all, and this was given by the bishops as an additional reason for the condemnation of this supposed heresy. Gozelin bishop of Lodeve, who repeated the sentence, explained the words "swear not at all," as only an advice and not a precept, or as forbidding us to swear by creatures. The militia of Lombez are forbidden to protect the denounced heretics,* who seem indeed to be in a mistake respecting oaths, though they acted properly in declining to swear what they disbelieved.

Though the Waldenses were condemned at Alby, their enemies were incapable of molesting them, for they were adhered to by many clergy, by the greater part of the lords and gentlemen, and by most of the population in the district of Toulouse. The popish churches were almost deserted, and infection was of such magnitude as to be beyond the remedy of the civil power. In 1177, the count of Toulouse wrote the abbot of Cisteaux and the general chapter of his order, in these terms: "So far hath this noisome heretical infection prevailed, that almost all the people closing with it, believe that in so doing they do God good service; and the wicked one who is now exerting the mystery of iniquity in the children of unbelief, doth so transform himself into an angel of light, that the wife separates from her husband, the son from his father, and the daughter-in-law from her mother-in-law. O miserable! has the gold lost its lustre amongst us to that degree, that it is like dirt trodden under the feet of the devil? For even the priests are depraved with the filth of heresy; and the ancient and once venerable churches appointed for worship, are left desolate and lie in ruins.—For my part, who am girt with one of the two divine swords,—whilst I endeavour to set bounds and put a stop to this infidelity, do find that my power is too weak to effect such and so great a work, because the most part of the gentry of my dominion, having already drunk of this poison of infidelity, are wasted away with its contagion, and together with them, the greatest part of the common people, fallen from the faith, likewise pines; so that I neither dare nor am able to undertake it." Roger

* Roger Hovden, in Allix, Alb. p 150—158.

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Hoveden preserves a letter of Peter, cardinal legate at Toulouse, in which he mentions the Albigensian pastors Raymond Baimiac, Bernard Raimond, and several others whom he stigmatizes as chief heretics, who, under the safe conduct of himself and the count of Toulouse, came to discourse with him, and professed their faith in a great assembly in the church of St Stephen. Roger records an epistle of Henry, abbot of Clairvaux, lamenting over the prevalence of these heretics, who "had made to themselves priests and bishops, had their evangelists, who having depraved and cancelled the truth of the gospel, had copied to themselves new gospels." No doubt the Albigenses explained the gospels differently from the Romanists. Henry describes one of their teachers of "new doctrines" as "a man of great age, of a plentiful estate," and who "declared himself to be John the Evangelist, and distinguished 'the word' that 'was in the beginning with God,' 'from another principle of things as from another God.'" Probably this was nothing more than the preacher declaring what he viewed to be the meaning of the evangelist, and distinguishing God the Word from God the Father. The instructor with his 'dark owls' around him 'at night' sitting amongst them in "a garment like a rochet, and a surplice over it, seemed like a king with his army."* The same Roger relates some epistolary correspondence of Peter, cardinal of St Chrysogonon, in 1178, which declares that Toulouse had been by their own confession convicted of Manicheism, and on this ground Alain, a native of Lisle in Flanders in the thirteenth century, built the catalogue of heretical charges against the Albigenses, which accusations we shall then refute. At this date some Manichees might inhabit the same country with the Albigenses, but we find not the slightest reason for believing the disciples of Peter Bruys, of Henry, and of Peter Waldo to be Manichees.† Roger in applying to them the names Publicans and Cathari, means to reproach them, but proves nothing. He names them also Paterines, by which he appears to suppose that their faith came from Italy, and there was doubtless a similarity of sentiment.‡

Alexander III. having now got quit of the rival Popes, and

* Allix, Alb. pp. 208—210, 135. † Allix, Alb. p. 181. ‡ Allix, ib. p. 135.

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overcome the emperor Frederick, exercised his full power. In 1179, he summoned a council of the Lateran, in which he made regulations for the election of Popes, assumed the power of erecting kingdoms, and claimed the sole right of canonization. But we have chiefly to notice the declaration of spiritual war against heretics, who in many quarters, and especially in France, troubled the popish church.* If at this council some Waldenses at Rome asked from the Pope a liberty to preach, they had a view only to freedom from persecution, and did not at all mean that they held the sentiments of the Pope, nor did they imagine they had no right to preach without the sanction of his Holiness. We are also to recollect that Alexander refused this request,† yet the petitioners persevered in preaching. According to the Jesuit Gretzer, the reason for this council was, "because in Germany, in Albigeois, in the parts of Toulouse, and in other places, the condemnable perversity of the heretics, whom some call Catharists, some Paterines, others by other names, greatly prevailed. We may truly say that they prevailed, because hardly any region has remained free and untouched by that plague. It had so extended itself, and, with the destruction of a great many people, had poured itself into various branches, especially into Milan and Lombardy."‡ Of these objects of his hatred in the last named places, notice will be taken in another chapter of this century. John Leger errs in dating this council in 1159, because at that time Alexander had no power in Italy. He tells us the doctrine of the Waldenses was then condemned as "ancient, rooted, and much extended."§ On this council Boxhorn relates that "three hundred bishops were present. Pictures of the council were drawn with the inscription,—*Alexander III. being Pontiff, Frederick I. Emperor. The Waldenses and Catharists are damned as heretics. The manners of the Laics and Clergy are restored to the ancient discipline. Tournaments are forbidden.*" In another place Boxhorn calls the witnesses in France Waldenses, and speaks correctly.‖ Different names in the

* Mosh. cent. xii. part ii. chap. ii. § xiii. † Allix, Pied. p. 186.
‡ Gretzer's Preface to Rainerus Saccho in Bib. Pat. vol. iv. part ii. col. 722.
§ Histoire des Vaudois, part i. p. 155.
‖ Boxhorn's Univ. Hist. pp. 707, 713.

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canon, as Catharists and Manichees, applied to the Waldenses, are intended to reproach them. Walter Mappeus, who assisted at this council and disputed against them, calls them Valdesii, erroneously taking the name from Waldo.*

An old manuscript mentioned by Usher, and repeated at length by James Cappel in his book on the Liverymen of Babylon, (Livrées de Babel), runs thus: "In the year 1179, Pope Alexander III. in the council of the Lateran, putting the Waldenses, Albigenses, Agennois, Peterines, Good-men, Cathares, and Publicans in the same rank, commanded to persecute them to fire and blood. No example exists of such barbarity, except that of the empress Theodora against the Manichees in the year 842. The commission was given principally to Henry, abbot of Clairvaux,—the same individual who in the year 1179 was created bishop and cardinal of Alba, according to Roger of Hoveden."† Henry however did little to execute his appointment till 1181; but before detailing his proceedings, notice may here be taken of a treatise written against the Waldenses.

Bernard, abbot of Foncaud,‡ wrote an Essay "against the Valenses," which in the Bibliotheca Patrum is dated 1181,—the first year of the pontificate of Lucius III. The above is the title, and he calls them Waldenses, "from a dense valley, because they are involved in the deep and dense darkness of errors." He relates a disputation with the Waldenses, but without date, in consequence of which their opinions were declared heretical. He states however that the substance of the arguments in behalf of the Roman Catholic truth, is preserved in the present treatise, as constituting "impenetrable arms," by which "the faultering may triumph over inventors of falsehood, heretical demons and tyrants; and may deserve to receive from the chief shepherd the immortal crown." The Waldenses are accused "because they do not obey the Roman church,—they obey neither bishops nor priests." The dignity of prelates is defended by the cleansed lepers being shewn to the priests, by their giving the meaning of the law, and by Judas confessing to them. We are not to detract from the dignitaries, because Paul apologized for opposing the

* Allix, Pied. p. 180. † Leger, part ii. chap. xxv. p. 328.

‡ This is a different person from Bernard of Clairvaux.

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high-priest, Ham was cursed for exposing his father, and David would not touch the Lord's anointed. He charges the laymen with preaching: "They all preach every where, and without distinction of condition, age or sex." This assertion is false in regard to the Petrobrusians, Waldenses and Albigenses, as appears from their Discipline of 1120. Bernard says the heretics have no right to preach, because they have wives, they are not related to the Roman church, they seduce silly women who allure others, and they are the locusts in the Revelation. He repeats the calumny of the Waldenses allowing the women to teach; defends alms, fastings, masses and prayers for the dead, from Judas in the Apocrypha,* and maintains the existence of purgatory. He opposes some who assert that souls go neither to heaven nor hell till the day of judgment, but these could not be Waldenses; and concludes by expressing his indignation against those who "despise the house of God, and are more willing to pray in stables, or in bed-chambers, or in beds, than in the church." The Waldenses were doubtless guilty of refusing that one place is more holy than another.†

The above conference detailed by Bernard of Foncaud, was held in the presence of himself, and of Bernard, archbishop of Narbonne. Raimund of Deventer was also present, as stated in the treatise itself. The Albigenses, whom the bishop of Meaux calls Waldenses, are cleared from the charge of Manicheism or of Arianism. Dr Allix is displeased with the bishop for calling them Waldenses, as if they were the disciples of Waldo, who he thinks could not at this time be so numerous as to hold a public disputation. No doubt the bishop is in an error so far as he insinuates that the opponents of Rome arose only with Waldo, nor is there ground for distinguishing Waldo's followers as a different community from the Petrobrusians and Henricians. Since the condemnation of these religionists at Alby, however, in 1177, historians have most commonly called them Albigenses. The courts of Inquisition viewed the names Waldenses and Albigenses‡ as of

* 2 Maccab. xii. 40—45.

† This paper fills thirty-eight columns in Bib. Pat. tom. iv. part i. coll. 1195—1232.

‡ Allix, Alb. pp. 160—163.

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similar import, therefore the Doctor need not expatiate so largely on the bishop's offence.

Lucius III. in the first year of his pontificate, published a law against the Paterines and the poor-men of Lyons, maliciously confounding them with the Manichees, to render them execrable in the public estimation. He lays under a perpetual curse the Catharists, Paterines, and humbled or poor men of Lyons; the Passagines, Josephines and Arnoldists, because they have the form of godliness and deny the power; because they preach without authority from the pope or bishops, and because they believe differently from the church of Rome regarding all her sacraments. The whole of their favourers are subjected to a similar anathema, and any Romish clergyman who shall be convicted of such errors, shall be divested of his office and delivered to the secular power. Suspected persons are to abjure heresy, the clergy are to search their parishes where the heretics dwell, and to examine the neighbours regarding heretical meetings. Counts, barons, and consuls shall swear to assist the church in punishing heretics, under pain of excommunication, and confiscation of goods to the church. Cities which disobey these injunctions are to be excluded from commerce.* No man must buy or sell without the mark of the beast.

Henry, formerly abbot of Clairvaux, was now bishop of Alby, and having as legate collected by his preaching a considerable force, proceeded to visit the infected districts, and lost no time this year in enforcing the edict of Lucius. To avoid the gathering storm, many Albigenses improperly pretended to abjure their errors, and when the danger was gone, they returned to their former mode of life. On both sides of the Loire, therefore, the contagion spread through various provinces, and some had the fortitude to seal their testimony with their blood. TERRIC, one of their pastors who had long hid himself in a cavern at Corbigny, in the diocese of Nevers, was apprehended and burnt. In several other departments, numbers of innocent Christians were in the same manner put to death.† The manuscript related by Cappel, states that Henry, having authority from the Pope,

* Allix, Pied. pp. 256—260. † Allix, Alb. p. 216.

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" in the year 1181 led a great army against the Albigenses, and destroyed an immense multitude, but in that matter he made little progress, says William of Nangis. In fact the number of Waldenses was so great in France and England, that the kings Louis VIII. and Henry II. were united to undertake what the cardinal of Alba was unable to accomplish. Henry II. king of England was unwilling to consent to that cruelty. Louis VIII. of France being misinformed by his servants, caused burn a great many Waldenses in the year 1182, and in the year 1183, gave orders to kill in one day 7000 people, whom they named Cathares, or Ruptaires, as William of Breton asserts."* In 1183, many dissenters from the Church of Rome were detected in the city of Arras in Artois, " whom some call Manichees, some Cataphrygians, some Arians, but pope Alexander styles them Paterines, who were afterwards consumed in the flames."† Here the sovereign pontiff himself designates the objects of his fury with more candour than their other contemporaries.

Meantime the grounds for keeping separate from the papal communion continued to multiply. According to Mosheim, the feast for the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary was instituted in 1138, but the historian knows not who first authorised it. Allix mentions that the office of the Holy Virgin, which had been hitherto only the effect of private or particular superstition, was in the year 1195 established in the western church, in a council assembled at Clermont by the pope. The observance for a time had been optional and local, but was now ultimately imposed by papal authority.‡

Innocent III. received the pope's crown in 1198, and immediately issued writs declaring the Albigenses and Waldenses heretics, and holding the same doctrine. This document was addressed to the prelates of the south of France, and to the neighbouring bishops of Spain, where a respectable number of the Waldenses lived.§ Gretzer writes that " two

* Leger, part ii. chap. xxv. p. 328.

† Auctarium Aquicinctinum, quoted by Gretzer, Bib. Pat. tom. iv. part i. coll. 1067, 1068.

‡ Mosheim, cent. xii. part ii. chap. iii. § xix. and chap. iv. § ii. Allix, Pied. p. 202. who mistakes Urban II. for Celestine III.

§ Allix, ib. p. 186.

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epistles of Innocent III. are extant against the same heretics, the one to the bishop of Ausch, the other to the archbishop of Aques, where among other things the pontiff says, 'In so much as we have heard that some have sprung up who are called Waldenses, Catharists, and Paterines, and some others by whatsoever names they are called, that they have entangled incalculable numbers of people in the snares of their error, and have corrupted them with the leaven of their falsity;' who have been often punished even in Germany."*

These two epistles of Innocent seem to have been dated 22nd of April and 21st May 1198, and they appointed Regnier and Guy to the work of persecution, which was begun in those provinces where the early reformation had made least progress; and in that and some following years many of the leaders of the anti-Roman church perished in the flames at Nevers. That the inquisitors might have a stock of riches the Pope ordained in 1199, that the goods of the Albigenses should be confiscated although their children were to make protestation to subject themselves entirely to the sovereign Pontiff. In 1199 Regnier is made legate in Embrun, Aix, Arles, aud Narbonne, and all archbishops in these places are enjoined to obey him. With him Innocent conjoined Peter of Castenau,† and adopted another course than that of the ordinary bishops to frame the processes against the Waldenses. He authorised certain inquisitorial monks to deliver them to the secular power. This they achieved by a full and arbitrary authority, and by a far shorter and more cruel procedure than formerly. The objects of their vengeance they gave over in thousands to the magistrates, who committed them to the executioners; consequently, in a few years, all Christendom was much moved by lamentable spectacles. Such as trusted in our Lord Jesus Christ alone for their salvation, and renounced the refuges of lies invented by men for selfish purposes, were strangled on gibbets, or consumed at the stake.‡

In the country where the Provençal language was spoken, especially in Languedoc, the cause of God among the Pate-

* Bib. Pat. coll. 1067-8. Sismondi, pp. 11—13.

† Cappel's, MS. in Leger, ib. p. 329. De

‡ Perrin, book ii. chap. i.

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rines had made the greatest progress. It also spread in Italy, Flanders, Lorraine, Germany, and Spain. About the 1200, the Albigenses made proselytes at Metz, and there circulated the sacred Scriptures translated from the Latin into the Roman language.* Hitherto the Bible had not been by any law forbidden to laymen, but in 1200, Innocent III. in his letter to the inhabitants of Metz, commanded strict search to be made for the poor-men of Lyons, and others of a similar description, and ordained them to be banished and treated with the most extreme barbarity, because they assumed the liberty to read the written Word of God translated by Peter Waldo into the vulgar tongue.†

CHAPTER VI.

Waldenses in Spain.

At this time an intimate connection subsisted between Spain and the South of France. Provence and Languedoc, were more properly Aragonese than French districts. The king of Aragon, as count of Provence, was the immediate liege lord of the viscounts of Narbonne, Beziers, and Carcassonne. Avignon and other cities acknowledged him as baronial superior. Though the principal lords did homage to the king of France, or to the emperor, they yielded obedience in reality to the Spanish monarch, lived under his protection, and served in his armies. Several of them by royal gifts, or by marriage, possessed lands in Spain, and consequently some of the Waldenses, when exposed to maltreatment in France, retired within the Spanish boundaries as early as the middle of the twelfth century, and seem for some time to have enjoyed repose.‡

Raimir II. king of Aragon and Navarre, conferred the lat-

* De Sismondi, pp. 10, 11, and note, who cites Calmet, Histoire de Lorraine, tom. ii. cis. xxiii. chap. xxiv. p. 199. † Allix, Pied. pp. 200, 263.

‡ Dr M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Spain, pp. 32, 33.

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ter place on his son Garcias, and the former on his daughter Urraca,* whom he married in 1138, with Raimond Berenger IV. count of Barcelona, and marquis of Provence. To Raimond, now king of Aragon, Urraca bore Alphonso, or rather Alfonso, who commenced his reign as Alfonso II. in 1162. Till about this period the Waldenses in his dominions had been treated with gentleness, but having given his son Peter the title of king, the two in concert, in the year 1164, commanded that people to depart at All Saints day from his territories. If they should not remove, all subjects are permitted to molest them in every way, provided their lives are spared. The Jesuit Mariana, and the Inquisitor Pegne, report the warrant at full length, which, however, does not represent any of the Waldensian opinions, but merely denominates them "heretics and enemies of the cross of Christ," because they refused to worship the form of the cross. Mariana and Pegne further characterize them as "violators of the Christian religion," but are not so complaisant as to state what part of Christianity they violated. In Spain the Waldenses or Albigenses were called *Zabatos* or *Inzabatos*. Pegne explains *Zabat* as signifying a shoe. They therefore called themselves Inzabatatos, on account of certain marks which they formed on their shoes, probably for the purpose of discovering themselves to one another. Calumny or ignorance afterwards expounded this appellation as if they had spent every Sabbath with sorcerers.†

In consequence of the bull of Lucius III. in 1181, formerly mentioned, "Alphonso issued an edict, and confirmed it in 1194, against the Waldenses or poor-men of Lyons, the same who are by another name called Albigenses, since the heads of doctrine in both societies were almost the same: nor did they differ much in their age of existence, which has caused Americus of the order of preachers, inquisitor of Aragon, not to enumerate among heretics the heretical Albigenses, which I observe to have happened from a similar cause to other authors of the same times."‡

* Some call her Petrona.

† Cappell's Livrées de Babel, chap. xxx. in Leger, part ii. p. 329.

‡ John Mariana's Preface to Lucio of Tuy's Treatise against the Albigenses, Bib. Pat. tom. iv. part ii. coll. 582.

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In 1196, Alphonso died, and the government devolved on his son, Pedro II. who had been formerly by his father denominated king. The edict of 1194, having produced little effect, was in 1197 renewed by a decree of Pedro in a council held at Gerona, and was subscribed by all the grandees of Catalonia. All governors and judges are required to swear before their bishops to assist in discovering and inflicting sufferings on heretics under the penalty of being treated as infected with heresy. Yet Pedro was disposed to favour the Albigenses,* as will appear by his conduct towards them in the following century.

CHAPTER VII.

Waldenses in England suffer cruel deaths—Are unmolested towards the end of the century—Waldensian settlement at Darenth in Kent.

DUPIN relates, that some of the disciples of Arnold, probably the same we are to write of in the next chapter, arrived in England during the reign of Henry II.† On the authority of Robert Guisburn, Fox states, that in 1158, two eminent Waldensian barbs, GERARD and DULCIN, landed in England on a missionary tour to preach the gospel.‡ William of Newbury,§ a Romanist, calls them "Publicans, who long ago came out of Gascony, having their origin from an uncertain author." They were so ancient, that he can give no account of their beginning, but proceeds: "In the most extensive provinces of France, Spain, Italy, and Germany, so many are said to be infected with this plague, that according to the prophet they appear to be multiplied beyond number." He remarks, that when not hunted, they come abroad from their lurking places, and are most diligent in propagating their sentiments, from which Britannia, now England, had been free since the subjugation of the Britons. "And there were up-

* M'Crie's Spain, p. 33.

† Bruce's Free Thoughts on the Toleration of Popery, p. 117.

‡ Rerum Anglicarum, lib. ii. cap. xiii. in the Prolegomena of Balthasar Lydius, tom. ii. cap. iii.

§ See his account in the Archæologia, vol. ix. pp. 306—308.

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wards of thirty men and women, who dissembling their error as if harmless, entered into this country for the sake of propagating their plague, one Gerard being their leader, to whom they all looked as their preceptor and prince. For he alone was in some degree learned: but the others were without letters and unlearned, men quite unpolished and unlearned of the German nation and language. Remaining some time in England, they joined to their assembly only one woman of low station, circumvented by infectious whispers, and fascinated, as reported, by certain delusions."

Like the Waldenses on the continent, these in England were mentioned by a variety of names, such as Poor-men of Lyons, Arnoldists, and Paulicians, as well as Puritans, Publicans, Paterines and Albigenses. When we consider that these designations were given to the Vaudois in France; that they were very numerous in the English dominions in that country, where they were often consigned to the flames; that they had great facility of emigrating to England; that the Waldenses possessed an ardent missionary spirit, for Newbury says, "they entered this country for the sake of propagating their plague;" and that there were numbers of that people in Britain shortly after the destruction of the German strangers, we are led to favour the conclusion, that many of the English Waldenses came from France, as well as a company from Germany. Balai mentions them as teaching in England in 1164, and Polydor Virgil, under 1165, writes of them as having come over from Germany.*

At the council of Tours, as already stated in 1163, all kings were enjoined to search out and to punish heretics. Therefore, though Henry of England was a humane prince, he was induced to prosecute dissenterism, both in his French and British dominions. Another motive with the king was his controversy with Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, who, by his insolence, had rendered himself obnoxious to the country and to the monarch. At this juncture, Henry was anxious to obtain the favour of the Pope and his clergy. Influenced, doubtless, by these considerations, he, in 1166, assembled a council of bishops at Oxford.

* Waldensia of Balth. Lyd. tom. ii. Proleg. cap. iii.

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The strangers having been sisted before their prejudiced judges, were solemnly interrogated concerning their religion. They anwered through Gerard, "that they are Christians, and venerate the apostolic doctrine." Being asked concerning "the articles of the sacred faith, concerning the substance of the High Physician, concerning his remedies by which he condescends to heal human weakness, that is, concerning the divine sacraments, they declared doctrines which the council reckoned perverse." Newbury explains this of the Waldenses "detesting sacred baptism, the eucharist, and marriage."* But their own confessions of faith and books of discipline vindicate them from these accusations. Gerard, Dulcin, and their followers doubtless viewed the Romish explanation of baptism and the Lord's Supper as erroneous; and they refused marriage to be a sacrament, but this will not prove that they detested these ordinances. They denied purgatory, prayers for the dead, the invocation of saints,† and connection with the Roman Catholic unity. The council urged certain passages of Scripture, but they declined disputing concerning their faith. Being admonished to repentance and union with the Roman church, they made no account of the proposals of the court. When threatened with punishment, they took comfort from the beatitude, "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." To prevent the doctrine of these people from extending further, the bishops publicly pronounced them heretics, and delivered them to the king to be subjected to corporeal discipline. Henry being thus instigated by the clergy, sentenced them to be branded in the foreheads with the mark of heretical infamy, and to be publicly whipped and banished from the city of Oxford. All persons are prohibited from receiving them to their houses, and from affording them any comfort. This sentence was executed in its utmost severity. They were burnt in the brow with a red-hot iron, and Gerard as a notification of his mastership, was doubly branded, that is, on the forehead and on the chin, singing, "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you." The English woman who

* Archæol. ib.

† Dr Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, vol. v. pp. 338, 339. London 1823.

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had joined them, apostatised, and was reconciled to the Romish communion. The clothes of the sufferers having been cut off by the girdle, they were publicly beaten, and ejected out of the city with resounding lashes. Being winter, and no man displaying the smallest mercy, they all miserably perished from the intensity of the cold.* D'Aubigny states, that Gerard and eighteen others were condemned to death by hunger, cold and nakedness, and on the streets of London ended their lives on a heap of such materials as came in their way, with their breasts downwards for the sake of decency. They continued to the last to sing a song founded on "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake."† If these were the same persons who were condemned at Oxford, probably they remembered the direction, "if they persecute you in one city, flee to another," and proceeded to London. Hume remarks, "they seem to have been the first who suffered for heresy in England." The only portion of this mournful relation that moves the sympathies of Dr Lingard (humane man!) is the weariness of the examination to the members of synod.‡

We have reason to believe that other Waldenses than this company were at this period in England. Thomas Walden, an English writer, treating of this people in the reign of Henry II. mentions in general, that such as were not found worthy of death, were marked in the forehead with a burning key, that they might be known of all men.§ Henry's contest with Becket, in support of the prerogatives of the crown, was continued from 1159 to 1173, which, in connection with the Pope's decrees at Tours in 1163, accounts for Henry's cruelty to the foreigners, as he did not wish to afford the head of the Romish church and his adherents, any pretext to charge him with profaneness or inattention to religion, or to oppose the king's temporal prerogatives.‖ In the year 1174, the inquisitorial monks caused some Waldenses to be burnt in England,¶ and for several years posterior to that date, a number more of the same people were consumed by the

* Archæol. ib. † Leger, part ii. p. 331. ‡ Vaughan's Life of Wycliff, vol. i. p. 183. § Perrin, book ii. chap. xii. ‖ See Mr Dinne's excellent Letter to Mr Brand on the Waldenses in England in the Archæologia, vol. ix. pp. 292—305. ¶ Matthew Paris, in Perrin, ib.

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fire. The cruelties seem to have been moderated in England during the latter part of the twelfth century, though there were more burnings in 1217.*

Henry, in his own and his queen's right, possessed Aquitain, Poicteu, Guienne, Gascoyn, Normandy, and other French territories, which were the principal places in which the Waldenses and Albigenses lived. Though the controversy regarding Becket was now over, Henry had been sadly humbled by the Pope, whose legate influenced him to be more cruel in France than otherwise he would have been. Roger de Bedres, governor of Gascoyn under Henry, his wife, children, servants and soldiers, were of the Albigensian religion. In the course of war, Roger had made prisoner the bishop of Alby, for which offence the Pope was highly incensed, and considering that Roger took part with the Albigenses, the legate in 1178, declared Roger a traitor, excommunicated, and a friend of heretics. In this 24th year of his reign, Henry, to please Alexander III. and his clergy, joined the French king in persecuting for a time the Catharists, or rather Albigenses, of Toulouse, yet, as Milner remarks, he perverted his understanding by these proceedings.

Though many Waldenses were consuming to ashes in Flanders, and though the contiguity of the Pope and his legates caused Henry tolerate similar proceedings in his French dominions, yet he became more favourable to that people, and Hoveden at the year 1182, informs us, that the king would not allow any such cruelties in England. Though Henry on his death-bed received the Lord's Supper with reverence, yet there is not the least hint of his worshipping it, and indeed the decree to adore the sacrament was passed only in the following century. The king, however, adored the cross. Richard I. who succeeded Henry in 1189, and reigned till 1199, appears not to have molested the dissenters from the established ritual. Indeed he found the times calamitous, was several years absent with the crusades in the Holy Land, and on his return was imprisoned by the emperor, with the sordid prospect of money to be given for his release.†

* Hist of Martyrs, in Leger, part ii. pp. 331, 332.

† D'Anver's, p. 277. Allix, Pied. p. 201. Hoveden's Annals, p. 352, in Dinne. Milner, vol. iii. p. 423.

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Sometime between the years 1182 and 1197, a company of Waldenses was allowed to settle in peace as tenants of the Manor of Darenth in the county of Kent. Considering the severities against all who differed from the Romish communion, their entrance to this abode could not be well dated before 1182. Neither was the commencement of their habitation in Darenth later than 1197, because their rents were paid to the archbishop of Canterbury: now the Manor in 1197 was alienated from Canterbury by Hubert, and given to the priory of Rochester in exchange for the Manor of Lambeth. These facts are attested by the original deeds still extant in the library of Lambeth House, and by the archives of the dean and chapter of Rochester.

The rents which these foreign settlers agreed to pay are mentioned in the *custumale Roffense*, written in the early part of the fourteenth century.* It is in Latin, but some phrases latinized English. The following payments are marked as "returns of rent. The Waldenses for certain waste land, four shillings. They likewise hold one yoke (or bank, *jugum*) of taxed land for three shillings and four-pence. At the Nativity to pay for residence, five shillings and three-pence. At Pasch, five shillings and three-pence. At the feast of St John the Baptist, five shillings and seven-pence. At the feast of St Michael, five shillings and three-pence. At the feast of St Laurence, instead of autumnal labours, thirty-two pence half-penny. And if the archbishop should take his residence in the Manor-house, every yoke of land is bound to bring four carriages with oxen for rent. And the Waldenses besides carried with two horses, and had their forage and food from the barns of the archbishop." The whole of the annual rent, exclusive of labour, amounted to one pound, eleven shillings, and eight-pence.

Thus in England, where the Britons and others had long struggled against the encroachments of Rome, the lamp of the gospel dispensation was anew trimmed in several corners by the Waldenses, though in poverty and suffering.

* This Treatise was published by Mr Thorpe, in the 18th century, under the title of *Jurati de Rente; de consuetudinibus et reditibus*, and contains the services to be performed by the Waldenses, formerly tenants of the Manor of Darenth in Kent. See Archæol. ib.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Waldenses in Lombardy, including Piemont.—Arnold of Brescia.—Esprandon and Joseph.—Causes of Religious Liberty in Lombardy at this period, and for two centuries afterward.—Slanderous Writers against the Waldenses.

In treating of the Waldenses of Lombardy, Arnold, a native of Brescia near Milan, which now belongs to the Venetian States, must not be forgotten. Though he did not reside in the Alpine valleys, yet as he lived in the neighbourhood, made strenuous efforts for reformation, and was deeply imbued with the spirit of the Valley-men and the Paterines, some account of him will be expected in this place.

At first he was only a reader in the church of his own city, but from his love to learning he travelled into France and became an auditor of the celebrated Abelard. On his return to Italy, according to Bernard, he displayed an excellent natural genius, manifested a happy ease of expression, behaved with great propriety in his morals, and took on the habit of a monk. Perceiving the dissoluteness prevailing among the clergy and in the monasteries, he began to censure them, and to seek the favours of laymen. "For," says Otho of Frisingen, "he maintained that neither clergymen enjoying property, nor bishops having royal jurisdiction, nor monks holding possessions, can possibly be saved; that all these things belonged to the prince; and that it is only from the prince's beneficence they ought to fall to the use of the clergy." The sentiments of Arnold may be carried too far, but the worldliness and immorality of all ranks of clergy will account for his zeal. Even Bernard himself in addressing pope Eugenius III. on consideration, mentions the same clerical impurities. "Besides this," continues Otho, "he is said not to have judged soundly concerning the sacrament of the altar and the baptism of little ones." This just means that Otho viewed him as unsound, because he rejected the popish superstitions in transubstantiation and the administration of

* Allix, Pied. pp. 170, 171.

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baptism; but none has ground to infer that Arnold denied either the right use of the Lord's Supper, or the baptism of infants. Bernard declares to Innocent II. that Arnold taught in the Eucharist that the accidents subsisted in the air, but not without a subject; and that when a rat eats the sacrament, God withdraws whither he pleases, and preserves where he pleases, the body of Jesus Christ. This is found in one of the manuscripts of Bernard, though suppressed by the publishers of his works. Dr Allix considers the remark as a piece of raillery, and a consequence of the real presence drawn by Abelard, rather than a positive opinion of Arnold, who was doubtless of Berengaire's opinion regarding the Lord's Supper;* and the fact of the publishers of the writings of Bernard omitting the passage, shows they doubted its genuineness.

He publicly maintained that the treasures and revenues of popes, bishops, and monasteries ought to be transferred to the supreme rulers of each state, and that nothing was to be left to the ministers of the gospel except a spiritual authority, and a subsistence drawn from tithes and from the voluntary oblations and contributions of the people.† He opposed the growing errors of his native place, and, supported by Maifred consul of that city, he so far succeeded that the bishop was almost cast off. The last mentioned character assailed Arnold and complained to Innocent, who in 1139 convened a council at the Lateran, and doomed the offender to silence. Otho the historian of the achievements of the emperor Frederick informs us, that on this occasion Arnold retired to Turego or Zurich in Germany, within the diocese of Constance; that he continued to disseminate his doctrine, and nearly convinced the bishop of the place and the pope's legate; that Bernard by his epistle addressed to the bishop of Constance on the subject reclaimed them, and that Arnold usually resided at Zurich during the life of Innocent.‡ In the course of these years he made excursions into distant parts to propagate his principles. He undertook various journies to Beziers, anciently called Septimania by the Romans. He

* Allix, Pied. pp. 170, 171, 174. † Mosheim, cent. xii. part ii. chap v. § x.
‡ Allix, Pied p. 171. Leger, ib p 155.

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stopped some time at Alba Augusta, now Viviers in Vivarez, on the west of the Rhone and east of Cavennes; whence the Albigenses soon persuaded the Toulousians, Aquitainians, and the inhabitants of Agen.* On perceiving the corruptions in the Romish communion, he felt most indignantly, and expressed himself in the strongest language. "This man," says Dr Mosheim, "seems not to have adopted any doctrines inconsistent with the spirit of true religion; and the principles on which he acted were chiefly reprehensible from their being carried too far, applied without discernment and discretion, and executed with a degree of vehemence which was as criminal as it was imprudent."† But we must remember that unless reformers proceed with boldness, they can never expect to accomplish their purpose. Dr Milner‡ calls Arnold a Socinian, but this is not demonstrated by his having been a disciple of Abelard. Popliniere, a Roman Catholic of the sixteenth century, is more candid, for after mentioning like Du Thou that Arnold was in the country of the Albigenses, he assures us "that the religion of the ancient Waldenses was very little different from that which the Protestants at this day hold; and that appears by a great many fragments and monuments written in their own language, and even by a solemn disputation of Mr Arnold, a minister of Lombardy, against the bishop of Pamier, the acts of which subsist even to this day, in a language which resembles the Catalan rather than the French; yea, many have assured me that they have assuredly seen their articles of faith engraven on old marbles, which are found in the city of Albi, and that they are agreeable to those of the Protestants." Leger remarks that this confirms the authenticity of the Waldensian manuscripts. Piemont belonged to ancient Lombardy, and therefore Arnold may well be classed among the ancient Waldenses and Albigenses. This also justifies the assertion that the ancient Waldenses were neither Manichees nor Arians, and that Arnold was not a Socinian.§

On the death of Innocent II. in 1143, Arnold proceeded to Rome, and acquired a most powerful influence among all

* Du Thou, book iv. p. 118. Franckfort, 1610. † Mosheim, ib.
‡ Vol. iii. p. 374. § Leger, part i. chap. xix. p. 129.

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classes. Thence we gather that the letters of Bernard to the bishop of Constance and to the pope, had not much diminished his credit. Neither Celestine who died in 1144, nor Lucius II. whose demise in 1145 gave Eugenius III. the papal dignity, was able to repress the spirit of the Roman populace. Eugenius at his very consecration was obliged to flee from Rome, yet condemned Arnold as a heretic. Returning with some troops, Eugenius pretended to make some concessions, but was unable to exterminate the Waldensian notions even in Rome. On the authority of Otho, we know that Arnold "having entered into the city, and finding it in an uproar against the pope, he greatly increased the flame, propounding to the multitude the examples of the ancient Romans, who by the mature counsels of their senators, and by the valour and integrity of their youth, made the whole world their own. Wherefore he persuaded them to rebuild the capitol, to restore the dignity of the senate, and to reform the order of the knights. He maintained that no part of the government of the city belonged to the pope, who ought to content himself only with ecclesiastical censures." Otho disapproved of Arnold's keenness, for he adds, "and the mischief of this infectious doctrine prevailed to such an extent, that not only several houses of the Roman nobility and cardinals were pulled down, but even several of the reverend cardinals received personal abuse and were wounded by the raging multitude. And for a considerable period, that is, from Celestine's death to these times, he incessantly and irreverently proceeded in these and such like enterprises, contemning the sentence of the clergy, justly and canonically pronounced against him, as altogether void and of no authority."* Whether such boldness in politics would be proper in a minister placed in ordinary circumstances, may be questioned by some, but the situation of Arnold was peculiar, and his motives appear to have been good. Had he ultimately succeeded, many more would have approved of his movements, than when his designs were frustrated. Surely one important step of reformation was to deprive the popes of temporal power, and one leading reason why Arnold has been so much defamed by

* Allix, Pied p. 171, 172. Edinburgh Encyclopedia, Art. Arnold.

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Roman Catholics is, because he opposed the tyranny and usurpation of the popes over the emperors. He wished to re-establish the power of the senate in Rome, and to restrict the pontiff to spiritual jurisdiction. He induced the senate and population of Rome to inform the emperor Frederick of their resolutions against the pope and the king of Sicily, and of their wish to restore Rome to the imperial government, and again to constitute that city the head of the empire. Arnold pled for the emperor's right of investitures in opposition to the pontiff's, and this filled up the measure of his crimes. Many were dissatisfied and separated from the Romish church, as is shewn by BONACURSUS, bishop of the Catharists at Milan, when he writes against the followers of Arnold. This Bonacursus, however, afterwards recanted.

In 1153, Anastasius IV. succeeded Eugenius, and in the following year the Englishman Adrian IV. ascended the papal chair, who interdicted religious worship in Rome for four months. This gave a turn to the superstitious minds of the inhabitants, who, like cowards, banished Arnold. He betook himself to Campania, and Adrian persuaded Frederick Barbarosa to drive him from his retreat. On the borders of Tuscany he was seized by cardinal Gerard, aided by a company of the emperor's soldiery. Under the influence of the court of Rome, he suffered death, for Otho informs us "he was at last hanged by the prefect of the city, and to prevent the foolish rabble from expressing any veneration for his body, it was consumed to ashes, and the ashes cast into the Tyber." This was in 1155, and Gunther who describes in verse the life of Frederick, confirms the narrative.*

ESPERON, one of Arnold's disciples, succeeded so well to his knowledge and zeal, that the Waldenses in 1156 were from him called Esperonists.† JOSEPHO, who held similar views, taught about the same era, and the receivers of his doctrines were called Josephists.‡

Galdinus, archbishop of Milan, as Ughellus in his life tells us, began about 1164 or 1165 to persecute the Catharists; and after persisting in this course during the eight or nine

* Allix, Pied. pp. 169—173. Leger, ib. p. 155.
† Leger, ib. Moreland, p. 184. Allix, Alb. p. 132. ‡ Moreland, ib.

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years of his episcopacy, he died in 1173 by his vehemence in preaching against them. Ripomantius in his history of Milan, pretends to give the sermon of Galdinus in decrying these Catharists, in which they are called Manichees and Arians, but Allix judges it an evident forgery.*

We said that many of the disciples of Waldo were dispersed in Cisalpine Gaul, and among the Alps, where they obtained a very safe refuge. In the former of these places are the marquisite of Saluzzo, with the valleys of Pragela, of Meana, and of Mathias. Among the Alps are the valleys of Keiras, of Cezane, of Freissiniers, of the Val Louisa, and of Suza. If ever Waldo was in these parts, the period must have been very limited. The persecuted followers of Waldo retreated to these situations, which, as Du Thou remarks, were peopled by "Petrobrusians, Henricians, Arnoldists, and Esperonists, who did not acknowledge the pope or the Roman church, and did not receive another rule of faith than the word of God, according to the explanation of the ancient fathers." They all reckoned the word of God a complete rule, however, without the fathers, and the poor flock in France found a cordial welcome among the Alps. The author of the State of the Church writes, "that after Waldo and his people were hunted from Lyons, a great many retired into Lombardy," which anciently included the valleys of Piemont, "whence they spread themselves through Italy, and all the way into Sicily." The inhabitants of the Valleys were not named Waldenses from the influx of the disciples of Waldo, but all were so called who held the opinions of the people of the Valleys. The Albigenses existed before the appearance of Waldo, and came at least in part from the Waldenses of the Valleys, for the book of Martyrs in the history of the persecution of Merindol and Cabriere, states, "that they were formerly come of Piemont to dwell in Provence, in the quarters of Merindol, of Cabrieres, and of the neighbourhood;" and in fact among the martyrs of these places were many Pellancs and others, who were only branches, whose trunks and roots remained in the Valleys.†

* Allix, Pied. p. 153.

† Leger, part i. chap. xxv. pp. 156, 157.

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The reason why a great number of Waldo's disciples went to the Valleys of the Alps near France, was, that at this period, liberty of worship different from the popish church was tolerated in these parts. This was upwards of fifty years before the counts of Savoy were become dukes, or held any possessions in Piemont, which was not till 1233. Toleration was enjoyed under the princes of Piemont, the counts of Lucerna, the marquises of Saluzzo, and in the towns of Nice, Ast, and Verseil, which were a kind of republics. But if it be asked, why did not the marquises of Saluzzo, and consequently their dependencies, the vales of Pra-villem, Bioletz, Bietonnetz, and Festeona, disturb the refugees who had come from Lyons and its neighbourhood? And why did not the counts of Lucerna injure those Waldenses who were under their jurisdiction, till they themselves were subjected to Savoy, and were constrained by Savoy to do so? We reply, that this is just for the same reason, that they have never troubled their ancient and natural subjects inhabiting the said places, and there from father to son professing the same religion from time immemorial. The reasons are:

First, Because a great many of the lords have cherished a friendly feeling for the same doctrine, which they have acknowledged to be conformed to the Holy Scripture. *Secondly*, Because of the moral deportment of these people.—Their greatest enemies have rendered frequent and illustrious testimony to their piety, sincerity and charity. These and other distinguished individuals of the Romish communion, have reckoned themselves happy to obtain these seceders for valets and servants, because they could not find others so virtuous, so sober, and so faithful. All along till 1640, the lords among the Roman Catholics have endeavoured to obtain nurses for their children among the Waldenses, and if the latter did not choose to leave their own families to live in the house of the rich man, he sent his child to be reared among the Waldenses, even in some instances to the highest mountains. But in 1640, the Inquisitors and Madam Royal introduced ecclesiastical and civil pains on all who should be served by the Waldenses. *Thirdly*, Because of the temporal interest of these lords.—This is a leading motive with worldly men. By preserving these people, they drew from them many ad-

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vantages and revenues. Lands which would otherwise have been useless, have thus yielded a profitable return to the superior.* *Fourthly*, Another reason can be at this time taken from the devastations of these provinces by the forces of Frederick the emperor. In consequence of this, the clergy and people enjoyed a greater liberty than usual in their opinions. The four antipopes, who contended against one another, thought of little else but who should be master. The true popes found great difficulty in opposing the emperors and their rivals. The emperor at this time does not appear to have persecuted any supposed heretics.†

In certain parts of the great Valley of Lucerna, liberty of conscience has remained "at all times," or "from time immemorial," as the people always declared to their princes in their petitions without being contradicted. These places are the entire communities of Angrogna, of Roras, of La Torre, from the Bridge of St Margaret in the heights, of Villaro and of Bobio. Between the Valley of Lucerno, and that of Perosa, is the Vale and Community of Rochepiatta. In the Valley of Perosa are the places of San Germano, Demillioux, Grandiblon, Le Taluc and Le Puys. In the Valley of San Martino, the communities of Faet, Salsa, Massel, Rodoretto and Prali. At the Marquisite of Saluzzo are the countries or mountains of Pro Villelm, Biolet, Bietonnet, Festeona, and others. We shall not now speak of the Valleys of Cluson or Pragela, of Quieras, of Freisinieres, or Val-Putte or Louisa, almost all contiguous to those of Piemont, and enclosed in the same Alps. In the Valley of Suze are the Vales of Meana and Mattias, with others. Some of these places are among the mountains ordinarily covered with snow during seven, eight, and even nine months in the year, which were previously inhabited by wolves and bears, filling the forests and woods, the greater part being of a (fataye) fatiguing height, and mostly inaccessible and impenetrable. With an inconceivable labour, however, the people cleared the places, and filled them with villages, which continue till the present time to be inhabited, though they are able to raise only a little rye, barley, or oats. Very frequently, however, they have been unable to

* Leger, ib. pp. 157, 158. † Allix, Pied. p. 254.

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recover the seed, which ordinarily happens when the snows surprise them before the ground is well frozen.* In this case, the men leaving the small provisions which they possess for the subsistence of their wives and children, absent themselves during the whole winter to gain their livelihood in strange countries. Some of them dress flax, others are employed as joiners or carpenters; some work at masonry, others saw trees by the strength of their arms to make boards *(des aix)* and beams. They commonly returned home about Easter with what little money they had been able to earn. This pittance is very frequently the only means of preventing the exacters of taxes from taking away their few cattle or furniture which they are able to possess. Again, in order to gain a few pounds of salt, which is very high priced in this country, the wives and daughters of the poor mountaineers go to carry long poles of the larch tree, which is a wood proper to support the spars *(antentais)* of the inhabitants of the plain. These they carry all the way to Pignerol, the nearest city of Piemont, which sometimes has belonged to the king of France, the distance being twenty or twenty-four miles in going and returning. They are burdened in such a manner, that a stranger could not behold them without being moved with great compassion. All that they receive is less than a livre or a quarter of a French crown piece, about eighteenpence, sterling, on which they must subsist three entire days, which they require by the way. The other places which are lower in the warmer and more fertile countries, are in situations so difficult and toilsome for work, so rugged, so mountainous, that there is not a spot where one is able to use waggons, and a number of others where even horses or mules cannot be employed to carry the different sorts of burdens. Consequently the backs of the poor people serve instead of waggons and beasts of burden, and through necessity they are obliged to bear hay, corn and wood; wine, dung and other articles, not only some leagues, but entire journies. From these hardships are exempted a very few of the families which meet in the small plains of San Giovanni and La Torre,

* This account of Leger seems to mean, that when the snow comes on while the ground is soft and newly tilled and sown, the seed is frequently rotted.

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and who, by the great overcharge of taxes and imposts, pay very dearly for the accommodation.

And what is still more astonishing, in a great many places in which there had been almost nothing except steep rocks, and very little earth between them, the people built low walls like steps of a stair. Transporting the earth from another place, and filling up the space between the wall and the rock, they there formed vineyards, which they preserve with incredible labour. In order to retain the little earth which they have carried to these places, they are obliged on every accident to repair the walls, which are sometimes broke down by the torrents of rain. The earth also is sometimes taken away either by digging the vineyard, or by the water channels, and they are obliged from time to time to carry it back with the great baskets from the bottom of the vineyard to the higher, because otherwise in a few years the top of the vineyard would be found destitute of earth. Almost all the vineyards of the Vallies of Lucerne, of Pierouse, and of St Martin are of this sort.

So that if the lords of these countries had turned out, or suffered the expulsion of the inhabitants, they would never any more have found any who would have filled the situations, and all their valuable rents would have been lost. "On this subject," says Leger, "invincible proofs need not be exacted, because the same thing is experienced at this day, (1669) of which a few examples will suffice, which will make it evident that when these countries are abandoned by this people, this is so much territory lost for the prince and for the subaltern lords, who do not find a person who has the courage to go to cultivate them, even although they would give them in a pure gift, and what is more, with exception and freedom from very considerable taxes. All the chiefs of family of the community of Chabran, in the Valley of St Martin having failed, it was altogether deserted about thirty years ago, (1639) and neither the prince nor the gentlemen of the place, have ever been able to find any to re-people it; and nevertheless it is still one of the better places, and of the less laborious of the Valley of St Martin, abounding in wine and chesnuts, fruits and corn, with other articles. The communities of Traverses, St Martin and Faet, are for the same

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reason in a great measure uncultivated, and they have not found any Roman Catholic who is willing to accept the better lands, although well provided with houses and other necessary buildings, and though they offer them for nothing, even with the exemption of the taxes abovementioned, nay, although they are the lower communities, less wild, and more abundant in every sort of good provisions." If these Roman Catholics refused to settle in these good situations, they would be still more unwilling to transport themselves to the communities and vales situated on the Alps, buried in snow for eight or nine months in the year, where the inhabitants are obliged to travel with the Chastua as they call it, which is of a circular form, of the wideness of a water-bucket, woven with cords in form of rackets to prevent sinking in the snows, or even with large irons at the feet furnished with points of steel, to be able to mount and descend on the ice with burdens on their backs. In which situations, when the snow and the ice dissolve, they are at every hasty attempt in great danger of being surprized and covered by the avalanches, that is to say, by the masses of snow which descend and slide down from the higher situations of the Alps, and bear down before them every obstacle, frequently overturning not only trees and houses, but even entire villages. Of this there are frequent examples, especially when it happens that some large mass of collected trees and rocks causes them purl out of their accustomed combs or vales, like torrents out of their beds. Afterwards, for example, in the year 1655, when the bare-legged people from Ireland took possession of the eligible situations of the Valley of Lucerna, they cared not to choose places where so much labour was required.

But it may still be asked, how it happened that this people who so determinately rejected the traditions of Rome were allowed repose by the clergy of the adjacent places, and by the very priests and curates who were their neighbours, and even lived among them? Here we answer, that according to the prior Rorenco, these places, till the middle of the fourteenth century, were always exempted from Jesuits, missionaries, inquisitors, and other spies and persecutors sworn against the Vaudois. He states that the first convent in the Valleys was in the fourteenth century. He mentions also

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the first abbey which is that of St Christophle, in 1228, and given to the order of St Benedict, that is to say, of the Inquisitors in 1444. We can easily account, therefore, for this people not being so much spied, slandered, or entrapped by the Apocalyptic locusts, who were afterwards like fire-brands, and supporters of his holiness of Rome.

2ndly, In regard to the priests and curates above-named, some knew the truth, although they suppressed it; others were Nicodemites, being lukewarm, holding with both parties, accommodating themselves equally to all, provided they might be their prebends. There were even some others, who, preserving their titles and their mitres, taught openly the truth to their parishioners, though when out of that district, they associated with the wolves; "of this kind," says Leger, "we meet with a considerable number of priests who have acted in this manner; and the barbs or pastors of the true protestants, forbearing with their faint-heartedness, embraced them nevertheless as brethren. From thence it happened that their pastors have indifferently taken the name of priests, of pastors, of barbs, and even of bishops."

3rdly, But the principal cause which has imposed silence on the more malicious of the priests and parsons, has been the fear of remaining without a cure, without tithes, and consequently without provisions, which event must have happened if the Waldenses had deserted the parishes.*

The Waldenses of Lombardy, therefore, including Piemont, enjoyed at this period peace from external violence on account of their religion, and this was in a great measure their privilege during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. While the outer court of God's temple, which had long stood in North Italy, was now in a great measure trodden down of the Romish Gentiles, the interior parts were preserved pure in the Valleys of Piemont. While the Lord's ancient vineyard in the plain country was now producing wild grapes, the garden of the true church was in external peace, cultivated among the retired vales of the Cottian Alps by faithful pastors. Then was the promise accomplished,—"The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the

* Leger, part i. chap. xxv. pp. 158—160.

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desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. It shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing: the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon: they shall see the glory of the Lord and the excellency of our God."—Isaiah xxxv. 1, 2. This people were not however free from the slanders and misrepresentations of adversaries who falsely represented them as Catharists, Manichees, and Arians.

An author whose works were published by D'Achery, who thinks he wrote towards the end of this century, pretends to have got information regarding the Catharists from Bonacursus who had left that society to join the Romans. He speaks of three kinds of heretics, Catharists, Passagists, and Arnoldists. He charges some of the Catharists with pure Manicheism, that the devil created the elements, made Adam, and gave the Old Law, "that the law of Moses is to be kept according to the letter." He charges them with Arianism, by holding "that Christ the Son of God is not equal with the Father, and that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, these three persons are not one God and one substance." We have only to recollect that the catechism of the Waldenses, and their adherence to the Athanasian Creed, vindicate *them* from the charges of Manicheism and Arianism. If any persons in Milan maintained Manichean or Arian views, they were not Waldenses or Paterines, though they might belong to a class of Catharists, unless these are entire slanders. The following sentence which the writer adds is Waldensian or Paterine: "And as a surplus to these their errors, they judge and condemn all the doctors of the church, and universally the whole Roman church." And in another place he asserts, they maintain "that the cross is the mark of the beast, which is read in the Revelation, and is 'the abomination standing in the holy place.'" "They say that the blessed Sylvester was antichrist, of whom we read in the epistles; the son of perdition, who is exalted 'above all that is called God.' From that time they say the church was lost." These are real sentiments of the Waldenses, as appears by their book on antichrist. The essayist thinks he need not write particularly of the Arnoldists, because their opinions were in many respects the same which he had refuted in the alledged Catharists, who he as-

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serts " endeavour to defend their error by testimonies drawn from the New Testament and Prophets." This sentence seems to clear both these Catharists against whom this man writes, and the Arnoldists, from the error of the Manichees, who denied the Old Testament, and strengthens the probability that the whole accusations of Manichean and Arian doctrines are calumnies intended to destroy the reputation of the Waldenses, Paterines and Arnoldists.*

Alain, a Cistertian monk in 1192, wrote against the Catharists, under which name he seems to comprehend all dissenters from the church of Rome. On the subject of baptism, no charge is brought in addition to what has been stated by other writers except one, that some believed baptism of no use to infants, because they were not guilty of sin: now this is not a doctrine of the Waldenses, because they believed the existence of original sin, and practised infant baptism, as we see in their book on antichrist, their Discipline, and the Spiritual Almanack. Neither is this the notion of the Manichees, who considered the souls of men to be apostate spirits. If the charge is not false, the class of persons must have been Pelagians who denied original sin.

Some others of the dissentients whom he describes are evidently Waldenses, for he speaks of them as expelling from their assemblies such as sinned, no doubt meaning grossly; as denying the use of penance for remission of sins, which is an act of divine grace; as thinking it sufficient to confess sin to God; as rejecting transubstantiation, which was not then expressed in any creed of the church; as refusing confirmation, orders, and extreme unction to be sacraments of the church; as asserting that churches are not the house of God, and as not practising the invocation of saints and prayers for the dead.

When he treats of the Albigenses, he designedly confounds them with the Manichees who resided in the same country. When he professedly writes against the Waldenses, he mentions only smaller controversies, because he had sufficiently uttered his spleen in the first book.† The bishop of Meaux

* Allix, Pied, pp. 153—155.

† Allix, Pied. p. 155—158. Hallam, Hist. of Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 465, says Alain wrote in 1200; and Sismondi in his Introduction, that he wrote against the Albigenses in 1212.

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errs when he assests that the Catholics of Rome, at this period, viewed the Albigenses as heretics, and the Waldenses only as schismatics, with whom the only controversy was the right of Waldo and his adherents to preach, and that they never denied the peculiar doctrines of Rome, such as the real presence, till they joined the Protestants in 1532. This view is contradicted by the bull of Lucius III. which shews the Paterines separated not only on grounds of discipline, but also of the sacraments. The edict of king Alphonso in 1194, proves that the Waldenses were classed not with mere schismatics, but with heretics. Conrad of Ursberg in 1212, allows that Pope Lucius put the Waldenses "into the catalogue of heretics, because of some superstitious doctrines and observances."* Another proof that they were reckoned worse than schismatics is seen in the papists at this era, branding them as Manichees and Catharists. In 1200, Girald of Cambray accuses the Paterines with rejecting the carnal presence. Vincent of Beauvais attributes also several heresies to these inhabitants of Milan.† Emericus in his Directory to the Inquisition, asserts, that Manes, the founder of the Manichees, lived at Milan during the pontificate of Innocent III. From this the reader may judge of his knowledge of history. He states a number of genuine Waldensian principles, and gives a list of Manichean notions, ascribing the whole to the Waldenses and Albigenses.‡ The Romanists, therefore, considered these classes as execrable heretics.

* Allix, Pied. pp. 183—187 † Ibid, p. 129. ‡ Ibid. pp. 134—137.

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HISTORY

OF THE

WALDENSES.

BOOK III.

THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Local Divisions of France at this period—Name Albigenses—Not Manichees—Their Religious Sentiments stated by Enemies and Friends—Public Disputation at Montreal between Arnold Hott and other Albigenses on the one side, and the Roman Catholics on the other—Further Discussions at other places.

We begin this century with the Albigenses, and are to recollect, that during the prevalence of the feudal system, the French territory was subjected to four different monarchies. The North of France was Waloon, a term afterwards confined to the French Flemings, and ascribed to the language spoken by Philip Augustus. Towards the West, was an English France; on the eastern part a German France; and in the south a Spanish or Aragonese France.

Till the reign of Philip Augustus from 1180 to 1223, Waloon France was the least considerable in extent, riches, and power. Philip conquered more of the other parts of France than all his own dominions, for he acquired the half of that part which pertained to England. Aquitain, however, still owned the sway of the English sceptre. Germanic France retained the same limits, with this modification, that Lorraine and Burgundy were more intimately than before

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connected with the empire, and its history no longer mingled with that of France. The imperial crown had now little influence in Provence, whose vassals were independent of the emperor; and while the king of Aragon was count of Provence, this might well be called Spanish or Aragonese France. The king of Aragon may be considered as a French prince, because most of his states to the Ebro had belonged to Charlemagne. Like the English monarch, the king of Aragon had by marriages, grants, and other circumstances, acquired dominion over many French lords, some of whom, though they paid a formal homage to the French king as the emperor, yet all rendered obedience only to the chief ruler of Aragon. The counts of Bearn, Armagnac, and Bigorre, of Cominges, Foix, and Roussillon, lived under his protection, and served in his armies. The viscounts of Narbonne, Beziers, and Carcassonne, viewed him as their count. The lord of Montpelier had submitted. The powerful count of Toulouse with difficulty maintained his independence of the power of the Aragonian king, who was count of Provence and Forcalquier, and the other vassals of the kingdom of Arles eagerly sought his protection.

The people of Languedoc, Provence, Catalonia, and the surrounding places under the royal power of Aragon, zealously cultivated commerce, the arts, and especially poetry. A specimen of the Provençal poetry we had in the Noble Lesson in 1100, and the harmony of the Provençal tongue rendered it more fit for this species of writing than either the Roman or French. The French, however, in the north, excelled their southern neighbours in war. Among the small princes, the forms of government were nearly republican, and had consuls chosen from among the people. Songs of love and war were common. In these regions the Albigenses lived, but the crusades against them, destroyed the beauty of the Provinces, and prepared the way for their being all brought entirely under the king of France. The papal clergy being rich, became vicious, and the light given by the preaching of a first reformation in religion was sufficiently strong to shew men the "darkness visible." That devotion which the inhabitants "could not find in the church of Rome," says Sismondi, "they sought for among the sectaries," as the Ro-

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manists called them. Though there was at this period an extension of reform, yet there had been in these parts from the apostolic age, a succession of churches independent of the papal see. Peter of Vaux—Cernay, a catholic of Rome, in the second page of his history of the Albigenses, writes, that Toulouse might well be called *tota dolosa*, quite deceitful, because from its foundation it was *never exempt* from the heresy which the fathers transmitted to their children. This is just a description of the Waldenses and Albigenses. Sismondi remarks, that only the persecutors of these societies detail their opinions, "at the same time," says he, "allowing that they had been transmitted to Gaul from generation to generation, almost from the origin of Christianity." After noticing that their enemies had mixed up their principles with fables, he continues, "nevertheless, amidst many puerile and calumnious tales, we still easily recognize the principles of the Reformation of the sixteenth century amongst the heretics who were designated by the name of Waldenses and Albigenses."* Thus Peter and Sismondi confirm our assertions regarding the antiquity and orthodoxy of these religious bodies.

The ALBIGENSES were so called from the department of Alby belonging to Toulouse, between the Garonne and the Rhone where they principally inhabited. The ancient Alba or Albiga, now Alby or Albe, is the capital city of the tract of Albigeois in Languedoc. The territory of Alby was formerly joined to the greater Aquitain or Aquitania Prima; latterly it became a principal part of Narbonne Gaul, and anciently bore the name of Albigesii, whence the French dissenters from the Roman church were known by the general name of Albigenses. They were dispersed through all that part of Narbonne Gaul, or through the dioceses of Alby in the present Languedoc, of Quercy and Rhodez in Guienne, and of Senez in Provence and the vicinity.†

In those districts where the Albigenses lived, witnesses for the gospel had existed ever since the first introduction of

* Petri Vallis Cernensis Historia Albigensium, p. 2. Simondi de Sismondi Hist. of the Crusades against the Albigenses, chap. i. pp. 1—7.

† De Sismonde, Introd. Boxhorn, pp. 709, 711.

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Christianity, as our researches have displayed. The Waldensian doctrine had been much revived in the twelfth century by the exertions of Peter Bruys, Henry, Peter Waldo and others, who preached with so eminent success, that in many parts the popish mass was almost entirely deserted. The influence of the preachers against the mass was particularly felt in the dioceses of Rhodez, Cahors, Agen, Toulouse, and Narbonne, because the Waldenses were much better acquainted with the Holy Scriptures than the priests, who studied only the service of the mass and the oblations for the dead, and who, because of their ignorance, were despised by the people. Though in 1179, the deserters of the Romish communion had been by Alexander III. condemned as heretics, yet in 1200, they were so numerous as to possess the cities of Toulouse, Apamies, Montauban, Villemur, St Antonin, Puy-Laurens, Castres, Lambes, Carcassone, Beziers, Narbonne, Beaucaire, Avignon, Tarraçon in the country of Venassin; and in Dauphiny, Crest, Arnaud and Montelimart. We find also many great lords taking part with these Christians in this century, among whom were Raymond VI. and VII. the powerful counts of Toulouse, the counts of Foix and Cominges; the viscounts of Beziers and Bearn; Savary de Mauleon, seneschal of Aquitain, Guiraud de Minerve, and Olivier de Termes, a cavalier who had distinguished himself in the wars against the Turks in the Holy Land, in Africa, and in Majorca. The Albigensian opinions were avowedly entertained by the wives and sisters of these dignified personages, as well as by the heads of the noble houses of Mirepoix, Saissac, Lavour, Montreal, St Michael, de Fanjaux, Durfort, Lille-Jourdain, and Montsegur. The kings of Aragon and of England have also frequently defended this people on account of the alliance of these monarchs with the counts of Toulouse. The men of chief power in these parts saw the injustice of persecuting those who so nobly defended their cause by Scripture and reason, and took the field to protect the innocent against the bloody crusaders, who caused the butchery of a million of men, and the ruin of several noble families.*

Various Roman Catholics have written the history of the

* Perrin's History of the Albigenses, book i. chap. i. M'Crie's Spain, p. 31.

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Albigenses. Among these we may notice Peter of Vaux-Cernay, who shews that if there were Manichees in Alby and the adjacent places, there were likewise many Albigenses who were not Manichees, but who held the same principles with the Waldenses. Peter asserts, that in the country of the Albigenses, some heretics maintained the Manichean notions, namely, that there are two creators, the one benign, and the other malignant; that the New Testament proceeded from the good God, and the Old Testament from the evil god, who is a liar, by saying, "in the day thou eatest thou shalt surely die," and a murderer by sending the deluge, and by destroying Sodom and Gomorrah; that John Baptist was an evil demon; that the evil Christ was born at Bethlehem, had Mary Magdalene for his concubine, and was crucified; that the good Christ was never incarnate, nor in this world, except in the body of Paul; and that the good God had two wives who bore to him sons and daughters.

Peter, however, admits the existence of other dissenters from Rome, who by no means taught these blasphemous doctrines. "There were other heretics," says he, "who said that there is one Creator, but he had sons, Christ and the devil. These also said that all creatures were good, but that all things were corrupted by the daughters of whom we read in the Revelation." Viewing the devil as a creature, he was one of the angels who are called sons of God. All the creatures were made "very good," but by the sin of the woman, they were corrupted. After describing the Manichees by many bad names, as denying the Roman sacraments, disbelieving the resurrection of the body, thinking the souls of men to be fallen angels, divided into perfect and believers, having masters who were deacons and bishops who could save by the imposition of hands, and as declaring the images, idols, and the church-bells trumpets of demons, he proceeds to distinguish the Waldenses from these, as follows:—

"Besides, there were other heretics, who were called WALDENSES. These, indeed, were evil; but in comparison of other heretics far less perverse: for in many things they agreed with us, in other things they differed. But to omit many things concerning their infidelity; their error consisted chiefly in four things, namely, in wearing sandals after the

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manner of the apostles: and in saying that they were by no means to swear or kill. Further, in asserting that in case of necessity any one of them, provided he wore sandals, without orders received from a bishop, is able to consecrate (*conficere*) the body of Christ." This is the clear testimony of an adversary, that the Waldenses were not Manichees, and probably contains most of the external practices which he knew of that people in France,—they wore sandals,—they would not swear, would not be guilty of murder, and presumed to dispense the Lord's Supper in a communion separate from the Romish, and without being in priest's orders conferred by a bishop.

Regarding the mode of receiving proselytes by the Waldenses and other societies, Peter adds, " When any one gives up himself to the heretics, he who receives him addresses him,—' Friend, if you wish to be one of us, it is necessary that you renounce the whole faith which the church of Rome holds.' He answers, ' I renounce.' ' Therefore receive the Holy Ghost from good men,' and then he breathes seven times in his face. He likewise says to him, ' You renounce that cross which the priest made on thee in baptism, on the breast, and on the shoulders, and on the head, with oil and chrism.' He answers, ' I renounce.' ' Do you believe that that water operates salvation for you?' He answers, ' I do not believe.' ' You renounce that vail which the priest placed on your head when baptized.' He answers, ' I renounce.' Thus he receives the baptism of heretics, and denies the baptism of the church. Thus they all lay their hands on his head, and kiss him, and they clothe him with a dark garment, and from that hour he is as one of them."* We need not expect in the thirteenth century, that the best Christians should be entirely free from superstition, but neither can we imagine that all the classes of dissenters from the church of Rome proceeded exactly in the same form in the reception of accessions. If the Waldenses breathed on the candidate for admission, and clothed him with a dark garment, they indulged superstition; but their renouncing the sign of the cross, the popish unction, baptismal regeneration, and the vail at baptism, shews they

* Petri Historia Albigensium, cap. ii. pp. 3—9.

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were particular in testifying against the Romish notions of baptism, which testimony is further confirmed by the Albigenses re-baptizing these new members. Even some Manichees in France did not deny the baptism of infants, for Beausobre,* treating of them states, that "the catechumens were those who were in the church, but not initiated by being baptized. The hearers were baptised, because they baptised the infants in their sect."

The remarks above made on the account of the charges of Manicheism by Peter, are sufficient to obviate any difficulties which occur in explaining the accusations against the Albigenses in the acts of the Inquisition of Toulouse,† or in reading Roger Hoveden,‡ because both these give statements similar to that of Peter. John de Cardenne in his poetry on the frontispiece of some of the editions of Peter's History of the Albigenses writes, "All that the Genevan sect commits, the heretical Albigenses formerly perpetrated.§

William Catel, counsellor for the king in the parliament of Toulouse, in his history of the counts of that place, speaks of two preachers, RAYMOND and BENNETT, who were charged before the pope's legate with publishing Manicheism, but who denied the libel, declared the witnesses false, and avowed that they believed the Catholic religion.‖ These were likely Albigensian pastors, who admitted the apostle's creed with the Romanists. If for the sake of peace they owned the peculiarities of the Romish sect, their conduct cannot be vindicated. The pope's did great injustice to the Albigenses by persuading the kings and emperors that they were Arians and Manichees.

In his chronicles of the Albigenses, William of Puy—Laurens distinguishes the people of their country into Arians,

* Hist. du Manicheisme, tom. ii. p. 762.

† Allix, Alb. pp. 182—187. gives a long extract from the Acts of the Inquisition of Toulouse, in which the Albigenses are all confounded as Manichees, for they are said to confess their belief of a good and an evil God; denying the reality of Christ's human nature, his resurrection, and his ascension; our resurrection in the same body, innocence of marriage, and several others. Some other charges were true of the Waldensian Albigenses; but Allix remarks that the candour of the Inquisitors can be relied on in the face of other testimony.—See another extract at 1283.

‡ Sismondi, Introduc. pp. xv—xviii.

§ Leger, part i. chap. xxix. p. 176.

‖ Allix, Alb. p. 176.

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Manichees and Waldenses. Benedict, in the history of the Albigenses, proves this classification from an epistle of the king of Aragon. Bertrand, a lawyer, on the transactions of the men of Toulouse, defends from Manicheism the count who protected the Albigenses. Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, represent the Albigenses as all Arians and Manichees; but the author of a French work entitled "the Condemnation of Babylon," treats of the antiquity of the Waldenses, and vindicates their purity with that of the Albigenses, in faith and practice, against the attacks of this bishop.* Bossuet asserts, that the Albigenses are proved Manichees, because they declared the pope Antichrist. But this is not mentioned by the eastern writers† as a position of the Manichees. Nor does Beausobre speak of this peculiarity. On the contrary, the Albigenses also had denounced the bishop of Rome as Antichrist, long before the arrival of any Manichees in France, for they gave him this appellation at the council of Rheims in 992, recollecting that Gregory I. in 590 had declared him to be Antichrist, who should claim the title of Universal Bishop. In Aventinus' Annals of Bavaria, Gregory VII. (1073—1086) is called Antichrist, by a people far from Manichees. The bishop of Florence called Paschal II. Antichrist, 1098—1118. In his life of Richard I. of England, 1189—1199, Roger Hoveden informs us, that abbot Joachim maintained before the king, the antichristianism of the pope, without being accused of Manicheism.‡ Spanheim and Basnage allow, that among the Albigenses Manichees and Arians existed who had come from the East unto these and other western countries, but maintain that by far the greater number of the Albigenses were pure, though confounded with the heterodox by Roman Catholics.§

We wonder to see slanders which have been so frequently refuted, again revived with confidence. An instance of this we have in 1793, when a Roman Catholic published a work on the grounds of the crusades against the Albigenses, in which he asserts that they "avowed the leading principles of

* Venema in Sismondi's Introduct.

† Not by Archelaus of Mesopotamia, by Cyril of Jerusalem, nor by Epiphanius. Augustine, Leo, Predestinatus, Isidore, Damascen, P. Siculus, are all silent. ‡ Allix, Alb. pp. 196—200. § Venema, ib.

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the Manicheans, and differed from them only by adopting the principal errors of other heretics who had been condemned in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.* After the remarks already made, this assertion requires no particular refutation. In a respectable periodical,† the following caution is inserted:—"We ought not to confound the Albigenses with the Waldenses or Vaudois, as has been done purposely by the enemies of the latter. The tenets of the Vaudois are remarkably pure and evangelical, while those of the former appear to have been mixed with superstition, and perhaps tainted with Manicheism." There were Manichees in the same country, but the Waldensian Albigenses were not Manichees.

In the last chapter of the twelfth century, notice was taken of *Alain* writing against the Waldenses. Near the beginning of the thirteenth century, he published a treatise against the Jews, Pagans, and Albigenses. In the first forty chapters against the Albigenses, he opposes the Manichees, which tends to confound these societies, but, though we shall use his after statements, we feel no need of further adverting to this part of the work. He is peculiarly displeased with such as utterly deny baptism, by which he of course means the Romish baptism. We may just recollect the remarks on this subject, at A. D. 928—963, 1025, 1192. In his forty-fifth chapter, he opposes such as assert, that after pardon in baptism, men that sin grossly, need not expect grace a second time, and who excommunicated the relapsed, according to their understanding of the sixth and tenth chapters of the Hebrews. If in this he refers to the Albigenses, they seem to have carried discipline to the extent of what prevailed much in the church before the council of Carthage, in the days of Tertullian, when none were admitted to communion, who, posterior to baptism, had committed any enormous crime. In the fiftieth chapter he attacks persons who maintain that penance does not procure remission of sins, and that the confession of crimes to God is sufficient, which doctrine they illustrated by authorities from Ambrose, Maximus, and Chrysostom. This last sentiment opposed by Alain, is doubtless the genuine mind of the Albigenses.

* Sismondi, ib. † Foreign Quarterly Review, No. xii. p. 363, note.

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The universal Doctor favours us with the forcible and ingenious argument which the Albigenses urged against *transubstantiation*, and which they state in this manner:—"If every day the bread should be changed into the body of Christ, that body would be increased to infinity. They inquire also, whether that bread cease to exist? if it cease to exist, it is annihilated, and thus is also corrupted. And they ask, how a body of so large a bulk enters through the mouth of a man? Likewise, if the body of Christ is eaten, is bruised with the teeth, and consequently is divided into parts? Likewise, the bread becomes the body of Christ, therefore it will be the body of Christ, and consequently something else than it is. Likewise the bread will become a body, therefore the body of Christ will be made of bread, and thus the matter of the body of Christ will be of bread. Likewise, after transubstantiation the accidents remain; therefore, in another subject, or in the air; but, if in the air, some part of the air is round, savoury, and according to which that form is carried through divers places, the accidents change the subject. Likewise, those accidents remain in the same part of the air, and that solidity is in the air, since these are solid, and thus the air is solid. From these things it appears that these accidents are not in the air, but neither are they in the body of Christ: neither is it practicable to assign any body in which they are, therefore the accidents do not seem to remain. Likewise, when that form under which the body of Christ lies hid is divided into parts, the body of Christ ceases under that form: how, therefore, is the body of Christ granted in the individual parts of that host? Likewise, if the body of Christ lie hid under that small form, where is the head or foot of Christ? And thus his members are undistinguished. Also, Christ gave his body to his disciples before suffering: but he gave it to them either mortal or immortal; if he gave it immortal, yet it was mortal; therefore when it was mortal, it was immortal, which is impossible. Again, on the supposition that some one may have celebrated divine things at the time of the passion of Jesus Christ, the body existing at Rome would have suffered at Rome, because wherever it was, it suffered at the time of the passion, and thus it suffered not only at Jerusalem, but in many other places. Further, let it

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besupposed that a mouse approaches to the box in which the body of Christ is; the mouse eats some part of it, therefore the air, or accident, or body: but that it eats air, or accident is absurd, and more absurd that it eats the body of Christ. Likewise when the blood of Christ is glorified, nor supposes a local space, it appears that while the cup is filled with blood, another liquor may be able to be poured in. Again, Christ says in the gospel, 'Whatsoever enters in at the mouth is cast forth into the draught.' Therefore the body of Christ does not enter when it is given to be eaten, nor is cast forth into the draught." These arguments against transubstantiation any Protestant might use without a blush, though the Albigensian expression, that the blood of Christ does not "suppose any local space," is incorrect, unless it refers to his merit and righteousness.

In his fifty-ninth chapter, Alain of Lisle relates, that the Albigenses further object against transubstantiation, that it is not found in any ancient creed. "The heretics also demand, whether it is an article of the Christian faith, that the bread is transubstantiated into the body of Christ, seeing mention is not made of this in any creed: for it is not in the Apostles' Creed, namely, 'I believe in God—' nor in the Nicene, 'I believe in One—' nor in the Creed of Athanasius, 'Whosoever wishes—.' Since in these creeds mention is made of all the articles of the Christian faith, why is not mention made of this ineffable sacrament, to which human reason seems rather opposite."* This is a most equitable demand. Reason doubtless opposes the corporeal presence. The doctrines of the Trinity, of the incarnation, and of the inhabitation of the Spirit in believers, are *above* reason; but the dogma of the bodily existence of Christ in the Supper is *contrary* to reason, and therefore not a doctrine of the Bible. The words last transcribed from Alain shew, that the Albigenses received the Apostolic, the Nicene, and the Athanasian Creeds. Consequently, they were not Manichees, and indeed the monk classes with this sect only a part of the inhabitants of the Albigensian district.

In the sixty-sixth chapter, Alain mentions their rejection

* Allix, Alb. pp. 164—169.

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of confirmation, because its institution is not found in the New Testament. In the following chapter, he adds, "the adversaries of the Catholic faith also affirm, that the *order*, as that of deacons or priests, is not a sacrament, which they thus endeavour to prove: It is not read in any canonical Scripture, that the apostles were ordained priests,—what necessity therefore is there for their vicars being thus ordained? Again, the apostles who are called the higher priests, are not read to have been anointed with chrism; why, therefore, are their vicars anointed? Past merits cause and procure votes, *faciunt et suffragantur*, that any one be worthy of an office; what therefore does an order contribute?" In the next chapter he writes what the Albigenses believe concerning *extreme unction*. "They say that the extreme unction of oil which is administered to the infirm, is neither a sacrament, nor has any effect, because this sacrament of anointing the weak is not read to be instituted by the apostles." In regard to *material churches*, they followed the opinion of Bruys and Henry. "Some affirm that not a material place, but a holy assembly is the church, because as they observe, place does not pertain to prayer, for as God is omnipresent, so he can be everywhere adored and prayed to. This they try to prove by the authority of Christ addressing the Samaritan woman, 'Woman, believe me, the hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father: but the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth.' Again, if the place helps to prayer, why did not the hermits, dwelling anciently in retired places, have churches? Also, why do the sacraments have their effect, although they are not celebrated in a place which is called a church? Likewise, what do walls operate to supplicating him who is everywhere, since he is not more in one place than in another? We also read that Christ prayed on mountains and in deserts, not in places set apart for prayer. Again, is the prayer more efficacious or not, which is performed in the temple, than that which is made in the field, if the devotion shall be equal?"

The Albigenses opposed *prayers to saints*, for in chapter ninety-second, Alain proceeds:—"Some also assert, that the prayers of the saints (departed) are of no service to the living,

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nor the prayers of the living to the dead: they also seem to prove that the saints who know who are to be saved, or to be damned, do not pray for the living; and they do not pray for those whom they know to be about to be saved, because prayer would be superfluous, since whether they pray or not, they shall be saved: but if they pray for the damned, they should not obtain what they ask, and so they should not be happy, for he is happy who succeeds in all things desired. Likewise, every one shall be judged according to his own works, and not according to the merits of others, neither shall he receive for the merits of other men: and therefore the merits of the saints do not profit, either in regard to merit, or in regard to reward, because they do not increase merit or rewards. Again, the saints are not in a place of meriting, but of receiving; therefore by their prayers or other good-works, they merit neither for themselves nor others. Likewise, it is read in the gospel of Luke, that Abraham said to the rich man's soul which was in hell, 'Between us and you a great gulf is fixed,' where he named the gulf (chasma) which is nothing else than the dissimilitude of good and bad men, which is so great that even the saints do not feel compassion for the damned. But if they do not feel compassion, neither do they pray for them." * Though the Albigenses acted laudably in condemning prayers to the saints, yet if they believed these saints in heaven to know who on earth are to be saved or lost, they speculated beyond divine revelation.

Therefore we gather even from Alain, that the Albigenses were not Manichees, and even where he ascribes to them the refusal to eat flesh, the reasons are by no means the same as those of the Manichees. He accuses them of perjury, and yet with maintaining that every lie is a mortal sin. He speaks of them as Arians, yet admits that the popish priests who disputed against them, were liker Arians and Manichees than they. They are charged with licentiousness, sedition, burning crosses and churches, propagating their tenets with fire and sword, and the like, yet the same catholic writers inform us, that the counts of Toulouse, Foix and Comminges against whom these deeds were committed, protected them against

* Allix, Alb. pp. 170—173.

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the church of Rome, which claimed a right to exterminate heretics, nay, these nobles endured severe calamities in defence of such people.* Had the Albigenses been addicted to sedition, rapine, and blood, the kings and princes in the South of France, would not have shewn them such marked favour. Anthony Ardene of Toulouse declares, that the Albigenses held the same heresies with which our Huguenot brethren have their minds possessed, the same intention and the same care." He proves that the reformed in Provence and Languedoc, "do nothing but renew the dance of the error of the Albigenses."†

We now give the principles of the Albigenses by their friends. Nicolas Vigner, in his Ecclesiastical History at the year 1206, writes, "A Gascon man, worthy of credit has assured me, that he possesses one of their confessions, written in the ancient language of Gascony, and presented to the chancellor of the hospital a short time previous to the second troubles of France, quite conformed to the doctrines of the Waldenses: but not the smallest vestige of Manicheism appears. Nay, they expressly declared, that they admitted the canonical books both of the Old and of the New Testament, and rejected all doctrine which was not founded there, or which had any thing contrary, but that they rejected and condemned all the traditions, ceremonies, and appointments of the Roman church, asserting that she was a den of robbers, and the harlot of the Revelation."‡ This may refer to the confession of 1120, or to the book on antichrist, written about the same date by Peter Bruys.

According to Perrin and Sismondi, the tenets of the Albigenses were,—That the Romish church is not the holy church, but is watered with the doctrine of devils: that she is the Babylon which John has described in the Revelation: that her priests are wicked and not like the apostles: that the mass is not instituted by Christ, but is a human invention: that the prayers of the living are unprofitable for the dead: that purgatory is a contrivance of men to serve the avarice of the priests: that saints are not to be invoked: that the pope's

* Allix, Alb. pp. 174, 176, 177. † Leger, part i. chap. xxix. p. 176.
‡ Leger, ib. chap xix p. 127. Allix, Alb. p. 194.

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authority is null and void: that transubstantiation is a human appointment, and if the body of Christ were as large as their mountains, it must have been destroyed by the number whom the Romanists pretend to have eaten of it: and that the adoration of the bread is manifest idolatry. The Albigenses also rejected the sacraments of confirmation, confession, and marriage, as vain and frivolous. The exposure of images in the churches they charge with idolatry; and the bells which summoned the people to adore these images they named trumpets of demons. After having caused their proselytes abjure idolatry, they received them into their church with the imposition of hands and the kiss of peace. In short they kept separate from the church of Rome, because no salvation is to be obtained except through Jesus Christ, and because the honour due to the Creator is not to be transferred to the creature. Whilst their enemies accused them of secret vices and disorders, these very accusers still allowed, that in appearance they observed an irreproachable chastity; that in abstinence from animal food, they were more rigorous than the severest monks; that through their regard for truth, they on no occasion admitted any excuse for falsehood, and that in a word, their charity always prepared them to devote themselves to the welfare of others. Their teachers or ministers were contented with a black coat, instead of the pompous vestments of the Catholic clergy.* The genuine views of this religious society are found at large in the documents reviewed at the beginning of the twelfth century.

In 1206, Pope Innocent III. having heard that the Albigensian doctrines infected not merely the poor, but counts, barons, and knights in Narbonne, and caused them withdraw from the church of Rome, he missioned Arnold, abbot of the Cistertians at Cisteax, and two monks, to preach against them. At Montpellier in Languedoc, when somewhat discouraged, they met with Diego, bishop of Ozma, and with the bishop of Cestre: the latter joined them in preaching. Arnold soon returned to his chapter, and the bishop of Cestre and the monks continued their orations, but converted only a

* Perrin, Hist. of Albigenses, book i chap. i. and book ii. chap. xii. Sismondi, p 8.

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number of the lower classes. Arnold and another abbot resumed preaching, the bishop soon died, and the abbots and monks found the princes obdurate. They all desisted except friar Peter of Chateauneuf, and his companion Radulph.* The papal party assumed the appearance of a wish, by gentle means, to gain the Albigenses, who saw that if they continued separate without explanations, the blame would be laid to their charge. They therefore advertised the Roman Catholic bishops, that they were ready to maintain their belief by the word of God, provided arrangements were made for a conference ordered in such a manner as to prevent tumult, and in a place secure for every individual who might assist. They also stipulated that no subject should be left off till completely discussed. The bishops and monks agreed, and the place fixed was Montreal near Carcassonne in 1206.†

The positions of ARNOLD HOTT, an Albigensian pastor, which he sent to the bishop of the diocese by his own desire a fortnight before the conference, were, That the mass with transubstantiation, is the invention of men, not the ordinance of Christ nor of his apostles: That the Romish church is not the spouse of Christ, but the church of tumult and molestation, made drunk with the blood of the martyrs: and that the policy of the church of Rome is neither good nor holy, nor established by Jesus Christ.‡ The arbitrators for the Albigenses were R. de Bot and Antony Riviere. Arnold Hott the Albigensian pastor, accompanied with Ponticus Jordan, Arnaud of Orleans, Arnold of Hastings, Philibert of Caslien, Benedict Therm, and others on the same side arrived first at Montreal. The arbitrators for the bishops were Bernard the bishop of Villeneuf, and Bernard, bishop of Auxerre, with two commons, Raimond Godius and Arnold Ribera. Afterward Diego, bishop of Ozma; bishop Eusus; the monk Dominic, a Spaniard; and two of the Pope's legates, Peter Chateauneuf, and Radulph de Lust, abbot of Candets; T. Bertrand, prior of Auterive, as also the prior of Palat, with several other priests and Monks.§ At the end of the fifteen days, the bishop of the

* Petri, Hist. Alb. cap. iii. and Perrin, Alb. book i. chap. ii.
† Perrin, Hist. Alb. book i. chap. ii. ‡ Perrin, ib.
§ Allix, Alb. p. 177, and James de Ribera in Allix, p. 193.

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place appeared with a long paper in his own defence. In reply, Hott discoursed extemporaneously several hours for four days together. He shewed, that after all the bishop's pains, he had proved nothing against the propositions. As the Word of God had been agreed on by both parties, to be the supreme standard by which to judge of the present points, he demanded the bishops and priests to prove by that rule the authority of the mass from beginning to end as sung in church; but they could show no part of the mass to be Scriptural. Hott shewed that the mass is not the Lord's Supper, observing among other arguments, that Jesus and Paul broke bread; but the priest breaks the body, not the bread. Therefore he does not do the same thing that Jesus and Paul did. As Arnold was proceeding with these antithesis, he so much confounded the bishops, abbots, legates, monks and priests, that they judged it prudent to retire, as the people were beginning to discern their inability to defend their own doctrines*

Peter the monk of Vaux Cernay gives a statement of the preaching of the pope's emissaries among the Albigenses, and then relates this conference. "On a certain day, all the heresiarchs convened at a certain castle in the diocese of Carcassonne, which is called Montreal, being about to dispute against the men frequently mentioned. To this disputation the friar Peter of Chateauneuf returned, who, as we have a little before said, had retired to Beziers. And while they were disputing, judges were given from among those who believed the heretics, and the disputation was protracted for fifteen days, and the proposals, *proposita*, were reduced to writing on both sides, and were delivered to the judges, that they might promulgate a definitive sentence. But these judges, seeing their heretics most evidently overcome, were unwilling to give sentence, but also were unwilling to restore the writings which they had received from those on our side, lest they should come to the public, but delivered them to the heretics."† But surely the Roman Catholics at

* Perrin, ib. and Allix, Alb. pp. 177—179. Perrin, on the margin, says, the account of "this disputation was sent me in old manuscripts from the Albigenses, by Mr Rafin, pastor of the church of Montreal."

† Hist. Alb. chap. iii. p. 13.

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this time could not be overawed by the number of the Albigenses. Peter tells us the heretics came to the castle to dispute, so that the Romanists held the castle, and could be in no fear. Again, the bishops could not require the judgment of the moderators, since they held by the infallible sentence of the pope. Nor could Peter know that the Albigenses were overcome, since there was no decision given by the judges.

Sismondi remarks that the Catholics always pretend they had the victory, and that when Diego and Dominic had embarrassed the Albigenses with scholastic subtleties, Diego said to the people, "Why do ye not drive them out? Why do ye not exterminate them? The audience replied, We cannot,—we have been brought up with them,—we have relations among them, and we see the goodness of their lives."*

About the same time various other disputations were held, such as those at Serignan and Pamiers.† The discussion at the latter place against the Waldensian teachers, was conducted on the Romish side in 1207, by Diego and other preaching missionaries. On that occasion the count Roger-Bernard II. of Foix entertained both parties alternately at his palace. His countess Ermesinde, and two of his sisters, openly favoured the Vaudois. One of the latter, Esclaramonde, married to Jourdain II. Sieur of Lille-Jourdain, having said something friendly to them during the conference, was silenced by one of the missionaries, who rudely ordered her to her distaff.‡ James de Ribera remarks, that "in these times there were frequent disputes held with the heretics several times at Serignan and Pamiers, but the famous discussion was at Montreal."§

These discussions were only to amuse, for while the bishops of Toulouse and Onizomande were disputing at Pamiers, and the two legates of the pope, with Arnold Hott at Montreal, the bishop of Villeneuf, the umpire and moderator of the bishops' party, declared that nothing could be concluded or determined, because an army of soldiers under the cross was approaching.‖

Lucio of Tuy, (Lucas Tudenses), a town of Galicia in

* Sismondi, pp. 13, 14. † Perrin, ib. Allix, Alb. pp. 179, 189.
‡ M'Rie's Spain, p. 35. § Allix, Alb. p. 193. ‖ Perrin, ib.

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Spain, in his dissertation against the errors of the Albigenses, written near the middle of this century, gives an account of Arnold the heretic, where he probably means Arnold Hott. "A certain heretic also named Arnold came from the confines of France into Spain, employed in sowing the tares of heretical error. Among other deeds of depravity, was his endeavour to corrupt the smaller works of the holy fathers, Augustine, Jerom, Isidore and Bernard, by leaving out truths and adding falsehoods. For he was a most expert writer, and sold the corrupt works of the saints, or gave them to the Catholics, that by such a fallacy he might be able to deceive and entangle the minds of careless readers." Lucio also relates, that while writing in this way, and not observing the feast of Isidorus, warm water fell from the house-top on his head, and as he put up his hand to wipe it off, his arm was broken as with a stroke, and he lost his sight. He was entered by the devil, and miserably breathed his last. This happened at Lyons. Men should not imitate him, but write true Scripture.* The case is quite probable, that Arnold annoyed the bishops by circulating extracts from the writings of the Fathers, and that he did not observe the feast of St Isidore. All that happened however might have occurred without a judgment from heaven, as Lucio insinuates. It is not unlikely that some murderous Romanist, who had seen Arnold invincible in argument, might cast boiling water on him, and strike him so that he lost his sight: Lucio consigns him to the devil, that all heretics may take warning.

* Bib. Pat. tom. iv. part ii. col. 706.

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CHAPTER II.

Place in Paradise promised to such as serve forty days against the Albigenses—Raymond of Toulouse excommunicated for protecting them—His humiliating submission—*Beziers* besieged by the pilgrims—Siege of *Carcassonne* with dreadful inhumanity—Simon Montfort made Captain of the pilgrims—Waldenses in the North of France.

At this period the Inquisitors had offended all classes by their insolence. Under various pretences they had deposed the archbishop of Narbonne, and the bishops of Toulouse and Viviers. All the secular clergy were displeased. By accusations they tormented the count of Toulouse and other lords. They took the pains to confound those they called heretics, with the hireling soldiers, which were known in the South by the name of Catalans, and in the North are called Barbançons, but had no connection with the heretics.

This was during the life of Raymond VI. count of Toulouse. We know little of his previous history, except that he had cultivated the friendship of the ruitiers or hireling soldiers, and had employed them in his wars. These took no part in doctrinal controversies, but were displeased with the missionaries or inquisitors for preaching against them. In 1200, Raymond had married his fourth wife Eleanor, sister of Pedro II. king of Aragon, and in 1205 had promised his son, afterwards Raymond VII. to Sancha, Pedro's daughter just born. In 1207, he warred against the barons of Baux and other lords. Peter of Castelnau, the legate, promised the barons peace with Raymond, if they would agree to exterminate the heretics. The barons agreed, but Raymond refused to sign the treaty of peace on this condition. Accordingly Peter of Castelnau excommunicated him, and petitioned the pope to confirm the sentence. Innocent acquiesced, and on the 29th May 1207, wrote, among other things to Raymond, "Pestilential man! what pride has seized your heart, and what is your folly to refuse peace with your neighbours, and to brave the divine laws by protecting the enemies of the faith? If you do not fear the eternal flames, ought

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you not to dread the temporal chastisements which you have merited by so many crimes?" Notwithstanding this insult on Raymond, Peter de Vaux Cernay tells us, "the wars which the nobles of Provence carried on against him, through the industry of that man of God, Peter de Castelnau, and the excommunication which he published in every place against the count, compelled him at last to accept the same conditions of peace, and to engage himself by oath to their observance; but as often as he swore to observe them, so many times he perjured himself." *

On the 17th of November, Innocent wrote to Philip Augustus, king of France, to the duke of Burgundy, to the counts of Bar, of Nevers and of Dreaux, to the countess of Troie, of Vermandois and of Blois; and to all counts, barons, knights, and faithful of France, to assist in exterminating the heretics, because the people in the country were so slow in that work.† To all who would bear arms for forty days under the banner of the crucifix in the holy war against the Albigenses, pope Innocent promised a place in paradise, with all the privileges enjoyed by such as went to the crusades in the Holy Land.‡ Various causes have been assigned for these romantic expeditions to the East, so simultaneously undertaken by the princes of Christendom; but it seems pretty evident, that the true spring was the doctrine that all the earth belongs to Christ, and the pope is his vicar, whom men were to obey in fighting to dispossess the infidel Mahommedans of that land, where Christ was born, and ministered, and died. This notion, which in connection with the feudal system prevalent at that time in Europe, caused all who went to these wars to view themselves as vassals bound to fight for the heritage of Jesus Christ, or for the kingdom of heaven. Voltaire and Gibbon try to account for these enterprises from the thirst for blood and plunder; but Michaud's view is the most satisfactory. §

About the beginning of January 1208, the two legates went to Raymond, upbraided him with a want of zeal, and

* De Sismondi, pp. 15—18, with his authorities.

† De Sismondi, pp. 18, 19. ‡ Perrin, ib. chap. iii.

§ Michaud's History of the Crusades in Foreign Quarterly Review, No. X. pp. 634, 635.

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with perjury; and at St Gilles, where Raymond had met with them, they excommunicated him as a favourer of heretics. Raymond threatened them with the loss of life; but disregarding this menace, the legates on the 14th January 1208, lodged in a small inn near the Rhone; and next day, after mass, one of Raymond's gentlemen, who entered into a dispute with them on heresy and its punishment, was grievously abused by Peter of Castelnau. The gentleman being irritated, drew his poignard and killed Peter. On the 10th of March, the pope published a bull addressed to all the counts, barons, and knights of southern Gaul, declaring Raymond as the devil's minister, interdicting the places which should harbour Peter's murderers, and freeing Raymond's subjects from their oaths of allegiance, because faith is not to be kept with such as break faith with God. Innocent wrote also to Philip Augustus, and to the chief ecclesiastics in France, to assist in the holy enterprise. Free remission, a place in paradise, and freedom from tribunals, were promised to all who should assist against the Provinçals. All this would be more easily accomplished than going to perish in Asia. The discipline of the holy wars was much easier than that of the political. They had power to pillage the country, massacre the men, and violate the women. Philip Augustus was too much engaged in contending with Otho and the king of England, to proceed against distant heretics. The first to engage were Eudes III. duke of Burgundy, Simon de Montfort, count of Leicester in England, with the counts of Nevers, of St Paul, of Auxerve, of Geneve, and of Forez.

The abbot of Citeaux, Arnold Amalric, and his congregation, preached the war of extermination; and the convents of his order, (the Bernardins) being about seven or eight hundred in Italy, France, and Germany, viewed the crusade against the Albigenses as their provence, and promised to all who should perish, full absolution in name of the Pope, St Peter, and St Paul. Pope Innocent also instituted a new order under St Dominic, a Spaniard, to walk through the villages, to preach the expedition, and the members to act as inquisitors after heretics. This order of monks was in seven years confirmed by the council of the Lateran. The countries devoted to vengeance were the states of Raymond of

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Toulouse, those of his nephew Raymond Roger, viscount of Alby, Beziers, Carcassonne and Limoux in Rasez. Raymond, though a distinguished soldier, was timid and mild, but Roger was generous, lofty and impetuous. *

The author of the great Belgian chronicle, having enumerated the errors of the Manichees among the Albigenses, states, under 1208, from Cæsarius, that "the error of the Albigenses prevailed to that degree, that it had infested as much as a thousand cities, and if it had not been repressed by the swords of the faithful, I think that it would have corrupted the whole of Europe." † In excommunicating and cursing the Albigenses and Raymond, the Pope pretended that the latter was the murderer of friar Peter of Castelnau, though it was verified that the murderer had fled to Beaucaire. Before an exculpation from the murder could reach Rome, the armies had invaded the count's dominions. Raymond Roger resolved to defend, but Raymond VI. to yield. In 1209, the ecclesiastics raised an army of pilgrims, which were placed under the legate Arnold Amalric at Lyons. These were vassals to Otho. Under the archbishop of Bourdeaux, was a body of Agenois, being subjects to the king of England. The bishop of Puy commanded a third division from the dominions of Philip Augustus. They amounted in all to fifty thousand, but others compute them at double that number. They were promised paradise for forty days service, but not one penny on earth. Instead of opposing force to force, the count preferred appearing before Milon, the pope's new legate at Valence, whom Raymond did not suspect of enmity, as he did Arnold. In the presence of Milon, Raymond declared his innocence of the murder of the monk at St Gilles, and that he had done every thing in his power to apprehend the guilty person. Instead of investigating the matter by the ordinary course of justice, as the count asked, the legate kept him prisoner, and by the soldiers took possession of seven of his best castles in Venesin, which then belonged to Provence, absolving the consuls and the inhabitants of the cities from their oaths of allegiance to the count. What most of all

* De Sismondi, pp. 19—26.

† Venema quoted in the Introduction to De Sismondi.

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grieved the consuls was, that they saw their lord conducted to St Gilles, and reconciled to the Pope. On the 18th of June he was stripped naked, excepting a pair of linen small clothes, and caused swear over the Lord's body and relics to be ever obedient to the Pope, and to wage irreconcilable war against the Albigenses. The legate with his own hands put a stole on the count, scourged him with rods, and answered his remonstrances by telling him, that though he (the count) had not killed Peter, yet the murder had taken place in his dominions without being searched out. All these transactions were perpetrated in presence of about twenty counts, barons, marquises, and prelates, besides the people. He was then led naked about the grave of the deceased, Peter of Castelnau, in the lower parts of the church. He begged of Milon to favour him with the sign of the cross, with which the legate complied, and, with his assistant Theodosius, returned to Lyons.*

On the one hand, count Raymond was perplexed with the fear of further offending the Roman Catholics, and on the other hand, with the stings of his own conscience. The principal army of the crusaders descended the Valley of the Rhone by Lyons, Valence, Montlimart, and Avignon. Count Raymond of Toulouse went to meet it at Valence. He conducted it to Montpellier, where it passed some days, and he went to Rome to be reconciled to the Pope. While the pilgrim army was at Montpellier, Raymond Roger, viscount of Beziers, himself a Roman Catholic, paid a visit to the legate, with a view to make peace. He declared his friendliness to the church of Rome to which he belonged, asserted his innocence of heresy, though there might be heretics in his dominions, and viewed it as unjust to punish him and the other Romanists along with the Albigensian heretics. The legate desired him to defend himself, and refused to shew mercy. The vassals of Roger on being informed of these particulars, resolved to support him. All the barons and knights shut up themselves in their castles with the peasants, to wait and resist the first attack of the pilgrims. Servian, Puy-la-roque, and some other places, were abandoned at the approach of the fanatics. Caussadi,

* Perrin, ib. chap. iii. De Sismondi, pp. 26—30. Peter de Vaux Cernay, cap. xii—xv.

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St Antonin, and a few more not suspected of heresy, ransomed themselves by contributions. Villemur was burned. Chasseneuil, after a vigorous resistance, capitulated, and the garrison obtained permission to retire with what they were able to carry, but the inhabitants being suspected of heresy, were abandoned to the mercy of the legate and the crusaders. The wealth in the castle was pillaged. Men, women, and children were cast into the flames. Raymond Roger had chiefly calculated on defending Beziers and Carcassonne. He had divided between these places his most valiant knights and routiers. He visited and inspected Beziers, exhorting the people to defend themselves.* On Roger informing the inhabitants of Beziers of his unsuccessful attempt to induce the legate to mercy, the Roman Catholics urged the Albigenses to submit to the popish religion, as the legate was displeased with the Romanists for tolerating the Albigenses, who, if they persisted, would occasion the death of the whole people. On this delicate and trying occasion, the Albigenses answered, That they would not forsake their religion for the base price of this frail life: That they knew well that God was able to defend them if he pleased: That if he were to be glorified by the confession of their faith, they would be honoured to die for righteousness' sake: That they had rather displease the Pope, who could destroy their bodies only, than God who is able to cast both soul and body into hell fire: That they would never either deny or be ashamed of that religion by which they have been taught to know Christ and his righteousness: That with the danger of eternal death, they would never profess a religion which annihilates the merit of Christ, and buries his righteousness: and, that therefore they would covenant for themselves as they could, and promise nothing contrary to the duty of true Christians.†

* De Sismondi, pp. 31—34.

† Perrin, ib. chap. iv. This and the foregoing declaration sufficiently refute the statement of Cæsarius, given by Gretzer, in the preface to his Trias of Writers against the Waldenses, Bib. Pat. tom. iv. part i. coll. 1065, 1066, that at the siege of Beziers, the Albigenses, in sight of the besiegers, "making their water on the volume of the holy gospel, cast it from the wall against the Christians, and shooting arrows after it, they exclaimed, Behold your law, ye wretches."

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Meantime Roger paid a visit to Carcassonne, which Peter de Vaux Cernay, represents as a cowardly desertion of Beziers, in violation of his solemn engagements. The city Carcassonne was built on a rock, partly surrounded by the river Aude. Its two suburbs were themselves surrounded by walls and ditches. The absence of Roger, connected with the sight of the innumerable tents and pavilions of the enemy, somewhat discouraged the citizens of Beziers. Regenald of Montpeyroux (or Montpellier, as Peter calls it,) archbishop of Beziers, had delivered to the legate a list of those in the city implicated with heresy. As the pilgrims approached, they sent Regenald to the city with instructions to try to persuade the Romanists either to deliver the heretics to the pilgrim army, or to desert the city, and leave the heretics in it. In either way the heretics would be punished by themselves.* He accordingly went to the people, assembled them in the cathedral of St Nicaise, and exhorted them to comply. "Tell the legate," replied the citizens, "that our city is good and strong—that the Lord will not fail to succour us in our great necessities, and that rather than commit the baseness demanded, we would eat our own children."† On this reply, Regenald seeing the citizens resolved to keep together, returned to the legate, and endeavoured to persuade him to spare the Roman Catholics, as he knew them, and thought the Albigenses not without hope of recovery. Milon replied only with terrible oaths and threats, that if the whole city did not immediately submit to the church of Rome, they should be all put to the sword. The city was summoned and attacked by about a hundred thousand pilgrims, who repulsed some of the citizens that had come out and were annoying the besiegers with their arrows. The crusaders following these citizens, entered the gates at the same time with them, and with little fighting became masters of the city. This was on the feast of Mary Magdalene. On the victors hesitating what to do with the Romanists, advice was asked from the former legate, Arnold, abbot of Citeaux, who covertly still directed Milon. Arnold at once exclaimed,—"*Kill them all—the*

* Peter de Vaux Cernay, cap. xvi. pp. 43, 44. De Sismondi, ib.
† De Sismondi, ib.

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Lord knoweth them that are his!" Papists and Albigenses were now in the power of a merciless enemy. The priests, monks, and clerks came forth in procession from the great church of St Nicaise or St Nazari. They imagined the pilgrims would at least spare them as official men. They marched bare-headed, with the banner, the crosses, and the holy water. They were attired in their canonical robes, and sung *Te Deum laudamus*, "Thee, O God, we praise,"—for joy the town was taken and purged of the Albigenses. Notwithstanding their deceitful conduct, every one who had fled to the church was butchered. The pilgrim soldiers, knowing their indiscriminate orders, made the heads and arms of the priests fly in all directions, striving who should be most dexterous in such feats of blood. In the church of St Magdalene alone, 7000 dead bodies were found. In the city 23,000 of all ages, sexes, and religions were massacred. Arnold of Citeaux, in a letter to Innocent, rates the inhabitants of Beziers at 15,000, besides such as had fled from the country to the city for safety in time of the troubles, who doubtless amounted to many thousands, and making allowance for a number of the pilgrims being among the slain, the numeration of the dead now stated may be correct. Some give the gross number of human beings in Beziers during the siege at 60,000. "Though the guilty were marked out," says Du Thou, "there was a promiscuous slaughter." The city was afterwards burnt.* Matthew Paris,† shews that his countrymen, the English, rejoiced in the massacre at Beziers, as a miracle to avenge the Lord on his enemies.

Raymond Roger of Beziers, as formerly noticed, had retired to Carcassonne. Seeing no probability of saving the city, and having left Reginald, the archbishop, to do his best with the legate, he had fled to Carcassonne as a much stronger place. The country in the dioceses of Beziers and Carcassonne, with about one hundred castles, was deserted. After the destruction of Beziers, many bishops and counts brought large additions to the crusading army, which now

* Perrin, ib. chap. iv. De Sismondi. ib. with Bezovius and Raynald. Du Thou, lib. vi. p. 119. A.

† Edit. Lond. p. 203, in de Sismondi, p. 53.

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amounted to about 300,000 fighting men, who marched for Carcassonne, which consisted of a strong city on a hill, and of a town about two miles distant. On the 1st of August, the crusaders arrived before Carcassonne. Here dwelt many Albigenses. Next day (2nd of August) the pilgrims, under Simon de Montfort and others, made their first assault on one of the suburbs, and were repulsed by Raymond Roger with great slaughter. They next attacked the other suburb with equal disasters. The viscount of Beziers, lord of Carcassonne, himself a Romanist, resolved to defend the Albigenses. From the fate of Beziers, he shewed them, that they had nothing but a cruel death to expect, that the pilgrims wished only to plunder the lands of count Raymond, and that it were better to die fighting for their religion, than to lose the exercise of it, and probably also life. The Albigenses, in a *solemn oath* engaged to spend their goods and their lives for their religion and their Lord. Next morning, the 3rd of August, the pilgrims overpowered the valiant inhabitants of the town or borough, one of the suburbs, put them all to the sword, and burnt the place. The count Raymond of Toulouse now returned from Rome, was compelled to serve with the legate, Milon, against his nephew, Raymond Roger, the viscount of Beziers. Pedro, king of Aragon, arrived also with an army, and at an interview, attempted in vain to persuade Raymond Roger to desert the Albigenses. The king endeavoured also to induce the legate, Milon, to shew mercy, but all that he would grant was, that the viscount, with about twelve more, should deliver up themselves to his clemency, and that all the men, women, and children, should come forth naked. This proposal having been made known to Roger, he treated it with just indignation.* "Rather than do," says he "what the legate demands of me, I would suffer myself to be flayed alive. He shall not have the least of my company at his mercy, for it is on my account they are in danger." Pedro approved the generosity of his nephew; and to the knights and citizens who had learned the conditions, he thus spoke,— "Ye now know what ye have to expect; mind to defend yourselves with courage, for he who boldly stands on the de-

* Perrin, ib. chap. v.

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fensive, always finds favour at last."* The city being attacked, the pilgrims were bravely repulsed with stones, fire, and pitch; brimstone, boiling-water and arrows. The earth was covered, and the ditches filled with the dead bodies of the besiegers. At this crisis, many of the soldiers of the cross refused to serve any longer, as they had now merited paradise, their term of forty days being expired. On this the legate sent a deceitful message to the viscount Roger, wishing an interview, and with oaths and promises, assuring him of a safe conduct. Roger came out attended by three hundred knights, who, with himself, were all detained prisoners, notwithstanding their averment of violated faith. They were confided to the keeping of Simon Montfort. When the people of Carcassonne were apprized of the base treatment of their lord and his knights, some of the older inhabitants mentioned a vault under ground which continued for about three leagues to the castle of Cameret, or tower of Cabardes. The subterraneous passage having been found, husbands, wives, and children, the decripped and the aged, with sorrow left their houses and goods. They had provisions only for a few days. At night they commenced their journey, and next morning (14th August) they arrived at the castle, and were dispersed as Providence opened a way in Aragon, Catalonia and Toulouse. In the morning (15th August) the besiegers were astonished to see nobody on the walls, and afraid for a time lest there should be some scheme to entrap them. But when they found the city actually deserted, the goods were sold, and rewards bestowed on the pilgrims according to their merits. To conclude the transaction, the viscount Roger was committed to prison in one of the strongest towers of Carcassonne.†

To conceal his villany which had so awkwardly succeeded, the legate published, that on the 15th of August, the day of the occupation of the city, he had signed a capitulation, by which he permitted all the inhabitants to quit it with their lives only. For the honour of the holy church, he did not wish people to say that all the heretics had escaped. The scouts had brought in a number of fugitives from the fields.

* De Sismondi, pp. 38, 39. † Perrin, ib. chap. v.

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Besides, he had the three hundred knights who had accompanied the viscount. Of all these captives he selected for execution four hundred and fifty men and women suspected of heresy. Of these he ordered four hundred to be burned alive, and fifty to be hanged. Respecting the taking of Carcassonne, the recitals of ancient historians are so contradictory, that we can scarcely recognize the same event. De Sismondi follows the history written in the Provençal tongue,—*Des grands faicts d' armes de Toulouse*,—" of the great deeds of the arms of Toulouse." But he refers to a number of writers who wish to relate the matter more honourably for the legate. The object of the crusade was now accomplished. Count Raymond of Toulouse was humbled; the viscount of Narbonne had issued laws against the heretics; and the viscount of Beziers was a prisoner, the two strongest of his cities were destroyed, and his castles were without an inhabitant. Many thousands of the Albigenses wandered in the woods and among the mountains, and multitudes perished with hunger. But the abbot of Citeaux felt he had not done enough while any of the dissenters remained, as the reformation might break out afresh. Therefore, when the duke of Burgundy, the counts of Nevers and St Paul refused, he disposed of the conquests in favour of Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester in England, by his mother's side, to complete the extirpation of heresy. Simon received the constrained homage of the vassals of Beziers and Carcassonne. Many of the crusaders again went home as the time of their services had expired. Among these, the counts of Nevers and Toulouse departed. The duke of Burgundy assisted Simon to take possession of Franjeaux, Castres and Lombes, and was with him during an unsuccessful attack on the castle of Cabaret. Ever since 1190, Simon had been allied to a powerful house near Paris, by his marriage with Alice, daughter of Bouchard of Montmorency. Many vassals and others joined him. He attacked the count of Foix, who, like the viscount of Carcassonne, was called Raymond Roger, who had accompanied Philip Augustus in the third crusade to the East, who had reigned count since 1188, who must have been now about fifty-five years of age, who possessed the greater part of Albigeois, and who was suspected of secretly favouring the new

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doctrines. Simon had taken possession of Pamiers, Alby and the castle of Mirepoix. The count of Foix, who during the massacres at Beziers had hid himself, now appeared, and wished to treat. Simon accepted the proposal, and towards the end of 1209 suspended the war.*

Simon of Montfort, the captain of the pilgrims, had now his residence at Carcassonne. Only 4000 men remained with him, the rest having been either slain or gone home.† A number of new crusaders, however, joined him. De Sismondi reprobates the fanaticism of the monks, and the influence they had over the people in the North of France. The new adventurers for a place in paradise, were conducted by Guy, abbot of Vaux-Cernay of the order of Citeaux. Simon caused the two legates, Milon and Theodise excommunicate Raymond, count of Toulouse, and invaded his territories. He caused the abbot of Eaulnes, who had made peace between him and the count of Foix, to be assassinated, and having accused the count of Foix of the crime, declared the negociation at an end.‡ The viscount of Beziers, prisoner at the count's palace at Carcassonne, died on the 10th November 1209, not without suspicion of poison. The earl Simon had already taken possession of his lands. These proceedings displeased the king of Aragon, because Simon did not proceed against the Albigenses merely on account of religion, and because the viscount of Beziers was a Roman Catholic. The duke of Burgundy was also much dissatisfied with Simon, and neither the king nor the duke would own Simon to be viscount of Beziers.§ The king would acknowledge no viscount of Beziers and Carcassonne, except Raymond Trencavel, now two years old, son of the late viscount, and influenced all the knights in these viscounties to revolt, while Simon's pilgrims were few. Great numbers of Simon's French supporters were surprised in the castles.‖ While Simon was absent at Montpellier, one of his towers near Carcassonne was taken. Baucard, one of his captains, attempted to surprise the castle of Cabaret. Captain Roger, of the said castle, on the part of viscount Raymond, accidentally came forth with eighty horse-

* De Sismondi, pp. 42—49. † Perrin, book i. chap. vi.
‡ De Sismondi, pp. 53—55. § Perrin, ib. ‖ Sismondi, pp. 54, 55.

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men to forage, not only defended himself, but brought in Baucard a prisoner. Simon having taken the castle of Birom or Brom, near Montreal, after three days siege, caused the eyes of above one hundred Albigenses to be put out, and their noses to be cut off, leaving only one individual with one eye to guide the rest to Cabaret. In eleven days he took the castle of Alairac, whence some of the people had fled, and the rest were massacred. At this time Gerard of Pepios took part with the Albigenses, and seized Puisorignier and the castle of Minerbe. Peter of Vaux Cernay states, that when Gerard had power, he pulled out the eyes and took off the ears of Simon's soldiers, but the religious and peaceable principles of the Albigenses are not to blame for these enormities. On the other side, Simon burnt multitudes in tremendous fires. Near Carcassonne, William of Rochford, bishop of that diocese, in the Albigensian interest, caused the abbot of Citeaux to be put to death. The soldiers, in the former place, now despaired of being able to defend themselves, and, by the termination of the year, Simon possessed only eight cities or castles in Languedoc, though at first upwards of two hundred of these were under his dominion. He applied to all the prelates in Europe for a further reinforcement of pilgrims, because he had lost upwards of forty towns and chateaus. Had not succours opportunely arrived, the incensed Albigenses would have instantly surrounded and destroyed him.*

In the twelfth century, notice was take of Peter Waldo preaching in Picardy, and of the Waldenses in that district. In the thirteenth century, that people still existed in the North of France. William Paradin, in his annals of Burgundy,† under the year 1209, gives an explicit testimony to the excellence of the Waldenses at this period, namely, "that the errors and the vices with which they have been taxed, were nothing but fictions maliciously invented, they having not committed any of those things of which they have been falsely accused, except that they have most freely taxed the corruptions and vices of the prelates." In the year 1210, twenty-four Waldenses were apprehended at Paris, of whom some

* Perrin, ib. De Sismondi, pp. 54, 55, 62.
† Book ii. pp. 247, 248, in Leger, part i. chap. xxx. p. 185.

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were imprisoned and others burnt.* The number of those who were treated in each of these ways, may be gathered from the words of Du Thou:—"Nor was Paris free from this contagion, for fourteen, of whom the greater part were priests, having been convicted of this error were also in like manner consumed in the flames."† By comparing these accounts, we learn that of the twenty-four Waldenses seized at Paris, fourteen were consigned to the fire, who were mostly priests or Waldensian preachers, and the remaining ten were imprisoned.

CHAPTER III.

Count Raymond of Toulouse courts the friendship of Simon and the Legate—Siege and Capture of Minerbe, Termes, Lavaur, some Castles and Montferrand—Solemn League among the Defenders of the Albigenses, who recover fifty Castles—King of Aragon joins them—Several Castles, La Penn and Muiret taken by Simon, and Pedro of Aragon killed—Simon takes Toulouse, with the Castles of Foix, Quercy and Agenois—Waldenses burnt at Mauriliac—Simon made King of the conquered Provinces—Raymond VII. opposes him—Simon's death—Reverses of the Pilgrims.

In the beginning of 1210, Raymond, count of Toulouse, from a wish to shelter himself from Simon Montfort; from hatred of the legate Arnold, abbot of Citeaux; from fear of the bloody fury of Fouquet, bishop of Toulouse, who would have gladly massacred the half of his own flock; and from terror of the Pope, presented Simon with a cloak and ring. Some have ascribed this donation to friendship, and others to hypocrisy, since Raymond cannot be supposed to cherish a very kindly feeling towards Simon.

The Pope appointed a council to meet at St Gilles, to decide ultimately whether Raymond of Toulouse were guilty of heresy, and had committed the murder of Peter of Castelnau.

* Perrin, Hist. Wald. book ii. chap. xv. † Lib. vi. p. 119, A.

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Theodise, a canon of Genoa, was appointed by Innocent to consult with the legate. The council, however, did not convene till the end of September.*

In the mean time, early in this year, the pontiff encouraged more pilgrims to take the field against the Albigenses, with this promise,—"Let Catholics, who assume the character of the cross, and accoutre themselves for the extermination of heretics, be favoured with that indulgence, and let them be defended with that holy privilege which is granted to such as proceed to the help of the Holy Land."† Consequently about lent, multitudes of new crusaders joined Simon, having been raised by the priests and monks in the North of France, and conducted to him by his wife Alice. By these soldiers, Simon besieged the strong castle of *Minerbe*, belonging to Guiraud, or William, a vassal of the viscount of Carcassonne, on the frontiers of Spain.‡ It is surrounded with valleys, and being summer, the water failed. Guiraud went out and agreed with Simon on the terms of capitulation, but when about to execute this agreement, Simon declared the engagement not binding on him, as the abbot Arnold had not been present at its formation. Arnold was grieved that his name should be here mentioned, and desired both Guiraud and Simon to draw up a statement of the articles, but Simon observing a diversity between the narratives, broke off the negotiation. Guiraud then agreed to Simon's account, which proposed to save converted heretics. These supposed heretics, however, continued stedfast in their religious profession.§

At this trying moment, the abbot Guy of Vaux Cernay began to preach to the Albigenses at Minerbe, to acknowledge the Pope and the Romish church, but they interrupted him in the middle of his harangue with the exclamation, "We will not forsake our faith,—we reject the Romish,—your labour is vain,—for neither life nor death shall cause us abandon our belief." The abbot next addressed the assembled women, who were still more bold. Seeing the Albigenses by

* De Sismondi, pp. 56—60. Peter of Vaux Cernay, chap. xxxix. Perrin, Hist. Alb. book i. chap. vi.

† Preface to Reinerus, Biblioth. Pat. vol. iv. part ii. col. 730.

‡ Perrin, ib. chap. vii. § De Sismondi, pp. 63, 64.

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no means disposed to give way, Simon and the legate threatened instantly to burn in one fire one hundred men and women, and Simon laconically announced,—"Be converted or ascend the pile." The great body remained unshaken, for only three women, influenced by the lady of Masly, mother of Bouchard, lord of Montmorency, were induced to abjure their religion. The remainder were not content with merely laying down their lives for their faith, but bravely declared to Simon, that when the books shall be opened, he shall answer for his barbarity. They all endured the flames with the most heroic fortitude, returning thanks to God for the distinguished honour conferred on them. "At the castle of Minerbe," says Du Thou, "one hundred and fifty were burnt alive, because they were unwilling to abjure error. Being terrified by this example, the Albigenses deprecated violence, which request having been obtained, they surrendered." This capture happened on the feast of John Baptist, being the 25th June. William of Minerbe was reconciled to the church of Rome, but having been convinced of the impropriety of this procedure, he returned to the Albigenses. *

The council of St Gilles, in September, refused count Raymond a hearing, and excommunicated him, because he had not yet exterminated the heretics. †

By the pilgrims who gradually arrived from Orleanais, the Isle of France, Dreux, and Ponthieu, with some Britons, Germans and Lorrains, Simon took also the well fortified castle of *Termes* in Narbonne, on the top of a rock, and surrounded by valleys. At this place, otherwise called Preissan, Simon animated the pilgrims by stating that mass had not been said in it since 1180, that is for thirty years. The lord of this castle was an aged man, named Raimund, a determined enemy to the Roman church. The siege was conducted by machines called a *petraria*, for the throwing of stones, and a *mangonellus*, seemingly for the same purpose, wrought by three hundred men. All the operations of the siege need not be here detailed. The capture of the place was found to be most difficult, owing to its natural situation. Winter was also ap-

* Petri, Hist. Alb. cap. xxxvii. De Sismondi, pp. 63, 64. Perrin, ib. Du Thou, lib. vi. p. 119. † De Sismondi, p. 60.

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proaching when the ground would be unfit for the pilgrims. In the night of the feast of St Cecilia, the 22nd November, or vigils of St Clement, after a few months siege, the inhabitants of the castle abandoned it, and the pilgrims entered. Raimund, the lord of the castle, was taken and shut up in the bottom of the tower of Carcassonne.*

After taking the two strong places, Minerbe and Termes, the castles of Constasse, Puyverst, (perhaps Viridepodium of Peter) Castres, Lumbers, and many others were taken.†

During these outrages, Simon was also laying siege to the Vetuille de Lavaur on the Agout, fifteen miles from Toulouse; of this place Gerande, or Guiraude, sister of Amaury, lord of Montreal, was lady. The people were of the Albigensian faith, and received fugitives. The siege was continued for six months.‡

Count Raymond, on his return from Rome, had viewed himself as reconciled to the Pope, as he shewed to the legate, Milon, by the letters from the Pope, but the treasure of histories states, that the Pope wrote to the bishop of Rhodois, to Milon, and to Theodise, that before Raymond be purged, he should free himself of the death of friar Peter and of heresy. The legate, Milon, called Raymond, who refused he had any more to do in the way of reconciliation, and declared he would rather go to Rome than submit to Milon. The latter then employed Folquet, bishop of Toulouse, to persuade Raymond to court Milon's friendship, and to offer him the castle of Narbonnes for a lodging place when he should come that way. The gulled Raymond no sooner made this offer, than the legate, by a garrison, took possession of the castle. He thought in a few days to ruin Raymond, and thus to destroy the Albigenses, but Milon himself soon after suddenly died, and Simon required many years to destroy the house of Raymond.‡

About the middle of February 1211, count Raymond was summoned to appear before a council at Arles. The king of Aragon attended with him. The treaty proposed for the restoration of Raymond's lands, was most absurd, namely, that

* Peter de Vaux Cernay, Hist. Alb. cap. xl—xlii. Perrin, ib. chap. vii. De Sismondi, p. 64.

† Peter, ib. cap. xlii. De Sismondi, pp. 67, 68. ‡ Perrin, ib.

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he dismiss his soldiers, raise his fortifications, exclude his knights, renounce the customs, oblige his subjects to wear the dress of penitence, and to be abstinent; to allow Simon to burn his subjects at pleasure, to proceed himself to the Holy Land, and to have his territories and lordships restored, "when it should please the count of Montfort and the legate" Theodise. On this, Raymond and the king of Aragon instantly left Arles. The new legate, Theodise, and the bishops excommunicated Raymond.* By the advice of the king of Aragon, Raymond fled. Badoni, the brother of Raymond, delivered the castle of Montferrand, with a number of other places to Simon, who, by marrying his own daughter to Don Jaieme or James, son of the king of Aragon, had induced the king to swear no more to favour the Albigenses.† This strange step in king Pedro, might arise from hopes of serving his brothers-in-law, and from fear of his French provinces.

Fouquet, bishop of Toulouse, had been preaching the crusade in France, and had induced the bishop of Paris, Robert de Courtenay, count of Auxerre; Enguerand de Coucy; Joel de Mayenne, and many French barons and knights, to take the cross against the Albigenses. In the course of the campaign, followed Leopold, duke of Austria; Adolphus, count of Mens; and William, count of Juliers. These preferred a domestic to a foreign crusade to the Holy Land. On the 10th March, Montfort opened the compaign, and attacked the castle of *Cabaret*, which had hitherto defied the crusaders. Peter Roger, however, submitted, as did many others, between Carcassonne and Toulouse.‡

The siege of *Lavaur* was formerly mentioned as begun. Fouquet, bishop of Toulouse, persuaded a number of the crusaders, called the White Company, to join said siege, from Toulouse. Meantime count Raymond, in alliance with the counts of Cominges and of Foix, with Gaston, viscount of Bearn, Savary de Maulcon, seneschal of Aquitaine and other lords, united. These lords sent a number of troops under Foix, who cut off a number of crusaders. Simon, however, used a terrible engine called a *cat*, like a battering-ram, against

* De Sismondi, p. 69. † Perrin, chap. viii. ‡ De Sismondi, pp. 70, 71.

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the walls of Lavaur, which was taken on the 3rd of May 1211.* All the people were put to the sword, except eighty gentlemen knights who were hanged, Amaury on a gibbet higher than the rest. The lady of Vaur, because stedfast in the truth, was cast alive into a ditch or well, and covered with stones, being wickedly reproached as guilty of incest with her son or brother. The only humane action of the pilgrims, was sparing some sick women and children.†

Simon took the castles of Montjoyre and Cassero. In the latter place he burnt many heretics with infinite joy. About the middle of June he laid siege to *Toulouse*. Raymond, with 500 horse, sallied out on him, and many on both sides were killed at a bridge. Raymond retreated, and Simon again assaulted him, but was furiously repulsed, and Raymond took Simon's son, Amaury, a prisoner. In the city, there was a White Company of Roman Catholics, and a Black Company of liberals. Notwithstanding the arrival of succours to Simon, Raymond, by help of the counts of Foix and Comminges, discomfited the besiegers. Consequently, on the 29th of June, Simon raised the siege, ravaged the country, and set fire to the town of Foix. He took also the lordship of Quercy. The legate took the tower of Cassas, laid it level with the ground, and burnt one hundred men alive. The count of Foix recovering from a disease, was informed that Simon had taken possession of various of his towns. On an interview with Simon, he was rather too easy with him. His son, Roger, and the king of Aragon, spurred him on to be more determined. Raymond had married his son to a daughter of the king of Aragon, which displeased Simon, and the king did not conceal his design of defending the count of Toulouse; and Foix Roger, son of the count of Foix, took Pamiers back from Simon, with the sword. The counts of Foix and Toulouse, *by oath, made a league* offensive and defensive against Simon.‡ They were also joined by the count of Comminges, the viscount of Bearn, and by Savary de Mauleon.§

The confederates, with 50,000 foot, and 10,000 cavalry, laid siege to *Castelnau d' Arri*, the retreat of Simon, who was now

* De Sismondi, pp. 71—77. † Perrin, ib. chap. vii. Du Thou, ib. Boxhorn, ib. ‡ Perrin, ib. chap. ix. § De Sismondi, p. 81.

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deserted by the greater part of his crusaders. The Albigensian army increasing, Raymond, with part of it took several smaller places, while the main body watched the city. In Albigeois, the count Raymond recovered the strong places, and upwards of fifty castles. The inhabitants expelled or massacred the French garrisons to submit to their ancient lord. During the time of a sally, Simon escaped, and the confederates, at the approach of winter, raised the siege. Simon applied to the legate, to the king of France, and to the Pope, to write the king of Aragon not to help the Albigenses. The king replied to these personages, urging them to make peace in the way of restoring to the counts of Foix, Commings and Toulouse their lands. The legate, and his council at De la Vaur, on the 15th February 1212, refused to listen to this reasonable request. On this, the king of Aragon took part with the counts, and bade open defiance to Simon.* The monks had long accused the bishops of indifference in the cause of the crusade. In the year 1212, the monks obtained possession of the bishoprics, either from the Pope or from the resignation of the bishops. Guy, abbot of Vaux Cernay, became bishop of Carcassonne, and Arnold Amalric, abbot of Citeaux, became archbishop of Narbonne, on the 12th March; and on the 13th March, called himself duke of Narbonne, a title which had belonged to Raymond of Toulouse, whose estates, in the excommunication, Arnold declared were to be given to the first occupant. A crusade against the Moors in Spain, suspended those against the Albigenses till 16th July 1212. During this year, Simon's army was four times reduced by the departure of pilgrims, whose term of service of forty days had expired, and was as often recruited by new crusaders.†

Before the king of Aragon could collect an army, Simon took various places, such as *Tudelle*, where he butchered all the people.‡ He took the castles of *St Marceil* and *St Antonin*, in which he sacrificed a number of victims. At the latter place he hanged thirty chief men. But in Albigeois most of the surviving reformers had fled to Toulouse and Mon-

* Perrin, chap. x. De Sismondi, p. 93. † De Sismondi, pp. 77—86.
‡ Perrin, ib.

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tauban. Therefore he went to Agenois, whose entire population was Roman Catholic, and induced them to gain indulgence at the siege of *La Penne*, which, after obstinate resistance, surrendered on the 25th July. Then followed the siege Boissac, at which Simon compelled the inhabitants to sacrifice their three hundred brave defenders, and on the 8th September, they surrendered, but the houses were saved for a sum of money. Simon then ravaged anew the counties of Foix and Commings. At Biron castle, he caused Martin Alquay to be tied to a horse's tail, dragged through the army, and hanged, because he had formerly delivered the place to Raymond.*

These facts are confirmed by the Roman Catholic historian, Du Thou. Having mentioned the capture of Lavaur, he proceeds: "Immediately also, Cures, Rabastains, Gaillac, St Marcell, St Anthony, Causac, and Moesac, were taken by force, and a prodigious slaughter of the captured made by the victor. The castle of La Penne, in the territory of Agenois, having been long besieged, at last yielded to the will of the conqueror. Seventy soldiers in it were crucified, the rest who defended error were burnt in fires."†

Raymond of Toulouse went to Aragon to seek the intercession of Don Pedro, his brother-in-law at Rome, who sent an embassy to the Pope, and wrote the king of France, who was induced to be neutral.‡

At the end of November, Simon assembled a parliament at Pamiers, composed of archbishops, bishops, French and Provinçal knights, and of some of the principal inhabitants of the chief cities, to frame laws for the conquered provinces, such as that no destroyed fortress be rebuilt without the count's permission, that women whose husbands fought against Montfort leave his dominion, and that widows or heiresses of noble fiefs are to marry none but Frenchmen for ten years. Thus the noble families of the North were multiplied, and the ancient familics who prided themselves in descending from the Romans or the Goths were mostly rendered extinct.§

In consequence of Don Pedro's intercession at Rome, In-

* Perrin, ib. De Sismondi, pp. 86—88. † Du Thou, lib. vi. p. 119, A.
‡ Perrin, ib. § De Sismondi, pp. 88, 89.

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nocent III. wrote to Arnold, to the bishops of Riez, and to master Theodise of Genoa on the 18th January 1213, that they had murdered the count of Beziers, that Simon was an usurper butchering Roman Catholics and heretics, and that the king of Aragon and Raymond were both determined catholics, and that the counts of Foix and Comminges, and the viscount of Bearn were not to be punished for supporting their superior, the count of Toulouse. The Pope wrote also two letters to Simon.* The king of Aragon's letter induced the king of France to be neutral.†

Notwithstanding these circumstances, however, the council of Lavaur in January, this year, 1213, refused again to hear Raymond, and wrote to the Pope, who on the 21st of May 1213, wrote to the king of Aragon revoking his former letters.‡

On the 10th of September 1213, the king of Aragon, having passed the Pyrannees with a thousand knights, the three counts and the viscount of Bearn, he took the field with 7000 light cavalry, and 30,000 infantry. Simon had 1000 knights with iron coverings, but not above 700 foot and 500 horsemen, with the militia of his provinces, on the 1st of September, before Muret.§ But it appears that at the battle he had increased to 1500 soldiers on horseback. The Spanish light horses were unequal to the French heavy ones. When they joined battle, the vanguard of Simon was almost cut to pieces. But the king of Aragon being killed by an ambushment, and determined attack of the French knights, the Albigensian army got into disorder, and was shamefully routed, and a great number slain in spite of the exertions of the three counts. The king having been excommunicated, Simon did not allow him to be interred in holy ground. The Spaniards had been used to fight with the Moors, but not with the French. A monk tells us, that the bishop of Comminges' benediction on the army of the cross, was the cause of this victory. The Roman Catholics say the Albigenses had 60,000 militia, but these were never engaged. The Albigenses lost 15,000 men,

* De Sismondi, pp. 89—93. † Perrin, chap. x. ‡ De Sismondi, pp. 94—96.

§ Muret or Murettium, is a town of 3,100 inhabitants, on the Garrone, below St Gaudens, three leagues above Toulouse.—Playfair's Geog. vol. i. p. 340.

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and confessed they had been trusting more to human aid than in the eternal God. They recollected that sometimes the smaller party on the wrong side, had been triumphant.* "In this battle," says Boxhorn,† "15,000 Waldenses, with Peter of Aragon, were slain, so that the cause seemed now desperate." In the vicinity of Muret, Peter of Aragon, who besieged this place, was defeated and slain, 1213.‡ He was a warrior, a politician, an elegant troubadour, and to a reproach, fond of women. He wrote to a lady of Toulouse, that for her sake he had come to the combat. Simon got hold of the letter, and said, "God is for us, and only the eyes of this lady for him."§

After this the counts went to their own dominions, and six of the principal men of Toulouse offered Simon the keys. He sent for Louis, son of Philip of France, who had the city delivered into his hands. It was all dismantled, except the castle of Narbonne, and the pilgrims pillaged the place though contrary to Simon's promise. The Pope's new legate, Bonaventure, being jealous of the influence of Louis, sent the absolution and protection of the church to all the Albigensian places, to prevent him taking possession of them. He told Louis he was his superior, and induced him to consent to have Narbonne also dismantled. This however was the close of Simon's success.‖

In this same year, 1213, the insolent Simon laid siege to the castle of *Foix*, but lost many men, and was unsuccessful. His brother was slain by the count of Foix. He received accounts also of the Aragonians and Catalans revenging the death of their king, in the viscountship of Beziers. Simon hastened to that place, but the count of Foix killed many of his troops by the way. The Aragonians having retired, Simon went to Dauphiny, where the want of power obliged him to make a treaty with Ademar and Ponce on the side of the Albigenses. Hearing of the Aragonians returning to Carcassonne, he repaired thither and was defeated. He next had recourse to wiles, for he caused the legate pretend friendship to the count

* Judges xx. 1 Sam. iv. 2 Kings xxiii. Perrin, ib. chap. xi. De Sismondi, pp. 97—101. † Page 713. ‡ Playfair's Geography, vol. i. p. 340.
§ De Sismondi, p. 99. ‖ Perrin, ib. chap. xii.

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of Foix, and proposed his going to the Pope to make peace, and in the meantime give up the castle of Foix to Simon, who promised afterwards to deliver to him his lands. Meantime the legate wrote a deceitful letter against him to the Pope, who in answer enjoined the legate not to allow his dominions to be delivered to him. On the count's return from Rome, he was convinced too late of his own simplicity.* "Raymond being affected with the slaughter of his men, was obliged to become supplicant to the Pope, and publicly to reject his error."† This happened by the legate practising the same subtlety on count Raymond as on the count of Foix. The king of England was brother-in-law to Raymond, and had kept young Raymond with him, but on hearing of the proposed journey, sent the young lord with letters to the Pope to obtain justice. Besides these epistles, a cardinal, an abbot, and various others, took part with the count at Rome. But the fear of the Albigenses getting power, and the desire to encourage Simon and his pilgrims, caused the Pope enjoin the legate not to restore the lands to the count, and to reserve Venesse in Provence for young Raymond, provided he obeyed the church, and proved himself worthy of divine mercy.‡

By the influence of the ambassadors from the Catalans and Aragonese, Innocent III. by letter of 23rd January 1214, ordered Simon to restore the young Don Jayme to his subjects, which was complied with in April.§

In April 1214, the counts of Foix and Comminges were reconciled to Rome. Then followed count Raymond VI. who went to live in private, and made over all his rights to his son. The inhabitants of Narbonne and Toulouse were also reconciled. While these submissions were taking place, a new army of crusaders, led by the bishop of Carcassonne and the cardinal Robert de Courcon, arrived at Montpelier. Peter of Vaux Cernay praises the mercy of God and the pious fraud of the legate, by which the armies got forward without opposition. Yet they had little success. The capture of the castle of Quercy and Agenois, cost the crusaders much blood; and finding in these no heretics, they slaughtered the

* Perrin, Hist. Alb. book ii. chap. i. † Du Thou, lib. vi. p. 119. B.
‡ Perrin, ib. § De Sismondi, p. 104, et seq.

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inhabitants only as a matter of common warfare. At Maurillac they were more fortunate: "I must not pass over," says the monk of Citeaux, "that we found there seven heretics of the sect called Waldenses, who being conducted to the legate, and having confessed their incredulity, were seized by our pilgrims, and burnt with unspeakable joy." Nicolas Vignier also reports burning seven Waldenses, and many other victims this year. In 1214, Simon married his son Amaury with Beatrice, daughter of Guigue VI. dauphin of Viennois, in hopes of inheriting Dauphiny. This name had been given to the heritage of the counts of Albon, had passed into the house of Burgundy, and held of the kingdom of Arles; whilst those lords had taken the title of dauphin from their armorial bearings.*

The legate called a provincial council of prelates to meet in December this year, 1214, at Montpelier, and sent Bernard, archbishop of Ambrun, to petition the Pope to appoint Simon monarch of all the conquered countries of the Albigenses; namely, those provinces which had belonged to the counts of Toulouse, Foix, and Comminges, whom the cardinal had deceitfully reconciled to the Romish church, without explaining the conditions. According to the accounts of papal adversaries, at the time of the council of Montpelier, in the year 1214, there was some difference between the Albigensian pastors, and the people who were called believers. This is noticed in the preface, and in the 29th canon of the council of Narbonne Gaul.† If the Romanists thought there was a difference, they no doubt intended the restoration of the Albigenses to Rome. The Pope agreed to the proposal of the legate, but the council did not meet till the 8th January 1215. The inhabitants of Montpelier viewed their lordship as independent of the council, because they had been under Don Pedro, late king of Aragon; for in 1204, Mary, daughter of William VIII. of Montpelier, had been married to Don Pedro. From fear of Simon, they now proposed to subject themselves to Philip Augustus of France. The French king agreed to receive them for five years, provided no crusades came against them, for he did not wish to offend the church.

* De Sismondi, ib. † Allix, Alb. p. 211.

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On the members of council coming together and sending for Simon to confer the dignity on him, in the church of our Lady des Tables, they learned that the citizens were determined to kill Simon, and he was obliged to steal away in secret from the town, lest the council should be killed along with him. The Pope called him "the active, dextrous soldier of Jesus Christ,—the invincible defender of the Catholic faith;" yet the people abhorred him, and refused to allow the council to meet in their city. It met in another place, and consisted of five archbishops and twenty-eight bishops. They decreed Simon Montfort monarch of all the conquered countries. Count Raymond delivered to bishop Fouquet the castle of Narbonne, and went to live in a private house in Toulouse, without resistance or protest.*

On the 19th of April, young Louis of France arrived at Lyons to perform a pilgrimage in a crusade. Several grandees joined him, with a number of citizens and peasants. Louis and his followers visited the conquered places, allowed Raymond VI. and his son to seek an asylum in England, and returned home, leaving Simon Montfort at Montaban.†

In 1215, the twelfth general council, and the fourth of the lateran, met, composed of seventy-one metropolitans, 412 bishops, nearly 800 abbots, two patriarchs, and two others represented by their deputies. This council sanctioned the two orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans, resolved on a fifth expedition to the Holy Land, and enjoined every Christian to confess and receive the communion at Easter. Count Raymond VI. his son Raymond VII. and the counts of Foix and Comminges were present, with a recommendation from the king of England. Guy Montfort was present for Simon. The council gave to Simon the cities of Toulouse and Montaban; and to Raymond VII. count of Venassin and marquis of Provence, the countship of Toulouse and the conquered countries. The counts of Foix and Comminges were provisionally put in possession of their states, but the final decision was adjourned.‡

The Roman Catholics of England commonly deny that they

* De Sismondi, pp. 105—111. Perrin, ib. chap. ii.
† Ibid. p. 112. ‡ Ibid. pp. 112—114.

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mean to propagate their religion by force, and try to account for the crusades against the Albigenses, by the barbarity and ignorance of the times. But this is not the fact; for the principle of exterminating heretics by the sword, if they refuse to join their church, insinuated by former councils, is finally avowed in the fourth council of the lateran, and to this day has never been revocked.* This fourth council of the lateran is dated by Mosheim in 1215, the last year of Innocent III. for he died in 1216.† Delahogue in his tract *De Ecclesia Christi*, gives an account of the decrees of this council. The following is an extract from page 202. In chapter third the council proceeds, "If a temporal lord, being required and admonished by the church, shall have neglected to purge his territory from heretical defilement, he shall be bound with the chain of excommunication by the metropolitans and other provincial bishops; and if he shall have despised to satisfy within a year, this shall be notified to the Pope, who from that time shall declare the vassals freed from fidelity to him, and shall give the land to be occupied by the Catholics, who, while the heretics are *exterminated* (that is, from the meaning of the word *expelled*,) may possess it without any contradiction, the right of the principal lord being preserved, provided that he himself supply no obstacle with regard to this; the same law nevertheless being observed about those who have not principal lords." The author adds, "Some critics doubt concerning the authenticity of the canon." And well they may; for without this doubt, this plea of the Romish church is irrevocably lost. The count of Toulouse and the Albigenses, however, *felt* its authenticity. The parenthesis (by the meaning of the word *expelled*,) does not belong to the original article, but is a gloss of the learned author, by which he would insinuate that the heretics were only to be banished,—a miserable attempt to pervert the plainest language and the most notorious facts.‡

The power of absolving from oaths is avowed in the above document. It has been often exercised, and was used by the late Pope in dissolving the marriage of Napoleon with his lawful

* De Sismondi, Introduction.
† Cent. xiii. part ii. chap. iii. § ii.
‡ De Sismondi, Introduction, p. xi.

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wife Josephine, in the face of the authority of Jesus Christ himself. We may question, whether the declarations of the Irish Roman Catholics are a security to us from the fate of the Albigenses in the thirteenth century, because the Romanists have not the right of private judgment. Our safety lies in the papists being the minority, and in their want of power. The effect of the relief bill remains to be seen.

The Pope sent Simon Montfort a bull this year, confirming his right to be invested with the supreme power of Narbonne and Toulouse in the king of France's dominions, besides the lands taken from the heretics.* Simon had taken the title of the duke of Narbonne, and count of Toulouse. But Arnold aspired to these dignities, and because Simon would not yield to him, he excommunicated Simon, and placed all the churches of the city of Narbonne under an interdict. Innocent died about the beginning of 1216. Simon proceeded to Toulouse, and in an assembly of the inhabitants, 7th March 1216, he and they sware to one another, yet he trusted, as well he might, more to force than to their affection. He augmented the strength of Narbonne castle. He went to Philip Augustus at Pont-de-l'Arche, who acknowledged him his vassal, and confirmed his titles of duke of Narbonne, count of Toulouse, and viscount of Beziers and Carcassonne.† In this interview with the king of France, Simon was received by the clergy and people exclaiming,—"Blessed is he that cometh in the name of God!" All seemed happy to touch the hem of his garments.

In 1216, Simon returned from France with one hundred bishops, who by their preaching, added many pilgrims to the army. Simon also married several of his children to noble persons who had favoured the Albigenses. In one way or another he got possession of Monteil-Aimar, Crest-Arnaud, Pesquieres, and Bezonce. He was planning to deliver his wife who was besieged at Narbonne castle by the count of Toulouse, whose son was at Lauran, styled marquis of a part of Toulouse.‡ Though Raymond VI. was absolved and reconciled to the church, though cousin-german to the king of France, brother-in-law to the emperor Frederick, and the king

* Perrin, chap. ii. † De Sismondi, p. 118, 119. ‡ Perrin, ib.

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of England, father-in-law to Sancho, king of Navarre, and uncle to the kings of Castile and Aragon, he was abandoned. The king of England could render him no assistance.* The legate refusing to give up the lands till after proofs of amendment, the counts resolved to take them by force. The count Raymond was very popular, and was attended by various noblemen. Marseilles, Taracon, and Avignon, declared for the Raymonds. Young Raymond, now nineteen years of age, succeeded in taking the town and castle of Beaucaire. Old Raymond went to Aragon for succour. Simon began to see that his son Amaury was likely to have as much trouble from young Raymond, as he himself had got from his father. Having been defeated at Beaucaire, Simon went to Toulouse. The bishop, Fouquet, deceitfully told the consuls and chief men of the place to appear before Simon, who began to bind them with chords. Eighty of them were put in irons. On this the citizens took the alarm, and at once rose in arms against him. The people obliged their opponents to retire to the castle of Narbonne. Earl Guy came up and fought for sometime for Simon, but was obliged to desist and fly to his brother. Simon's people were under necessity of retreating to various quarters, and a number of them were slain. The traiterous bishop harangued the people with oaths, and persuaded them to admit Simon, as he meant nothing but mildness and gentleness. When the people allowed him to enter, they found the first article of peace to be, that the inhabitants should carry all their arms to the town-house, before Simon would yield to any proposal. On this being with hesitation performed, Simon seized the arms, and conveyed them out of the town to the castle of Narbonne. He imprisoned or banished the principal men of the city. They were sent off to the castles of the provinces with such inhumanity, that many of them died by the way, and others afterwards perished of want. A ransom of 30,000 marks of silver, to be paid before the 1st of November, was exacted for the rest of the people. This greatly enriched Simon. He attempted, but was unable to take the castle of Lourde in Bigorre. He returned and discharged his anger against the poor city of

* De Sismondi, pp. 119, 120.

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Toulouse, permitting it to be pillaged by the pilgrims, and then demolishing the remaining towers. Meantime the poor count of Toulouse was at Mountauban with an army from Aragon and Catalonia, and for several months lamented the bad usage of his miserable subjects.*

In 1217, Simon besieged Roger Bernard, son of Raymond Roger, count of Foix, in Montgrevier, and after six weeks, obliged him to capitulate. On the Rhone he engaged Raymond VII. of Toulouse, and having made himself master, hanged all the inhabitants of the castle of Bernis. The citizens of Beaucaire and St Gilles, though given to Simon by the Lateran council, and confirmed to him by Philip, yet resisted him. While Simon was indulging in indolence at marriages and otherwise, Raymond on the 13th of September, entered Toulouse. His soldiers were Spaniards, and he was joined by the counts of Foix and Comminges. He was joyfully received by the populace, who cast themselves at his feet, and embraced his limbs. Many in the country who had been indignant at the cruelties of Simon, whose name associated every thing terrible, joined the standard of Raymond, who was thus prepared for a combat. The most timid, with the daughters-in-law of Simon, were in the castle of Narbonne. Raymond appointed a provost to keep the ditches clean, repair the breaches, and create the captains. Simon having obtained some advantages in Valentenois, heard of the progress of Raymond. Guy, his brother, the archbishop of Aix, and Simon himself, all severally made attacks on Raymond, and were repulsed at Montalieu. The legate's assurances of success, and of a place in paradise, were disbelieved and contradicted by some of Simon's captains. The most valiant knights of Quercy, Albigeois and Carcasses joined Raymond. Simon, however, though deserted by many of his followers, laid siege to Toulouse, but his soldiers were put to flight, and numbers of them drowned in the Garonne. Simon himself fell into the water, but was got out alive. With stone engines, slings, arrows, and other instruments of attack, he made a terrible, yet unsuccessful attempt to take the castle of Narbonne. He next went into winter quarters, and waited the

* De Sismondi, pp. 120—125. Perrin, ib.

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arrival of more pilgrims. The seneschal of Agenois, and the bishop of Lectoure, who commanded for Montfort, pillaged and burnt Montauban.

Though Dominic had founded the order of Mendicants or Jacobin monks, yet it appears he had at this time become rich, for at the siege of Toulouse, on the 13th December, Simon issued this edict:—"Simon, by the grace and providence of God, duke of Narbonnes, count of Toulouse, viscount of Leicester, Beziers and Carcassonne, wishes health and love. We will, and command you to have a special care to keep and defend the houses and goods of our most dear brother Dominic, as our own. Given at the siege of Toulouse, 13th December." *

During the winter, Raymond received more succours, and Simon had the addition of 100,000 pilgrims, raised by Fouquet and James de Vitry, who had been sent to France to preach a new crusade. In the spring of 1218, Raymond observing his enemies off their guard, sallied out on a morning, covered the ground with dead bodies, and returned to give thanks to God. The unpopularity of Simon in the country caused great famine in the army. When at mass, on St John the baptist's day, being the 25th June 1218, he was informed that the Toulousians had sallied out and taken possession of a cat, or machine, he had constructed. He refused to move till he had seen his Redeemer. The priest cut short the service. The moment the host was raised, he exclaimed, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word: for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." Simon mounted his horse, which, early in the skirmish, being wounded in the head by an arrow, became unmanageable. A soldier of Raymond observing this, wounded Simon in the thigh from a cross bow. While talking with Guy to lead him out of the press, a stone thrown by a woman from an engine, who was unconscious of letting any thing fly, separated Simon's head from his body. Thus fell, like another Abimelech, the monarch, the captain of the pilgrims, and the defender of the faith. Simon was a man of great valour, patient in affliction, and persevering in enterprises. He provided for his army, and

* Perrin, chap. iv.

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was irreconcilable towards his enemies, because he wished to possess their goods.* Amaury, his son, continued the siege a month, and raised it on the 25th July. The pilgrim army was then dispersed, and the monks deplored the event.† The legate Bonaventure, had just time to inform Amaury of Montfort, that he was nominated to succeed his father. He was more sluggish than his parent. All the bishops then fled to Carcassonne, and the pilgrim army dispersed. Count Raymond sallied out of Toulouse, and killed many pilgrims at Montelieu, and some at St Sobra. The castle of Narbonne still holding for the legate, Amaury, by help of some troops, extricated the garrison, and carrying the body of Simon, they fled to the legate at Carcassonne. Instead of pursuing the fugitive, Raymond provided for the safety of the city and castle of Narbonne, to which the enemy had set fire when they fled. Raymond, by the tolling of the bell, collected the people in the temple to give thanks to God for their deliverance from the Cyclops and his murderous army.‡

Count Raymond also fortified the castle against the pilgrims, anticipating a visit from them during the ensuing year. Meantime he sent his son into Agenois, who subdued to his father, Condon, Marmande, Aquillon, and the adjacent plain.§ Being received with joy, he passed through the greater part of Quercy and Rouergue. In November he visited Nimes.‖ On the other side, the count of Foix besieged Mirepoix, summoned Roger de Leni to restore it, told him not to rely on Simon because he was dead, and demanded restoration of what he had unjustly detained. The place was ultimately delivered to count Foix. The count of Comminges also recovered his right from one Joris, to whom the legates had given all that the soldiers of the cross had taken in his territories. Joris lost not only the places, but his life in the contest.¶ Meantime, on the side of the pilgrims, Amaury de Montfort, the son of Simon, exerted himself to be acknowledged in Alby itself, and was favoured by Pope Honorius III.**

* Perrin, chap. iv. † Perrin, chap. ii. De Sismondi, pp. 120—126, 130—147. Boxhorn, Univ. Hist. p. 714. Peter de Vaux Cernay, chap. 163.
‡ Perrin, ib. § Ibid, chap. iii. ‖ De Sismondi, p. 138. ¶ Perrin, ib.
** De Sismondi, pp. 138, 139.

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In the spring of 1219, Almaric or Amaury of Montfort, entered Agenois with some soldiers of the cross. With a view to recover his father's possessions, he besieged Marmande which was defended by count Cenuello of Astarrac, on the part of the Albigenses. While the young count Raymond went to succour the besieged, he received a letter from the count of Foix, that the latter had obtained great booty at Lauragues, both of people and beasts, but the fear of the garrison at Carcassonne prevented him from taking it to Toulouse. Raymond joined Foix in a most seasonable hour, when he was followed by the viscount Lautrec, and the captains Faucant and Valar. The last two addressed their pilgrims, that they fought for heaven and the church. Raymond called to his men,—" Courage, my friends, for we fight for our religion against thieves and robbers, who call themselves the church. They have robbed enough. Let us make them vomit it up again, and pay the arrears of their thefts which they have hitherto committed without restraint." They gave the charge. The viscount of Lautrec fled, Foucant was taken prisoner, and all their troops cut to pieces. Captain Segueret, an open robber, was hanged on a tree. The victors came to Toulouse with their prisoners and cattle.

The siege of Marmande was continued by Amaury without much advantage, for on a general assault the citizens defended themselves with such bravery, that the ditches were filled with the dead bodies of the pilgrims. On this prince Louis arrived with Mauclere, duke of Brittany, the count of St Paul, and thirty other counts, twenty bishops, six hundred knights, and 10,000 archers, who had taken the cross. This expedition arrived in consequence of Bertrand, the legate, having written thus to Philip, king of France,—" Do not fail to be in the confines of Toulouse during the whole month of May in the year 1219, with all your forces, to revenge the death of the earl of Montfort, and I will induce the Pope " to publish the crusade throughout the world for your better aid and assistance." Such was the impertinence of the Pope's legate to a king, who in obedience sent his son Louis to Marmande, and summoned those within it to surrender. Raymond VII. did not at first proceed to assist the castle of Marmande, but extricated the count of Foix and Ray-

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mond Roger, who were besieged in Basiege by two of Amaury's lieutenants. He obtained victory at Basiege, while the siege of Marmande was going on. The people of the latter place yielded to prince Louis on promise of their lives. The count of Asserac and his soldiers were therefore allowed to depart. Though some of the bishops were displeased they should be allowed life. Amaury himself complained also, because those were not worthy to live who had killed his father. He convened the prelates, and declared to them this discontentment. All the priests were of opinion, that notwithstanding the pledge given, the people should all be put to death. Prince Louis wished to have the agreement stand inviolable. Nowithstanding this honourable disposition of the prince, Amaury caused his troops steal into the city and kill men, women and children. By the execution of these orders, the inhabitants, to the number of 5000, were massacred on the 16th June 1219. Louis feeling indignant at this treachery, left Bertrand the legate and Amaury, and as he passed along, summoned those of Toulouse to yield. He is joined by Amaury and the legate. The Toulousians defended themselves against him, and killed a number of his men. Louis received news of the death of his father, and retired from the conflict. The forty days of many of the crusaders were now expired, and multitudes of them went home. Thus the expedition that was to bury the Albigenses alive, terminated without any serious assault. *

* Perrin, chap. iii. De Sismondi, p. 139.

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CHAPTER IV.

Death of Dominic—Siege of Castlenauduri raised by Amaury—Death of Raymond VI. of Raymond Roger of Foix and of his Countess—Philip leaves riches to the Romish church to get pardon—Amaury's inferiority to the Albigenses—Raymond VII. submits—Albigenses in Italy persecuted as Paterines—Louis opposes the Albigenses, who are defended by the Kings of Aragon and England, and by the Counts, except Foix—Louis deceitfully takes Avignon—Pamier submits, and PETER ISARN, a Preacher, burnt—Plague—Various success on both sides, and Pastor and Flock burnt at Becéde—Raymond compelled to sign a dishonourable treaty—Inquisition—University of Toulouse.

IN 1220, Raymond VII. took prisoner Folcaud and Jean de Brigier, the most celebrated of Amaury's captains, who held in their seraglio some of the most respectable married women of the province, and had demanded one hundred sols of gold for the ransom of each prisoner. Such as could not pay the sum, perished with hunger. Raymond beheaded the two captains. About this time the cities of Montauban and Castelnaudari, declared for Raymond, and banished Amaury's garrison. Beziers also returned to Trincavel, the son of its ancient lord, and to count Foix his tutor. In the beginning of July 1220, Amaury besieged Castelnaudari. On the 27th July, Guy de Bigorre, his brother was killed, and Raymond sent his body to Montfort, who continued the siege till the spring of the following year.†

On the sixth of August 1220, died the monk Dominic, who had usually finished by the inquisition what Simon Montfort had begun by his bloody crusades. Though he founded the order of Mendicants or Jacobins, yet he died rich, leaving many houses and goods. The want of this monk was a great loss to Amaury, and a comfort to the Albigenses.

About this period the legate, Bertrand Bonaventure, perceiving more danger than either pleasure or profit in the pre-

* Perrin, chap. iii. De Sismondi, p. 139. † De Sismondi, p. 148.

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sent war, pled his old age as a reason for retirement, and went to resign his office to Pope Honorius, who neither understood the importance of the present contest, nor managed it so well as Innocent had done. Bonaventure urged the Pope to appoint another legate, and pointed out the necessity of suppressing the Albigenses, else the Pope would not only lose their lands, but ruin the church of Rome, because the doctrine of the Waldenses and Albigenses directly shook the authority of the popes, and overthrew the statutes of the church. He shewed that this war had been very expensive, for in no less than fifteen years, about 300,000 soldiers of the cross had died in Languedoc, as if the French must of necessity perish in encountering the Albigenses; and that all this would be lost unless they persevered in weakening them till they were destroyed. Honorius appointed one Contat his legate, who repaired to the Albigensian country.*

Cardinal Bertrand was now mortified to see that the people would not be persuaded to join the crusades. He, therefore, under Pope Honorius III. instituted the order of the holy faith of Jesus Christ. By letters patent, of Peter Savaric, master, the 9th February 1221, at Carcassonne, he professes that the wars of his order are to aid Amaury de Montfort to destroy heretics and rebels against the church and that court. These are similar to the *santa fedisti*, or knights of the holy faith, in Spain and Italy at this day.

Amaury persisted in the siege of Castelnaudari, till the beginning of March 1221, when being weakened in men and money, he raised it, and retired to Carcassonne, which was his almost only remaining place. In the end of August this summer, the inhabitants of Agen, finding they could not trust Amaury's proffers of friendship, because they recollected his cruelty when he was the stronger party, joined themselves to Raymond. Honorius addressed Philip and Louis of France, but they were too much engaged with the English in Aquitain and Poitou to march against the Albigenses. The Pope wrote also to the bishops of Sens, Rheims and Bourges, and other places to hunt and burn the fugitive heretics. At that

* Perrin, ib. chap. iv.

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time many of the Languedocians returned home expecting to enjoy their religion in peace.

During 1222, so many had returned as to give hopes of reorganizing their church. A meeting was held at Pieussan in Rasez, and GUILLABERT DE CASTRES, one of their ancient preachers, who had escaped the fanatics, presided. This assembly provided chiefs for the desolated churches. In the registers of the inquisition at Toulouse, three new preachers, by the titles of the bishop of Rasez, of elder son, and of younger son, received from Guillabert de Castres, the imposition of hands and the kiss of peace. The monks of St Dominic abandoned by the secular power, at this time could only mark these things in their books against the day of vengeance. Amaury de Monfort could not now trust any man who spoke the Provençal language. All who were inclined to go in crusades, went to Egypt or the Holy Land. Amaury offered to Philip, by the bishops of Nismes and Beziers, all the conquests in Albigeois. On the 14th May, Honorius wrote to Philip to accept of them, but Philip declined proceeding against the heretics as his truce with Henry III. of England, terminated only in 1223.

In August 1222, Raymond VI. of Toulouse, by an unknown disease, lost the use of his speech, and soon died. By kissing the cross, he shewed he continued a catholic till the last. He had frequently been seen on his knees before the churches which he durst not enter, but the monks reproached him for taking no pleasure in seeing the heretics suffer.* Peter the monk, in his history of the Albigenses, chapter ii. remarks, that the count of Toulouse never went any where without a New Testament, and had always with him some of the Albigensian ministers for his instruction and consolation.† The author of the history of Languedoc relates, that he died suddenly. His death was a serious loss to the Albigenses. He was just, gentle, and courageous, and too easily advised by those who wished his ruin. At first he ardently loved his subjects, who made profession of the religion of the Albigenses, and experimentally knew the base treatment and false doctrine of the Pope's legates, and of the priests, by their con-

* De Sismondi, p. 149, *et seq.* † Allix, Alb. p. 211.

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ferences with the Albigensian pastors in his presence. His epitaph was thus written in Gascon,—

> Non y a home sur terre, per grand Segnor que fous,
> Qu' em iettes de ma terre, si Gleisa non fous.

He was carried to the house of the friars of the hospital of St John, but the clergy would not allow him to be interred, because he had died excommunicate.* The coffin stood near the burial ground of St John at Toulouse, till the fourteenth century. Before the sixteenth century, his bones were dispersed. The skull was long preserved in the said house of the hospitallers of St John, to which order he had devoted himself, and had died covered with their mantle on which he had kissed the cross.† Perrin ‡ thinks it very unlikely that Raymond's subjects should allow him to remain unburied, and the Albigenses are never accused of denying sepulture to any.

Raymond Roger, count of Foix, the bravest of his vassals, died soon after, in March or April 1223.§ When this good prince saw his change approaching, he expressed the fullest confidence regarding his interest in the kingdom of heaven. With an assured and persevering trust, he defied death. He felt comfort in forsaking the world, in renouncing vanity, and in exhorting his son Roger to serve God, to live virtuously, and, under the laws, to govern his people like a father. Having stated these things, he yielded up the ghost. He was a pattern of justice, clemency, and prudence; and of valour, patience, and continence. He was a magnanimous warrior, a good husband, and an affectionate father; an impartial dispenser of justice, he was worthy to have his virtues remembered through all generations.‖ Philippe of Moncade, his countess, and others of his family, had embraced the faith of the Albigenses, and had attended their conventicles, but without abjuration. He was succeeded by Roger Bernard as count of Foix, and Raymond VII. of Toulouse, was now twenty-six years of age.¶

Shortly after the death of the count of Foix, Philippe his

* Perrin, ib. De Sismondi, ib. † De Sismondi, ib. ‡ Ib. § Ib.
‖ Perrin, ib. ¶ De Sismondi, ib.

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countess followed him, not without suspicion of poison administered by some domestic, an enemy of the Albigenses. Previous to her dissolution, she uttered many excellent sentences both in the Castilian and French tongues, expressive of her composure in prospect of death, and tending to edify those who were present. She expressed the most Christian consolation, and met the last enemy with the most admirable fortitude and magnanimity. In this exercise she left the world. She was a princess of great faith, loyalty and foresight.*

In the spring of this year 1223, the two counts, besieged La Penne in Agenois, and Verdun on the Garonne. The Pope had sent cardinal Conrad, bishop of Porto, who demanded new succours, yet Amaury was unable to relieve La Penne. A proposal was made for Raymond VII. to marry a sister of Amaury, but the plan did not succeed. Conrad the new legate, convoked a provincial council at Sens, and stated that the heretics had established themselves under a new Pope on the frontiers of Bulgaria, of Dalmatia, of Croatia, and of Hungary; that many bishops and the dispersed Albigenses had owned his authority; and that Bartholomew of Carcassonne, had returned to his country as his legate, and had arrogated the right of naming new bishops.† Matthew Paris has preserved a letter on this subject, written in 1223, to the archbishop of Roan, by the bishop of Porto, the Pope's legate, who complains of Bartholomew creating bishops and organizing churches near Toulouse. "For Bartholomew," says he, "sprung from Carcassonne, bishop of the heretics, vicar of that antipope, by exhibiting to him an unhappy reverence, yielded seat and place in the village which is called Perlos, and removed himself into the country near Toulouse. In the tenor of his letter everywhere circulated, in the first address of salutation, this Bartholomew styles himself in this manner,—'Bartholomew, servant of the servants of the holy faith, health to such a one.' Among other enormities, this man also created bishops, and perfidiously inspected the order of the churches."‡ The fact seems to have been, that the Paulicians now for the first time began to spread in Bulgaria,

* Perrin, ib. † De Sismondi, ib. ‡ Allix, Alb. pp. 211, 212. See Preface to Reinerus Sacco, chap. iii.

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and that the churches of the Sclavonian language, from whom sprung Huss and Jerom, nearly two centuries later, had afforded an asylum for the persecuted Albigenses. "But it is not probable," says Sismondi, "that the sectaries had given themselves the same organization as the church of Rome, which they opposed. The papists could conceive of no church without a Pope." They do not tell us the name of the Bulgarian Pope, nor who was his successor.* We shall have again to recur to Bartholomew of Carcassonne.

The council of Sens could not induce Philip of France to take the field against the Albigenses. The towns had been formerly walled, but Philip, during his forty-four year's reign, had also walled and ornamented the villages, and had purchased the property. It was necessary to pull down and rebuild the walls. France had increased in population and revenue. Philip died at Mantes, on the 14th July 1223, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign. To obtain pardon for his robberies and other sins, he, by his will, left to his executors—to a bishop and brother Aymond, treasurer to the temple, and to Barthelemy de Roye, 25,000 marks of silver, then equal to 50,000 livres, and at this day, to 1,200,000, to make restitution where he had done injustice. To the king of Jerusalem, the hospitalers and templars, 50,000 marks of silver each, to maintain one hundred additional knights of the holy sepulchre. To Amaury, 20,000 marks of silver, to extirpate the Albigenses. To the abbey of St Denys, his crowns and jewels. To the abbey of St Victor, 2000 livres, and 240 annually, to maintain twenty priests. To the poor of Paris, 21,000. To Iscomburge, his wife, 10,000. To his natural son, Philip, 10,000. On the accession of Louis VIII. Amaury proposed to him to accept the newly conquered places. This Louis declined, but paid to Amaury 10,000 of the merks in Philip's will. When Amaury arrived at Carcassonne, he found it attacked by the counts of Toulouse and of Foix, and by Trencavel, sixteen years of age, the young viscount of Beziers and Carcassonne. They raised the siege, but when Amaury's money was expended, his mercenary soldiers deserted, and he signed a con-

* De Sismondi, ib.

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vention with the counts on the 14th January 1224. On the 15th of January, he set off for the North of France, and with him his knights left the South, where his house had reigned fourteen years.

The young Trencavel still under Foix, took possession of the viscountships of Carcassonne, Beziers, Rasez, and Alby. The archbishop of Narbonne, and the bishops of Nismes, of Usez, of Beziers, and of Agde, retired to Montpellier, and about the 23rd January, wrote to Louis VIII. not to confirm the peace, but to use his power to dispossess the unclean spirit. In February, Amaury ceded to Louis his right over the conquered provinces by the Pope, and by the councils of Vaur, Montpellier, and the Lateran. In recompence for this cession, Louis engaged to create Amaury constable of France. Louis wrote to the Pope offering to conduct a new crusade against the Albigenses, provided the Pope would grant him the same privileges as those which were conferred on such as went in crusades to the Holy Land, and would forever deprive the counts and their supporters of any right in their possessions. The Pope was much inclined to this proposal, but the voice of Christendom was against him, as if this had been already unfair; and he recommended to Louis to join the crusades to the East, since he believed the counts would now of themselves extirpate heresy by the inquisition. Louis, however, determined to march to the South. Raymond VII. was supported at Rome by the ambassador of the king of England, was liberal to the Pope, and at Pentecost went to Montpellier to consult with Arnold, archbishop of Narbonne, who had done so much evil to his father. He engaged to conform to the church, to grant Montfort honourable conditions, to extirpate heretics, and to surrender to the church such of his domains as had been given her by his enemies. Arnold was jealous, and got the matter adjourned till the 21st of August, when he would obtain notice from Rome.

Hostilities recommenced between France and England, on the 15th of May 1224, though the Pope had tried to prevent them, that Louis might be able to go to the Holy Land. Henry III. of England, however, was with difficulty able to keep down his own subjects, and could not send soldiers to France. Consequently Louis had some success against the

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English in France, and Frederick II. by his son Henry, joined Louis against England.

The Pope, seeing Frederick II. in no great haste to proceed to the East, had changed his mind. Amaury, by persuasion of the pontiff or the king of France, sent no one to Montpellier on the 21st of August, as agreed on in the spring, to accept of the proposals of Raymond VII. who thought the absence of his ambassador no hindrance, and on the 29th of August signed anew his promises to Arnold, and bound himself by oath to observe them. Arnold enjoined Raymond to send these papers to Rome. Raymond's ambassadors arrived at Rome in October 1224, and remained there, supported even by the English ambassador till 1226, and yet nothing was granted them.*

In the beginning of 1225, the Pope sent cardinal Romano de St Angelo, to negociate with Louis against the Albigenses, and agreed to defer Frederick II's. crusade to the Holy Land till 1227, expecting that during two years he should be able to extirpate the heretics. Raymond refused no submission, and agreed to abandon the heretics. The cardinal Romano de St Angelo, published an ambiguous bull against Raymond, yet invited him to a council of the church of France, to be held at Bourges, 29th November 1225.†

This year the Pope had given orders to the bishops of Modena, of Brescia, and of Rimini in Italy, to inquire after the dispersed Albigenses, and to pull down their houses. They were called *Paterines*. The contrast between their mode of life and that of the priests, was apparent to all. De Sismondi thinks "they did not profess to separate from the church, but only desired liberty to effect their salvation, as different orders of monks had done by a greater austerity." But with all deference to the celebrated historian, it surely cannot be maintained that the Albigenses belonged to the church of Rome, nor asserted that the Paterines, whose name it seems was transferred to the dispersed Albigenses, were of that society. At century xi. chap. iii.‡ reasons are given why we think Paterines a name given to those who separated from

* De Sismondi, pp. 160—174. † Ib. pp. 174—176.
‡ See pp. 198, 199 of this vol.

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the church of Rome, rather than to any party of Roman Catholics.

The war with England prevented Louis from proceeding against the Albigenses in the manner he intended. Henry III. of England sent Richard his brother, with two counsellors and only sixty knights, to Bourdeaux in Gascogne, where they caused submissions to England, and besieged Reolle. Neither the French nor the English had many forces at this contest. By the Pope and his legate, the parties were induced to renew a long truce. On the 29th of September, Arnold abbot of Citeaux and archbishop of Narbonne, died, regretted by Raymond, who was now in friendship also with the king of England, though this alliance was secret. According to invitation, Raymond on the 29th November, proceeded to the council of Bourges, at which were present six archbishops, 113 bishops, and 150 abbots. The king of France and his court assisted. Raymond and Amaury stated their respective claims to the possession of certain places. Amaury pleaded the gift of the Pope and the council of the lateran. Raymond urged his paternal right, offered reconciliation, and proposed to extirpate the heretics. But the legate and council decided for Amaury, Louis VIII. was appointed to proceed with a new crusade, and the king of England was enjoined not to interfere with France for five years.

Before proceeding to the war, Louis by will divided his dominions among his four sons, and not to the church.* He also appointed his queen, in case of her surviving him, to be tutrix or guardian of his son, and regent of the realm.† On the 28th January 1226, Louis assembled a parliament at Paris, consisting of seventeen spirituals and twenty-seven temporals, whose acts are come down separate, though Sismondi thinks it probable that they voted in common. The king was advised to proceed against the Albigenses. On the 30th January, he and all his barons took the cross, and the legate excommunicated Raymond and his associates. Amaury ceded to the king all his dominions in Albigeois, in exchange for the post of constable of France. The legate granted him

* De Sismonde, pp. 180—185. † Perrin, ib. chap. v.

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100,000 livres annually, and sent missionaries to absolve all who would join Louis at Bourges. He assembled another parliament at Paris on the 29th of March, to plan the crusade on which they had resolved. The king of Aragon, and Edward the king of England, with all the counts except the count of Foix, for fear of the Pope, resolved to help Raymond, who learned that Louis was advancing with 50,000 horsemen, besides knights, squires, and sergeants at arms.* On the 28th of May, Louis arrived at Lyons. Former experience of the crusades filled the people with great terror, and many deputations from Raymond's states and cities promised submission to Louis. Avignon, Arles, Marseilles, and Nice, belonging to the kingdom of Arles under the king of Naples and Sicily, were nominally part of the empire, but in fact republics like those of the cities of Lombardy. *Avignon*, which followed the confession and the side of the Albigenses, had long submitted to Raymond, and, since the council of the Lateran, had been subjected to excommunication from love to him. The people were willing to allow Louis to pass over the Rhone at their city, but would not admit his ill disciplined army. Raymond granted new privileges to his people of Toulouse, and new fiefs to Roger Bemond, count Foix, and prevailed on the city of Avignon to destroy all the grain they could not take into the city, and to break up the meadows, that no forage might be found by the crusaders.

The people of Avignon wished Louis to cross the Rhone without the walls at Villeneuve, then called St André. On the one side is a stone bridge from the bank to an island, and on the other side of the island is a wooden frame, which reaches from the island to the opposite bank. But Louis wished himself, his nobles, and his whole army, to pass along the stone bridge, that led through the middle of the city. This however was nobly refused by the citizens. On the 6th of June 1226, he arrived before Avignon. On the 9th, the legate published a decree against the people as heretics, and on the 10th of June, Louis commenced the siege. Avignon was surrounded with double walls, and well provided with

* De Sismondi, pp. 185—190.

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warlike stores, machines and arms. The people relied on the goodness of their cause, and looked for the protection of the emperor Frederick II. to whom Louis wrote to justify himself. Of the defenders, Matthew Paris, page 280, says, "They returned stones for stones, arrows for arrows, beams for beams, spears for spears. They invented machines to destroy the effect of those of the besiegers, and they inflicted mortal wounds on the French." The siege lasted three months: we know not the particular battles, but they were destructive to the besiegers. The two leading men in Avignon, William Raymond and Raymond de Rial, who took also the title of bailiffs or representatives of the count of Toulouse, acted a part worthy of the trust reposed in them. The fall of the wooden bridge with a multitude of the crusaders on it, drowned many of them. Great numbers were slain in the assaults, but still more by disease and famine. Louis's foraging parties were obliged to go to a great distance, and for the most part fell into the hands of Raymond, who avoided battle. The carcasses of the dead horses produced dreadful stench and disease among the men. Large flies nourished by the flesh of the horses, attacked the men, and communicated disease by the contagion of their stings. Guy, count of St Paul and bishop of Limoges, and two hundred knights bannerets, died of a destructive fever. Matthew Paris says the crusaders at this siege lost in all 20,000 men.

While some besieged Avignon, others of the crusaders, knowing the terror they inspired, received the submission of neighbouring lords, cities and castles. On the 5th of June 1226, *Nismes* submitted to Louis; and soon after, *Puilaurens* and *Castres* followed the example. On the 16th of June, Carcassonne and Alby sent their deputies to deliver the keys. Thibaud IV. the posthumous count of Champagne, and many of the vassals of Louis, withdrew from his army after the forty days service, as they wished to save Raymond from utter ruin, and to prevent Louis from being absolute over all France. On the 12th of September, the people of Avignon agreed to admit the legate and high lords of the army within the walls. But these being allowed admittance, took possession of the gates, and the rest entered, though contrary to the articles of capitulation. Fear of Frederick prevented the ge-

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neral slaughter of the excommunicated people: they only required 300 hostages for the submission of the city, imposed a warlike contribution, and killed the French and Flemings found in the city. In fifteen days, an inundation of the Durance overflowed the place where the French soldiers were encamped, so that they were in danger of being swept away. Louis appointed a French seneschal over Beaucaire and Nismes. Having arrived within four leagues of Toulouse, he was magnificently feasted by Fouquet, bishop of that place. Louis appointed a steward in Carcassonne. Limoux, the capital of Razez, he removed from a hill to build it on a plain. In October, *Pamiers* submitted. Louis and his army had no opportunity to display any act of valour. They found only one heretic at Cannes, in the diocese of Narbonne, whose name was PETER ISARN, an ancient Albigensian preacher, who being too old to quit the country, had concealed himself. He was condemned by Amelius, the archbishop of Narbonne, and was burnt with great ceremony. Louis then returned toward Auvergne, in his way north, and on the 29th October arrived at Montpensier in Auvergne. The malady of Avignon was still in the army, and Louis himself was seized with it. On the 3rd November he called his greatest ecclesiastical and civil attendants, and made them promise by oath, submission to his oldest son Louis, afterwards St Louis, then twelve years of age, whom he committed to his wife Blanche of Castille,—he expired on the 8th November 1226.* Du Thou† remarks, that "Louis VIII. made war on the people of Avignon, because they had received the Albigenses, and having conquered them, levelled the walls with the ground, and overturned above 300 houses of the citizens, intending to proceed against the Albigenses themselves, unless he had been cut off by a sudden death." Another historian‡ observes, that Louis "stretched out his hand to expel the Albigenses from his kingdom, unless God again, as shewing himself from a machine, had put an end to the sad tragedy,—his army having been destroyed and dispersed by the plague, and in like manner the king himself in his retirement to Montpensier,

* De Sismondi, pp. 190—201. † Du Thou, lib. vi. p. 119. B.
‡ Boxhorn, p. 714.

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having been removed from among men while he had not yet reigned three years."

In the beginning of January 1227, the inhabitants of Avignon sought to be reconciled to the church, and the legate Romano de St Angelo, prohibited them from helping Raymond. He demanded 1000 merks of silver to the church, and 6000 to the crusaders. He required them to demolish the walls and towers. In this way they might expect the excommunication to be removed, while the money they were to pay, would repair the castle of St André, on the other side of the Rhone. In lent, 1227, Peter, archbishop of Narbonne, held an episcopal council to persecute Jews and heretics. It was agreed that no testament should be valid, unless subscribed in presence of the curate in each parish, and of synodical witnesses, with an engagement to help the inquisitor.*

Raymond had promised to Louis VIII. to seek absolution from the Pope as the condition of restoration to his lands, but by the death of the king he saw France in the hands of Louis IX. a boy, and of his mother as regent. He thought this a favourable juncture to recover by force those domains he had agreed to quit. The Albigenses were by these circumstances encouraged to succour him; but they were all deceived in their expectation, because the queen was a most able politician. Besides, Imbert de Beaujeu maintained the authority of the king in Languedoc, and took arms to oppose Raymond and the Albigenses.† Raymond attacked Imbert or Humbert, but was able only to take the castle of Hauti-Rive, four leagues from Toulouse. By influence of the Pope and of his legate, the queen Blanche sent succours to Humbert, by help of which he besieged and recovered the castle of Becede or Bontique, in Lauraguais near Toulouse. It had been a great hindrance to Humbert in his progress. The garrison either escaped or were put to death. Fouquet, who was at the siege, saved the lives of some women and children; he also rescued from the soldiers, GIRARD DE LA MOTI, pastor of the heretics of Becede, and all his flock, but it was only that they might perish in the flames.‡ "All the Albigen-

* De Sismondi, p. 205—210. † Perrin, ib. chap. v.
‡ De Sismondi, ib. and Perrin, ib. The two historians seem to relate the

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ces," says Perrin,* "found in the castle, were put to death; and a certain deacon, with others that would not abjure their religion at the command of the said Imbert, and Amelin the Pope's legate, with the advice of Guyon, bishop of Carcassonne, were burnt alive in the year 1227, suffering death with admirable constancy." If enthusiasm had now abated, indifference had followed both in regard to the crusading, and in regard to the sufferings of the alleged heretics. Those who sought the reformation of morals, were called in contempt *Bulgarians*.†

The more the persecution increased, the Albigenses multiplied. Humbert went to the court, and stated, that without new succours he could no longer defend against Raymond and the Albigenses, the places lately annexed to France.‡ In the commencement of 1228, while Humbert was absent, the royal party discouraged, and most of the crusaders in the Holy Land, Raymond took the field. He took Verseilles, and killed Guy de Montfort, brother of Simon. He then took the castle of Sarrazin, one of the strongest places which Humbert held. In the neighbourhood, he exercised much retaliation of cruelty on the troops of Humbert.§

In the spring of this year, 1228, Humbert came from France accompanied with a great crusading army raised chiefly by the clergy, in which were the archbishops of Bourges, of Auch and of Bourdeaux, each with the pilgrims of his jurisdiction. Fouquet still continued with the crusaders. Count Raymond retired to Toulouse where he was shut up by Humbert, and for three months the adjacent country was spoiled of corn, vines, and trees. The harvest was destroyed, and all this was by the diabolical suggestion of Fouquet. On the 21st of November, Olivier and Bernard de Termes, submitted to the archbishop of Narbonne, and Marshall de Levi, in name of the king. Matters being thus brought to extremities, Amelin, cardinal of St Angelo, the Pope's legate, sent Elias Garin, abbot of Grandselve, on the 10th of December,

same event, though the former calls the place the castle of Becede in Lauraguais, and the latter calls it the castle of Bontigue, near Toulouse.

* Ib. † De Sismondi, ib. ‡ Perrin, ib.

§ Perrin ib. De Sismondi, p. 211.

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to offer peace to count Raymond and the Toulousians. The proposal was received with joy by those who wished for peace and abundance, instead of war and famine. The more sagacious, however, foresaw that as soon as Amelin should have Raymond in his power, he would employ him to persecute the Albigenses, and to rekindle the fires of the inquisition, to destroy both body and soul. The remonstrances of such men however, were vain, because the people were impatient to be freed from starvation, and some persuaded Raymond, that though he had contended against Amaury de Montfort, it was vain to oppose the king of France. In short Raymond agreed to a truce for some days, and engaged to appear at Vasieges at a certain time to complete the peace. The abbot, however, pleaded that it would be better, and would save time for Raymond to proceed at once to France to make arrangements with the young king and his regent mother. Raymond consented to meet the queen in any place she should appoint, which was Meaux. Raymond was no sooner arrived in that place, than he saw his error in believing a priest, and found that the papists still held the maxim, that "faith is not to be kept with heretics." The legate called a provincial council at Sens, and another at Senlis, to prepare the articles regarding peace with the Albigenses. Amelin then proceeded to Meaux, to the queen, count Raymond VII. the deputies from Toulouse, and the archbishop of Narbonne. There was no longer any communication with Raymond, as one with whom his foes were to treat on equal terms. Nothing but submission to what should be enjoined on him was mentioned. He had no freedom of speech, but was carefully guarded lest he should flee to the Albigenses. The historian of Languedoc, though an enemy to the Albigenses, yet on this occasion commisserates the condition of his lord:—"It was a lamentable thing," says he, "to see so brave a man who was so long able to resist so many people, to come barefooted, in his shirt and drawers to the altar, in the presence of two cardinals of the church of Rome, the one legate in France, and the other legate in England. But this was not all the ignominious penance inflicted on him." For he further observes, that "there were so many conditions of that treaty of peace, any one of which had been sufficient for his

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ransom, if the king of France had taken him in the field fighting against him."* The unhappy treaty of agreement which Raymond granted the legate and the queen of France, we gather from the historical writings of Perrin, Boxhorn, and Sismondi.† Boxhorn dates the treaty in April 1228, the third year of Louis' reign, which, however, did not commence till September 1228. Raymond was not in the power of his enemies till December 1228. The true time is April 1229.

The subjects of Raymond were much perplexed at the mournful terms to which he had agreed. They saw him bound to seek their extermination, and had the prospect of cruel enemies for their masters. He was obliged to sign a

* Perrin, ib. De Sismondi, pp. 212—215.

† The humiliating articles of peace between count Raymond VII. of Toulouse on one side, and the Pope's legate, Amelin, cardinal of St Angelo, with the Queen mother, Louis IX. on the other, were to this purpose. The count, in his shirt, bareheaded, barefooted, and with a torch in his hand, is to ask pardon of all that he has done against the church, with a promise to banish all heretics. During life, he is to pay annually three marks of silver to the church. (A mark is worth thirteen shillings and fourpence, sterling.) To give 6000 marks to repair cities, castles and houses injured during the wars. To repair monasteries and support monks at Cisteaux, Clairvaux and Grandselve, 3500 marks. To the church of Belle Perch, 300 marks. To repair the castle of Narbonnes, 6000 marks, and the legate to keep the place ten years. To give 4000 marks for ten years to professors at Toulouse, that is, to four masters in divinity, two doctors of canon law, two masters of arts, and two grammarians. When released from prison, he is to take the cross and proceed on the crusades against the Turks and Saracens, and to reside five years in Rhodes, but from this he was released. He is to proclaim war against the count of Foix and his allies, making no peace with them but by the legate's permission, and presenting two marks to every one who shall arrest a heretic. He is to demolish all the walls, towers and fortresses of Toulouse. He is to pull down thirty-five cities or castles, eighteen of which are specified, and the rest to be named by the legate. He is to cause all his relations raze their castles. He is to recover by war Penne d' Agenes, and if not able in two years to conquer it, he is to seek help of the knights templars, and the king of France; and this place with the castle of Narbonnes, with the other places shall be delivered to the legate. The walls of the city to be beaten down, and the ditches filled up opposite the castle. He was also to confer on the dukedom of Narbonne, Beziers, Agde, Maguelonne, Usez, and Viviers, with all his possessions in Velay, Gevaudan, the lordship of Lodives, the fief of the marshall of Levis in Touloussain, and the half of Albigeois. These conditions he performed before his release from prison, and the legate gave him his absolution in writing. All this was most afflictive for the count, and to the poor Albigenses portended "mourning, and lamentation, and wo."—Perrin, Alb. book ii. chap. vi. Boxhorn's Univ. Hist. pp. 720—728. Sismondi, pp. 216—219.

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statute to cause all who professed the faith of the Albigenses, pay a silver mark a-head, to enable him to pay the sums he owed to the convents. All who should refuse the mark would be singled out for persecution. Such as should persevere in their religion, should be put to death, their goods confiscated, and their wills rendered null, in regard to their children and relations. Their houses were to be levelled and demolished. Such as conceal those who deserve to be apprehended, or refuse their aid, houses and farms, are to suffer corporeal punishment, and have their goods confiscated. Those who are suspected of heresy, shall take oaths to live in obedienc to the catholic faith, and abjure heresy, and on refusing to do so, they shall be punished as heretics. When it is proved before the bishops that any one has died a heretic, his goods shall be confiscated, and his house razed. These articles they caused Raymond subscribe, and thus sought to destroy by degrees when divided, those they could not overthrow when united. *

On the 12th of April 1229, Raymond VII. went barefooted, and with naked shoulders, to the church of Notre Dame (our lady) at Paris. After the Pope's legate, Romano de St Angelo, had administered discipline with his own hands on his naked shoulders, he led him to the grand altar, and absolved him. He was consigned to prison for six weeks, his daughter delivered to the king's commissioner, and the wall of his capital thrown down.†

This year a council was called at Toulouse, at which the archbishops of Narbonnes, Bourdeaux, and Auch, and divers bishops and prelates were present.‡ This council fully established and organized the inquisition, not only under the Dominicans, but subservient to the episcopal power. The bishops were to depute a priest, and two or three laics solemnly sworn in each province to search out heretics. They were to search all houses, out-houses, and subterraneous chambers. The heretics being found, were to be denounced to the archbishops, bishops, the lord or his bailiffs, that they may be punished.§ Among other articles, the following was

* Perrin, ib. chap. vii. † De Sismondi, p. 230. ‡ Perrin, ib.
§ De Sismondi, pp. 119, 120.

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enacted:—"We forbid the permission of the books of the Old and New Testaments to all lay-people, except, perhaps, they will have the psalter or some breviary for the divine service, or the prayer-book of the blessed Virgin Mary for devotion. Most expressly forbidding them to have the said books translated into the vulgar tongue. We command, that whosoever shall be accused of heresy, or noted with suspicion, shall be deprived of the assistance of a physician. Likewise, when a sick person shall have received the holy communion of his priest, it is our will that he be watched with the greatest care to the day of his death or convalescence, that no heretic, or one suspected of heresy, may have access to him." *

About the same time, Pope Gregory IX. made constitutions against the Albigenses, especially to silence their pastors who discredited the human inventions of Rome. Gregory ordained, "that all and every one of the lay-people, of whatsoever quality or office, shall be interdicted from preaching." Louis IX. of France, and the emperor Frederick issued statutes similar to the above, all proceeding from the same source, and need not be here repeated. Kings and emperors, princes and potentates, are all enjoined to prosecute such as oppose the Pope. Refusers are to have the laws executed against themselves. Even after the treaty, Raymond remained prisoner till the payment of the sums mentioned in it. In the meantime, Peter de Colmieu, vice-legate, proceeded to Toulouse to bring the city under the king, to raze the walls, and to beat down the towers. To the queen-mother he brought Joan, the only daughter of count Raymond, then nine years of age, with a view of being educated with the queen, till she should be of sufficient years to be married with Alphonso, the brother of Louis. The subjects of Raymond were much affected with the removal of the young princess, anticipating in this change of domination, a violation of the peace just concluded, an event which ultimately occurred.† On the 3rd of June, Raymond was knighted by Louis, and returned to his dominions.

Like the inquisition, the university of Toulouse was founded during this persecution of the Albigenses. It was de-

* The seventh article of the council of Toulouse, by Labbeius, in Perrin, ib. and De Sismondi, pp. 226, 227. † Perrin, ib.

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signed to support teachers of the Romish faith, and the count was bound to maintain the professors for ten years. One class was established for literature, and another for civil law. Thus a foundation was laid for science, notwithstanding the jealousy of the papal church.*

The Waldenses of Provence, inhabiting Cabrieres, Merindol, La Coste, and adjacent places, have been viewed as the descended from those of Dauphiny and Piemont. In the age of Perrin, this appeared by families of the same name, as in these places, and at that period many of them could prove their genealogy by lineal descent. The Valleys having long enjoyed repose, were overburdened with inhabitants, and numbers of them emigrated to Provence. When they arrived there, the country was a desert, yet in a few years, by their industry, it yielded abundance of corn, wine and oil; of olives, chesnuts, and other produce. We do not possess particular information regarding their first persecutions, but it is certain that in 1228, the havoc among them was great, and the inquisitors found difficulty in executing their plans. In that year the archbishops of Aix, Arles, and Narbonne, assembled at Avignon, to give advice concerning the Waldenses, and in great agitation informed the inquisitors, that they had apprehended so many, as to cause not only a want of victual to feed them, but a deficiency of stone and lime to erect prisons. These Waldenses of Provence, residing in the immediate neighbourhood of the Pope's palace at Avignon, were severely persecuted, though the knowledge of the circumstances seem to be lost. From this place, those Vaudois proceeded who entered Calabria in 1370.†

* De Sismondi, pp. 229—231.

† Perrin, book ii. chap. viii. Leger, part ii. p. 6, near the bottom.

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CHAPTER V.

Raymond employed to induce the other Counts to submit, and is successful in regard to the Counts of Foix and Comminges, and the Prince of Bearn—Albigenses obliged to conceal themselves—Alleged errors of the Albigenses—Trancavel, a natural son of the Viscount of Beziers, defends the Albigenses—Republican spirit in the South of France—Trancavel's progress—Takes Carcassonne—Raymond VII. and his associates declare war against France—Peace restored—Trancavel induced to cease contending, and the Albigenses severely treated by the Inquisitors, though torture is not yet introduced in the examinations—Death of Raymond VII. who is succeeded by Alphonso, a Papist—Though sadly persecuted, a seed of the Albigenses remained.

THE legate Colmieu having reduced count Raymond to obedience, began to devise plans for subduing the counts of Foix and Comminges, and the prince of Bearn. He resolved to attempt this by crafty schemes, rather than by compulsion, and employed count Raymond to write the count of Foix to follow Raymond's example or perish, to view him as wishing from ancient friendship to promote his advantage, to think of the power of his enemy, the king of France, and to consider that he shall be henceforward freed from doing homage to count Raymond if he submit to the Pope. The legate likewise entreated Raymond to procure similar compliance from the count of Comminges, and the prince of Bearn. The count of Foix replied, that he could not forsake his belief, either from fear, from allurements, or from violence; that he would look with fortitude on that world of pilgrims with which he was threatened; and that he trusted God would shew the justice of his cause, and cause them to see the rashness of their vow. The legate and Raymond were dissatisfied with this answer, and Raymond, by the legate's direction, wrote to the chief men in the dominions of Roger, count of Foix, pointing out the excellent opportunity offered their lord to restore tranquillity, provided he were not unnecessarily obstinate, and calling them to reflect on the misery that would be extended among the subjects of Roger, if he persisted in his present resolu-

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tions. The inhabitants of the count's provinces fearing his advanced age, and the horrors of war, obtained from him by solicitations, what Raymond could not procure by threats, petitions or promises, and he agreed to treat for peace with the Pope's legate. The Pope having been advertised of this fact, joined another legate, the cardinal of St Ange, to Colmieu, with the archbishops of Narbonnes, and of Folœ, William de Torration, the bishop of Couserans, Bernard of La Grace, Peter of Bolbonne, John, abbot of Comelonge, William, abbot of Foix, Peter of Thalames, the legate's lieutenant, Lambert of La Tour, and others. These met with the count of Foix, and the prime nobility of the country at St John de Berges, in the countship of Foix. The legate informed Roger, the count, that the Pope was most happy to hear of the proposals for peace, that he was sent to perfect it, and that he only now wished to know his terms of accommodation, and his oath of fidelity to the church.

Count Roger replied that he was not accustomed to rhetoric, but to the sword and spear; that he is under obligation to the count of Toulouse for inducing his enemies to hear his reasons for taking arms, and for advising him not to oppose his foes by force, as the king of France would govern by justice; that he was ever resolved to maintain his liberty, and owed only one homage to Toulouse, for making Foix a countship, which owned no other lord but himself; that he had always obeyed the Pope as a prince who had no right to interfere with his religion; that from his father he had learned liberty in religion, and thus could wait with composure the dissolution of the heavens; that he was ready to serve the king in the way of being free of the homage to Toulouse, provided he were allowed to continue sovereign of his own dominions; that he yielded not from fear, but from a desire to promote the good of his subjects, and to prevent war in France; and that as a pledge of his affection, he delivered to them his castles of Foix, Montgaillard, Montreal, Vicdesos and Lordat, till he should make the required submission. After this obedience of the counts of Toulouse and Foix, it was impossible for the count of Comminges and the prince of Bearn to persist in resistance, for they were weak both in

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military forces and in money. Thus the cause of the Albigenses was reduced very low.*

On the 25th December 1231, Fouquet, bishop of Toulouse died, after having been bishop for twenty-eight years. This was an event happy for Raymond. Trancavel, heir of the Viscounties of Beziers and Carcassonne, could obtain no mercy; he therefore retired to the king of Aragon. The conquered provinces now belonged either to France or to the church, which committed the care of most of them to Blanche the queen mother of Louis IX. France now possessed for the first time the shore of the Mediterranean, and that to the extent of thirty leagues. By the royal authority, by the priests, and by the proprietors of the soil, the people were oppressed. The Albigensian religionists were obliged to remain secret in the houses of the humblest peasants, where they taught their hosts to read the gospel, to praise God, and to pray in their native tongue without priests.†

Gregory IX. wrote to the archbishop of Bourges and the bishop of Auxerre, to burn all heretics at La Charité upon the Loire. The Pope did not see that his persecution of the Albigenses in their own country sent them abroad, but promised Raymond VII. the restoration of the Marquisite of Provence, provided he would continue to persecute. Of the Albigensian refugees who went to Italy, Germany, and other places, we shall treat when we come to these countries. In 1232, Raymond joined the bishop of Toulouse. They surprised nineteen relapsed men and women in a house, and burned them; yet Raymond displeased the priests, because they thought he did not persecute in earnest. Gregory however recommended him to the bishop of Tournay, his legate in the province. The Albigenses who had fled to Gascony under the king of England being in castles, were mostly independent of government. Gregory wrote to the knights of St James of Galicia to exterminate them, and to the archbishops of Auch and of Bourdeaux to help.‡

In April 1233, Gregory confided to the Dominicans alone the exercise of the inquisition, that bishops might not be in-

* Perrin, ib. chap. viii. † De Sismondi, pp. 231—235.
‡ Ibid. pp. 237, 238.

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terrupted in their pastoral duties. The provinces of Bourges, Bourdeaux, Narbonne, Auch, Vienne, Arles, Aix and Embrun, comprehending all the provinces where the Provençal language was spoken, were particularly entrusted to the Dominicans. Gregory wrote to Louis IX. to join in the extirpation of heresy, and to the counts of Toulouse and Foix recommending the Dominicans to their protection. The bishop of Tournay being the legate, appointed two Dominicans to Toulouse, and two to each city of the province, to form a tribunal of the faith. The bishop of Tournay details the errors of heretics, as not believing the efficacy of indulgences, transubstantiation, the validity of absolution, nor the inability of the laity to perform the mysteries, that is, to dispense the sacraments of religion. The Romanists viewed the Albigensian pastors as mere laymen, and the tenets here ascribed to them are just the principles of Protestants at the present day. The bishop added many other articles to render them ridiculous, and represented to Louis, that Raymond did not zealously observe the treaty of Paris. The latter was called before Louis in the Autumn of 1233, at Melun, and signed an agreement to be active in the extirpation, and the articles were published on the 18th of February 1234; yet these severeties did not exterminate heresy.*

During the time that the counts of Toulouse, of Foix, and of Comminges defended the Albigenses, there was one *Trancavel*, a natural son of the viscount of Beziers, who was content to act the part of a private soldier, but about the year 1234 he began to take arms, and to crave the assistance of the Albigenses to revenge the death of his deceased father. Both Trancavel and the Albigenses looked with indignation on the viscount, as having been unjustly deprived of his lands, as betrayed, imprisoned, and poisoned. Matthew Paris relates, that this year the Albigensian war was renewed, and that an army of the cross destroyed above 100,000 of the Albigenses, with all their bishops, who were in the battle. But Matthew Paris is doubtless misinformed, for the historian of Languedoc, a mortal enemy to the Albigenses, makes no mention of the occurrence, and it is not likely he would have overlooked

* De Sismondi, pp. 242—246.

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it, had it really happened.* In a few years, however, the plans of Trancavel were matured, and he took the field. In 1235, Gregory addressed letters to all the bishops in Italy, stating that the Paterines had made fresh progress; and the council of Narbonne declared that heresy had broken out afresh. No man's wife, weakness or absence, should exempt him from suffering. Witnesses against the heretics were to be concealed, and though their statements were only inferences, they were to be admitted. He that denies a fault is a heretic; and favour is to be shown to informers. The Toulousians were disgusted with digging up and burning dead bodies, and on the 5th November 1235, William Arnold, refusing the power of the magistrate, left the city, and on the 6th November, forty Jacobin monks of the convent of St Dominic, all quitted the place. On the 10th November, the citizens and Raymond, with the emperor Frederic II. at Alsace, were all excommunicated, but in the end of the following year, he obtained absolution. In the cities of France and Italy, however, there was a principle of liberty, though it was not easy to account for the multiplication of cities in certain districts. The vassal cities of Louis in France seem to have acted almost independently of him, in regard to internal policy. Gregory and Frederic were jealous of each other, and each excited popular discontents in the cities of the other. Raymond Berenger, count of Provence, aided by Frederic, brought under him the republic of Arles, but Avignon and Marseilles resisted him, and gave their prerogatives to Raymond VII. of Toulouse. A republican spirit prevailed in the South of France in most of the cities belonging to Louis. By letter, a part of which De Sismondi dare not recite, Nismes complained to Narbonne of being excommunicated for this spirit by the inquisitors and priests. The questions were such as could not but entangle the simple to get their money, though suspected of no heresy. The cities of the South seemed inclined to unite, and from 1237 to 1241, the inquisition was inactive.†

During this interval, Raymond VII. cultivated friendship with Frederic, and Raymond Berenger, count of Provence,

* Perrin, ib. chap. viii, ix. † De Sismondi, pp. 246—256. The letter is found in the history of the city of Nismes, tom. i. p. 307.

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joined the Romish Church against Frederick, who in December 1239 gave Berenger's countship of Forscalquier to the count of Toulouse; and in January 1240, assembled an army on the Rhone to attack the Provençals. He took the castle of Trinquetaille, and for a long time besieged Arles, but was obliged to desist, after having routed some knights of Carcassonne. After Henry III. of England had written to Frederick in favour of the count of Provence, and peace was about to be established on the Rhone, young Trancavel, son of Raymond Roger, viscount of Beziers, whom Simon de Montfort had caused perish in his prisons, appeared in the country to claim his father's heritage.* When Trancavel took the field, he declared he would revenge the death of his father, and recover by the sword what had been taken from him by injustice. He was aided by Sieur Oliver de Fumes (Termes, Sis.) Bertrand Hugon de Serrelongue, Bernard de Villeneufve, Jordain de Satiat, all brave commanders, who had multitudes of men under their power. Before the enemy were apprised of his design, he had seized the castles of Montreal, Saisac, Montolieu, Loimous, and several other places.

These proceedings sadly alarmed Peter Melin, bishop of Toulouse, and legate. He had imagined the Albigenses to be destroyed, but was obliged again to have recourse to the cheap method of raising an army against them, by preaching pardon of sin to all who would take the cross. The archbishop of Narbonne also stimulated the people of his diocese to join in the destruction of the remaining Albigenses. He and P. Melin the legate, shut themselves up in Carcassonne, and used all their influence to induce the people to renew their oaths, but were by no means successful in their attempt. It is true, that when the priests and their troops presented themselves before Carcassonne, the city received them; but when they approached the borough, the gates were shut against them. Amelin delivered an address to such as presented themselves on the rampart, the purport of which was, that he had come to the place only for their preservation. The inhabitants returned him thanks, but accompanied with this intimation, that if he did not instantly retire, they would

* De Sismondi, pp. 257—260.

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give him the chace. In this they showed both stedfastness and moderation, for they refused to join the Romanists, and at the same time they were humane, because they might have killed him. Prudence also dictated this course, because had they offered violence to him, the pilgrims would have had a pretext for cruelty. At the time of this conference, Trancavel approached the place, and with such bravery and vigour did he attack the pilgrims, that he beat and killed many of them, and pursued the remainder. He drove them up to the gates of Carcassonne, and the legate with difficulty saved himself. But what most of all troubled him was, that the gates of the city and borough were opened to Trancavel and his followers. This was on the 8th or 18th September 1240. Trancavel made the borough of Carcassonne his head-quarters, from which he daily harassed the pilgrims of the city, so that they hardly dared to come forth from the gates. When he heard of the approach of new troops of pilgrims, he lay in ambush for them, and frequently overthrew them before they were able to join the legate.*

At this time there was war between the emperor Frederic II. and Louis IX. The legate James, bishop of Prenestum, engaged Raymond VII. to abandon the emperor before March 1241, and to swear to Louis on the 14th March at Montarcis. Raymond VII. made peace with Raymond Berenger, and on the 18th of April with the king of Aragon.† In 1242, Raymond VII. formed an alliance with the king of Spain, who held fiefs in France, and with the lords who spoke the Provençal tongue, while the French barons and Louis IX. were at war with the English. In April he held an assembly at the foot of the Pyrenees, at which were present Roger, count of Foix; the counts of Armagnac, of Comminges, of Rhodes, and others, who all agreed with Raymond VII. to declare war against France. In the middle of June they entered the provinces which Raymond had ceded to Louis IX. by the treaty of Paris, and soon conquered the greater part of Raser, of Minervois, of Narbonnois, and of Tremenois. Raymond was introduced to Narbonne by the viscount of that city, but the archbishop fled, and on the 21st of July excommunicated him.‡

The kings of Spain at this period were inactive; Louis

* Perrin, ib. chap. ix. De Sismondi, p. 260. † Ib. ‡ Ib. pp. 261—264.

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made progress in lower Poitose; the count of Marche and lords of Aquitaine, deserted Raymond VII.; Henry of England proved false to his engagement of the 28th August at Bordeaux to be his ally; and the count of Foix seeing the cause desperate, deserted him. On the 20th October he wrote to Louis to submit, on condition of getting mercy for himself. The king, moved by this letter, and by Blanche the queen, cousin to the count of Toulouse, sent commissioners who met Raymond at Lauroquais, and on the 22d December agreed to the treaty of Paris. Soon after Raymond met the king at Lorris in Gatinois, and renewed his homage in January 1243. Peace was then restored to those places where the Provençal language was used.*

Trancavel kept the field against the legate and his pilgrims during 1241 and 1242, because the soldiers of the cross did not increase so fast as might have been expected:—the reason was, that when pilgrims were required to proceed against a natural son of the deceased viscount of Beziers, the generality of men believed that the forces levied within the principality would be sufficient to destroy so feeble an enemy. The legate Amelin, however, wrote to the Pope, that if the expedition of the cross was not earnestly preached in many parts of Europe, the church would receive great loss by Trancavel, who had revived the Albigenses, and who was more subtle and more cruel than any of the former supporters of that people. Accordingly Innocent IV. who was elected Pope in 1243, published the expedition through Europe. Trancavel being informed that a great army of French pilgrims was prepared against him, under John of Beaumont, left the borough of Carcassone, and retired to Montreal, where the pilgrims besieged him, who were frequently repulsed by him, and who could not prevent him from taking journies to distant places to collect forces. Amelin therefore had recourse to the count of Foix to propose a treaty of peace, who accomplished his purpose with such success, that Trancavel promised never to bear arms either against the legate or the church of Rome. This is the last attempt the Albigenses ever made to support themselves by arms, and the last crusade of the pilgrims against them. The persecution was after-

* De Sismondi, pp. 264—266.

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wards conducted by the monks inquisitors, who more than ever kindled their fires against them, seized the people unarmed, and destroyed them one by one. If at any time the Albigenses attacked the inquisitors, it was only that they might feel the more dreadful violence of these implacable foes.* John Leger, states, that Aubigny, in his universal history,† gives account of "what became of the dispersion of those that escaped from the massacres," and went to England and other places.

Father Martin and Durand of St Maur, give us the instructions to the inquisitors proceding in the provinces of Carcassonne and Toulouse, before the end of the thirteenth century, and they seem to have proceeded in a similar way in the middle of the century. The accused is sworn on the holy gospels to say all he knows about "the crime of heresy or Waldensianism," in regard to himself or others, living or dead. If he conceals any thing, he is imprisoned. If he confess, he is viewed as speaking truth, and this is written down. When a number have confessed, the inquisitors meet to condemn them; and penance, imprisonment, or delivering to the secular arm is the sentence according to the fault. Such as are delivered to the civil power are to be burnt. Religious discussions, and justification of heretics, are not to be before the people. No favourer of heretics is to be absolved. The inquisitor to have a closed book, which he pretends to contain evidence against the accused. No attempt is to be made to convince heretics by the Scriptures. A number of questions are to be asked at the same time in order to confound the heretic.

The accused may be repeatedly imprisoned, and told there are witnesses against him. No accomplices are to approach him, but good advisers may point out the way to escape the flames. He is to be encouraged to confess his having been deceived by people he thought good, which might happen to the wisest men. He is to be asked, if his teachers deny purgatory or the efficacy of prayers for the dead? They ask him if he believe these doctrines, that the foxes may be taken by craft. The inquisitor may take a fact for granted, and only inquire concerning the circumstances. Heretics are encouraged to accuse their accomplices, and are to be terrified that

* Perrin, ib. † Book ii. chap. xviii. in Leger, part ii. chap. xxv. p. 331.

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they may betray them. Torture was not introduced till half a century later, at which time nothing was public, as all courts had been under the Merovingians, and the first of the Capets.*

In the year 1243, after the count Raymond VII. had paid his pecuniary penalties, and had returned to his subjects, a number in the country complained of the unjust proceedings of the monks' inquisitors, who by their entangling questions, made almost all sorts of people either hereties, or their favourers and kinsfolks. They robbed not only the professed Albigenses, but many others. This complaint was made before count Raymond, in the presence of five inquisitors, namely, William Arnaldi, monk inquisitor, two other Jacobin monks, one Raymond de l'Escrivain, archdeacon of the church of Toulouse, and the prior of Avignonnet de Cluze; in the presence also of four officers of the inquisition, namely, Peter Arnaldi, notary of the inquisition, and three others of Avignonnet, in the diocese of Toulouse. This was 28th May. The inquisitors attempted to frame indictments against their accusers, by impeaching their honour, and terrifying them with threats. On this the accusers lost all patience, and made an attack on the monks' inquisitors and their officers, and killed the whole nine on their knees, repeating *Te Deum*, to wit, the five monks and the four officers, as is related by the historian of Languedoc, an enemy of the Albigenses, who makes it premeditated treason, but it is evident, though we cannot entirely justify the act, that it proceeded from the irritation of human nature against those who were thirsting for the blood. The religious principles of the Albigenses did not warrant such proceedings, if it is not self-defence.

Count Raymond also demonstrated, that he disapproved of this riot, for he diligently searched for the authors of it, yet his enemies always indulged a suspicion of him. The above historian of Languedoc speaks of the rioters taking arms and recommencing a kind of war, but this is not mentioned by any other writer, and is improbable. Innocent IV. about this time visited Lyons, and issued his thunder against them as murderers. He also looked with jealousy on count Raymond, and refused a dispensation for him to marry his cousin Bea-

* De Sismondi, pp. 220—226. Leger, part ii. pp. 5, 6.

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trix, daughter of Berenger, count of Provence. The same writer states, that in 1247, count Raymond went to Rome, and asked leave to bury the bones of his father, but was refused, because Raymond VI. had died excommunicated. By the same authority, we are told that in 1249, Raymond proposed his voyage to Rhodes, but died of a fever at Milan.*

After the death of count Raymond, Alphonso, brother of St Louis, took possession of his lands, goods and revenues. Consequently the Pope and his party ceased to hate the house of the count of Toulouse. Neither was Alphonso, a friend to Rome, required to yield up those places which Raymond had ceded by treaty. In return for the Pope's kindness, Alphonso strengthened the inquisition, as Rainerius shews, who was inquisitor in 1254, and relates the form of procedure which we have stated in various parts, and among others at 1243. Alexander IV. 1254—1261, by letters which Perrin saw, authorized the inquisition. By the constitution of Clement IV. the oppression of the Albigenses was continued in 1264. The persecution was also conducted with all manner of rigour under John XIX. in 1276, as appears by his letters against them, who, though he was Pope only eight months, yet found time for such work. From a record that was written in the time of Pope Martin IV. in 1281, the first year of his pontificate, we see there were a great number who professed the religion of the Albigenses. The document is "to the honour of God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and of the glorious mother of God, who only hath destroyed all heresies. We, William de Gourdon, captain and president of Carcassonne and Beziers, in the name of our most excellent sovereign Philip, by the grace of God, the most serene and illustrious king of France, make known that we strictly order and command all people in the place near the castle of Lombes, in the diocese of Alby, called Montreal, for the promotion and advancement of the catholic faith, and the extirpation of heresy, and for the good and advantage of the lord our king and his subjects. Because the perversity of heretics is so wicked and damnable, that punishment ought not only to be inflicted on

* Perrin, ib. chap. x. De Sismondi, pp. 263, 264, who seems to mistake the date 1242 for 1243, as the time when the inquisitors were killed.

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them, but also on their posterity; we order and command that the children of heretics, who shall not willingly, and of their own accord, renounce and forsake their error, and return to the purity of the catholic faith, and the unity of the church, shall be, in the city of Montreal or the territories thereof, excluded from all places of honour, and from public offices.—Moreover, they who shall believe, conceal, and favour heretics after they have been openly pronounced and declared such by the church, shall be banished for ever from the city of Montreal." Their children are to be deprived of all honours, unless they search for heretics. This is the last public instrument against the Albigenses, the persecution of which people was left for the future in the hands of the inquisitors, who have always proved themselves worthy of the charge.*

The bishop of Meaux admits, that the testimony of the inquisitors against the Waldenses can have no weight, and surely it can be received with as little influence against the Albigenses. The falsity of the accusations of Emericus might be demonstrated, but waving this at present, an extract may be given from the acts of the inquisition of Toulouse, containing the account of the trial of one of the Albigenses, who is not accused of any of the horrid principles ascribed to others. "In the year of our Lord 1283, the 8th of July, William of Maunhaco, formerly the son of William Arloyer of Maunhaco, of the diocese of Puy, *diocesis Aniciensis*, being brought out of the prison of the inquisitors, and set in presence of brother John Vigorosus, of the order of preachers, an inquisitor of heretical pravity. Being required by the said inquisitor to swear upon, *ad*, the holy gospels of God, to declare the truth concerning his faith, he answered that he would not swear. Being asked whether it were lawful for him to swear upon, *super*, the holy gospels of God? he answered, No. Being demanded if Lord Martin, the present Pope of the church of Rome, has the power of binding and loosing? he replied, No. Being interrogated, if the church of Rome, over which the Pope presides, is the head of the faith? he rejoined, That neither the Pope, nor the church over which he presides,

* Perrin, ib. chap. xi.

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is the head of the faith, nor of Christianity; nor does he acknowledge, nor believe any carnal man to be Pope, except Jesus Christ. Being questioned, if the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of churches, ordained by the church of Rome, are true prelates, and if they have the power of binding and loosing? he replied, No. Being examined, if any one is baptized by the baptizer saying, 'I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen;' whether this be of efficacy to the party baptized; and if by such a baptism he obtain the remission of sins? he rejoined, That he does not believe that any carnal man is able to baptize, none except God only.* Being inquired, if the sacrament of confirmation, which the bishop confers when he confirms, be of any avail to the person confirmed? he responded, That it is of no avail whatever to him, neither is it a sacrament, nor is he who confers the sacrament a bishop, nor has he power to do any thing. Being interrogated, if the sacrament of extreme unction be of use to the infirm, when it is ministered to him by a priest? he answered, That he neither believes it is of value to him, nor that it is a sacrament. Being questioned, if the sacrament of orders conferred by a bishop is of any avail, and if it is a sacrament? he answered, That it is of no avail, neither is it a sacrament, nor can the bishop confer any sacrament. Being demanded, if the bread which the priest holds in his hands while he solemnizes sacred things, after the priest has uttered the words of consecration, 'This is my body,' remain bread? he returned answer, That it was formerly bread, and remains bread afterward; and that a great injury is done to God, to assert that the bread is changed into the body of Christ. Being asked, if the words of a priest absolving any one who has made confession of sins to him, by saying, I absolve thee from all thy sins, are of any avail to the party who has confessed? he replied, That neither are they of use to the one who has confessed, nor is this a sacrament. Being examined, If it is lawful in any case to swear upon, *super*, the holy gospels of God? he said, No.

* The question is, if every one thus externally baptized, obtains the remission of sins? The reply properly states, that no mere man can baptize in this sense. "Who can forgive sins but God only?" Neither did he believe baptismal regeneration.

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Being asked, If the present king of France burns or causes any one to be burnt for the crime of heresy, or causes any one to be hanged for any crime, commit sin? he answered, He sins, neither is it lawful for him to execute vengeance nor to do justice.* Likewise, having been asked again, if he is willing to believe the sacraments of the Roman church as we believe, and as the church of Rome preaches and observes? he answered, That he would believe nothing else but what he has said above. These things he deposed at Toulouse, before brother Laurence of Orleans, and the foresaid brother John Vigorosus, the inquisitor, in presence, and by the witness of brother Arnold Del Gras, brother Bernard James, of brother Raymond of Navarre, of the order of friars preachers, and of Julian Vascon, notary-public of Toulouse, who wrote these things."

Through the instrumentality of another person, Dr Allix procured the above document. In the copy from which it is transcribed, the Albigenses said of themselves, that they were of those who did not render evil for evil; that their ministers were good men; that they laid a book, and their hands on the head of a proselyte, asking him if he is willing to surrender himself to God and the gospel, reading especially the gospel of John; and that the young convert thrice bent the knee, and begged a blessing from the minister, who replied, "God bless you." The individual above examined seems to have been an Albigensis of the Waldensian class, for on the whole the answers are agreeable to the faith of the Vaudois. When the acts of the inquisition represent the Albigenses as emitting answers corresponding to their own professions of faith, we are confirmed in the truth. But when the registers of the inquisitors accuse them of errors which they detested, the authority is null. Paradin in his Annals of Burgundy, mentions some historical records which excuse the Albigensian people, princes and lords, of all the crimes charged against them, and state their only offence to have been the honest reproof of the vices and abuses of the prelates of the church of Rome.†

* The last clause of this answer goes too far. The Albigenses and Waldenses asserted the power of the civil magistrate to punish criminals.

† Allix, Alb. pp. 188—193.

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About the year 1288, Philip Augustus of France, having been stimulated by the popish clergy, took arms against the Waldenses of Picardy; razed and overthrew three hundred houses of gentlemen, who adhered to the dissenting faith; and destroyed several walled towns, pursuing the people to Flanders, where he caused a considerable number of them to be consumed by the flames. Multitudes of them, however, in Picardy still escaped—they greatly multiplied, and were never again so cruelly harassed in that part of France till the sixteenth century. *

Though from age to age the Albigenses have been continually persecuted by the inquisition, yet there was still a seed that lay concealed like embers of fire among the ashes, desiring, what their posterity afterwards enjoyed by the Reformation, the liberty of serving God in purity without being forced to idolatry and superstition. They privately instructed their children from generation to generation, and the darkness of antichrist never extinguished the true light. † Notwithstanding the long space of time, the Lord still carried on his work, and in due time the light of the gospel appeared more openly, and the city of Montreal and neighbouring places where the faith of the Albigenses had been formerly professed, joyfully received the doctrine of the gospel. Though we cannot detail the succession of witnesses from father to son, yet these parts were peculiarly blessed with the gospel at the Reformation, while the places which rejected the Albigensian faith were left in darkness. ‡

We are to recollect also, that sadly as the Albigenses in the South of France were reduced and dispersed in this century, yet a considerable number who maintained the same faith, but who are more frequently called Waldenses, publicly persevered in other parts of France in the following centuries till the Reformation, multitudes of whom, as we shall shew, sealed their testimony with their blood.

* Perrin, book i. chap. ii. Leger, part ii. p. 339.

† Oliver Goldsmith, in his Abridgment of the History of England, on the reign of Henry III. speaks of Simon Montford, "the son of the famous general who commanded against the Albigenses, a sect of enthusiasts that had been destroyed sometime before in the kingdom of Savoy." They were enthusiasts in a good sense, but by no means as pretending to new inspirations. They were not destroyed, nor were they in Savoy.

‡ Perrin, chap. xi.

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CHAPTER VI.

Albigenses and Waldenses in England.

In the close of the twelfth century, a colony of Waldenses was mentioned as having settled in England, and Henry Knighton, the canon of Leicester, informs us, that under the reign of king John, which extended from 1199 to 1216, "some Albigensian heretics came into England, of whom some were burned alive, but their doctrine was not wholly extinguished." As this circumstance is not noticed by any earlier writer, some may question Khighton's correctness; but that writer, like most of the monastic historians, had access to materials which are lost to us, and it is certain that the stake, as a punishment for dissenterism, was not in John's reign, unknown in England.* John Bale mentions a certain man that was burnt at London in the year 1210, charged with no other crime than that he professed the religion of the Waldenses.† Yet the murders of the Albigenses do not seem to have been at this time so frequent in England as in France. "In England these people were treated more mildly than at Paris, if the punishment of the loss of life be taken into the account, but more ignominiously: those who were convinced of that thing, being marked with a hot iron on the shoulder, or even on the forehead.‡

During the crusades against the Albigenses in the South of France, their faith became better known in England than it had formerly been. The cause of this, as observed by La Popliniere, was the proximity of the lands and possessions of count Raymond of Toulouse to Guinne, at that time in possession of the English, whose king, John, was also brother-in-law to Raymond. Accordingly the English supported the count in his wars against the unjust violence of the crusaders, and also obtained some knowledge of the religion of the Albigenses, which was none other than that of the Waldenses.§

* Vaughan, Life of Wycliff, vol. i pp. 183, 184. Allix, Alb. p. 228.
† Perrin, Hist. Wald. book ii. chap. xii.
‡ Du Thou, lib. vi. p. 119, A —Francf. 1610. § Perrin, ib.

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In 1214, the primate of the Romish church in England, and others of the clergy, were present at the fourth council of the Lateran, in which the most violent measures were determined on, with a view to the total extirpation of heresy.*

In 1216, John of England died, and the persecution of the Waldenses was continued under his successor, Henry III.† In 1222, the synod of Oxford condemned a clerk to the fire, because, with a view of marrying a Jewess, he had secretly deserted the Roman Catholic faith.‡ Usher,§ on the authority of Matthew Paris, relates, that about 1235, under Henry, the orders of the friars Minorites came into England to suppress the Waldensian heretics.

Though the materials for writing the history of the English Waldenses, in the latter parts of this century are scanty, yet they were evidently still continued, because the Lollards and Wycliffites of the next centuries are mentioned as a continuation of the Waldenses, for Kilianus asserts, that "a Lollard is also called a Waldensian heretic."‖

CHAPTER VII.

Pedro of Aragon crowned by the Pope—Curious toleration of the Waldenses in Spain—Their Spanish name—They extend in Spain—Contents of a treatise by Lucio of Tuy against the Albigenses in Spain—Proceedings of the Inquisitors.

Don Pedro II. king of Aragon had mounted the throne in 1196, and in 1204, went to Rome, and gave his solemn oath that he and his successors should be faithful to the Romish church. He dedicated his dominions to St Peter, and Innocent III. crowned him in the monastery of Pancracio. In the chapel of St Peter, the Pope delivered the sword into the king's hand, who engaged to prosecute heretics, and to pay an annual tribute to the pontiff. The Pope, on the other hand, deputed power to the archbishop of Tarragona in future to crown

* Vaughan, p. 184. † Leger, part ii. p. 332. ‡ Vaughan, ib.
§ D'Anvers, p. 278. ‖ Allix, Alb. p. 228.

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the kings of Aragon at Saragossa. The nobles of Aragon were offended with this submission, and protested, because the Romish father was placed in a capacity to disturb the kingdom at his pleasure, as in fact he did when the king was excommunicated for defending the Albigenses. His grandson, Pedro the Great, was deprived of his kingdom, and the French invaded Aragon. Future attempts for deliverance always issued in the triumphs of the papal authority.*

Some have asserted that the poor men of Lyons were in the beginning viewed at Rome as a new order of monks. Be this true or false, we observe a curious fact, that after the dispute between the Albigenses and Roman Catholics at Pamiers in Languedoc in 1207, some of the Waldenses in SPAIN obtained a respite from persecution, by forming themselves into a religious fraternity. Durando de Huesca, a native of Aragon, with a number of Albigensian brethren, obtained liberty from the Romish missionaries, retired into Catalonia, and formed the society of poor catholics. In 1207, Durando went to Rome, where Innocent III. remitted his former heresy, approved of his new community, and appointed him superior. They lived on alms, studied religion, taught schools, and twice a-year observed lent. They wore a habit of white or grey, with shoes open at the top, and were by a mark distinguished from the poor men of Lyons or Waldenses, who, from this part of their dress, were sometimes called *insabatati.*†

Gretzer considers the Spanish name for the Albigenses, to wit, Xabatati, Xabatenses and Chabatati, as from Xabata, Chabata or Chapata, shoes, which Ebrard and others call sotulares, as if the word were socculares, from soccus, a kind of shoes, sandals or soles, anciently worn by the Roman women, and which being slight, were reckoned improper for men. These shoes the Albigenses marked with a certain sign. Gretzer judges, that by an error of some who do not understand either the ancient or the modern Spanish, they have called a shoe *capato;* and the more rude Spaniards call it *zapato* and *sapato,* and hence the Albigenses were named Capatenses and Capatatos. Gretzer believes Dominic, who preached against the Albigenses in 1206, and his adherents,

* M'Crie's Spain, pp. 27, 28. † Ibid, pp. 36, 37.

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the first who denominated the Albigenses Capatados or Capatatos.* May not Insabatati just mean those people who have sandals on, or a peculiar shoe?

In a few years the society of poor Catholics had numerous convents, both south and north of the Pyrenees. Though they professed to convert heretics, and Durando wrote books with that view, yet the bishops soon accused them of favouring the Waldenses, and of concealing their heresy under a monastic garb. For sometime his holiness exhorted the bishops to try to gain them by gentleness, but they were soon exterminated.†

During the wars of the pilgrims against count Raymond, and especially after the battle of Muret, in which Pedro was killed in 1213, as formerly detailed, the Waldenses were persecuted by the Pope's legates, and many of them fled to Catalonia and Aragon. Matthew Paris informs us, that in the pontificate of Gregory IX. which extended from 1227 to 1241, many Waldenses were in Spain. They continued to increase so much in number and respect, that they ordained bishops to preach their doctrine,‡ who performed their functions with admirable boldness in their churches through Catalonia and Aragon. In 1232, Gregory in a brief to the archbishop of Tarragona and his suffragans, complains of the extension of heretical principles, and urges them to make inquisition by the Dominicans. In 1237, a severe persecution was raised in the viscounty of Cerdagne and Castlebon in the diocese of Urgel. Eighteen disinterred bodies were cast into the fire. Forty-five persons were condemned, of whom fifteen were burned alive.§

Before detailing the further sufferings of the Albigenses or Waldenses in Spain, we shall notice three books by Lucio of Tuy, *Lucas Tudensis*, a town of Galicia, against the supposed errors of that people. According to information collected by the editor of the Bibliotheca Patrum, Lucio flourished during the pontificates of Gregory IX. and Celestine IV.

* Gretzer's Preface to the Trias of writers against the Waldenses, Bib. Pat. tom. iv. part i. coll. 1063, 1064.

† M'Crie's Spain, p. 37. ‡ Perrin, Hist. Wald. book ii. chap. xviii.

§ M'Crie, ib. p. 34.

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namely, between 1227 and 1243. John Mariana, who first published the work, states, "that in opposing the Albigenses, Lucio opposed the Lutherans, Calvinists, and other pestilent people, in whom they, the Albigenses, seem to have recovered life with greater impudence." Surely this declaration is sufficient to vindicate, in a great measure, the Albigenses from Manicheism. Mariana, like Lucio, confounds with the Waldensian-Albigenses some Manichees, who seem to have resided in the same country.

In book first, Lucio condemns the denial of the presence of departed saints to comfort good men at death; the doctrine that the soul goes neither to heaven nor hell till judgment; the assertion that the fire of hell is incorporeal; the locality of hell in the higher region of the air; the equality of future punishment; the denial of the eternity of punishment and the refusal of a purgatory. He asserts, that the indulgences of prelates are helpful to souls; that maledictions are sinful; that all baptized children dying before the use of speech, go to heaven, but if they blaspheme or otherwise sin after speech, their salvation is uncertain; that after death, souls shall know the souls of their former associates in this world; that there shall be a future life; that the souls of the saints praise God; that the souls of departed saints often meet at the places where their bodies rest, or at the churches; and that angels are present when Christ's body is consecrated, in order to change the bread into the body. The last eight chapters of this book are on the propriety of refusing burial in churches to such as have no claim to merit, and on the punishment of such; on the souls of the dead desiring sacrifice to be offered for them;* on the use of prayers for the dead;† on those who assert that predestination is not helped by prayers; on such as say that saints work miracles only by prayers, and not by a simple expression of the will; against such as maintain that the saints do not know men's thoughts; and against such as deny veneration for the sepulchres of the saints, and solemnizing churches by singing the office, ringing bells, and the like.

The second book consists of twenty-three chapters, which

* Ecclesiastes, xxix. 15. 2 Maccabees xi. ult. Tobit, iv. 10.
† 2 Maccabees, xv. 12.

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are, On the seven sacraments of the church of Rome; on washing feet and pilgrimage; on the blessing of water, ashes, leaves, candles, and the sign of the cross; on the agreement of Gregory and Isidore regarding these points; on the appearance of the souls of the dead to the living; on divine sacrifices, as those of the body of Christ, of praise, of jubilation, of a contrite heart, of mortification and confession, and on the cloister, which is meant in the expression, "thou that dwellest in the gardens;"* on the holy doctors or fathers, to deviate from whom is heretical; on heretics despising or corrupting the sayings of the saints; on avoiding heretics and their frauds; on the form of the cross; against such as assert that Christ was fixed to the cross only by three nails, while Lucio proves four, by the authority of Innocent III. and of St Francis, who had four marks in his hands and feet to be like Christ; nay, Lucio proves this by himself having seen the four nails, one at the church of St Mary beyond seas, one at St Denys, one at Tarsus in Cilicia, and one at Constantinople, but thinks that any wood or nails shewn by Roman ministers will answer the purpose of devotion. Again, he treats of the face of Christ on the cross being turned to the west to shew respect to Rome; on his descending to hell to deliver the souls of the saints from the infernal powers; on the sin of those who do not rise up before the cross, nor bow before the mass when the priest announces the Lord to be present; on the proper way of making the sign of the cross; on the name IESUS, in which the three vowels pointing out the three persons in the Godhead, and the s s Christ's human soul and body, which are better than Hebrew letters; on the kingdom of heaven to be given to the Gentiles; on the Trinity, where he offers some unobjectionable remarks; on the proper way of making the sign of the cross on others; on the crosses of the thieves, one of which is to be embraced, but not adored like that of Christ's, since the cross of the converted thief is to be seen at Nichosien in Cyprus; on the propriety of using images; on the worship of images which is not Latria,† but Doulia to saints, and the Hyperdulia to all men for their conversion, but others interchange these last two words; on the

* Song viii. 13. † Exod. xx. 4.

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worship of God, more acceptable in temples dedicated to him,* and on Roman Catholics praying towards the east, to shew they love the light, while heretics hate it, and pray in any direction.

In the third book of twenty-two chapters, Lucio treats on the frauds of heretics, who boast of being naturalists and philosophers, and so become Manichees in regard to two principles; on heretics, by their philosophy denying Christ's miracles, as catholics explain it, and saying a wise man may pick out what is good in philosophy, and cast away the bad; on heretics being like Jews, and maintaining that the mother of God and queen of heaven did not continue a virgin; on heretical emissaries stimulating Roman Catholics to mutual contentions, and taking a side, and on their inconsistency in joining in the praises of the church, but not remaining while the mass is celebrated; on the seeming poverty and immoralities of heretics; on two heretics finding a cross, the one adoring, and the other breaking it, and on a soldier pursued by enemies, adoring it, and his enemies being struck blind; on the Virgin Mary appearing to a pious woman in the church at Alcala, and teaching her to be kind to the priests; on heretics asserting that a serpent from the grave of a laic killed a bishop who had excommunicated and killed the laic for instructing his neighbour.‡

Lucio relates a plan by which the Albigenses exposed the pretended miracles of the church of Rome. In 1237, Leon was much agitated by opposite parties in the election of a successor to Roderic the bishop. Taking advantage of these dissentions, the Albigenses, when persecuted in other places, flocked to Leon, expecting to enjoy peace, while their enemies were contending with one another. In the neighbourhood of the city, in a filthy spot, along with the bones of a murderer, lay those of an Albigensian.§ Lucio proceeds to inform us, that the Albigenses "digging up the bones of the aforesaid heretic, who had been called Arnald, they confessed that the holy martyr had been buried sixteen years before. Many of the clergy led by simplicity, diligently aided the

* Tobit xii. 11. † Wisdom xvi. 8. ‡ Bib. Pat. tom. iv. part ii. coll. 575—698.
§ M'Crie's Spain, p. 38.

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laics in performing the sacrilege, and erected a very strong building over a spring. By common consent, they prepared to elevate the bones of the said traitor and homicide, because they declared him to be formerly a most holy abbot."* To this edifice a number of persons, induced by the Albigenses, approached, and professing to be sick, lame or blind, drank of the fountain. On retiring, they asserted that they were miraculously cured, and consequently large multitudes came to drink of the healing waters.† "The heretics discovering to some persons what they had cunningly done, they derided the catholic faith, and affirmed, that by a similar artifice, miracles are performed in the church before the dead bodies of the saints. There were not wanting some who believed them, to whom they had revealed their profane counsels, and who fell into heresy. At length the discovery of the design reached the brethren of the holy preaching, who, proposing the word of God to the people, exhorted them to repent of this wicked deed. The minor brothers and clergy stood forward lest the people should offer sacrilegious prayers in a filthy place of impure bones." He states that in spite of the brother preachers and minors, the Dominicans and Franciscans, the wickedness of following the Albigenses prevailed. Neither had the excommunications of the bishops any effect. At last a young deacon, who is thought by Dr M'Crie and others to have been Lucio himself, came from Rome to Leon, his native city, around which the country had been for several months suffering the effects of severe drought. This he declared to be a punishment from heaven for encouraging the Albigenses, and promised rain as soon as the obnoxious temple should be pulled down. By permission of the magistrates this was effected, and next day a dreadful noise was heard in the air, which Lucio believes to have been the devil departing. A fire also devoured a great part of the city, and the Albigenses upbraided the deacon as a deceiver. On the eighth day, however, a refreshing rain fell, the deacon raised persecution, and the Albigenses fled in all directions. They may be viewed as chastised for their method of exposing the popish miracles by pretending to imitate them.

* Bib. Pat. ib. coll. 608. † M'Crie, ib.

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The rest of Lucio's third book proceeds against the Albigenses for despising the prelates and bishops like Ham exposing his father, and Miriam being smitten with leprosy for speaking against Moses; for charging their opponents with heresy; for ridiculing the Romish psalms and sacraments, and for diminishing the authority of the fathers. He is displeased with one he calls a heretic at Lode in Lombardy, for refusing and blaspheming the sacrament of the Lord's body offered by a presbyter, and a domestic cat tore at him, and after his burial scraped the earth till it killed itself. That the Albigensian exposure of the popish miracles may be counteracted, Lucio adds several more miracles, namely, that a large toad called a crapaldus, ate the tongue of a burning heretic, and next day his whole flesh was miraculously turned toads; that a Roman Catholic, in spite of the remonstrances of the brother-minors, offered himself to be burnt for his Albigensian father, but just as the son was to be cast into the fire, a fiery arrow flew from the flames and killed the father; that Arnold the Albigensian met death as a judgment from God, which is detailed at 1206, in the close of chapter sixth of this book, and that an Albigensian scattering on the road shreds of paper containing his heresy, was miraculously struck by a serpent, and confessed to the bishop of Leon the tricks of heretics. He further declares, that princes and bishops who neglect punishing heretics, ought to be punished; that heretics despise feast and fast-days, and commit secret vice; that when heretics rejoice in death, they do not belong to Christ, who in death expressed grief, they are not miraculously supported by God, and therefore they are rendered insensible by Satan; that it is a duty to punish heretics;* that secular princes who do not perform this duty are in danger of damnation;† that the precepts of the Old Testament on this subject are binding under the New;‡ and that they must be fulfilled.§

* He refers to Deut. xiii. 1—16. 1 Sam. xv. 3, 22. Psalm xcvi. 5.

† Exod. xx. 2, 16. xxii. 28. xxxii. 38. Num. xxv. 6, 7. 1 Sam. xv. 33. xvii 30. 2 Sam. iii. 17. xvi. 1. 1 Kings ii. 4, 8. xviii. 20. 2 Kings i. 10. 1 Mac. ii. 24.

‡ Matt. v. 17. Luke xvi. 29. Psalm cxxxvi. 2, 17—20.

§ Matt. xxii. 6, 7. Luke xix. 12. Acts i. 16. v. 5, 10. Rom. xiii. 4. Gal. v. 12. Bib. Pat. coll. 698—714.

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Such are the contents of Lucio's work against the Albigenses, and which needs not to be particularly refuted, as the intelligent reader is able to distinguish truth from falsehood. One thing we learn from it, that after twenty years hot persecution, the Albigenses were still as obnoxious as ever to the Roman Catholics, and persevered in opposition to the Romish church.

Pope Alexander IV. who filled the papal chair from 1254 to 1261, issued orders to the inquisitors in Spain to search for heretics. In 1267, the inquisitors of Barcelona pronounced sentence against Raymond, count of Forcalquier and Urgel, whose bones, as those of a relapsed heretic, were ordered to be raised from the grave. In 1269, they gave the same injunctions regarding Arnold, viscount of Castlebon and Cerdagne, and his daughter Ermesinde, wife of Roger Bernard II. count of Foix, surnamed the Great. The father and daughter had been both twenty years dead, yet their bones were to be exhumated, "provided they could be found." This was dictated by hatred to the brave count of Foix, who in his life time, when summoned to appear before the inquisition at Toulouse, had despised the order, and had summoned the inquisitors before him as his vassals and subjects. While at the court of Arnold his father-in-law, he had been excommunicated by the bishop of Urgel as favouring heretics. Though the sentence had been removed, and he had died in communion with the Romish church, yet the inquisitors could not forgive his opposition to them. They tortured one of his servants for evidence against him, and this having failed, they sought vengeance on the ashes of the viscount Arnold and his daughter.*

* M'Crie, ib. pp. 34—36. Perrin, chap. xviii.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Waldenses in Germany—Analysis of the Work of Ebrard of Bethune in Flanders against them—Many of them still existed along the Rhine—Such as flee, spread their Religion—Numbers burnt at Strasburg—Persecution under Conrad an Inquisitor—Still hold Public Meetings and Schools—Persecution of Albigensian refugees—Waldensian churches in Germany—Persecution in Flanders—Excellency of the Waldenses in Bohemia.

NOTWITHSTANDING the persecution of the disciples of Waldo during the latter part of the twelfth century, we find the Waldenses very numerous along the Rhine in the thirteenth. To check their progress, Ebrard of Bethune, in Flanders, wrote a book against heresy,* dated by Allix in 1212.† He tells us in his prologue, that by a vision he was called to write; that "Abraham saw three persons, and adored one;" that he himself felt a sweet smell, and saw three equally glorious persons, who desired him to write; that he saw a terrible horned beast, and became pale; and that on awaking he understood the beast to be heresy. He writes against such as deny the Trinity, the Creator of the world, and the physician of men; and who forbid to marry, (see chap. vii.) commend themselves, and glory in works. Of these charges, the Waldenses are innocent, but there are others in which they must plead guilty, such as weakening the popish baptism of water, speaking against the churches, and denying the sacrifice of the mass.

In chapter i. he argues soundly in defence of the law as a rule, though not the ground of our justification, yet does not distinguish properly between the law as a covenant, and the Mosaic complex law. He thinks the seven seals, Rev. vi. to be the seven steps of Christ's conception, birth, life, death, resurrection, ascension, and kingdom. He establishes properly the law as a rule of life.

* Biblioth. Pat. tom. iv. part i. coll. 1073—1185, being the first book of the Triad of authors against the Waldenses.

† Allix, Pied. pp. 167, 256.

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Chapter ii. He proves by many places, that the Old Testament saints were saved, but falsely charges the Waldenses with denying the salvation of the prophets and patriarchs. There may have been other sectaries who did so, whom he confounds with the Waldenses under the general name of heretics. He argues largely from the Book of Wisdom.

Chapter iii. He shews that he who gave the law to Moses, is the true and omnipotent God, and not a jester, not a malignant spirit as the Arians assert, for the commands against murder and falsehood are not by an evil spirit. The Waldenses were not Arians, but there might be Arians and Manichees in the same parts.

In chapter iv. He pleads for the propriety of calling the stones of the house a church, for polling the hair, and for prayers for the dead from 2 Macc. xii. 44, 45.

Chapter v. He shews that the omnipotent God created all things, and there is not a malignant God, the creator of visible things. This is against the Manichees.

Chapter vi. is on the baptism of infants, and he opposes such as undervalue "the regeneration of water, and the new washing of the Pope; they forbid marriages; they remove baptism; what remains of that which they forbid to be born, and to be born again?" On the various ways of forgiveness, the second is by alms, Eccl. iii. 30. and the seventh is by baptism. Such as object to the baptism of infants, because they cannot believe, are like the Arabs who are not circumcised till they be twelve or thirteen years of age, that they may be like Ishmael. He thinks baptism answers the same end as circumcision. Jeremiah and John were sanctified from the womb. Little children are to be brought to Christ. God is praised from the mouth of babes and sucklings.

In chapter vii. He proves the divine warrant for marriage, in opposition to such as kick against the sacraments of the old and new law. They interdict marriages, and condemn the nuptial sacrament with the other mysteries." Probably he only means, that those against whom he wrote, denied marriage to be a sacrament, because papists will not allow any except sacramental marriages to be lawful, and he says, "these heretics forbid to marry, under the pretence of a vain religion, as if they should say, 'we do not commit whore-

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dom.'" But he asserts, they lead the faithful spouse of God to infidelity, which is whoredom.

Chapter viii. He pleads in defence of the host of the sacrifice, which is the very body of the Lord. He says, that "what Christ called his own body, they, as the successors of Judas, do not affirm," and that "the incredulous object," "that *the holy words* are 'the bread,' because the food of the soul is the evangelical words, according to that sentence, 'the words which I speak they are spirit and they are life.'" He tells us, that "the catholic faith believes that that same bread which the apostles ate, was by the Jews crucified on the cross, that that same blood which they drank, was poured out from his side, and that that same bread and blood are daily eaten and drunk in the church, which is the house of prayer over the altar." In this point he and the Waldenses are completely at issue.

In chapter ix. He defends the resurrection of the body, which the Waldenses do not deny.

In chapter x. He defends tithes, and calls the heretics robbers for refusing them, and climbing into the sheepfold another way. He argues from Eccles. xxxv. 6—9, 12. and from Scripture.

Chapter xi. Pleads for anointing the sick and burying places with oil.

In chapter xii. He defends pilgrimages to holy places, and the sepulchres of the saints.

Chapter xiii. Treats of John Baptist as an example for hermits.

In chapter xiv. He defends the lawfulness of swearing to confirm truth, in opposition to such as misinterpreted the words, "swear not at all." He says, to swear "at *all*," is to swear an uncertainty, as well as certainty.

Chapter xv. shews that they are wrong who think malefactors ought not to be punished, and shews they ought to be punished by the magistrate.

Chapter xvi. states, that faith is to be sought before works. He blames his opponents for trusting to works, and overlooking faith. It is doubtless true, that they had not faith in transubstantiation. He prefers faith to mere external works. The editor, in some remarks prefixed to chapter xvi. thinks

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the Waldenses rested too much on external works, and Ebrard too much on faith, but that we are not to think he praises the solitary faith to which heretics of the editor's time ascribed justification and eternal salvation, but a living faith constituted by the love of God. Ebrard however adds, that in his scripture reading he observes, "I have not found that works avail besides faith. But I often observed that faith besides works avails: whatsoever ye ask believing, ye shall receive.—Paul prefers faith to works, Rom. iii. Abraham was justified by faith without works, and the thief on the cross was saved without works." The editor thinks, "such as cannot perform good works, are justified without them," and that the works of adults "proceeding from faith, are meritorious."

Ebrard says, heretics destroy grace by seeking salvation by works; and the editor infers he means the Waldenses. Ebrard quotes "the just shall live by faith;" and the editor says a living faith is meant. In opposition to the Waldenses appealing to James ii. 14, 18. Ebrard mentions the thief; and the editor remarks, the thief was active in spirit by love, penitence, patience, and that Ebrard is far from Luther's faith, which is indeed a fact. Ebrard calls the Waldenses "adulterous evangelicals," and quotes many passages which refer to the faith of miracles.

Chapter xvii. is on venerating the wood of the cross. He opposes such as despise the sacrament of the cross, and thus reject salvation. He quotes various places which refer to the cross of affliction, Moses' rod that struck the rock, God's staff and rod, and Heb. xi. 21. "Jacob—worshipped the top of his staff." He gives reasons why Christ chose to suffer on the cross; because it was carried; it stands upright to heaven; it expresses the heighth, depth, length and breadth of his love; and to show he should reign with his head to the east, his feet to the west, his right hand to the north, and his left to the south. Isaiah xliii. 5, 6. liv. 2, 3. lix. 19.

Chapter xviii. proves that women shall retain their sex in heaven, and shall not be ashamed, as some say. The point is proved from the Blessed Mary being exalted above angels. Chapter xix. shews various orders and ways of salvation. He condemns those who say there is only one way of salvation,

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because Christ says "I am the way." He says God has many ways, or "the ways of his saints," which are ways of salvation to good men. "The church," says he, "consists of three orders. The first order consists of the married; the second of the continent; the third of the virgins." He refers to Enoch, Elijah, and Christ, and to 1 Cor. xv. 41. Song vi. 8. He refers to different virtues of saints as to ways of salvation, "as Abel by innocence, Isaac by constancy, Moses by meekness, David by mercy, Daniel by abstinence, Job by patience, and others in other ways."

In chapter xx. he condemns the heretics for frequent fastings like the Pharisees, which shews that such as he called heretics fasted often. He maintains that abstinence from flesh is not meritorious, and charges them with indulging in wine, which is not prohibited. Chapter xxi. condemns the heretics for secret wickedness, of which no proof is given, nor instances specified. Chapter xxii. charges the heretics with omitting stage-plays, but not lucre. They have cast away idleness, but not business and worldly things. Ebrard appears to wish all worldly good things to himself. In chapter xxiii. he tries to prove that though the heretics call themselves the apostles of Christ, yet they are hypocrites and robbers; and applies to them 1 Tim. i. 6, 7. iv. 1—5. 2 Tim. ii. 17. iii. 1—8. iv. 5, 4. &c. In chapter xxiv. he blames the heretics for understanding the Scriptures too literally, and not looking to the spiritual meaning, for all flesh is grass, and we are to cut through the flesh to reach the marrow. They are like the Jews who understood Christ meaning the literal temple; the veil of the temple of Moses must be removed, and the stone must be rolled away. We must turn the outward water to wine. John's book is bitter to carnal men.

Chapter xxv. is against the Vallenses, or those in the valley of tears called *Xabatati* or *Xabatenses*, from Xabatata, rather than Christians from Christ. They vex the Sotulares when they ought to vex the members, and crown the shoes when they ought to crown the head. He calls them Tritanni, who wish to bring themselves into notice, by feigning themselves to be Christ's. He charges them sitting in the sun and going abroad in the night, 2 Thess. iii. 11, 12. He charges them with indolence, and urges activity. In chapter

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xxvi. he treats on the varieties of heretics, and enumerates seventy heresies from Isidorus. Among these he mentions the Cathari from cleanliness, glorying in merits, who deny that penitents receive pardon, and condemn widows who marry as adulterers,—they are more to be cleansed than clean. He enumerates also the Ærians, of whom formerly.* Chapter xxvii. disputes against the Jews. Chapter xxviii. consists of questions to deceive or catch heretics and Jews. There are eighty-six questions with the solutions: for example, Christ says, "Go and teach all nations," and also, "Go not in the way of the Gentiles:" solution, they were to teach in doctrine, but not to follow them by adoring carved things; or may it not be solved by the diversity of times: in the latter place the time to go to the Gentiles was not yet come, and in the former it was come. The twenty-third is that in Mark, Jesus "*sat* on the right hand of God;" and yet Stephen saw "Jesus *standing* on the right hand of the power of God:" solution, in Mark he *sits* as a judge, but is seen by Stephen *standing* as a warrior and an auxiliary.

By the instigation of the archbishops of Mentz and Strasburg, there was an extensive persecution of the disciples of Waldo along the Rhine. In one day there were eighteen burnt in one fire. Yet about the year 1213, Germany, and especially Alsatia, was full of Waldenses. The searchers were so exact, that many were obliged to flee. In this way many learned teachers were dispersed still farther through the world, which tended to spread the Waldensian religion.† In the year 1215, there were eighty persons apprehended at Strasburg as heretics, and the greater number of them committed to the flames.‡ Matthew Paris relates that about the year 1220, a great number of the inhabitants of Germany took arms, and cut to pieces many of the Waldenses, who were surprised in a place of great disadvantage, having a marsh on the one side, and the sea on the other. In these circumstances they found it impossible to escape.‖

In the year 1230, Conrad of Marpurg in Germany, was ordained by the Pope superintendant of the inquisition. His

* See p. 64 of this volume.
† Perrin, book ii. chap. xi.
‡ Protestant, vol. iii. p. 157.
‖ Perrin, ib.

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cruelty against all suspected of heresy, even priests, showed he was worthy of his charge. He tried them by declaring that the men who can hold in their hand a red-hot iron and not be burnt, are good Christians; but if they feel the fire, they are to be delivered to the secular power.* "Gretzer will not believe what two historians, by no means friendly to the Vaudois, namely Godfrey at 1233, and the Abbé Tritheme at 1226, relate of Conrad of Marpurg, the Dominican, inquisitor of Germany; namely, that all those whom they carried to him as suspected of heresy, he marked with a hot iron, and if the hot iron burned them, he declared them sufficiently convicted of heresy, and to be burnt to ashes. This trial being most evidently barbarous, he was obliged to invent others less odious and more gentle."† In those times the Waldenses had schools for instructing their children in the diocese of Treves. Notwithstanding the inquisitions and prosecutions, they publicly preached, called their assemblies by the sound of the bell, and openly maintained that the Pope is an heretic, and his prelates simonaical and seducers of the people; that the truth is preached only among them; that if they had not appeared, God would have raised others, even the stones, rather than have suffered their faith to perish; that till these times, preachers have buried the truth and preached lies; that they themselves preach the truth and bury lies; and that they by their calling, offer not a feigned remission invented by the Pope, but forgiveness by God alone.‡

In regard to the *morality* of the Waldenses in Germany at this period, we have seen that Ebrard charges them with being too anxious regarding good works. Leger§ remarks that "it is not at all likely that the emperor Frederic II. who framed constitutions against the Waldenses, would have forgotten to insert both their errors and their vices, if he had known them; because this is the only means by which he could have it in his power to justify to posterity the rigour of his procedure against them. Nevertheless he does not know to accuse them of another thing, except that they have been for a long time separated from the Romish Church,—from

* Perrin, ib.

† James Cappell in Leger, part ii. p. 330.

‡ Perrin, ib.

§ Part i. pp. 185, 186.

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her services and ceremonies, as we read in the epistles of Peter Vineis his chancellor."*

While the war against the Albigenses was in progress, Gregory IX. received intelligence that the same heretics of Languedoc had appeared at the city of Stettin in Germany. The Pope wrote the bishops of Minden, of Lubeck, and of Rachhasbourg in Styria, that they ought to preach a crusade against them; that at a meeting a hideous toad had been presented to the initiated to worship; that it had assumed a great variety of equally revolting forms; and that it was nothing else but the devil. Under the German bishops, joined by the duke of Brabant and count of Holland, many fanatics took arms. The weak, being unable to resist, were first seized. In 1233, "an innumerable number of heretics were burned alive, and through all Germany, a still greater number were converted." The crusaders attacked Stettin, and the dissenters from popery awaited them in the open field. Six thousand of these religionists were destroyed in the combat, others were driven into the Oder and drowned, and the whole race of the Albigensian refugees in this place was exterminated. Frederick II. however refused liberty to the priests of Gregory to preach Christianity to the military colony of Saracens which he had established at Nocera.†

Though the Albigenses from France were extinguished at Stettin, yet the Waldenses still existed in Germany. In 1243, Pope Innocent IV. enjoined the bishop of Metz to persecute rigorously the Waldenses, for this reason in particular, that they read the sacred books in the vulgar tongue. About 1254, Reinerus Saccho wrote against them, and enumerates forty-one churches with German names, and eight of them with schools. The churches are at Zenguelde, in Strouizingen, Zeuuks, Drossendorf in Lower Austria, at St Christopher, &c.‡

After the persecution of the Waldenses in France under Philip IV. 1285—1316, they fled to FLANDERS, whither he pursued them, and caused multitudes to be burnt. Being

* Book ii. Epist. xxv—xxvii. † De Sismondi, pp. 239—245. who gives the words above quoted from Labbei Concil. Gen.

‡ Biblioth. Pat. vol. iv. part ii. col. 748.

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constrained to live in the woods, they were denominated *Turlespins*, or dwellers with wolves. Robert Bougre, by profession a Waldensian, became an apostate, a Jacobin monk, and an inquisitor. In Flanders he acted as apostates frequently do, for he ordered many of his former brethren to be consumed by the fire. He however so much abused his power, so falsely accused the innocent, and so extravagantly executed his authority against persons totally unacquainted with the belief of the Waldenses, that even his employers became ashamed of him, deprived him of the office of inquisitor, and for divers crimes condemned him to perpetual imprisonment.*

But we must not forget the Waldenses of BOHEMIA in this century. John Leger† quotes the declaration of Reinerus Sacco to their excellent morality, and remarks that he is not alone in bearing such testimony; for the book entitled *Rerum Bohemicarum Scriptores*, "the writers of the affairs of Bohemia,‡" tells us of another inquisitor formerly established against the Waldenses, whose doctrine the Bohemians had received, and consequently he is in opposition also to those same people of the Valleys, as Leger demonstrates in another place. This inquisitor begins a book against the Leonists or Waldenses with these words: "Heretics are known by their morals and words, but they are composed and modest in their manners, and have no pride in dress." And again,§ "The Leonists are chaste." And in another place,‖ "They avoid whatever things defile nature, and diligently instruct in the same things those who submit to them."

* Perrin, book ii. chap. xiii.
† Part i. chap. xxx. p. 183.
‡ Printed by Friher, p. 231. l. 44.
§ Impression of Hanau, p. 1602. l. 48.
‖ Ibid. p. 232. l. 42.

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CHAPTER IX.

Waldenses in Italy—Fraticelli or Fraterculi—Extension of Waldenses—Persecution—Pastors in Italy and the East—Full account of the treatise of Reinerus Sacco against the Waldenses, who candidly discriminates them from other societies—They are exterminated in almost all Italy, excepting in the Valleys of Piemont.

In this century the Waldenses extended not only in Piemont, but also over the other parts of Italy. Pope Honorius in 1216—1227, caused them to be persecuted under the name of *Fratricelli*, or shifting brethren or companions. For many maintain that that these were just the Waldenses. Paulus Æmilius states, that during the reign of Charles the Bald, 1221—1228, in that age of learning, some were very wicked, others were doubtful, and a third class *most holy*, who were hated and persecuted by the wicked. The popish preachers by word and writing condemned the *Fraterculi*, as disbelieving the religion of Christ; these taught the same doctrines as the Waldenses, and are believed to be the same. To them the name Fraterculi was given in ridicule, but was applied as an honour to the Friars-Minors.* Since the year 1223, the Waldenses have been widely extended in Italy. They had ten fine schools in Valco-monica alone. They had flourishing churches in Albano, in the dutchy of Milan, in Sicily, in Romagna, in Vicenza, in Florence, and in Val-Spoletina. They had churches not only in the valleys of Piemont, but in the rest of Lombardy.† From all places they sent money to Valcomanica in Lombardy, to maintain the schools which flourished in 1229.‡

Pope Gregory IX. grievously harassed the Waldenses in Italy. One of his legates banished them from all the Italian

* Perrin, book ii. chap. xvi. near the end. Mosheim, cent. xiii. part ii. chap. ii. § xxxix. with the notes.

† Leger, part ii. p. 336, where he refers to Sigonius de Regno Italico, lib. xvii. Vignier, Biblioth. part iii. Daubigné's History, Rainerus, Du Haillant, Life of Philip III.

‡ Perrin, ib. near beginning.

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cities and provinces, causing all their houses to be pulled down. In the city of Milan, the legate appointed two preachers, who by authority of the archbishop, at the public expense, apprehended the Waldenses, and ordered the pretor to conduct them before the above dignitary.* In 1238, Gregory, finding the archbishop too remiss in prosecuting the objects of his vengeance, delegated this commission to the provincial of the Jacobins or Dominicans, who conducted the persecution with great fierceness through Lombardy. In the same year died at Bologna, their second general, named Jordain, who had succeeded Dominic. To Jordain, followed Raymond of Pegne-Fort, a native of Barcelona in Catalonia, who had been doctor of laws, a governor of a castle, and a penitentiary dignitary of Gregory. In 1230, he had served him in arranging in proper order the decrees of the popes. He seems to have had more credit with the emperor Frederic II. than his predecessor Jordain possessed. On the 22nd February 1239, Frederic, in a council at Padua, to gain the good graces of the Pope, issued in one day three edicts against the Waldenses and others who opposed the Romish church.† By such edicts, by the inquisition, and by imperial constitutions, the emperor grievously oppressed the objects of papal vengeance. This he accomplished chiefly by the law which condemns Gazares, Paterines, Leonists, Esperonists, Arnoldists, and the like. He bewails the simplicity of those he calls Patareniens as exposed to sufferings. He thinks them prodigal of their lives, in affecting martyrdom, when, by maintaining the faith of the church of Rome, they might live at peace like all those who acknowledge her to be their mother, and the head of all the churches in the world. Since these people had widely spread in Lombardy he was pleased to punish them, lest they further extend. He enjoined them to be persecuted in his realm of Sicily, that they might be expelled from that island. In short he wished them banished from the face of the earth.‡ But what recompence did Gregory confer on the emperor for his barbarous obedience? He became more harsh than for-

* Perrin, ib. † Cappel in Leger, part ii. 330. Gretzer in chap. ii. of his Preface to his Trias against the Waldenses, says the Paterine houses were never to be re-built. ‡ Perrin, ib.

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merly to him, and on the 20th of March excommunicated him a second time, only one month posterior to the cruel edicts against the Waldenses.*

As an evidence of the enforcement of discipline at this period among the Paterines, a statement of Matthew Paris, at the year 1223, may be mentioned, that their bishop of Cremona was deposed by them for fornication.†

At this time BARTHOLOMEW of Carcassonne marvellously re-edified the Waldensian churches in Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, Bulgaria, and other places: he was active in having ministers ordained. From this cause Matthew Paris calls him bishop and pope, on the authority of a letter from one of the Pope's legates to the archbishop of Rouan, to ask help against the Waldenses in those parts. Consequently, the persecuted witnesses were compelled to retire into the wilderness from the face of the serpent. No new remarks need here be made on the Waldensian episcopacy.

About the same era, the barbes BELAZINANZA of Verona, and JOHN of Luglio flourished in the valleys of Piemont. Reinerus says they followed the footsteps of Bartholomew, and were particularly noted in 1240. Morland and Perrin write 1250. They seem to have been leading men for a series of years.‡

Reinerus Sacco was an apostate Waldensian, and a Jacobin inquisitor. He wrote a treatise against the Waldenses, containing a variety of important information. As he is more fair in his statements than apostates usually are, particular notice may be here taken of the contents of this work which was written about the year 1254, or as others say, a year or two later.

He begins by defending the Roman church as holding one God, Trinity, &c. and representing all heretics as disbelieving these, maintaining two principles,‖ condemning ornamented churches, vestments, vessels, singing, illuminations, feasts, fastings, the Old Testament; also as condemning baptism, the body of the Lord, penance, the sacred order, marriage, extreme unction. They do no miracles like Christ, his apostles,

* Cappel in Leger, ib. † Allix, Pied. p. 239.

‡ Perrin, book ii. chap. ix. Leger, part i. chap. xxxii. pp. 202, 203. Moreland, p. 18. ‖ The Waldenses believed one God and the Trinity, and disbelieved the two principles.

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or the Romish church. They preach not in churches, but in caves—are poor and illiterate, and are divided into seventy sects. The causes of heresy he gives in chapter iii. and thinks chargeable on vain glory, all desiring to be teachers. He owns their diligence and encouragement to the dull, "Learn every day only one word, and after a year, thou shalt know three hundred, and thus thou shalt make proficiency." He gives an instance of diligence, when he adds, "I declare the truth; a certain one, for the sole purpose of turning away a particular individual from our faith, and converting him to his own, swam to him in the night during the winter, through the river which is called *Ibsa*, (*Ibis*, margin.) In this the negligence of the faithful teachers can be reprehended, who are not so zealous for the truth of the catholic faith, as the perfidious Leonists are zealous for the error of infidelity." The third cause of heresy he gives is, their having "translated the Old and New Testament into the vulgar tongue." Though displeased with this, he adds, "I have heard and seen a certain illiterate rustic, who recited Job word for word; and many who perfectly knew the whole New Testament." He is enraged at some of their expositions, such as that on the words, "he came to his own, and his own, *sui*, received him not. Reinerus says, the Waldenses by a pun on *sui, his own*, turn it to *sues, swine*, and apply it to Christ's enemies. He thinks they mean the Catholics, as if they were no better than swine. He complains of their teaching in secret places, and admitting to their meeting only members, but this is from necessity. He is offended with their calling the church a stone house, the altar a stone heap, the clergy scribes, and the religious, pharisees. Another cause is the profligate lives of the Romish clergy, so that their opponents say, "the apostles did not live so, nor we who are their imitators." The fifth cause is the insufficiency of the doctrine of some doctors of the Romish church, who do not prove it by the text of the New Testament, and therefore their adversaries count it to be fables. Another cause is some ministers shewing too little reverence for the sacraments. The seventh cause, is the hatred the heretics have to the church, for they wish to remove the tithes, and thus reduce the clergy and members of cloisters to day-labourers. He relates, that one Hainricus, a

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Chirothecarius in Xeroin or Cheron, when led to death, publicly declared, "ye deservedly condemn us, because if our condition were not that of the minority, this power which ye now exercise against us, we would have exercised against you, namely, all the clergy, religious orders, and common people." In all the cities of Lombardy, in Provence, and in other kingdoms and lands there were more schools of the Waldenses than of the Theologians; and more hearers who publicly discussed matters, and collected the people to solemn disputations. They preached in the market-place, in the fields, and in the houses; and on account of the power and multitude of their favourers, not one dared to hinder them. Reinerus was frequently present at the inquisition and examination of the Waldenses; and in the diocese of Padua, there were computed to be forty-one schools of the heretics. In the place called Clemmaten, there were ten such schools. He enumerates forty-one churches, a great proportion of which seem from their names to be German, as we notice at Germany.*

The illustrious testimony of Reinerus to the antiquity, extent, and piety of the Leonists or Waldenses, has been noticed in the introduction to the present work.† After a tolerably correct account of the circumstances which led Peter Waldo to desert the church of Rome, he proceeds to state what he calls the blasphemies with which he says the poor men of Lyons blaspheme the Romish church. These are just the judgment which they formed of her in twenty articles, namely, "that the Romish church is not the church of Christ but of malignants," which "decayed under Sylvester;" that they themselves are the church of Christ, observing his doctrine according to the words and examples of the gospel and of the apostles; that all vices and sins are in the church, and they alone live justly; that almost no one in the church keeps evangelical doctrine excepting them; that they are truly poor in spirit, and suffer persecution for righteousness and faith; that they are the church of Jesus Christ; that the Roman church is the whore in the Revelation, because of her superfluous ornaments, which are not valued by the oriental church; that the statutes of the church are to be despised, because

* Biblioth. Pat. tom. iv. part ii. coll 746—748. † See pp. 14. 52, 53.

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burdensome; that the Pope is the head of all errors; that the prelates are scribes, and the religious orders pharisees; that the Pope and all the bishops are man-killers, on account of the wars; that obedience is to be given, not to the prelates, but only to God; that no man is greater than another in the church,* for "all ye are brethren;" that no man ought to bow the knee to a priest, because the angel said to John, "See thou do it not;" that tithes are not to be given; that the clergy ought not to have possessions, "no part nor inheritance with Israel, because they shall eat the offerings, and nothing else shall they accept;† that the clergy and cloisters ought not to have allowances; that bishops and abbots ought not to have royal rights; that the land and people are not to be divided by parts; that it is evil to found and endow churches and cloisters; that testaments ought not to be made to churches; that no cess ought to be drawn on behalf of the church; that the clergy ought not to enjoy ease, but to work with their hands like the apostles; that prelatical names, as pope, bishops and the like, are to be reprobated; and that no one ought to be forced to the faith. They reckon all ecclesiastical offices null—care not for ecclesiastical privileges, and despise the immunity of the church, and of ecclesiastical persons and things. They despise councils, synods, and convents; they say that all parochial rights are inventions, and that the observances made by religious men are the traditions of the pharisees.

They condemn the sacraments of the church. Regarding *baptism*, they think that the catechism and the ablution of infants are of no avail; that the parents do not understand what they answer to the priest; that the oblation called *anuuegun*,‡ is an invention, and they reprobate all the exorcisms and benedictions of baptism. They contemn *confirmation*, and wonder why it is confined to bishops. As to the *eucharist*, they state that a priest in mortal sin cannot accomplish it; that transubstantiation is not effected by such a performer, but in

* This shews that in the middle of the thirteenth century, the Waldenses had no Episcopalian dignitaries.

† In the passage quoted, the last clause is not found in the English Bible, Deut. xviii 1.

‡ "Illyricus has abuuegen, Freher aluuegen," Gretzer, margin.

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the mouth of the worthy receiver, which seems to say, there is no other transubstantiation except the mixture of the elements with the body of the receiver, else they verge too much to the popish view. They say it may be performed at a common table, and reprobate the practice of communicating only once a-year, because they communicate daily *quotidie*. Probably they mean as to the thing signified. They think transubstantiation can be effected in the common tongue, that the mass is of no avail, because the apostles had no such thing, that it is only for lucre, and that only the words of Christ are to be received in the canon of the mass. They call the song of the church the clamour of hell, reprobate canonical hours, affirm that the offering to the priests in the mass is useless, and despise the kiss of peace and of the altar. Respecting *penance*, they judge that an evil priest can absolve no one; that a good laic has this power; that they themselves dismiss sin, and give the Holy Ghost by the imposition of hands; that we are to confess to a good laic, rather than to a wicked priest; that Christ's example is no warrant for a heavy penance, but we are rather to "go and sin no more." They reprobate public penance as *carenæ*, especially in women, and general annual confession. On *marriage*, they say * the married sin mortally if they come together without hope of children. They make no account of compaternity—of the degrees of carnal and spiritual affinity and consanguinity which the church appoints, and of the impediments of order and public honour. They say, that after child-birth, a woman has no need of benediction and introduction; that the church erred in prohibiting the clergy from matrimony, since the orientals contract it, and that the continent do not sin by kisses and embraces, *amplexus*. †

They reprobate *unction*, and nullify *orders*, reckoning every good laic a priest. They say the prayer of an evil priest is unavailing; that clerical shaving is ridiculous; that Latin

* Gretzer says, Illyricus denies these and some other sentiments to belong to the Waldenses, but that writers almost of the same age ascribe such things to them. Some peculiar notions on this subject are found in the Letter of the Waldenses to Ecalampadius in 1530.

† Reinerus' meaning of *amplexus* is not very obvious.

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prayers are of no use to the common people; that wicked persons should not be retained in the church; that laics and women ought to preach;* that every thing is fabulous which is not proved in preaching by the text of the Bible, and that Scripture is as good in the vulgar tongue, as in Latin. They know by heart in the vulgar tongue, the text of the New Testament, and a great part of the Old, and dispense the sacraments in the vulgar tongue. They adhere to the text, and despise the decrees and expositions of the saints. They contemn excommunications and absolutions. They spurn indulgences, and deride dispensations. They believe no saint except the apostles, and invoke no saint, but worship God alone. They contemn the canonizations, translations and vigils of the saints; deride the laics, who choose their saints by lot on the altar; do not read the litany; disbelieve the legends; mock miracles; despise relics; view the holy cross as simple wood; and dread the sign of the cross on account of the sufferings of Christ, nor do they ever sign themselves. They assert that the doctrine of Christ and the apostles, without the statutes of the church, is sufficient to salvation; that the tradition of the church is pharisaical; that we have more right to transgress it than to transgress the divine law; and that the mystical sense of the divine writings, especially in the sayings and acts of Christ is to be refuted.

Regarding the customs of the church, they hold that all such are to be contemned, except those which are found in the gospel; for example, the feast of lights and of palms; the reconciliation of penitents; the adoration of the cross in the preparation; and the feast of Pasch, of Christ, and of the saints. They work on feast days: they disregard the fasts of the church, dedications and benedictions. They care not for consecrations of candles, flesh, palms, chrism, fire, wax, the paschal lamb, a woman after child-bearing, strangers, sacred places and persons, vestments, salt and water. They deride a walled church as a barn, calling it a Stainhaus or stone house, because "God dwells not in temples made with hands;" and view prayers as more acceptable in a bed-cham-

* This refers to the Waldensian private members trying to be useful in their spheres, as Reinerus afterwards details. See our account of his eighth chapter.

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ber, because we are commanded in prayer to enter into the closet. They care not for the dedication of churches and altars, and maintain that ornamenting churches is sinful, and that our duty is to clothe the poor, rather than to adorn walls. They say an altar is loss, and the cloth rots on the stone:—that Christ did not give the apostles long robes, *stolas*, nor a house, nor a mitre. For a cup they officiate with a Picarium or wooden bowl, covered with pitch. They teach that God is the true light, and needs no light in the church, which light serves only to show the priests where to walk with safety. They reprobate frankincense, view blessed water as only common water, and reckon images and pictures idolatrous. They mock the song of the church, asserting that the power is in the words, not in the melody. They deride the clamours of the laics, and all processions, whether festive, as of Pasch, or doleful, as of Rogations and of funerals. They assert the church did not formerly hold the nocturnal and daily song, but that it was a new invention of Gregory. They reprehend the priest singing many masses in one day:—they are frolicsome at prohibited times, and then corrupt many.

They assert that men attend the church for gain, while they themselves are present, offer, confess, and communicate in a feigned manner. They travel to strange countries, and thus entering Lombardy, visit their bishops. They contemn the sepulchres of the Lord, and those of the saints. They prefer burial in a field to that which is in a church or in a cemetery: "Wo unto you that build sepulchres." They declare that the exequies of the dead, masses for the deceased, oblations of funerals, testamentary legacies, visitation of sepulchres, chosen vigils, anniversaries and suffrages, are of no advantage to souls. They dissuade people from that confraternity of laics and clergy which is called Zeche, asserting that all the above things are done for money.

They deny purgatory, and assert the existence of only two places, namely, heaven for the elect, and hell for the damned; for "where the tree falls there it shall be." They teach that a good man does not need suffrages, and a bad man can derive no advantage from them; that every oath is mortal, for Jesus says, "Swear not at all; but let your communication be yea, yea; nay, nay:" and that he who utters "truly"

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and "verily," revolves the nature of an oath. The perfect among them rather die than swear; but the imperfect swear if compelled, provided the form of the oath is declared to him, for he is thus prevented from betraying secrets. They account a judge or priest worse than a homicide, by compelling men to swear:—whence many of them are perjured. They reprehend him who says that the violation of faith given to a priest involves the guilt of seven perjuries. They assert that princes and judges are to be condemned, but all evil doers are not to be condemned; for God says, "vengeance is mine, I will repay:" "Let both grow together." They think the ecclesiastical judgments by priests, are not for the sake of correction, but of gain. *

In his sixth chapter, Reinerus discourses of a variety of other religious societies also separate from the church of Rome, and which bodies of people he carefully distinguishes from the Waldenses and from one another. He mentions the Paterines, and states there are among them imperfect men who swear and lie, as inconsistent professors exist in every church; but in Lombardy another class of them is called the *comforted*, who in Germany are denominated *good men*, and who will undergo death rather than commit such crimes. From the Runcarians, who say no person can perpetrate mortal sin from the waist downwards, because "out of the heart proceed evil thoughts" and the like, he distinguishes the Paterines. He shows also that the Waldenses were distinct from the Siscidenses, who resemble the former in every thing except that the latter received the Lord's Supper in the church of Rome, which plainly intimates that the Waldenses refused this compliance.† The horrible errors of the various other associations of people described by Reinerus in this sixth chapter, need not be here particularly repeated. ‡

* Bib. Pat. ib. coll 749—752. † Ibid. col. 753.

‡ Without entering into a full detail, we may just state that Reinerus further writes of the Orbidarians, who held that the world had no beginning,—that Noah's ark was their sect, that Christ was the son of Joseph and Mary, that he was a sinner and did not suffer, that the Trinity had no existence before Christ's birth, and that the three persons are just their sect. The Ortilibenses said the Trinity began at Christ's nativity, when he became the Son of God by the preaching of Mary, though he was formerly a sinner; that Peter was converted by Jesus preaching, and became the third person; that the world was from eter-

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In the seventh chapter, Reinerus returns to the Waldenses, whom he calls Leonists, for reasons formerly mentioned. He speaks generally of such as he views to be heretics, but especially of the Leonists, and bears ample testimony to the

nity; that the body shall not be raised, but the soul shall live for ever; that the Pope and Emperor shall be converted to their sect before the day of judgment, and that all shall be removed from the earth but themselves, and they shall live in tranquillity, and be born and die as now. They say baptism is of no avail unless the administrator have merit, and does no good to little ones unless made perfect in their sect. They assert that a Jew can be saved in his religion; that confirmation is useless; that the body of Christ in the Supper is pure bread, and the bodies of believers are the body of Christ; that matrimony is good, if the parties live in continence, but it is condemned in any other way; and that the Evangelists, and not the Fathers, are to be received and morally explained. *

Reinerus then proceeds to describe the *Catharists* as divided into the Albanenses, Concorezenses, and Bagnolenses. He gives first the principles in which they are generally agreed: that the devil created this world. They denied the Romish sacraments; carnal marriage; a future resurrection; the use of flesh, eggs, and cheese; the punishment of malefactors; the salvation of infants; the destruction of any creature of the good God; and the slaying of birds and quadrupeds. The Catharists have four sacraments: the first is Consolation, or imposition of hands, which is the baptism of the Holy Ghost given by their prelates and underlings, except by the Albanenses. The second is Breaking of Bread, when blessed by the Lord's Prayer, and pronouncing "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all," at their common meals, but they do not believe the Lord's body is formed. The third is Penitence, but Reinerus declares he never saw in them the three parts of penance, namely, contrition, confession, and satisfaction. He never saw them pray by themselves, smite on their breasts, or pray to saints and angels. They confess only publicly at the imposition of hands, when the prelate holds the book of the New Testament in his hands. They once a month confess gross sins that are known. Their satisfaction is by fasting; by abstaining from flesh, eggs and cheese; and by prayer. They pray when they take food and drink, and the infirm are refused these when they cannot repeat the Lord's Prayer. Their fourth sacrament is Orders, for they have a bishop, who has an Elder Son, a Younger Son, and a Deacon. The Deacon hears confession of venial sins, enjoins a three days fast, and a hundred inclinations of the body, and absolves. They think all sins of old and young punished alike in a future world. He enumerates the places where the sixteen Catharist churches exist, and these are chiefly in Italy, but some of them are in France, Germany, Bulgaria, and the East. He is confident there are not above four thousand Catharists through the whole world, even reckoning both sexes; but there are innumerable hearers who are called Believers. † He states next the peculiar views of the different sections of Catharists.

Those called Albanenses are so named from Albe or Albano, anciently Alba Longa, a city in Italy, thirteen miles south south east of Rome. There is another Albano, a small town in Istria, belonging to the Venetian States, and also Alba Pompeia in Montferrat. But as Reinerus calls it Albe, and geographers

* Bib. Pat. ib. coll. 753—755. † Ibid. coll. 755—759.

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excellence of their lives. "The heretics," says he, "are known by manners and words. For they are composed and modest in manners. They have no pride in clothes, because they use them neither costly nor very mean. They do not engage in merchandize, because they wish to avoid lies, and oaths, and frauds; but as mechanics, live only by labour For their teachers are shoe-makers and weavers. They do not multiply riches, but are content with necessaries. They are also chaste, especially the Leonists. They are temperate in eating and drinking. They do not go to taverns, nor to dances, nor to other vanities. They restrain themselves from anger; always learn or teach, and therefore pray seldom. They feignedly go to church, offer, confess, communicate, and are present at preachings, but their design is to trepan the preacher in his sermon." This is Reinerus' want of charity.

"They are also known by their precise and modest words. They avoid scurrility, detraction, levity of conversation, lying and swearing. Neither do they say *truly* or *certainly*, and the like expressions, because they reckon these asseverations to be oaths. They seldom give a direct answer to questions. Thus, if it is asked of one of them, "Doest thou know the

call only the first Albano by the name of Albe, probably that is the place meant by him. Be this as it may, the three cities mentioned are all in Italy, and this sufficiently distinguishes the Albanenses from the Albigenses, so called from Alby or Albigeois in France. The Albanenses seem to have differed from the other Catharists on a point or two, because the former thought that the imposition of hands and corporeal bread unblessed, do no good, because both are made by Satan. The Albanenses also appear to have maintained the universal restoration of all men to pristine glory, and satisfied for sin only by prayer. He speaks of two parties of Albanenses: of the one, Gelesinanza of Verona is head; of the other, John of Lyons at Bergamo is leader. The first party is less numerous, and keep by the opinions of the Catharists in 1230. The peculiar blasphemies of these two parties, worse than the Manichean views, need not be repeated. *

The second class is that of the Concorezenses, from Concorezo, which is likely Concordia, a city belonging to Venice. These deny the two principles,—the Trinity and the Old Testament. They assert the Virgin Mary was an angel, and Christ's body angelical, which he put off at his ascension. †

The third class is that of the Bagnolenses, so designated from Bagnol in Languedoc. These agree with the second sett, but add, that souls were created before the world, and sinned at the general creation; that Christ had a celestial body, and did not eat, drink, suffer, or die. ‡

* Bib. Pat. lb. coll. 759—763. † Ibid. col. 763. ‡ Ibid.

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gospel or epistles?" he replies, "Who could have taught me these things?" or he says, "They who are of a profound or great understanding ought to know things of this kind;" or, "They who are at leisure or fit for this, know these things." They defend the lawfulness of such speeches, from Christ saying to the Jews, "Destroy this temple," meaning the temple of his body, and the Jews understood the temple of Solomon. They, the Waldenses, also use the expression, "Yea, yea, nay, nay." Illyricus adds, "They say only, yea, yea, nay, nay," as being "lawful to them." Nothing in any of the above answers is equivocal or false. A simple assertion or denial is stated to be their usual mode of speech.

The contents of the work of Reinerus have been already with considerable particularity placed before the reader, but justice requires, and he will not grudge to extend his patience a little farther, to read the curious narrative in the eighth chapter, which is on "the manner in which they, the supposed heretics, ingratiate themselves to familiarity with the great."

This they do in the following way:—"They exhibit some acceptable goods such as rings and clothes for gentlemen and ladies to buy. When a sale is effected, if the people ask the man, 'Have you any more articles to sell?' he replies, 'I have gems more precious than these are. I shall present them to you, provided you assure me you will not betray me to the clergy.' Security being received, he proceeds: 'I possess a shining gem from God, because by means of it, man attains the knowledge of God. I am in possession of another which shines with such a splendour, that it kindles the love of God in the heart of him that holds it.'* And so of the rest of his discourse. He uses the term 'gems' in a metaphorical sense. He afterwards recites to them some devout chapter, such as that of Luke: 'The angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth,' &c. Or he repeats the dis-

* In a note on Reinerus, the editor Gretzer, in 1613, calls this "A true picture of the heretics of our age, especially of the Anabaptists." Gretzer means by this to defame the Waldenses, for the Anabaptists on the continent in 1613, acted like madmen, but the Waldenses proceeded prudently. Neither would justice allow us to represent the anti-pædobaptists of the present day, as like the above Anabaptists.

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course of the Lord, John xiii. 'Now before the feast of the passover, when Jesus knew that his hour was come, that he should depart out of the world,' &c. When he has thus begun to please the auditory, he subjoins Matt. xxiii. 'The scribes and the pharisees sit in Moses' seat—Woe unto you, for ye have taken away the key of knowledge—ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in.' And adds the words of Mark xii. 'Which devour widows houses, and for a pretence make long prayers: these shall receive greater damnation.' Being asked by his hearers, 'Of whom are these imprecations to be understood?' he answers, 'Of the clergy and religious orders.' Afterwards the heretic, as Reinerus calls the Waldensian, compares the state of the Romish church with the state of theirs, making an address in this manner:—

"The teachers of the Roman church are haughty in clothing and in manners, Matt. xxiii. 'They love the uppermost rooms at feasts—and to be called of men, Rabbi;' but we do not seek such Rabbins. They are likewise incontinent; but every one of us has his own wife, with whom he lives in chastity. They are likewise rich and covetous, to whom the words are addressed, 'Woe unto you, for ye devour widows houses:' but we are supported in any way that occurs. They fight, introduce wars, and command the poor to be killed and burnt; to whom that word is spoken, 'All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword:' But we suffer from them persecution 'for righteousness' sake.' They eat the bread of idleness, working not at all: but we work with our hands. They also wish to be the exclusive teachers, to whom the words are said, Matt. xxiii. 10.* (Luke xi. 52.) 'Woe unto you! for ye have taken away the key of knowledge:' but with us, not only men, but women teach, and a disciple of seven days teaches another.† Among them also he is a rare doctor, who knows by heart the words of three chapters of the New Testament in succession: but among them a man

* This repeated error in the reference, shews Reinerus not to be an infallible textuary.

† They all made themselves useful in their places, but the Waldenses had public ministers regularly ordained.

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or woman is rare who is not able to recite the text in the vulgar tongue. Because we hold the true faith of Christ, and all teach holy life and doctrine; therefore the scribes and pharisees freely persecute us to death, as they did Christ.

"Besides, they only say and do not, and bind heavy burdens on men's shoulders, but do not move them with their finger. But we practice all things that we teach. They endeavour more to keep the traditions of men, than the commandments of God; and fastings, feastings, repairing to church, and many other matters of human institution: but we persuade to keep only the doctrine of Christ and the apostles. They burden the penitent with grievous pains, which they do not move with the finger: but we, by the example of Christ, say to the sinner, 'Go and sin no more;' and by the imposition of hands, loose him from all his sins, and in death we transmit the souls of men to heaven. They transmit almost every soul to hell, but we transmit the souls of men to heaven."

To these and other things the speaker adds: "Consider which state is more perfect, and which faith? ours, or that of the Roman church? and choose that state."

The man is thus turned away from the Roman Catholic faith, and thus becomes the believer and receiver, the favourer, defender and shade of the Waldensian for many months, and thus in the house becomes acquainted with that people.

The ninth chapter respects the examination of the alleged heretics. The inquisitor, by letters from the prince, collects the judges, and also convenes the bishops, prelates, and vicars. The civil officer calls the parishioners. The inquisitor addresses the meeting, and causes them all swear to defend the Roman faith, and inquires who will accuse the erroneous. He hears the accusers one after another. He then asks the accused person if he has learned any sacred words, when he began, and with whom? if he has taught laics? if he ever heard of the prohibition of hidden doctrines for which men are burnt? if after this he has continued to teach? if he profess the name of any order, as that of the poor men of Lyons and the Son? if he has heard that obedience is not to be given to the Pope and clergy? if he has ever confessed to a layman, not ordained by bishops without the tonsure, with swords

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and other arms? if those teachers vituperate the clergy as blind leaders of the blind, and as pharisees, who shut the kingdom of heaven against men? He is likewise to be asked, what he believes concerning observances appointed by men, which are not found in the Bible? If there are two ways at death and not a third? If he is willing to repent, and will swear to betray the associates of such doctrines? If no method persuade him to swear, he is to be conjured by each of the persons in the Godhead, by the mercy and sufferings of Christ, by the tremendous judgment, and by the excommunication of Peter and Paul. He is to be questioned, if he believes the binding of the Pope and his adherents, gives him liberty to betray such excommunicated persons? If he has ever made a collection for the brethren in Lombardy? And if he is persuaded that confession ought to be made entirely to presbyters? Reinerus adds a few things regarding the imperfect swearing, and the perfect refusing compliance.

The last chapter is on the punishment of heretics, which is to be by excommunication, military execution, and loss of goods, unless they recant. Ministers are to be deposed. Princes and others who favour heretics are to be excommunicated.*

A number of other questions to be put to heretics, are added at the end of the treatise, but Gretzer thinks them not penned by Reinerus, because the chapters gone over complete his plan. The interrogations need not be transcribed here, because they chiefly consist of quibbles and profane banter, such as, 'If you keep only by the gospel, and are smitten on the one cheek, ought you not to hold up the other cheek? If men take your coat, ought you not to give them your cloak.†

Pope Alexander IV. in 1260, Urban IV. in 1261, and Clement IV. in 1265, all persisted in persecuting the Waldenses. These prosecutions were chiefly at the instigation of Raymond of Pegne-fort, who in 1238, as above noticed, had become general of the Jacobins or Dominicans, which situation he held only till 1240, but having voluntarily demitted, he held a very high degree of credit among his own friends,

* Bib. Pat. ib. coll. 765—770. † Ibid, 771—773.

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and at the court of Rome during the pontificates of the Popes just mentioned, and which influence he held for ten years later, namely, till 1275, when he died. He was viewed among the Jacobins as a great saint, for then the greatest persecutors were held the most holy. Yet he was only half canonized two hundred and sixty years after his demise, and got an entire canonization in 1601, after having been three hundred and twenty-six years in expectation.*

The purity of the Vaudois at this period is attested by the most eminent Romanists. Thus, at the year 1270, Baronius reports of their chastity, "that the Waldenses fled from every touch of a woman."† In the year 1280, notwithstanding the edicts against them, many of them remained in Sicily according to the remark of Sieur le Haillan.‡ Probably some might retire to that island from Italy to obtain an asylum from their enemies, because we learn from the ecclesiastical history of the Reformed churches of France, printed at Anvers in 1558, that about 270 years previous to that date, that is, in 1288, "they were dispersed into the quarters of Provence, especially of Mirandol, Cabriere, Lormarin," and other places. And farther down, "In regard to religion, they have never adhered to the papal traditions.§ Mr Drelincourt, in an epistle to prince Ernest, Landgrave of Hesse, asserts the Waldenses did not, like Manichees, deny the Lord's Supper, and produces a reason why the Vaudois were reproached as Manichees. He asks the prince, what is the cause of his believing such assertions. "Is this a reason, that like the Manichees, they have maintained that the wine is the venom of the dragon, and that from this consideration they have refused to drink of the cup of the Lord? By no means; for according to the instruction of Jesus Christ, and the practice of the apostles, they have always communicated, and still communicate under the two kinds. But see the excellent reason why they have been thus accused. It is what Pope Boniface VIII.‖ placed in his bull *unam sanctam*, "that the Pope is the one principle on which all things ought to de-

* Cappel's, MS. in Leger, part ii. p. 330. † Leger, part i. p. 183.
‡ Perrin, book ii. chap. xvi. § Leger, ib. p. 168.
‖ He was Pontiff from 1294 to 1303.

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pend, and that because it is written, that God created the heaven and the earth in the beginning, and by no means in the beginnings, and that those who wish to put in equality the power of the emperor with that of the Pope, are like the Manichees, who believe that there are two principles of all things, the one good and the other evil. Consequently, the Waldenses and Albigenses, and generally all those who are unwilling to recognize this one sovereign power, and this one principle, have been called Manichees." Mr Drelincourt considers this as the true origin of the infernal injury done to the character of the servants of the living God.* And indeed during the pontificate of Boniface VIII. the Waldenses in Italy were subjected to the same calumnies as those in Dauphiny, and as the primitive Christians were. In Italy the inquisitorial monks always delivered the Vaudois to the secular power. Not merely the living, but the dead were subjected to the vengeance of the inquisitors. Bodies were exhumated and burnt. Among others, one HERMAN or ARMAN PONGILUP, who had lived a holy life, and who had been buried at Ferrara in 1269, was twenty years or upwards after his decease disinterred by Boniface, and his bones consumed to ashes. He had been a leader among the Fratricelli, not of the order of St Francis, but of those who refused subjection to the Pope, that is, of the Waldenses. One ANDREW, and his wife GUILLAUME, were also dug up and consumed to ashes.†

By this persecution, they were almost entirely exterminated in all Italy, excepting in Piemont. Though there were many Nicodemites, they durst not openly declare themselves from fear of the flames of the Vatican. Antonine asserts, that the sufferings of these poor people, especially in Italy, have caused them to be scattered abroad, and to disseminate their doctrine in many nations far distant from one another.‡

* Leger, part i. chap. xix. pp. 129, 130.

† Perrin, book ii. chap. xvi. Gretzer in Bib. Pat. tom. iv. part i. coll. 1065, 1066. Mosh. ib. chap. ii. § xxxix, Notes. ‡ Leger, part ii. pp. 336, 337.

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HISTORY

OF THE

WALDENSES.

BOOK IV.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Waldenses or Albigenses in France cruelly burnt at Paris, in Dauphiny, and in Picardy—Borelli, the Inquisitor, in the neighbourhood of the Alpine Valleys, belonging to France, puts multitudes to cruel deaths at Grenoble, at Ambrun, in Pragela, and other places.

Sadly as the Albigenses in the South of France were reduced and dispersed in the thirteenth century, yet a considerable number who maintained the same faith, and sometimes mentioned by the same name, but more frequently by that of Waldenses, existed in France in the century on which we are entering. Multitudes of these sealed their testimony with their blood.

In 1304, the inquisitors burnt at Paris one hundred and fourteen Waldenses, who, with admirable constancy, endured the flames.* At this time the Waldensian churches in Dauphiny were extensive. In Valentinois, the Waldenses had transmitted their faith from generation to generation. In 1619, Perrin possessed copies of certain processes which had been instituted by the inquisition three hundred years before, that is, in 1319, against the professors of that faith in Des Falques and

* Perrin, part i. book ii. chap. xv.

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Beauregard in Valentinois, and in La Baulme near Crest. The most celebrated churches of Dauphiny, however, are those of Argenterie: of the Valley of Fraissiniere, near Ambrun; of the Valley of Loyse, called in contempt Val-Lute, as if it were a receptacle of all impurity. *

Vignier says, that when the Waldenses were persecuted in Picardy, multitudes of them retired into Poland where were great numbers of them in 1330, in which country they were also persecuted. † Notwithstanding the harassment of the Waldenses in France at this period, some historians speak of an increase of their numbers from Piemont, whose inhabitants were too many, and emigrated to other places. Thus, Henry Pantaleon, in his history of the martyrs, reporting the sentiment of John Crispin, and of a great many others on occasion of the massacres of the Albigenses of Mirindol in 1545, writes, that "almost two hundred years ago they departed out of Piemont into Provence." The same thing is proved by the ecclesiastical history of France. ‡ In France the persecution under the inquisitors and their abettors, went on with great rigour, for we find that Gregory XI. in the year 1375, wrote to the rectors and princes who protected the inquisitors, to proceed against the Waldenses in Dauphiny, Savoy, and Provence. The Pope sent the bishop of Mussa to assist them in their work of blood. § The Sea of Histories relates, that in the year 1378, a great number of the Waldenses were burnt in the place called De Greve at Paris. ‖

At this date, a schism arose in Europe between the adherents of two rival popes, namely, of Urban VI. who resided at Rome; and of Clement VII. who held his court at Avignon. Clement living in the proximity of the Waldenses, he was anxious to get rid of those of Dauphiny, who accounted him antichrist. To that purpose he commanded the bishops of Dauphiny, Provence, and other places within his jurisdiction to take vigilant inspection of their flocks, that no Waldensian might reside in these parts. To suppress these people

* Perrin, ib. chap iii. † Ibid, chap. xiv. ‡ Vol. i. p. 35, in Leger, part i. chap. xxv. p. 157. § Wadding this year in the Univ. Hist. Modern, vol. xxvi. pp. 73, 74. ‖ Perrin, ib. chap. xv.

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the more effectually, he issued a bull in the year 1380, in which he nominated Francis Borelli, a monk of the order of the friar-minors, to be inquisitor. He enjoined him to make inquiry, and give information concerning the sect of the Waldenses in the dioceses of Aix, Arles, Ambrun, Vienna, Geneva, Aubonne, Savoy, the country of Venice, Dyois, Forest, the principality of Orange, the city of Avignon and Selon. This shews how extensive the number of the Waldenses must have been, and how vexatious to Clement.

Barcelli summoned all the inhabitants of Fraissiniere, l'Argeniere, and Val-Pute, to appear before him at Ambrun, under pain of excommunication. As neither they nor any proxy appeared before the monk, that sentence was pronounced against them. For thirteen years Borelli went on apprehending, imprisoning and burning the innocent. Among others he delivered to the secular power to be burned at Grenoble the following persons of Val-Pute, namely, WILLIAM MARY of Villar, PETER LONG or CHASTAN, JOHN LONG, or FRUCHI, ALBERT VINCENS, JOHANNA, wife of STEPHEN VINCENS, and a great many others to the number of one hundred and fifty men, several women, and many boys and girls of considerable age, whose names are not inserted lest the reader get weary.

The monkish barbarian also delivered to the secular power eighty persons of both sexes belonging to the Valleys of Argentiere and Fraissiniere, who were all condemned. When any one was apprehended, he was immediately carried to Grenoble, and there without any other form of law, burned alive. Among these were ASTINE BERARDE, AGNESSONNE, the wife of JOHN BRESSON, BARTHELMIE the wife of JOHN PORTE.

The last sentence pronounced in the cathedral of Ambrun, was in the year 1393, to the temporal advantage of the monks inquisitors, who claimed for themselves a part of the goods of the persons condemned, and adjudged the remainder to the temporal lords. All neighbours were forbidden to assist, receive, or visit; to defend, feed, or communicate; to counsel, favour, or deal with them, under pain of being convicted as favourers of heretics. They were declared unworthy of public offices, of giving evidence as witnesses, and of succeeding to an inheritance. If they were judges, their sentences were

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null; if advocates, their pleas were inadmissable; if notaries, their instruments were void; and if priests, they were to be deprived of their offices. Ecclesiastical persons were interdicted to administer the sacrament to them, to receive alms or oblations from them, and to afford them burial, under pain of deposition. By the said sentence, Borelli reserved to himself the review of the process against twelve whom he named. These were persons whom he expected to bribe him for their liberty, for Perrin mentions, that in the processes which he had inspected, there are several who complain, that though they we unacquainted with the religion of the Waldenses, they had been entangled in the snares of the inquisition for the sake of their wealth. *

About the year 1400, the Waldenses of the Valley of Pragela were assailed by their enemies on the side of Susa, a town in Piemont. In former assaults the Waldenses saved themselves by retiring among the mountains to hide themselves in the caves and hollow places. From these situations they sometimes harassed their enemies, and defended themselves. On the present occasion, their enemies chose Christmas, 25th December, for the attack, a season in which the poor people had no jealousy of any such proceeding, as the ground was covered with snow, and it was not likely their enemies would pass the mountains. The Valleymen seeing their caves and caverns possessed by their enemies, betook themselves to one of the highest mountains of the Alps, afterwards named Albergam or Albergean, that is, the mountain of retreat. This name is from the Italian word Albergo, because the people made it their place of refuge. At this time they fled towards it with their wives and children. Mothers were seen carrying their cradles, and leading by the hand their infants who were sufficiently old to walk. The enemy followed, whose feet were swifter to shed blood than the others to fly. Many were slain before they could reach the place of safety, and indeed such as were thus murdered at once had the more enviable death. For when evening approached, the destitute wanderers who were in the snow, having no means to light a fire to warm their little children, the greater

* Perrin, ib. chap. iii. and viii. Leger, part ii. p. 21.

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part of them were benumbed with cold. In consequence of this, eighty infants were in the morning found dead in their cradles. Most of their mothers soon after died, and in divers others the vital spark was fast extinguishing. In the course of the night their enemies entered their houses, and pillaged them of whatever they could transport to Susa. On the mountain of Meana, they met a poor Waldensian woman named MARGARET ATHODE, whom, in the progress of their cruelty they hanged on a tree. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, upwards of two hundred years later, the inhabitants of the Valley of Pragela spoke of the persecution of 1400, as the most violent which their fathers had suffered, and of which they had been informed. The recollection of it was still fresh in the memory of the people, because it had been long detailed from father to son, as the cause of innumerable miseries.*

CHAPTER II.

Waldenses or Albigenses in SPAIN during the Fourteenth Century.

THOUGH the clergy were much engaged with the suppression of the knights templars, and though the Roman Catholic church was much divided between rival popes, yet they seem to have been all agreed in their hatred of God's witnesses. Consequently, the persecution of the Albigenses was seldom relaxed in the fourteenth century. Scarce a year passed without multitudes of them being led to the stake, as detailed in the foregoing chapter. Rainald informs us, that in the year 1344, one John du Moulin, inquisitor of the province of Toulouse, violently prosecuted the Waldenses in that quarter, and they retired from that place. Some of them settled in Bearn, and others in Aragon, where their enemies harassed them at the instigation of the said inquisitor, who caused the bishop

* Perrin, ib. chap. iii. Leger, part ii. p. 7. Moreland, p. 194.

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of Pampelona take arms to suppress them.* Among those condemned for heresy during these years of trouble, was Arnaldo of Villaneuva in Aragon, a celebrated physician and chymist. He taught, that through the agency of Satan, the great body of the Christian people had been allured from the truth, and from mere custom kept up the semblance of worship; that those lived in cloisters cast themselves away from charity; that the religious orders usually falsified the doctrine of Christ; that charity does not require the endowment of chapels to celebrate masses for the dead; that such as devote their money to this purpose, instead of providing for the poor, and especially the needy of Christ's flock expose themselves to damnation; that offices of compassion and medicine are more acceptable to God than the sacrifice of the altar; and that God is praised in the eucharist, not by the hands of the priest, but by the mouth of the communicant.

Such being his avowed sentiments, we need not be surprised that his Romish enemies consigned him to expiate his temerity by suffering the fire, which he avoided by flying from his native country to take refuge with Ferdinand, king of Sicily.†

CHAPTER III.

Waldenses in GERMANY, especially in BOHEMIA—ECHARD—JOHN MELITCH, CONRAD STICKNA, and MATHIAS JANOWSKI—In various other German countries—Bohemia continued—Treatise of an Inquisitor analysed—Contents of the writings of Peter de Pilicdorf against the Waldenses—Mode of Interrogation by the Inquisitors—Waldenses in AUSTRIA.

D'AUBIGNI,‡ speaking of the passing of the Waldensian doctrine into Germany, says, that "so far were the rigorous persecutions from being able to hinder the advancement of that belief, that it extended through the eastern parts of Ger-

* Allix, Alb. p. 265. † M'Crie's Spain, pp. 40, 41. ‡ D'Aubigni, book ii. chap. vi. in Leger, part ii. p. 340.

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many, so that in the year 1315, there was an assembly of twenty-four thousand at Passau." Including Bohemia, there were in all eighty thousand persons of the Waldensian faith.* Trithemius, in the Hirsauge Chronicle, gives examples in 1315, of persons punished in Germany for adherence to the Waldensian religion.†

In 1315, many Christians were burnt at Stiria in Austria, who adhered to the Waldensian belief.‡

In the year 1330, the Waldenses were sadly vexed in many parts of Germany by Echard, a Jacobin monk inquisitor. After exercising many cruelties on them, he urged them to discover their reasons of separation from the church of Rome. The sufferers complied with this request according to the apostolic precept of giving to every one that asketh them a reason of the hope that is in them. ECHARD being convinced in his conscience of the reality of the corruptions of the Romish church, and not being able by Scripture to confute the Waldenses, he glorified God, and owned that the truth had overcome him. He became a member of that very church which he was persecuting to the death. On the other inquisitors being apprized of this change, they instantly sent such a number in pursuit of him, that they apprehended him and brought him to Heidelburgh where he was burnt. He died, maintaining the injustice of condemning to death so many good men for adhering to the righteousness of Christ, in opposition to the inventions of antichrist.§

We above noticed that Vignier relates, that many of the Waldenses on being persecuted in Picardy in France, departed into POLAND. About the year 1330 there were in Poland many professors of the Waldensian principles. The bishops had recourse to the Inquisition, by which many of these people of God were delivered to the executioner. Illyricus in his Catalogue of the Witnesses writes, p. 539. that he has lying beside him the form of Inquisition used by the Inquisitors in this persecution.‖ The same Illyricus, in the said work,

* Perrin, book i. chap. ii. † Gretzer, in Preface to the Triad against the Waldenses, chap. iii. Bib. Pat. tom. iv. part i. coll. 1069, 1070.

‡ Abraham Mellin, lib. ii. fol. 479. I neglected to mark in my memorandum book the quarter in which I found this reference.

§ Perrin, book ii. chap. xi. ‖ Ibid, book ii. chap. xiv.

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p. 116. mentions a certain form of inquisition against the Waldenses of BOHEMIA and other respectable testimonies. "I have," says he, "the inquisition in Bohemia and Poland acted against the Waldenses under the Bohemian king, John, about the year of our Lord, 1330, where among other things, mention is clearly made of the collections which they were wont to send to their brethren and teachers into Lombardy." And in another inquisition, "I find," says he, "that those were accustomed to journey out of Bohemia for the sake of learning theology to their teachers,—the Waldenses in Lombardy as to a kind of school or academy."* This displays a laudable zeal for a learned ministry, and wipes off the reproach of despising literature from the Waldenses both in Bohemia and Piemont. The latter place at this period enjoyed tranquillity, and was more eligible than any other as a seat of learning, which was commonly fixed in Angrogna. Besides, the Waldenses in the Valleys formed the mother church, from whom a number of junior branches had sprung in different countries. Besides the Waldenses, the Lord raised at this crisis other witnesses in Bohemia to aid them.

Previous to this century, the popes had attempted to introduce the Latin service into the churches of Bohemia and Moravia. With a view to introduce further corruptions, the pope, Clement VI. and the emperor Charles IV. in the year 1350, made Prague an archbishopric, and founded a university. The marriage of the clergy was prohibited, and the people were denied the use of the cup in the Lord's Supper. In spite of danger, however, many upright ministers dispensed this sacrament in both kinds to the people in their dwellings, and in hidden situations. The nobles, however, who wished to retain the favour and emoluments of the court, adopted the forms of the Romish church. Among those who testified against the Romish corruptions, was JOHN MILITCH or MELICE, born of a noble family in Moravia, a pious man, and master of arts, was distinguished. In 1360, he was appointed minister of the castle church at Prague, where he was a popular preacher, both in the Bohemian and German languages. By word and writing he exhorted the people to frequent commu-

* Regenvolscius, lib. i. cap. iii. Perrin ib. chap. ix.

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tion in both kinds. He often preached three times in a day, and his ministry was blessed for the conversion of multitudes. He complained of spiritual desolations, and rebuked diverse abuses and corruptions. In these noble enterprises, he was aided by the godly endeavours of his colleague, CONRAD STICKNA, an Austrian, himself a learned and eloquent man. On his preaching against gaudiness, the ladies of rank adopted a simple dress. By the influence of his ministry, a stew at Prague, called Venus, was pulled down, and Mary Magdalene church erected in the same place. The reason of this name was, because three hundred prostitutes who had lived there, gave evidence of genuine conversion, and betook themselves to a life of honest industry. Militch used to say, that he preferred these penitent sinners to the self-righteous inhabitants of the nunnery. He established at Prague a seminary for the instruction of young men in Scriptural divinity. His boldness caused many in Bohemia and other countries to withdraw from the church of Rome. The emperor Charles highly esteemed him, but the Pope, as might be expected, bitterly hated him.

From the writings of Militch, found after his death, his friends learned that at this time he was much troubled by his conscience stimulating him to go to Rome, and to testify that antichrist is come. With fasting and prayer he begged of God that if this inclination did not proceed from a divine impulse, he would deliver him from it. Finding no rest, he went to Rome, and wrote on some of the cardinals' doors, "Antichrist is come, and sitteth in the church." On Militch returning to Prague, Ernest, the archbishop, influenced by the Pope, caused him to be imprisoned, but in 1366, from fear of the people, his persecutors released him. He went on in his career of doing good, but in 1369, he was by death deprived of the valuable aid of his colleague, Stickna. Militch travelled into Moravia, Silesia, and Poland, where he died in peace, on the 10th day of February 1374, shortly before the mandate of pope Gregory XI. arrived to punish him with the utmost severity as an incorrigible heretic.* The

* History of the Bohemian persecution, Lond. 1650, chap vi. Holmes' Hist. of United Brethren, pp. 16, 17. Select Narratives of the United Brethren, pp. 27—31.

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bull was sent to the archbishop of Gnesen, but was too late, for the victim of papal vengeance had now got beyond suffering.

MATHIAS JANOVIUS or JANOWSKI of Prague in Bohemia, commonly called the Parisian, because he studied nine years at Paris, succeeded John Militch. He was confessor to the emperor, Charles IV. and zealously defended communion in both kinds. He wrote on the life of a Christian, on hypocrisy, on antichrist, and on the frequent reception of the Lord's Supper. He wished Charles to call a council to reform the church, but Charles replied, that this belonged not to him but to the Pope. Charles wrote the Pope on the subject; but the latter importuned him to punish the heretics. Accordingly Charles banished Janovius from his kingdom, and prohibited communion under both kinds. Such as wished to have the sacrament in this way, were obliged to administer it in private houses, and afterwards in woods and caves. These people were frequently plundered, beaten and drowned, and were at last obliged to go in armed companies. In this state they continued till the time of Huss. Charles IV. influenced by the prelates, issued out letters patent dated the 18th September 1376, for an inquisition and punishment by fire. None but the Pope's creatures are admitted into the magistracy. Winceslaus who succeeded Charles in 1378, chose sixteen Germans and two Bohemians to reform the senate of Prague, because the Germans were more passive. Janovius returned to Bohemia, and lived in obscurity till 1394, when he died. Just before his departure, he said, "The rage of the enemies of the truth hath now prevailed against me; but this shall not always be; for an ignoble people shall arise without sword or power, over whom they shall not be able to prevail."* He added, "that only one of that company shall see it." This was one Wenceslas, who lived to so great an age, that sixty years after he was witness to the formation of the church of the United Brethren, and became a member of it.†

In the year 1390, or as others 1490, thirty-six citizens of

* History of the Bohemian Persecutions, chap. vii.

† Select Narratives of the Church of the United Brethren, p. 32. Holmes' History of the United Brethren, p. 17.

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Mentz were burnt at Bingen as Waldenses.* In 1390 or 1391, the monks inquisitors in Saxony and Pomerania, took 443 Waldenses, who all confessed that they had been instructed in that belief for a long time by their ancestors, and that their teachers had come from Bohemia.†

To return to the Waldenses in Bohemia. An anonymous inquisitor who wrote in 1391, gives account of the belief of these people in that country, and writes against them on three points, namely, their blasphemies against the church of Rome, their errors regarding the sacraments and the saints, and their abhorrency of all the good and laudable customs of the church. He states also the manner in which the Waldenses managed their controversies with the Romanists. According to him, the poor men of Lyons or Leonists, hold that the church of Rome is not the church of Christ, but the harlot sitting on the beast; that the church of Rome ceased to be the true church under Sylvester, when she obtained temporal possessions; that they themselves are the true church, because they observe the apostolic doctrine in words and actions; that the traditions and statutes of the church are null, and like Nadab and Abihu's strange fire; that the doctrine of the gospel and apostles is sufficient to salvation without human traditions; that the statutes of the church are a burdensome yoke; that "the priests should have no inheritance with the people" in lands; that the laws condemn tithes; that the eastern church is independent of Rome; that the Roman church often changes her laws regarding degrees of consanguinity and other matters, but Christ's "words shall not pass away;" that the Pope is the leader of errors, the prelates are blind, and the monks are Pharisees; that clergymen ought to work, and neither to be called Rabbi, to run after covetousness, nor to take away the key of knowledge; that lay people may preach.

They declared that God alone, and not the prelates or pope is to be obeyed; that the doctrine is idolatry, which asserts the pope to be God on earth, greater than men, equal to angels and cannot sin; that Pope and abbots are not to be

* Math. Flac. Illyricus, catalogue of witnesses in D'Anvers, p. 258. Perrin, part i. book i. chap. ii. and book ii. chap. xi.

† Dutch Martyrology, part ii. fol. 497, in D'Anvers, p. 258. Perrin, part i. book ii. chap. xi.

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obeyed nor denominated fathers, for we are to "call no man Father;" that we are not to kneel to priests, because John was forbidden to worship the angel; that the sacraments celebrated by immoral priests are to be contemned; and that the holy wars against Pagans, Turks, and heretics, are murders, because men are not to be compelled to religion by the sword, but allured by preaching. Some of them say infants cannot be saved by baptism, because they cannot believe; some of them baptize; and others impose hands instead of baptism. They reject chrism, and slight confirmation. They hold that a priest in mortal sin cannot give the eucharist, but that a pious layman or woman may administer it; and that transubstantiation is not effected by the administrator, but by the worthy receiver. Some receive the Lord's Supper of grapes; some of bread dipped in wine; some of sorrel; some with vinegar; and others celebrate it in chambers and gardens, as in Bavaria. They give the eucharist to public sinners, and refuse it to the worthy, as nuns and widows. They assert, that the mass is worth nothing, because Christ and his apostles never sung mass; that Christ was offered only once, but the priest offers him twice a-day; that masses are sung for gain; and that the first mass of a new priest is of no more value than any other, because putting on his cloak does not make him clean as an angel. They call church music infernal melody for gain, and a hindrance to men from their work. They contemn canonical hours, and the sound of bells, but approve of the Lord's Prayer. They think the gifts to be brought to the altar are just good-works, because they often see offerings sinfully wasted, and the priest scolding while he says mass.

They despise the sacrament of *penance*, thinking it better to confess to a pious layman than to a wicked priest, who imposes a fine, and encourages people to sin, or betrays the confidence reposed in him. They refuse the sacrament of *marriage*, some saying it is sinful to marry without hope of children. Some think marriage no better than fornication, because they see the improper conduct of many of the married; because they see every virgin bride excluded eleven days from the church, while a fornicatrix is not excluded one day; bebecause some preach that a woman dying in child-bed is

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damned; and because the blessing is denied at the churching of poor poor women after child-birth. They assert that the sacrament of *extreme unction* is the highest pride, because only the rich are able to pay for it, because not administered to any that are not worth two cows, and because twelve lights are necessary, while only one light is required at the eucharist. They maintain the sacrament of *order* to be useless, because Christ never gave his apostles either rockets, mitres, hoods, rings or tonsures; and because the ignorant and immoral are advanced to be dignitaries.

They think ministers ought to marry, and the contrary encourages impurity. They view excommunication as cursing, and the person uttering it as cursing himself. They say when there is an interdict, the tenths ought not to be paid. Indeed they say tithes ought not to be given at all, because there was no such thing in the primitive church, and if any plead from the Levites, they may as well propose the revival of the whole ceremonial law. They teach that the clergy should have no possessions, for the Lord is their inheritance; that indulgences, dispensations, and absolutions of the priest are vain, for who can forgive sin but God only? that the feast days of the church are no more sacred than other days; that the hundred and twenty holidays of the year were introduced for gain; that the fasts of the church are to be despised; that prayers in the stone house of the church are not more acceptable than in a barn; and that the altar is a heap of stones, and the cloth and other ornaments of the churches would be much better sold to feed the poor. They reject incense and holy water, and say images and pictures are idols. They deride the tedious and superfluous singing in churches. They pray to no saint, except God. They despise holy springs, sacred trees, with the legends and miracles of the saints.

They have no faith in the relics of the saints, many of which are false, as the milk of the Virgin, and the bones of an ox have been cut down and sold as bones of saints. They abhor the cross, which some say was taken away and returned of itself. They neither arm themselves with the sign of the cross, nor value the sepulchres of the Lord and of his saints, nor set any special value on burial in church-yards. They reject watchings with the dead, because of the follies and quar-

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rels on these occasions. They condemn pilgrimages. They deny purgatory, asserting that the soul at death goes either to heaven or hell; and that offerings, suffrages, and prayers are of no use to the dead. They judge the prayers of a good layman better than those of a wicked priest, and one Lord's Prayer of greater efficacy than many masses. They consider Latin prayers as of no use to laymen. Regarding purgatory, they say all sin is mortal, when sin is forgiven the punishment is remitted, and intercessions are unprofitable. Owing to the tyranny of judges and princes, they condemn the magistracy as sinful. They consider swearing as a mortal sin, because they see men swear on trivial occasions. Such is the account this inquisitor gives of the supposed errors of the Waldenses in Bohemia, some of which are mere calumnies, and others false inferences, as Perrin and Usher have demonstrated. The judicious reader will be able to discriminate for himself. On the whole, we find much information in these statements.

The same inquisitor gives a most favourable account of the moral deportment of the Waldenses, and other witnesses in Bohemia at this period. "The heretics," says he, "are known by their manners and words; for they are orderly and modest in their morals and behaviour. They avoid all pride in their habits, for they wear clothes neither very rich nor very mean and tattered. In order to avoid lies, swearing and deceit, they decline engaging in trade or commerce, and live only by handicraft and labour. Their teachers act as weavers and tailors. They do not hoard up riches, but are content with necessaries, and are very chaste. They are sparing and very temperate in eating and drinking. They neither frequent taverns or ale-houses, nor attend balls or other vanities. During their work they either learn or teach, and therefore pray little."* The writer, as is usual in such cases, charges them with hypocrisy in attending church, offering, confessing and communicating, and with captiousness in hearing sermons. He then continues: "In like manner also their women are very modest, avoiding backbiting, foolish jesting, and levity of words, and especially abstaining from

* They pray however at other times.

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lies and swearing,—not even using the common asseveration, *in truth, for certain,* or the like, because they view these to be oaths." He blames them with not answering directly when questioned regarding their knowledge of the gospel or epistles, and saying "Who should have taught me them?" or "These things are for them to learn who have a great or deep understanding.—They commonly say only Yea, yea; Nay, nay."

The Romanist next describes their devotional practices: "They kneel down on the ground before a bench or such like conveniency, and in all their prayers continue thus in silence, as long as one might repeat the Lord's Prayer thirty or forty times. Their prayers are concluded by several times repeating the word Amen. This they practice every day with great reverence among those of their own persuasion, without the company of strangers, forenoon, afternoon, at night when they go to bed, and in the morning when they arise from their couch. They further pray at some other times during the day, the morning and evening." He states that they have and teach no other prayer, except "Our Father:" but this seems just to mean that they observed no other form of prayer but the Lord's Prayer. They deny the salutation of the angel and the creed to be prayers.—They have a short summary of seven articles concerning the Godhead, and seven concerning human nature,—the ten commandments, and the seven works of mercy. These articles they teach, and readily answer every one that asks, a reason of their faith. Before they sit down to table, they pronounce a blessing thus: "Bless the Lord. Lord have mercy on us. Christ have mercy on us. Lord have mercy on us. Our Father who art in heaven," &c. The oldest of the company then announces in the vulgar tongue: "May God who blessed the five barley loaves and the two fishes in the desert before his disciples, bless this table and that which is upon it, and what shall be set upon it,* in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Amen." After dinner or supper, they give thanks in the common language: "Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving; honour, power, and might be as-

* The inquisitor states, that here the speaker makes the sign of the cross, but this is hardly consistent with some things mentioned above.

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cribed to God alone, for ever and ever, Amen." The master of the company then adds, "God render a good reward and a plentiful return to all our benefactors; and may God who confers on us bodily food, vouchsafe us also the life of the Spirit; and may God be with us, and we with him always." The company answers, "Amen." When they bless the table before meals, and return thanks after victuals, they fold their hands together, and lift them up towards heaven. After dinner, when they have given thanks, they pray and preach, teach and exhort, according to their manner of doctrine.*

Below this account of the principles of the Waldenses in Bohemia, the names of the ministers are inscribed. NICOLAS of Poland, the son of a husbandman; JOHN of Poland, the son of a rustic. CONRAD of Saxony, of a village called Dubun, near Weisenburg, the son of a husbandman; WALRIC of Hardek, a shoe-maker; CONRAD of Gamundia, in Swabia, son of a rustic; SIMON of Salig, a Hungarian, a joiner by trade; HERMAN of Mistelgen, a Bavarian, and a smith by employment; JOHN of Drenna, likewise a smith. The foresaid persons are named among them, apostles, masters, angels and brethren. In their life they fast three or four days a-week, with bread and water, unless they are obliged to hard labour. They then appear among their people as superiors. They pray seven times a-day. The oldest begins the prayer, which he renders long or short, according as he judges proper, and the company joins with him. The teachers are very plain in their dress. They walk two in company, an old and a young man, wherever they go. These men are very cautious in their words, avoiding lies, oaths, and every thing impure, instructing and exhorting their auditory to act a similar part.†

After the Waldenses of Bohemia had remained in comparative obscurity for upwards of two centuries, the imprudence of two of their preachers led to their detection in 1391.‡ The names of the two were DANIEL of Valence, and JOHN of Molines of the Valley of Queyras. These had been sent into Bohemia by the other barbes, to minister to the Waldensian

* Allix, Pied. pp. 221—236.
† Ibid p. 237. Bib. Pat. vol. iv. part. ii. coll. 730. ‡ Holmes, p. 15.

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churches in that kingdom, but by a strange infatuation they discovered to their enemies all they knew of these churches. Whence a dreadful persecution was the result, and the Bohemian churches wrote the evangelical churches of the valleys, never to send them any minister whose prudence and fidelity had not been better proved. This shews that in the Valleys was the seminary or academy in which the pastors were educated, and whence they were missioned in all directions, even to the most distant nations to cultivate the churches which had been planted by their barbes.*

With regard to the Waldenses in other parts of Germany, we shall consult some anonymous papers written between 1388 and 1395, published along with the treatise of Peter de Pilichdorf, who wrote in the last of these years. The first paper is entitled, "A Refutation of the Errors with which the Waldenses are engaged, by an unknown author." It asserts that in one year Peter had recalled about six hundred of that people; that the leaders, called *brethren*, and in confession, *masters*, are the true successors of the disciples of Christ; that the Waldenses preach in secret places, and during the night, while Christ and his apostles taught in the day and in the temple, not in vaults and caverns, against the Waldenses who call the Roman Catholic family *strange* and *Frembden*; that the Waldenses are thieves and robbers from Satan, because they are not authorized by God nor by the Roman church; and that though they preach against cursing, stealing, lying, deception, uncleanness and the like, they infuse the poison of articles reprobated by the Romish church.

The Waldenses assert the Roman priests are not the successors of the apostles of Christ, because they have earthly possessions. The author says, Christ is to have the heathen for inheritance; that he allowed the apostles purse and script, Luke xxii. 36; and that the church made all things common. The Waldenses said the Romish priests were grossly immoral, while theirs were humble, generous, chaste, sober, full of love, peaceable, &c. and therefore gave greater evidence than the papists of being ministers of Christ, though not ordained

* Leger, part i. chap. xxxii. Morland, book i. chap. viii. Perrin, book i. ap. ix.

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by the ecclesiastical bishops. He only answers that Judas Iscariot was a thief, and the high priest, Ananias, a whited wall. The Waldenses say we are not to invoke the saints in heaven, because they are absorbed in the fulness of joys, and cannot think of us. He answers that angels know, for they rejoice over repenting sinners, and the saints in heaven are like angels; that it could not interrupt the happiness of saints to pray for us any more than the angel Raphael in Tobit xii. 15; that though God alone created and redeemed us, yet this redemption was not without patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs; that the Waldenses are not of the generation who call Mary blessed, who may be an advocate as well as Christ; that though God alone is to be worshipped with Latria, yet saints with Dulia; that though Christ alone is the door, yet the New Jerusalem has the twelve gates of the apostles, and the rich man prayed, "Father Abraham." The Waldenses despise the dedication of churches and turrets, and the consecration of churches, bells, ornaments, altars, and cemeteries; they reprobate the sound of organs, and every thing that raises solemnity, as pompous, proud, and displeasing to God. The Romanist answers, that the ark is God's glory, and men are to worship towards God's temple; that Christ had a white vestment before Herod, and a purple robe and scarlet cloak before Pilate, and therefore a red vesture is most suitable at the mass, to represent his bloody sufferings. These white and purple robes point at Christ's virtues and sufferings. The priest's *dress* of the *head* signifies the "helmet of salvation," and the Jews covering of Christ's face. The priest's *white garment* is like Christ's, in which Herod mocked him. It is upwards and downwards, and means the hope which comes from grace upwards to the church, and from the merits of the church downwards, for "we are saved by hope." The *girdle* is righteousness, Isaiah xi. 5. having two arms, one declining from evil, the other repairing to good, and representing the scourge with which Pilate scourged Christ. The *bundle* in the priest's left hand is fortitude, and points out the cord by which the Jews bound Christ. The *stole*, or long robe of the priests, has two arms, which represent prudence and temperance. The small *coverlet* over the other parts of dress is charity, which covers the multitude of sins, and re-

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presents the purple vestment with which the soldiers surrounded Jesus. The song of the church is pleasing to God, like the sound at Jericho, and the hosannah's of the children when Christ entered Jerusalem, which last warrants the processions of the church.

Again, the Waldenses say that the pope, archbishops, and bishops have not greater authority than the priest. The present writer answers, that under Moses there were hundreds, fifties, and tens, there were also high priests and priests; there was Peter who got the keys, and there were other apostles, evangelists, pastors and teachers. As the head has the senses of the other members, so the pope has the authority of all his inferiors. This shews the Waldenses were not Episcopalians.

The Waldenses say the appointment of bishops and prelates are only the traditions of men, and not to be observed. The writer answers that constitutions beside the law are alluded to, John xvi. 12.; 1 Cor. vii. 12.; 1 John ii. 27.; that the apostles changed the form of baptism instituted by Christ; that the ancient Israelites were not to add, lest any should think the law not sufficient for that time, and that the things enjoined by the church are not "the commandments of men," but of God, Luke x. 16.; and that Gal. i. 18. and Rev. xxii. 18. are things against the word.

The Waldenses say, the prelates ought not to excommunicate, nor the church to persecute. He says the separated ought to be reproached and delivered to the magistrate, to be removed from the church's presence. The Waldenses also say the bishop's indulgences and remissions are of no avail, because a remission for money, either in whole or in part, is venial. He replies, that the indulgences glorify God, because they build a house to him with the money, and the indulgence is not on account of the money, but through the money as baptism is through the water. The Waldenses say, if the penance of two or more years is commuted for one penny, God is defrauded. But this, says he, honours God, because he loves praise and prayer more than the afflictions of his creatures; and a greater quantity of water in baptism makes not a greater remission than a small quantity, so neither does a greater sum of money. The Waldenses say this kind of indulgence encourages men in sin. He replies, indulgence only

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for such as are free from mortal sin, and neither will he omit penance, else he will be exposed to purgatory when he dies. Thrice dipping in holy water does more good than multitudes of ablutions; so in virtue of the keys, small offerings is prescribed, indulgencies are of more efficacy for remission at certain times, than much more at other times.

The Waldenses deny that those dying in charity go to purgatory. He replies, that most people die in venial sin, and so must go to purgatory; and great sinners who have done little penance, and die in charity, cannot be damned, but must go to purgatory. The Waldenses say in answer, that when guilt is remitted, punishment is remitted, and deny purgatory, saying, there are only two states after this life. Their opponent thinks they err also in denying venial sins. Eternal death for enemies, and the rod of correction for children. Every fall does not break a man's neck, and every stain does not destroy a vestment. If none are venial, all must be mortal, 1 Cor. iii. 12—15, 1 John i. 8, which shews there is a purgatory. The fault may be pardoned, though the punishment is not removed. Such as repent shall have finite suffering, and such as do not repent infinite. The Waldenses say, if the penitent are to be punished, it is in this life, and that when great sinners are converted near death, so much the greater is the display of God's mercy contrary to Rom. ii. 4. The suffrages of the church are of value to the dead, Prov. iii. 27. Eccles. vii. "Thou mayest not forbid grace to the dead." At the prayers of Mary and Martha, Jesus raised raised Lazarus. At Peter's prayers, Tabitha was raised.*

The book of Peter de Pilichdorff, professor of sacred theology, against the Waldenses, is dated 1395. His remarks, chap. i. on the Waldenses, in the time of Sylvester and Peter Waldo, have been already noticed. Pilichdorff says, the Waldenses shall all be damned, because they do not join the Roman Catholic church. He states that Waldo, hearing the words read, "we have left all and followed thee," abandoned his wealth to the poor, and thought there was no other apostolic man on earth. Others imitated him. These began also like the apostles to preach. This conduct, however, the Pope

* Biblioth. Pat. tom. iv. part ii. coll. 819—830.

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prohibited; they disobeyed and were excommunicated. They did not then preach publicly, but in a more private way. To ancient heresies, they added damnable articles of their own, reprobating almost all the articles of the church of Rome except the sacraments.* They drew many from the communion of Rome, heard confessions, enjoined penance, and absolved men. While the priests went on in the most carnal vices, the people believe they are better absolved by these preachers. A mere laic among the heretics dispensed the body of Christ to certain accomplices. This shews that the Waldenses in Germany did not allow mere laymen to administer divine ordinances, because he was censured by the collected leaders, or if Pilichdorff is calling him layman, merely because he did not belong to the church of Rome, it shews that they did not believe transubstantiation, and rebuked one of their ministers for pretending to transubstantiate. Chap. ii. to iv. is on the unity and perpetuity of the faith. Chap. v. is to shew, that because the Waldensian ministers have not been ordained by the Romanists since the time of Sylvester, they are of no authority, but come from Satan, and are like Dathan, Abiram and Uzziah. In chap. vi. to x. he upbraids the Waldensian ministers for not being more public, but we can account for this from their being persecuted. In chap. xi. he speaks of the pastors poisoning old women and obscure people, and these people poisoning others, and when they bring any new candidate for admission, saying, "Observe with great circumspection that the person be well disposed, otherwise I may not admit him." He mentions an instance of private people bringing a young convert, who refused to make confession, and the pastor said, "Ye have sent to me not Rachel but Leah." But where is the harm of private men or women instructing others in private to prepare them for church membership? It appears also that the Waldensian pastors in Germany made strict inquiry into the moral and religious characters of those they admitted. The confession may mean the renunciation of acknowledged sin, or an adherence to a

* At this time the people still received the cup through many parts of Bohemia, and probably in other parts of Germany, and the outward mode of dispensing the Lord Supper, might not be strikingly different in the Popish and Waldensian churches in Germany.

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confession of faith. This account by an enemy speaks loudly on their behalf. Chap. xii. states that the Waldenses reprobate and abhor the Runcarians, Beghards, Luciferians, whom he reckons all children of Satan. This shews that the Waldenses were quite distinct from the other societies reckoned by the church of Rome heretical. Chap. xiii. blames the Waldenses for being too private. Chap. xiv. condemns them for confining the saved to their own community. Roman Catholics surely ought to say little on this point. In chap. xv. he states, that in the kingdom of Cracow, there are few Waldenses, and so cannot be the successors, because their doctrine is unknown in so many parts. He states, that in the space of two years, upwards of a thousand Waldenses in Thuringia, Marshia, Bohemia and Moravia, have been converted to the Roman Catholic faith. He expected also that soon a thousand in Austria and Hungary will be delivered from the leviathan by the inquisitors. Yet he blames them for not being more public. In chap. xvi. he addresses the Waldenses as individuals, "Thou speakest against the priests of the church saying, 'they are fornicators, they are usurers, they are taverners;' and many other vices thou castest upon them. I answer, Are they on that account not priests? Far be it from me to say so. And as the singular goodness of a man does not confer the priesthood, so his wickedness does not take it away.—As therefore fornication or adultery, does not take away royal dignity from a king; if he is otherwise a good justice—so neither is it able to take away the sacerdotal dignity, if he otherwise rightly administer the sacraments, preach the Word, or do other sacerdotal things. There is, therefore, the same virtue, dignity and nobility of the sacraments, whether they are conferred by a worthy or an unworthy presbyter." In chap. xvii. xviii. he continues the same subject, and retorts by saying that crimes appear among the Waldensian leaders and believers, as well as others. In chap. xix. he complains that the Waldenses do not believe in the Virgin Mary and other saints. He trys to shew that John and the angels of the seven churches know the works of the churches, as if John were the speaker. In chap. xx. he says that angels are to be worshipped as is seen in the angels that appeared in Scripture, and so are saints, as Mary was ad-

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dressed, "blessed art thou among women." In chap. xxi. he is displeased with the Waldenses for not believing purgatory, which he asserts is meant by the south, Eccles. i. 6. and perverts other places. In chapter xxii. he blames the Waldenses for being indifferent regarding burial in a cemetery. In chap. xxiii. he is provoked because they despise consecrated churches, and argues from Solomon consecrating the temple, the second temple, Haggai i., and Christ teaching in the temple. In chap. xxiv. the Waldenses disbelieve any virtue in consecrated altars, and he pleads from the ceremonial altars. In chap. xxv. the Waldenses reprobate the consecration of the pontifical and priestly vestments, water, salt, ashes, candles, meats in time of pasch, &c. by bishops; as well as consecration of bishops, priests, churches, altars, cemeteries, baptismal water, chrism, and oils for unction, palms, leaves and herbs, saying, that consecration gives these things no sanctity, though the words are holy and good. He says, if the words transubstantiate the bread into the body of Christ, surely the holy words by which the priests consecrate and bless certain things confer certain sanctity, Tobit vi. 13—17. In chap. xxvi. against the Waldensian incredulity in regard to the consecration of churches, he refers to 1 Kings viii. and to Macc. iv. 36—58. In chap. xxvii. the Waldenses reprobate the songs, the chanting, organs, and musical instruments of the churches, and quote Eph. v. 19. He answers, from the instruments under the Old Testament. But there is reason to believe, that the Waldenses only objected to the use of the instruments under the New Testament. The Waldenses condemn all canonical hours, and all the prayers of the church, except the Lord's Prayer, and the consecration prayer in the mass, meaning that no other of their prayers was of divine authority. He answers by stating, that other prayers are warranted in Scripture. But it does not seem that the Waldenses denied this; they only denied the popish prayers, except the Lord's Prayer and consecration prayer. In chap. xxix. he argues for canonical hours, from David praising God seven times a-day, from Acts iii. 1. and from the different terms used, 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2. In chap. xxx. the Waldenses disbelieve the merit of indulgences, pilgrimages, and jubilees. He says Christ is the fountain of merit; Mary is a river, who

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is meant, Eccles. xxiv. 30, and the apostles, martyrs, doctors, hermits, confessors, widows, and virgins, are rivulets. The merits of these saints is an ecclesiastical treasury, from which indulgences are given. He states that there must be great merit in Christ, because now in 1395, it is as full as ever, and states the merit of the saints to be at the disposal of popes and prelates. In chap. xxxi. he proves jubilees by Levit. xxv. and in chap. xxxii. pleads for papal excommunications from 1 Cor. v. 4, 5. and other places. In chap. xxxiii. he pleads for images from the cherubim in the tabernacle and temple. He thinks images ought not to be used for worship, but in honour of Christ and the Virgin. He thinks the figure of Mary as honourable as the twelve oxen at the temple, and the brazen serpent, and more likely to heal, Wisdom xv. 6. Eccles. xxxviii. 27—34. In chap. xxxiv. the Waldenses are blamed for reprobating what the priests do in regard to those beset by the devil, saying, that from the time of the suffering of Christ, no man can be beset with the devil. He quotes Mark xvi. 17. Acts xvi. 16—18. xix. 11—16. Possessions of Satan were much more frequent during our Lord's humiliation, than at any other time; and on this question the Roman Catholics go to an extreme in maintaining that the frequency of possessions, might push the Waldenses to the opposite, to deny that real possessions exist in any case in ordinary times. In chap. xxxv. he defends the study of Latin, Hebrew, and Greek, and reproaches the Waldenses for the want of these, and knowing the Scriptures, and expounding them in the barbarous vulgar tongue. Though some of the Waldensian teachers might want these, yet it is evident they did not despise these qualifications. In chap. xxxvi. he defends the use of swearing in opposition to the Waldensian disbelief of an oath before judges, but he goes to the opposite error, and thinks we may swear by Holy Mary, for in that case we swear by God who made her holy, like him that sweareth by the temple. *

There is added a fragment of another treatise of Peter de Pilichdorf against the poor men of Lyons.

He admits that Christ is the rock in Matt. xvi. 18, and the

* Biblioth. Pat. vol. iv. part ii. coll. 779—810.

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foundation, 1 Cor. x. 4. After descanting on the origin of the Waldenses in the time of Sylvester, as already noticed, he states that the four-square city, Rev. xxi. is the church, and better fulfilled in the Romish church than in the Waldenses, because the Romanists rather die than yield the truth, which he says is not true of the Waldenses. He thinks Sylvester and his supporters more open in the truth than the man who separated from him. The followers of Sylvester were also more extended, which is a mark of the church, while the deserters of Sylvester were conventicles. He blames the men, who are not priests, for dispensing sacraments. These must be heretics he thinks, who, at the request of their masters, the inquisitors, refuse to lay aside the suspected habit in which, as in sheep's clothing, many rapacious wolves, cunning foxes, and poisonous serpents have been hid. The man who will not lay aside the habit at the request of the judge, and furnish himself with another, shews that he uses the unusual habit, and a vesture not approved of by the church, as a sign of a new religion. It is interdicted by the sacred canons. Whoso makes conventicles in a corner, like Nicolaus of Lyons, to teach them in private, whether reviving old congregations or forming new ones, is to be avoided as a sly fox and a ravenous wolf, like the grievous wolves that were to enter at Ephesus, not sparing the flock.*

To these papers there is added an Index of the Errors of the Waldenses. They deny the suffrages of the blessed Virgin Mary and saints, because they rejoice in heaven, and know not what we do. Their teachers will not enjoin, Hail Mary, or Ave Maria, nay, this is prohibited. They say, that the use of images and crucifixes is idolatrous; that canonical hours and ecclesiastical songs are the barking of dogs; that the blessing of churches, herbs, salt, &c. by the priests and popes is unavailing; that indulgences, pilgrimages and dedication of churches are of no use; that it is better to bury the dead in fields, orchards, and secret places, than in cemeteries and churches; that the pope is the head of all heresies, and that it is impossible that cardinals, archbishops, bishops, presbyters, emperors, kings, princes, dukes, and all judges, spiritual and

* Biblioth. Pat. coll. 813—820.

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secular, can be saved;* that every oath is a mortal sin; that confirmation is useless, though they sometimes comply to conceal themselves; that none of the prayers is right except the Lord's Prayer; that Ave Maria is not to be said; that they are not to pray psalms, and that nothing in the mass is right except the words of consecration; that some of them communicate with unleavened bread at pasch, though most of their masters abhor this; that some communicate with the Roman Catholic church at pasch, yet multitudes of them will remain without communion for five or six years, and conceal themselves in the villages rather than do this; that they persuade their believers to communicate with the church at pasch, and thus pretend to be Christians;† that they teach their people to pray in every place, first for their own sect, then for the Roman Christians whom they call *die Frembden*, or aliens, who bring wars, famine, &c. upon them; that the inquisition against them ought to cease; that the Christian processions of the body of Christ, and the candles borne in the same place are *a truffa*, and simply ridiculous; that the sight of the real cross on which Christ hung, supposing it found, the thorny crown, the lance, the seamless coat, are not objects of veneration, and are invented by the priests for gain; that the excommunications of the pope and prelates are of no force, and those of their own superiors are of effect; that the Universities of Paris, Prague, and Vienne are useless, and a loss of time; that the appointments of popes and cardinals in churches are not to be attended to; that the accounts of the martyrs, confessors, hermits, St Nicolas, St Martin, &c. are not to be believed, and perhaps some of them are in hell; that the saints are to be believed, only in so far as they strengthen their sect, and that only the New Testament is to be followed according to the letter;‡ that they commonly call the Christians (Romanists) *die Frembden*, or strangers, and themselves

* When kings, princes, dukes, judges, presbyters, are mentioned as not to be saved, the expressions must be understood as referring to their adherence to all the tenets of the church of Rome. Spiritual and secular judges is very like "Lords Spiritual and Temporal."

† This charge is incumbent with those above.

‡ This shews the reason why the Roman Catholics frequently accuse the Waldenses of denying the Old Testament.

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die Runden, or the known, as if God knew only them by way of approbation; that they call all homicide, even of malefactors, mortal sin; that they reprobate altars, churches, towers, bells, organs, and other ornaments; that they reprobate all paramenta of bishops, mitres, imposition of hands, incurvations of the feet, rings and the like, as superstitious; that they say God hates the crowns and tonsures of the clergy; that they pay no attention to general confession; that they renounce the miracles done in the church by the merit of the saints; that they teach their subjects not to confess more grievous sins to the priests, because this is only a plan from priestly avarice; that the consecration of clergymen, churches, cemeteries, and ecclesiastical orders are madness, intended to enrich popes and bishops; that the religion of the monks and sanctimonials is superstitious and vain; that the pope, bishops, cardinals, &c. have no greater authority than the simple priests;* that there are no demoniacs or persons now possessed with the devil; that all who destroy their sect, by counsel, help, or favour, are more deeply condemned than others; that in their sect, is the only true and catholic faith, without which not one can be saved; that they despise the (Roman) Christians who choose apostles in the church, and those who fast in the vigils of the saints, and observe the feasts, though they themselves also fast and feast, which they say is an honour to God, and not of the saints; and that they hold many other errors, which by native inference are drawn from the above.†

These three papers, the first by an anonymous author, the second by Peter de Pilichdorf, the third an index of Waldensian errors, by an unknown writer, contain as candid an account of the Waldensian faith as can be expected from adversaries. They admit that the Waldenses were distinct from a class of people who seem to have been Manichees, for "in the same code the following things are subjoined:"—

"There are certain heretics of another most base sect, who hold certain diabolical articles, a few of which I shall write below. *First*, They adore Lucifer, and believe that he is the

* This is another proof that the Waldenses in Germany were not Episcopalians.

† Biblioth. Pat. coll. 831—834.

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brother of God, unjustly cast down from heaven, and that they are to reign with him; they immolate their children to him. They ask him for riches; they begin by washing away the baptismal water, and they wash away the chrism by the friction of salt. They convene in subterraneous places, which are commonly called der Bunteller, I know not by what inventor. They exercise promiscuous concupiscences, and abominable luxuries. They say the blessed Virgin, after the birth of Christ, did not remain chaste, but had many children. They disbelieve the body of Christ, and all the other sacraments. They stop their eyes with their thumbs at the time of the elevation. These and the like innumerable things they assert and confirm when dismissed, &c.

"He is a wise man therefore, who, having exploded all other articles, most firmly holds those articles alone which are, have been, and shall be publicly preached and determined by the church of Rome in Christ Jesus our Lord." *

There is also a dissertation entitled, "the mode of examining heretics." They are to be asked if they know the cause of their imprisonment. If he says he does not know, he is to be told that he is accused of being seduced from the Christian faith by secret masters, and if not too young, is to be put on oath to be ready to declare known truth concerning himself and others as he shall be interrogated. If he is unwilling to swear, he shall be the more suspected. He is to be questioned regarding his name and nation, his father and mother, his education, his brothers and sisters, his handicraft, his being a Runder or known man, and his being of the sect of the Waldenses. †

The last thing is a little chapter on Affirmative Interrogation in the way of Supposition. He is to be asked how often he has confessed to his secret masters who travel about like apostles to preach and hear confessions. Also regarding his age, when he first confessed and how often; when he last confessed, what sort of men the teachers are, if they have clerical crowns and sacerdotal vestments; if they practice penance, if they enjoin "*Hail, Mary,*" and if they can absolve; if he thinks their preachers better than the Roman priests,

* Biblioth. Pat. coll. 833, 834. † Ibid. coll. 835, 836.

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when and why he joined the sect; if his parents were of that sect, how often he has received the body of Christ, if he has confessed to the Romish priests, and owned that he is of that opinion. If he own this last, he must have received the body of Christ in mortal sin, and under excommunication. He is to be asked when he first heard the preachings of such men, and how often he has done so, in what house, and in what apartment of the house, if by day or night, morning or evening; if he has said on hearing Roman priests, that he preaches well, but mixes many falsehoods, and what are the falsehoods? He is to be also questioned what his masters teach regarding purgatory, if he prays daily, and frequently fasts for the souls of his departed relations and benefactors, and causes masses to be celebrated for them? Again ask, if he prays to the saints and to holy Mary; who is the patron saint of thy parish, and when is his feast celebrated, if that saint is an angel, an apostle, a martry, a confessor, a virgin, a widow, and how much he offers at the feast of the saint? Further, ask his opinion regarding the adoration of the holy cross, the keys, the thorny crown, the lance, and other ensigns of Christ, and images of the saints? Ask if he signs himself with the sign of the cross; if he kisses the relics; if he is confirmed; if he visits the houses of the saints; if he has seen relics at Rome, at Aquisgrane, at Prague? Inquire if he sprinkles himself with holy water, tastes the blessed salt, has in his house blessed herbs, palms and candles, and performs these things with as pure a heart as the Christian men whom he calls *aliens*, that is, *die frembden*, or if he does them only to conceal himself from being discovered? Ask if he acknowledges holy Martin, and if he will drink in the name of St Martin? Ask if he sings concerning God and his holy mother, if he sings at pasch, *Christ ist erstanden?* Ask what he thinks of the tunes of organs and scholares, and of priests? what he thinks of the great bells, towers, and ornaments of the church? what of paraments, and if the mass could be celebrated without these vestments and the altar? Ask if ever he attended the dedication of churches, of altars, and the ordination of priests? Inquire if he prefer burial in a cemetery, to being interred in any common field or orchard? Ask if a man can be killed without mortal sin, if the pope

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sins by sending armies against the Saracens? and giving the cross against rebels? if emperors and kings sin by enacting laws against murder? if judges and witnesses sin in condemning malefactors to death? If one can swear without mortal sin? And if he believes one Christian faith, as he believes one God and one baptism? Then tell him it is left to his own will and pleasure whether he be converted from that and every heretical sect to the true faith or not, and never to communicate with the men of that sect, so long as they hold such views. To this he makes oath, and engages to perform gratuitous penance.*

The pains that were necessary at this period to eradicate the Waldenses from Germany, intimate that their number was very great in the latter part of this century, before John Huss had any influence. The multitudes of these professors of religion in Austria were most astonishing. As in other parts of Germany, they were in that province most grievously persecuted, as we learn from the chronicle of Hirsauge, in which we read that about the year 1400, great numbers of them were burnt at Creme, a city in Austria. It also testifies that the persecutors were particularly troubled with the saying of one of these people when about to suffer death at Vienna, "that there were in Austria above eighty thousand persons who professed the same belief with himself."† This number probably includes all who in Austria dissented from the Church of Rome.

CHAPTER IV.

Lollards in Germany—This name in the Fourteenth Century, common to a great number of different associations of Beghards or Beguines, who had sprung up in former centuries.

THE Lollards on the Continent, whose name Mosheim derives from the old word *lollen*, to sing, or lull with a low

* Bib. Pat. coll. 835—838. † Perrin, book ii. chap. x.

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voice, and the German termination *hard*,* seem not to have entirely separated from the Romish communion. They originated from a number of pious people in Antwerp, who visited the sick and dying who had been neglected by the priests during the prevalence of the plague. They sung sacred songs in Latin, were called Lollards, and being remarkable for piety, were named Beghards. Societies of these were formed through Flanders and Germany, and were encouraged by the magistrates, because they attended the sick and needy. The name Lollard was likewise applied to the monks of lay-brothers; to the priests of the community; to the Franciscan Tertiaries; to the brethren of the Free Spirit, who were also named Beghards, and to the Cellite Brethren, so named from their cells, and designated Moderatists from their temperance. That part of Utrecht in which a number of these people lived, was named Loller Street. The clergy and mendicant friars persecuted the Lollards, and accused them of hypocrisy. Consequently the term came to be applied to any one accused of being whining hypocrites, especially after the rise of the Cellites, and was not restricted to any particular society.†

While the inquisitors in Germany were proceeding with their bloody work against the Waldenses and other dissenters, their vengeance was particularly severe against the brethren and sisters of the Free Spirit called Beghards or Beguines, who overlooked external worship, and cultivated internal piety. In 1306, Henry I. archbishop of Cologn, where they were most numerous, published a severe edict against them; an example that was soon followed by the bishops of Mentz, Triers, Worms and Strasburg. In 1308, John Duns Scotus was sent to Cologn to dispute against them. About 1309, the visitors of the sick and singers at Antwerp were named Lollards, and the name was used of the Biguines and others. In 1310, Margaret Poretta, a Biguine, who had written a treatise to demonstrate that the soul absorbed in the love of God, is free from every

* An English writer takes the name Lollard from Lolium, tare, darnel, zizania, because they were accused of sowing tares in the kingdom.—Lenfant's Hist. du Cons. de Pise, tom. ii. p. 36.

† Mosheim, cent. xiv. part ii. chap. ii. § xxxvi. and cent. xiii. part ii chap. ii. § xxxix—xlii.

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law, and may without guilt gratify every natural appetite, was burnt at Paris. This intimates that some who are called Lollards held unscriptural doctrines. In 1311, Pope Clement V. in his constitutions, called Clementina, from Vienne, denounced the Beghards and Beguines of Germany, and another female class of Beguines who lived in convents, and had been corrupted by the mystical doctrine of the former.*

Natalis Alexander, a Jacobite-friar, in his ecclesiastical history, copies from Trithemius, the charges against the Lollards, in the year 1316.† They are blamed with counting masses vain things; abusing penance; calling the consecrated host a God made with hands; deriding extreme unction; viewing the church of Rome as a church of heathens, spurning her laws and despising her bishops and ministers; mocking the intercessions of the saints and fasts, eating flesh at all times, and working on holy days. The Lollards of Antwerp, doubtless, held these sentiments but various horrible opinions are also mentioned, and the author without discrimination, imputes these to all the classes of people called Lollards.‡ Some of the societies might hold the wicked sentiments mentioned, but we can hardly believe they all were so base. Probably the calumnies are derived from the pretended convictions of the inquisitors in Germany, according to the English proverb, "He tells lies like a monk."§ Some of the German Romanists in the former centuries made proper distinctions of one class from another. In 1322, Henry, archbishop of Cologn, urged a council of his bishops to watch against the Beghards or Brethren of the Free Spirit coming into Westphalia, where they had not yet appeared. The persecutions did not extinguish these people, for they still assembled pri-

* Mosheim, cent. xiv. part ii. chap. v. § iii. iv.

† Dr Mosheim, however, denies that the Lollards are meant by Trithemius, Mosheim, chap. ii. § xxxvi.

‡ Some of these opinions are, that if the Virgin Mary continued a virgin, she must have brought forth an angel; that they had twelve apostles, two of whom being elders, yearly entered paradise, and received from Enoch and Elijah the power of binding and loosing; that if baptism is a sacrament, so is every bath, and the keeper of the bath, God; that the sacrament of matrimony is fornication; that God does not know sins committed under the earth, and therefore they commit incest in caves; and that perjury is no sin.

§ Allix, Alb. pp. 228—231.

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vately at Cologn and other places. Among their adherents, they numbered men of rank and learning, such as Henry Aycord or Eccord, a Saxon, a Dominican, and superior of that order in Saxony. In 1324, John XXII. gave a favourable interpretation to the law of Clement V. In 1330, John attempted in vain to suppress the brethren of the Free Spirit.* In 1347, the emperor Lewis IV. a friend of the Beghards died, and his successor Charles IV. aided the inquisitors who extirpated the Beghards and Beguines or Tertiaries in Magdeburg and Bremen, Thuringia, Saxony and Hesse. Residing at Lucca, he, in 1369, by an edict enjoined all German princes to exterminate Beghards and Beguines as voluntary beggars, enemies of the Roman church, and injurious to the empire. Soon after he conferred their houses and goods on the inquisitors, and the people fled to Switzerland, Holland, Brabant and Pomerania.†

Let this short notice suffice regarding these different classes of people, for we hardly possess documents to warrant us to recognise any of them as witnesses for Scriptural doctrine, with the exception perhaps of the Lollards of Antwerp, who appeared in the fourteenth century, and who seem to be different from the Beghards established there in 1228. The English Lollards, however, held sentiments similar to those of the Waldenses.

CHAPTER V.

Waldenses in ENGLAND revived by WALTER LOLLARD—His eminence and martyrdom—Rise and brilliancy of JOHN DE WYCLIFFE—His opposition to Popery, and Translation of the Scriptures—Leaves Oxford and retires to Lutterworth—His persecution and death.

THOUGH the Waldenses in England were much diminished in the latter half of the thirteenth century, yet in the four-

* Mosheim, ib. § v. vi. † Ibid, chap. ii. § xxxiii. The celebrated historian treats the subject more fully in a separate work, entitled, "De Beghardis et Beguinibus Commentarius," with notes by G. H. Martin, 1790.

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teenth they were increased by the exertions of Walter Lollard, John Wycliffe, and others.

About the year 1315, in the reign of Edward II. as we read in Fuller's ecclesiastical history, WALTER LOLLARD, a German preacher, arrived in England.* Some learned men conclude that this Walter Lollhard was the founder of the society of Lollards, because Trithemius calls him Walter Larheus, which Dr Mosheim thinks ought to be Lollhardus. But the same author views Lollhard not as a surname, but as a term of reproach applied to all whom the Romanists reckoned heretics, because Trithemius, a little above, had designated him head of the Fratricelli or Minorites, and the latter term is used in regard to different sects. He is also reproached as a Beghard.† Perrin names him Raynard Lollard one of the Waldensian barbes, formerly a Franciscan monk, and an enemy to the Waldenses. He was inspired with so holy a zeal, and so ardent a desire to discover the genuine plan of salvation; and made such admirable progress in this attainment, that his enemies were constrained to laud his exertions. He wrote a commentary on the Revelation, in which he observed several things mentioned with reference to the antichrist of Rome. Probably this circumstance has given rise to the remark, that he foretold future events. John Le Maire ranks him among those holy persons, who by supernatural revelation, predicted several occurrences which happened during his life. From him the Waldenses in England were called Lollards.‡ This derivation of the name is maintained by D'Aubigny,§ who remarks that "the appellation Lollards, came from Lollard, an excellent pastor of the Valleys, the same who wrote a fine commentary on the Revelation, and at last went to carry the doctrine of the Valleys, or of the Vaudois, to London, where the Waldenses were from his name first denominated Lollards, and where he has left it indelibly imprinted on the marbles of the tower,—of that famous tower which is still called the Lollard tower, or tower of the Lollards, because of the poor faithful Lollards with whom it was filled." Perrin also notices the Lollards' tower

* D'Anvers, pp. 278, 279. † Mosh. chap. ii. § xxxvi. and chap. v. § v.
‡ Perrin part i. book. ii. chap. xi. § Leger, part i. chap. ii. p. 19.

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in which the Waldenses, disciples of Lollard, were imprisoned in London. This demonstrates that the Lord was pleased to bless in England the labours of this Waldensian preacher; and, while his followers were so much harassed, we could hardly expect that he himself would be tolerated by the Roman Catholic clergy. Accordingly he left the kingdom, but was apprehended by the inquisitorial monks in Germany, and in 1323, was delivered to the secular powers at Cologn, where he was consumed to ashes. "The good man Walter, who was burnt at Cologn," says Mosheim, "and whom so many learned men have unadvisedly represented as the founder of the Lollards, is by some called a Beggard, by others a Lollard, and by others a Minorite,"—any name, in short, that should cause him to be disrespected. In England the public functionaries were brought under obligations to extirpate the Lollards, and the oath administered to sheriffs contained a clause to this purpose, down to the reign of James I. in the seventeenth century.*

Notwithstanding the opposition of the Romanists, the Lollards continued to increase, and during the reign of Edward III. who was much displeased with the Pope's clergy, he favoured that people, and highly honoured their celebrated preacher, JOHN DE WYCLIFFE. This celebrated personage was in 1324, born in the village of Wycliffe, in a northern district of Yorkshire. His surname was not derived from his parents, but from the place of his nativity. In 1340, he entered Queen's College, Oxford, but soon removed to Merton College in the same University, on account of the superior system of education to be there obtained. There the celebrated Bradwardine, the profound doctor had taught, and there Oakham and Duns Scotus had disclosed their genius. At this period, Oxford was next to Paris in fame, and had lately been the residence of thirty thousand students. Without neglecting the fashionable studies of grammar, rhetoric, and logic; of music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, Wycliffe attended chiefly to those branches which were peculiar to the ministerial office. He wrote Latin as correctly as the taste of the age required, and possessed the usual knowledge

* D'Anvers, ib. Mosheim, chap. ii. § xxxvi. Note.

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of Greek. He studied also civil and canon law. He made considerable proficiency in Aristotle and the schoolmen. From the scholastics he learned divinity. Knighton, a canon of Leicester, though his enemy, characterises him as "the most eminent doctor in theology in those days: In philosophy he was reckoned second to none: in scholastic sciences incomparable. He especially endeavoured by the subtlety of science, and by the profundity of his genius to excel the ingenuity of others, and to vary from their opinions." His chief excellency, however, consisted in veneration for the sacred records, and in making these the ground of his discussions in divinity, like friar Bacon and Grossteste. The scholastic plan of study almost universally prevailed, and such as followed the Scriptures were despised. By his perseverance, however, he obtained the title of "the gospel doctor."

The plague which then extended from Tartary to England, and is computed to have swept away one half of the inhabitants of the known world, carried off in 1345, a hundred thousand of the citizens of London. This event made a deep impression on Wycliffe's mind, and in 1356 produced his first publication in a small treatise, entitled, "The Last Age of the Church." He censures the vices of the clergy, who, by their evil example, corrupted the people, and provoked the wrath of God. He shows considerable deference to the prophecies of the Italian abbot Joachim, who attracted the notice of Richard Coeur de Leon, and predicted the end of the world at the close of the fourteenth century. Joachim speaks also of the destruction of the Church of Rome, of a more spiritual church succeeding the end of the world, and of a more extensive conversion of men by means of preaching under the Holy Ghost, than in the days of the apostles. We cannot easily discover what Joachim and Wycliffe meant by the end of the world, but they appear to have looked through the gloom of their own era, to the reformation and the millenial age.*

Since Wycliffe collected knowledge from a distant Italian abbot; since England cultivated so much intercourse with France where multitudes of Waldenses existed; and since

* Vaughan's Life of Wycliffe, chap. i. pp. 217—247.

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the doctrines of Walter Lollard had taken deep root in England, we do not exceed due bounds when we presume that Wycliffe's studies were aided by the principles of the Waldenses. Here something more than inference is adduced, for in a confession of the Bohemian brethren, 1572, they state, that though they never formally joined the Waldenses, they "borrowed what was good in these churches, as *Wycliffe was helped by them*, he who raised up Huss."* In another treatise on the origin and confession of the Bohemians, mentioned by Leger, that people declare that Wycliffe and themselves received the doctrine of the Waldenses: "We have no doubt that the excellent and true things which we hold in our churches have been taken from the Vaudois, and for these things they still owe them some particular deeds of favour, especially since *Wycliffe himself* is said to have been *helped of the Vaudois*, and some time after to have revived and encouraged our John Huss."† These documents are confirmed by the fact, that the adherents to Wycliffe are denominated Lollards, and the Lollards are mentioned as sprung from the Waldenses, as in the words of Kilian formerly quoted, that "a Lollard is also called a Waldensian heretic." Knighton writes that their numbers covered all England.‡

The Dominican mendicants had now appeared in England. Grosseteste had opposed them; and Fitzralph, chancellor of Oxford, and afterwards archbishop of Armagh, wrote "conclusions" against them which were familiar to Wycliffe, who zealously contended to put down that order of monks. These pharisaical beggars appealed to the poverty of Christ and his apostles, but Wycliffe demonstrated that no argument could be drawn from the bible, and was led to see the perfection of Scripture, both in the theory and practice of religion. He charged them with imprisoning and burning persons "travelling to sow God's word among the people." These were doubtless the Lollards who itinerated through the country, and were persecuted by the Dominicans, who had great influence with the civil powers. In 1361, Wycliffe was by Baliol College presented to Fillingham, and was afterwards

* Prolegomena to Balthasar Lydius. † Leger, part i. chap ii p. 18.
‡ Allix, Alb. p. 228.

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made warden. In 1365 he accepted the wardenship of Canterbury hall. In 1365 to 1367, he joined in an appeal to the Pope against the mendicants. At this period the English Parliament of Lords and Commons resolved that the thousand marks to St Peter, granted by John and some after kings, should not be paid. An anonymous monk, not a Dominican, charged Wycliffe to defend the parliamentary decision, and defied him to show that the clergy ought to submit to the civil authorities. The reformer, in defence of the king and parliament, urged, that by the ancient laws of the realm the clergy were subject to the king in civil matters; that the civil powers could alienate the goods of the church; that the secular lords agreed with him by pleading in parliament the Pope's want of political and feudal power—his inability to protect the land, and so cannot expect tribute—his not being superior to the king—his claim as simonical at first, by absolving for money—his claim leading to a right to dispose of the crown, which he has no right to barter for seven hundred or a thousand marks, and his right never having been recognised by the kingdom; and that the Pope had neither power to give the crown, nor to grant it on the condition of paying a sum of money. The parliament annihilated the Pope's claim of the marks, as also the tribute of Peter's pence. After this, Wycliffe was appointed royal chaplain. He avowed the doctrine of the subjection of all persons and property to the king; and the parliament viewed ecclesiastical law as of no force in civil matters.* The Pope, residing at Avignon, favoured the French; and indeed, seven Popes, from 1304 to 1378, were all Frenchmen. These circumstances helped to cool Edward's attachment to priestly domination; and in 1371 the parliament of England resolved that no churchman should hold a civil office. This was according to Wycliffe's judgment, for he saw the sad consequences of allowing the ministers of religion to obtain political influence. In his "Short Rule of Life," addressed to ministers, he urges moderation in sensual enjoyments, holiness of life along with preaching the word, and charity to the poor. He often quoted Paul's words: "He that warreth entangleth not himself with

* Vaughan, chap ii. pp. 248—278.

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the affairs of this life." Yet he did not indiscriminately condemn all clergy. On these subjects he appealed to the fathers as well as to the Scriptures. Wycliffe doubtless had great influence in these measures, for his language and that of the petition of the secular members of parliament to the king, are nearly the same.

As might be expected, Wycliffe's sentiments against secular churchmen rendered them his enemies; and by their influence, the Pope, in 1370, deprived him of the wardenship of Canterbury-hall. We know not why Edward sanctioned this oppression, but he was now old and much embarrassed by his contention for the crown of France. The reformer was still undaunted: he obtained the degree of doctor in divinity; and in 1372 became professor of theology at Oxford. About this period he wrote on the decalogue, and speaks of the use of images in a certain view, of prayers to saints, and of purgatory. In other respects his doctrine is excellent. He speaks of "Almighty God in Trinity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons in one God." In reply to men pleading for small sins, he refers to Adam and the forbidden fruit: "nevertheless, for the eating it against the forbidding of God, he and all mankind were justly condemned, until Christ bought them again with his precious blood." He laments the sad prevalence of profane swearing, even among prelates. He urges the sanctification of the Sabbath by devout meditation, public worship, works of charity, and remembrance of the resurrection of Christ, who suffered for us. On the words, "thou shalt not kill," he shows himself an enemy to war, and to men hating one another. He asserts the fall of man—the depravity of human nature—the perpetual obligation of the law—the remission of sins to be obtained only by the atonement of Christ, and the necessity of divine grace to render us holy.*

The English nation, becoming more and more indignant at the encroachments of papal power, sent several remonstrances to Avignon. Wycliffe zealously defended the views of the commons as no intrusion, but as according to the ancient laws of the nation, and by no means viewed the Pope as in-

* Vaughan, chap. iii. pp. 279—314.

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fallible. In 1374, Wycliffe and others were sent on an embassy to the Pope, who did not choose that the English legates should see the papal court at Avignon, and therefore appointed the meeting at Bruges, one of the most opulent Hanseatic cities, where the love of freedom would please our reformer. All they obtained was, that the Pope should desist from reserving benefices, but the king was not to confer them by writ. In short, the Pope only waited an opportunity to resume his power. Wycliffe was disgusted, and returned in 1376, convinced that the Pope's headship only diffused worldliness and avarice under the disguise of sanctity. The king presented him with the prebend of Aust, and the rectory of Lutterworth. The English parliament, composed of discordant materials, exposed the avarice of the clergy, yet made little progress against the temporalities of the clergy. Courtney, bishop of London, charged Wycliffe with erroneous opinions before the convocation of clergy, on the 3rd of February, 1377. The duke of Lancaster and Lord Percy, with the majority of the commons and citizens of London, took part with the reformer. The minority of parliament and the clergy sided with Courtney. The 19th of February was the day for the defence, but the accused individual had no opportunity to answer, for so coarse was the language between the bishop and John of Gaunt, the duke, that an uproar ensued among the crowd in St Paul's, and nothing was transacted. Edward III. died in June, and was soon forgotten. John of Gaunt, the patron of Wycliffe, was appointed by Richard II. president of the commons. The king and parliament asked Wycliffe's judgment regarding the Pope's right to claim money from England. The rector of Lutterworth replied, that the Pope and his clergy were already too rich; that England was embarrassed by her late wars; that self-preservation required her to detain her treasure from foreign nations; that the endowments of churches were perpetual alms; and that prelates and Popes have no right to lordship over the church or her goods.*

In June 1377, the Pope issued letters to the bishop of London, to the king, and to the University, against Wycliffe, but

* Vaughan, chap. iv. pp. 315—347.

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he was not cited till December, and appeared before a synod at Lambeth, early in 1378. The populace in so great numbers filled and surrounded the chapel in which the meeting was held, that his accusers became terrified, and dispersed. He delivered to the prelates a paper at this time, containing his sentiments. He declares that he is willing to be judged by the Scriptures; that he is resolved to maintain the law of Christ; that the whole human race cannot confer on St Peter and his successors the government of the world for ever; that God himself cannot consistently give such power to any, because he has promised that his spouse shall be free; that none can be entitled to an eternal inheritance by virtue of human charters, which are often preferred to the Scriptures; that the Pope is peccable, and ought to be reproved by cardinals, priests, or laity; that the pontiff ought to be impeached when necessary; that if ministers do not perform their duty, the magistrate may lawfully remove the endowment, even in face of the censures of the church; that every justified person actually enjoys God; that a father or minister may be the instrument of conferring spiritual or temporal dominion on his children; that a priest is equally competent as a bishop to administer sacraments; that church censures should never be used for revenge; that the coercion of the magistrate ought not to be used with the anathema of the priest, to secure emoluments to churchmen; and that a Christian priest binds or looses only when he simply obeys the law of Christ, and in conformity to it. In a paper soon afterwards published, he taught that the change from voluntary contribution to force, under Constantine, is a worldly corruption. As might be expected, the clergy were more and more exasperated against Wycliffe.*

In his tract "on the Schism of the Popes," he urges the rivalship of the opposite visible heads, as an encouragement for reformation, and says, "Christ hath begun already to help us graciously, in that he hath clove the head of antichrist, and made the two parts fight against each other." He calls on kings and nobles to withdraw the endowments of the church, which were the cause of so much corruption, and

* Vaughan, chap. v. pp. 348—387.

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denies the need of priestly absolution, as if this secured heaven. These doctrines he boldly taught to his flock at Lutterworth. At this period he completed his most systematic and most extended work, "On the Truth and Meaning of Scripture." It contains the supreme authority of the sacred writings—the unalienable right of private judgment—the branches of clerical power—the sacraments of the church, and morals. His labours and anxieties brought on sickness at Oxford, so that he seemed dying. Deputations from the four orders of friars called on him, and wished him to recant and repent. Being lifted up in his bed, he fixed his eyes on them, and exclaimed: "I shall not die but live, and shall again declare the evil deeds of the friars." His visitants fled from his presence, and afterwards felt the truth of his prediction. Nearly three hundred of his sermons have escaped the fury of his enemies. He had a high respect for preaching as the grand means of destroying the kingdom of Satan. "In preaching," says he, "and also in praying; in the giving of sacraments—the learning of the law of God, and the rendering of a good example by purity of life; in these should stand the life of a priest." To the "declaring," or essay method, he preferred the "postillating," or expository mode of preaching on the sacred text. Some of his remaining manuscripts are rather a specification of topics, than regularly written discourses. Others are much more full, but all in a popular style, for he dismisses abstruse questions for "things more profiting." He treats of moral obligations, "while the doctrines of the gospel," says Mr Vaughan, "are uniformly exhibited, as declaring the guilt and the spiritual infirmities of men, to be such as to render the atonement of Christ their only way of pardon, and the grace of the divine Spirit their only hope of purity." The reformer urged priests to preach to a few plain people, and Christ will give a reward; and that Popes and bishops are more like emperors than like Christ. He writes, "they are on the fiend's side, and children of the father of falsehood." He urges hearers to judge by God's judgment in the Scriptures, and not by the will of the Pope and bishops. He denounces the lordship of antichrist, both in spirituals and temporals. The following expressions show his view of Christian theology: "We hold it as a part of our

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faith, that as our first parents had sinned, there must be atonement made for it according to the righteousness of God. For as God is merciful, so he is full of righteousness. But except he keep his righteousness in this point, how may he judge all the world? It is to speak lightly, to say that God might of his mere power forgive this sin without the atonement which was made for it, since the justice of God would not suffer this, but requires that every trespass be punished either in earth or hell. The person who may make atonement for the sin of our first father must needs be God and man. For as man's nature trespassed, so man's nature must render atonement. The person to make atonement must be God and man, for then the worthiness of this person's deeds were even with the unworthiness of the sin. It was the most voluntary passion ever was suffered, and the most painful. It was most voluntary, and so most meritorious. The pain of Christ's passion passed all other pain. We should know that faith is a gift of God, and that it may not be given to men except it be graciously. Thus, indeed, all the good which men have is of God, and accordingly, when God rewardeth a good work, he crowneth his own gift." *

Wycliffe did not view the Apocrypha as inspired, though he quoted these books as human writings. He followed Jerom, and gave the list of sacred books as Protestants do. He proposed and executed a translation of the Bible into the English of his day. We know not what assistance he received. Only some detached parts had been found formerly in our language, but the Latin was long understood. The insurrections in England on account of the pole-tax in 1381, need not be here detailed, nor the similar ones in France and Flanders, but we may expect that Wycliffe would be blamed, though he diligently taught the duty of submission to magistrates. His enemies, however, have long ceased to implicate him, and even some of his contemporaries ascribe the tumults to other causes than to his principles. †

In the spring of 1381, he lectured in Oxford against transubstantiation, by teaching that the bread and wine in the sacrament are not to be considered "as Christ, or as any part

* Vaughan, vol. ii. chap i. pp. 1—36. † Ib. chap. ii. pp. 37—71.

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of him," but "as an effectual sign of him." While thus engaged, a messenger from the chancellor of the University, which was then filled with numbers of the religious orders, prohibited him from teaching such doctrine. He was not, however, hindered from writing his views, nor from preaching them at Lutterworth. In his "Wicket," composed at this crisis, he exposes the absurdity of man pretending to be the maker of the God whom he worships. He states, that what grows in the field by transubstantiation comes to be God, that the priest ought to create a world as God did, before he create God himself. The priests pleaded that each fragment of glass could reflect a body, so each particle of bread can be the real body of Christ. Wycliffe replied, that this is in his favour, because the reflection is not the real body, but the figure. Courtney, now archbishop of Canterbury, convened a synod at the Grey-Friars in London, on the 17th May 1381, to exterminate Wycliffe's doctrine. This having been done, notice was given to all clergy in London, and through the kingdom, especially to the bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese Lutterworth was situate, and to the University of Oxford. Though the king and government, from political embarrassments, were disposed to favour the clergy, yet the University having got a new chancellor, favoured Wycliffe. The archbishop and his followers called the abettors of the Reformer's doctrine, Lollards, and indeed there was justice in the term, though the design was to render them odious. The Lollards were charged with denying the existence of any true pope since Sylvester; the power of indulgences, of binding and of loosing; auricular confession; the authority of the pope; the invocation of saints; the worship of images; the existence of miracles in the Romish church; the non-residence of the clergy; and that the pomp of the higher clergy be removed. The clergy represented to the king, that multitudes of unauthorized preachers of such doctrines go from place to place, who refuse to appear before the ordinaries of the places to answer for their conduct, and care not for the censures of the church. The parliament enjoins, that all such, and their abettors, be imprisoned. Courtney was chief inquisitor. The sheriffs were to obey the prelates. In se-

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veral synods, some individuals on the Lollard side are condemned as heretical, and some yielded.*

Wycliffe presented a petition to Richard, and the parliament described as "the great men of the realm, both seculars and men of holy church;" regarding the vows of the religious orders as a human device; secular lords lawfully, and even meritoriously in many cases, removing the temporal goods of the church; the removal tithes, and voluntary offerings from unworthy priests; and the doctrine of the eucharist. Consequently, the former laws against him were disannulled. The commons indeed had never consented to these laws. The Reformer was now forsaken by John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, yet persisted in his doctrines on the eucharist and other points. Before a convocation of the clergy at Oxford in 1382, he fully expressed and defended his view of the sacrament, instead of recanting as some have asserted. From this period, by letters from the king, his connection with Oxford was dissolved, and he continued to labour at Lutterworth. He was cited to appear at Rome before Urban, but replied that he could follow the pope only as he followed Christ, and denounces his temporal Lordship.† The queen mother of Richard favoured Wycliffe, as did also his own queen, Anne, sister to the king of Bohemia; who arrived in England in 1382; who lived twelve years afterward; who studied the Scriptures in Latin, German, and English; and who must have been familiar with the names of the Bohemian reformers Melitch, Stickna, and Janowski. A number of the nobility favoured him not only politically, but in theology, and their riches were the means of multiplying copies of his works, and of preserving them from being burnt by the priests. Poetry influenced the public mind at this time against the clergy.‡ Some Lollards did not go so far as Wycliffe; and near the half of the kingdom may be called of that society in 1382. Multitudes of poor preachers appeared through the country in all public places, publishing Wycliffe's doctrine, refusing to appear before the clergy, and despising their excommunications. They held no benefices, that they might avoid Simony, spare poor men's goods, and be more

* Vaughan, ib. chap. iii. † Ib. chap. iv. pp. 111—143. ‡ Ib. pp. 144—182.

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extensively useful; yet they respected diligent, resident priests. WILLIAM THORP, from the parish of Wycliffe, was one of these zealous preachers.*

About this time Wycliffe completed his Trialogus, in a dialogue among three, and opposes transubstantiation, the materiality of the soul, and astrology; viewing natural philosophy as in its infancy. He asserts predestination, the atonement, and morality as founded on love to God. He discards Pelagianism, the invocation of saints, and the authority of the church. About the same time he wrote a number of works against antichrist, on legitimate civil government, and on good preaching priests. England now took part with Urban against Clement, and invaded France in April 1383, without success. Wycliffe continued to write and preach against prevailing corruptions. He had been some years under palsy, had his last shock while administering the Lord's Supper, and died 31st December 1384.†

Since Richard's queen was from Bohemia, an intercourse with that kingdom conveyed many of Wycliffe's writings to the witnesses there. Among others, Jerom and Huss were much benefited by his books. In 1392, Dr Hereford was obliged to ask protection from the court against persecution. In 1393, Richard empowered Canterbury, as the pope's legate, to chastise all who should preach against the church. They are to be hunted and imprisoned. In 1395, the Lollards petitioned parliament, in twelve conclusions, containing their complaints and begging Reformation. A copy is given by Allix. The pope sent a bull enjoining king and clergy to persecute the Lollards, and they were harassed as far as their enemies had power.‡

* Vaughan, pp. 183—206. † Ibid, chap. vii. p. 259.
‡ Ibid, pp. 110. 385—389. Allix, Alb. pp. 231—245.

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CHAPTER VI.

Waldenses in LOMBARDY.

THE name Paterine was usually reckoned similar to the name Waldensian, and was viewed by the Romanists as a term of reproach. When Lewis IV. emperor of Germany, the Bavarian, wished to defend those measures which had been carried on against John XX. and Robert king of Sicily, he traduced them as heretics and Paterines, and sentence having been reported, he condemned them to the fire, as St Antoninus writes.*

While the emperor called the pope a Paterine and a heretic, we find the pope issuing out laws against the Waldenses. "The crusades which had been tried against the heretics of Languedoc," says Hallam, "were now preached against all who espoused a different party from the Roman See in the quarrels of Italy. Such were those directed at Frederic II. at Manfred," &c.†

Leger relates that he finds a papal bull fulminated particularly against the Waldenses of the Valleys, by pope John XXII. whom he should call John XX. because the dates given by Leger, exactly correspond to John XX. The bull is dated at Avignon the 8th July, in the sixteenth year of his pontificate, which, as Leger remarks, falls on the year 1332. It is addressed to the most Rev. John Badis, inquisitor general of the city and diocese of Marceille, in which the said pope complains bitterly of this, that in the Valleys of Lucerna, of Angrogna and of Perosa, "the Waldensian sect" was so greatly multiplied, that they had driven the catholic rector from one of his parishes, and had threatened to kill the inquisitor. This bull is inserted at length in the book of the historical memoirs of M. A. Rorenco, prior of St Roc.‡ The

* Part iii. tit. 24. chap. 6. paragraph 6. quoted in Biblioth Pat. tom. iv. part i. coll. 1059, 1060.

† Hallam's Hist. Middle Ages, vol. ii. p. 370. Beginning of cent. xiv.

‡ Printed at Turin, 1649, chap. ii. p. 16.

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Pope uses the following terms:—"John, &c. to our beloved son, John de Badis, of the order of Minor Brothers, inquisitor of heretical depravity in the diocese of Marseille, deputed by the apostolic chair, &c. Lately from the relation of our beloved son, John Albert of Castelatio, inquisitor of heretical pravity in the parts of Piemont, of upper Lombardy, deputed by apostolical authority, we have heard, that in the Valleys of Lucerna and Perosa, the Waldensian heretics have grown and multiplied; that frequent congregations presume to act after the manner of a chapter,* in which five hundred Waldenses are met at the same time; that when the foresaid Albert was wishing to exercise the office of inquisitor in that place, the Waldenses rose against this very Albert the inquisitor; and that they killed William, a rector, in a certain road which is called Villa, after he had celebrated mass," &c.

Leger remarks, that in this bull, we have no trace of that arrogance, cruelty, and perfidy with which Pope Innocent afterwards acted. It does not at all speak of a similar crusade, nor of obliging kings, princes, and potentates, under pain of being spoiled of their estates, to run upon these Waldenses. Neither does he speak of plenary indulgence, nor promise glories in heaven to those who discover and massacre that people. But when the pope gives directions to his delegate how to act against these pretended heretics, he gives him no other authority than to proceed to justice by the ordinary course, and to endeavour to have those imprisoned whom he should esteem guilty of expelling the above mentioned inquisitor, and culpable in regard to the pretended murder of the foresaid rector, "and to question them if justice should permit him." The word used, *quæstionare*, may include asking questions, or applying the torture, if justice permit,—language very different from that of Innocent. But it does not appear that either this bull or the pope's delegate did any harm at this time to the Waldenses.† Mr Acland‡ mentions Clement VII. as issuing a bull against the Waldenses in 1338, but which did them little injury. This must have been Benedict IX.

* That is as an Assembly of Canons or Clergy exercising government.
† Leger, part ii. chap. ii. pp. 20, 21. ‡ Page xli.

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Another complaint here against the Waldenses is, that in Lucerna, Angrogna, and Perosa, "they have grown and multiplied, that frequent congregations presume to act after the manner of a chapter, in which five hundred Waldenses are met at the same time." Now, a chapter is an assembly of clergy met for government. The Waldenses often call their synods congregations, and this is just the description of a synod consisting of five hundred members, called simply Waldenses, that is, partly ministers, partly elders, deputed from the different individual churches. Morland * tells us also, that in 1387, there were regular synods in the Valleys. There was an academy at Angrogna.

During this century, the following were the most celebrated in the list of pastors or barbes: the Barbe LOLLARD, who was in very great reputation in the Valleys of Piemont; of him we have spoken in Germany and England. PAUL GIGNOSE of Bobbio, in the Val-Lucerna; PETER of Piemont; ANTONY of the Valley of Susa; JOHN MARTINO of the Valley of St Martino; the Barbe MATTHEW of Bobbio; the Barbe PHILIPPO of the Valley of Lucerna; the Barbe GEORGIO of Piemont; the Barbe STEPHANO LAURENZO of the Valley of St Martino; the Barbe MARTINO of Meana—all these have dwelt in the Valleys. The Barbe, JOHN of the Valley of Lucerna, who for some fault, was by the other barbes suspended from his office for seven years, during which period he sojourned in Genoa, where the barbes had a house, as they had also a very large one at Florence, and at other places. This barbe did not at all cease still to do much good at Genoa, and in other places of Italy. John Girardo of Meana, who afterwards went to Geneva, as Morland and Leger remark, and was their printer.† He might be a young man in the end of the fourteenth century, and might live till the invention of printing in the middle of the fifteenth century; or there may be a mistake in the date.

* Morland, p. 183. † Ibid, book i. chap. viii. Leger, part i. chap. xxxii.

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CHAPTER VII.

Waldenses in Calabria.

About the year 1370, the Waldenses of the Valleys of Pragela and Dauphiny, increased so much in their small countries, that they were obliged to send away a number of the younger people to seek habitations in other places. In their peregrinations, they found in Calabria, in the south of Italy, a district containing fertile land, badly cultivated and thinly inhabited. Judging from the adjoining places, they viewed it as fitted to produce corn, wine, oil of olives, and chesnuts. They found also hills fitted to rear cattle, and to produce timber for the purpose of building and for fuel. With the greatest readiness, the proprietors of the place listened to their proposals. Having made arrangements respecting the rents, tithes, and tolls, and regarding penalties in case of offending, they returned to inform their parents of their successful adventure, and their prospect of temporal blessings. For the sake of furnishing their new dwellings, their parents and friends presented them with such articles of furniture as they could best spare. Many of them married and took their wives into Calabria. They erected certain towns and cities, to which their own houses were as walls. Among these were St Xist, la Gard, la Vicaricio, les Rousses, Argentine, St Vicens, and Montolieu. The lords of these countries thought themselves happy in so good and industrious subjects, but were particularly pleased with their honesty, their good conscience, and their yielding them those duties and honours which they expected from the best vassals. The parsons and priests however complained that their religion differed from that of other people, and that they did not make their children priests and nuns. They did not love chaunting, tapers, and lamps. They sought no bells and no masses for the dead. They had indeed built temples, but had not adorned them with images. They did not go in pilgrimages. They had their children instructed by certain unknown school-

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masters, whom they preferred in honour to the priests. They paid nothing to the Romish clergy, excepting the tithes, accaccording to the agreement with the lords. The priests also expressed their suspicion, that these people professed a different belief from that of the church of Rome, which prevented their free intercourse with the people of the land. The lords, fearing the pope whose seat was not very far distant, had as much influence with the priests, as to prevent them from laying any complaint before their holy father. They represented to the clergy, that though these men differed from the church of Rome, yet they were honest people; that they had enriched the country, and even the priests themselves, who now received tithes from places which had formerly produced nothing; that they must make allowance for the previous habits of these new settlers, as they had come from places not subject to the Roman church; that they were faithful, charitable to the poor, and feared God; and that for these reasons the lords were unwilling to molest them by any more particular inquiry into their consciences. These arguments stopped the mouths of the enemies of these good people. The inhabitants of the land saw the goods, cattle, and possessions of these strangers blessed in a more remarkable manner than other men's. They saw them temperate, wise, and chaste; not given to dancing, not frequenters of taverns, nor blasphemers; and living among a wicked people, they were as precious stones in a common sink. They were therefore both envied and admired. Their good conduct contrasted by their superiors with that of their other subjects, caused them stand high in the estimation of the superiors of whom they had their lands, who were continual and loud in their praises. These lords defended these Waldenses against the envy of the priests and others for nearly two centuries, till the year 1560, when they could no longer protect them from the pope's thunders, of which sad change of their circumstances, we shall speak at that year.*

* Perrin, part i. book ii. chap. vii.

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APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

JOHN LEGER, one of the Waldensian pastors, in the seventeenth century, carefully collected a number of ancient documents of the Waldensian doctrine. In the persecution, 1655, the plunderers of the Vaudois deprived him of every leaf of MS. in order to bury in oblivion all knowledge of their former existence, or long continued principles. With incredible diligence he commenced a new search in the Valleys under France, where the destruction had not been so severe, and found authentic copies of the same treatises. A number of these he has published in his valuable history of the Waldenses. The originals he delivered to Sir Samuel Morland, who presented them in 1658, to the library of the University of Cambridge. Twenty-one volumes were there deposited, but the first seven are now missing, though Allix quoted from one of these seven in 1690. Copies of some of these are preserved in Geneva. The remaining fourteen volumes, from H. to W. are still to be seen at Cambridge.* Sir Samuel Morland has inserted a variety of these papers in his history of the evangelical churches of Piemont. Perrin in his history of the Vaudois, gives also a number of these documents. In the Appendix to vol. ii. a list of all the Waldensian manuscripts known to be in existence, will be inserted. From Leger, Morland, and Perrin, the papers in this Appendix are collected.

No. I.—THE NOBLE LESSON.

THIS treatise, dated 1100, Leger tells us was found quite entire in a book of parchment, written in manuscript in an old Gothic character. In Leger's time two exemplars were preserved, one at Cambridge, and one at Geneva. Only the latter is now to be found. Mr Jackson saw it in 1825. The Lesson is in verse, in their own ancient tongue, that it may be more agreeable to the reader, and that the youth may the more easily imprint it on their memory.† The original begins thus:—

O frayre entende una nobla Leyçon.
Sovent deven velhar e istar en oreson.
C. nos veen aquest mont esser pres del chavon
Mot curios deorian esser de bonas obras far
C. nos veen mont de la fin apropriar, &c.

* Leger, chap. iv. p. 25 Gilly, pp. 151—156. Allix, Pied. 297.
† Leger, Ib. pp. 26, 30. Jackson's Remarks, pp. 274—276.

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Some lines vary in the spelling. Thus, in one place for example, the Cambridge copy published by Morland reads,—

L'Avangeli ho recoynta e Sant Paul aesti.

Leger's copy which seems to be the Geneva one, reads,—

L'Avangeli ho recognta et Sant Paul o escri.

Such variations are common in living languages. The one copy is probably more ancient than the other. Mr John Senebier of Geneva, in his catalogue thinks the language and writing on vellum, shew it to be as old as the twelfth century, but the Waldenses have always dated it in 1100, being a year earlier. It is here given at large in English, and the lines are made to correspond with the stanzas of the original.

O Brethren give ear to a Noble Lesson,
We ought always to watch and pray,
For we see this world to be near a conclusion,
We ought to strive to do good-works,
For we see the end of this world to approach,
A thousand and one hundred years are fully accomplished.
Since it was written thus, that " it is the last time,"
We ought to covet little, for we are at the remainder,
We daily see the signs to be accomplished
In the increase of evil and the decrease of good.
These are the perils which the Scripture mentions;
The gospel recognises it, and Saint Paul writes it,
That no man living can know the end,
And therefore we ought the more to fear, for we are uncertain.
If death shall seize us to-day or to-morrow:
But when Jesus shall come at the day of judgment,
Every one shall receive his full payment.
And who shall have done either ill, or done well.
But the Scripture saith, and we ought to believe,
That all men of the world shall pass two ways.
The good shall go to glory, the wicked to torment.
But he that shall not believe this departure,
Let him search the Scripture from its beginning,
Since Adam was formed, till the present time,
In it he shall find if he has understanding,
That " few are saved" in comparison of the rest.
But every person who will do good,
The honour of God the Father ought to be his beginning,
And to call the aid of his glorious Son, the Son of Saint Mary,
And the Holy Spirit who gives us the way.
These three are the Holy Trinity,
As being one God, ought to be invoked,
Full of all Power, of all Wisdom, and of all Goodness.
For this we ought often to beg and to pray
That he give us strength to encounter the enemies,
And overcome them before our end,
Which are the World, the Devil, and the Flesh;
And that he would give us wisdom, accompanied with goodness,
That we may know the way of truth,
And keep pure that soul which God hath given us,

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Yea, both soul and body, in the way of charity,
So as we love the Holy Trinity,
And our neighbour, for God hath commanded it.
Not only those who do us good, but also those who harm us.
Having hope in the King of Heaven,
That at the end he may receive us into his glorious habitation.
Now he who shall not do what is contained in this Lesson
Shall never enter into the house.
Though it be never so hard to be received by the wicked,
Who love gold and silver;
Who have the promises of God in contempt;
Who neither keep His law and commandments,
Nor suffer any good people to keep them,
But rather hinder them to the utmost of their power.
How came this evil to enter into mankind?
Because Adam sinned at the first beginning,
By eating of the forbidden fruit
And thus the grain of the evil seed taking root in others,
He brought death to himself and all his posterity;
Well may we say, this is an evil morsel;
Howsoever Christ hath redeemed the good by his death and passion.
But alas we find in this Lesson,
That Adam believed not God his Creator,
Yea, and we may see likewise, that now-a-days
Men forsake God the Father Almighty,
And believe in idols to their own destruction.
That which the law forbids, which was from the beginning,
Called the Law of Nature, common to all sorts,
Which God put into the heart of that man whom he first formed.
Giving him a power of doing good or evil,
Commanding him to do the good and avoid the evil.
And this you may see was ill observed,
For that we have left the good, and done the evil,
As did Cain the eldest son of Adam,
Who killed his brother Abel without any cause.*
Save only for that he was good,
And had his hope in the Lord, and not in any creature.
Here we may take an example of the Law of Nature,
Which we have broken and transgressed,
We have sinned against the Creator, and offended the creature.
It was a noble law that was given us by God,
And written in the heart of every man,
That he might there read it and keep it, and teach righteousness,
And love God in his heart above every creature,
And that he might fear and serve him without reserve,
There being none to be found in the Holy Scriptures.
That he might likewise keep firm the marriage-tie, that noble contract,
And have peace with his brethren, and love all other persons;

* Leger leaves out from this sentence more than six pages of this MS.

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That he might hate pride, and love humility,
And do to others as he would be done by,
And if he did the contrary, that he should be punished.
Now few they were which kept well this law,
And more were they who broke it,
Who forsook the Lord, not honouring him,
But believed the devil and his temptation,
Who loved too much the world, and too little the things of heaven,
And served the body more than the spirit.
Wherefore we find that many have perished.
Here every one may be reprehended, that saith,
That God created not man to suffer him to perish,
But let every one take heed, that it happeneth not to him, as it did to them.
For the deluge came and destroyed the wicked,
But God caused an ark to be made, in which he saved the good.
So much were the bad increased, and the good diminished,
That in all the world there were saved but eight persons.
An example is given in the just sentence
To keep ourselves from evil, and that all ought to repent.
For Jesus Christ hath said it, and in St Luke it is written,
That all those shall perish that shall not so do.
Now to those who escaped, God made promise,
That the world should never more perish by water;
And they believing it were multiplied.
But that good which God did them they soon forgot,
Being men of little faith, and so great fear,
That they did not fully believe the words of the Lord.
But they believed that the waters should again trouble the world,
And thought of building a tower to retire into,
Yea, and they began it, as it is written,
Intending to make it so large, so high, and so great,
That the top thereof might reach to heaven; but they did not accomplish their design,
For they displeased God thereby, the which, also, he then demonstrated.
This great city was called Babylon,
And now it was called Confusion, by reason of its ruinous condition.
There was then but one only language amongst men,
But that they might not understand each other, God made a division
That so they might not finish what they had begun.
Which languages then spread through all the world.
After this they sinned grievously, renouncing they law, viz. that of Nature.
For the Scripture saith, and it may be evidently proved,
That five cities perished which did evil,
Being sentenced by God to fire and brimstone.
He destroyed the wicked, and the good he delivered,
Namely, Lot and his family, which the angel brought out,
They were four, but one was condemned,
For the woman looked back, breaking the command.
Here's now an example for all mankind,
That they ought to take heed of that which God forbids.
In those days lived Abraham, a man well pleasing God,

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Who begat a Patriarch, of whom came the Jews,
And these were a noble people in the fear of the Lord,
Who lived in Egypt amongst other wicked people,
Where they were oppressed and straitened a long time,
And crying to the Lord he sent them Moses,
And delivered his people, and destroyed the other nations.
They passed through the Red Sea, as through a dry and pleasant place,
But their enemies who persecuted them, perished all in the waters,
Many other signs did God then give his people;
Feeding them forty years in the wilderness, and giving them the Law,
In two tables of stone, which he sent by Moses,
Which they found written, and nobly ordained.
This demonstrated that there was a Lord of all men,
Whom they ought to believe, and love with all their heart, as likewise to fear and serve him to the end,
And that every one should love his neighbour as himself:
That they should give counsel to widows, and defend the fatherless,
That they should receive the poor into their houses, and clothe the naked,
That they should feed the hungry, and conduct the traveller;
And in sum keep carefully this his law,
Promising to those that kept it, the heavenly kingdom.
He forbad service unto idols,
Homicide, adultery, and all sorts of whoredom,
Lying, perjury, and false witness,
Usury, rapine, and evil coveting,
As also avarice, and all wickedness,
To the good he promised life, but threatened death to the wicked;
Then were they clothed in their principality:
But those which sinned and did wickedly,
They died and were destroyed without remission:
For the Scripture says, and it is manifest enough,
That thirty thousand were left in the wilderness,
Thirty thousand and more, as the law saith,
Died by the sword, by fire, and serpents;
And many others were destroyed in another manner,—
The earth opening, and hell receiving them.
And here we have matter of reproving ourselves very seasonably,
But those which did the will of the Lord, inherited the land of promise;
Now there were in those days many worthies,
As David and Solomon the king,
Isaiah, Jeremiah, and many others,
Who fought for the faith and defended the same.
There was one only people chosen by God out of all the world.
The enemies were in great number round about who persecuted them:
We have many things worth our learning and imitation in this Lesson:
When they kept the law and the commandments,
God fought for them against the other nations;
But when they sinned and did wickedly,
They died, were destroyed, and taken captives by those other nations.
But so enlarged were these people, and so abounding in riches,
That they kicked against the Lord,

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Wherefore we find in this Lesson,
That the king of Babylon put them into prison,
Where they were oppressed, straitened a long time;
Then they cried to the Lord with a repentant heart;
And he restored them to Jerusalem, but few there were that were obedient and kept the law,
And that feared to offend their king.
Yea some there were, men full of deceit and falsehood,
Namely, The Pharisees and others who were versed in Scripture,
These kept the law, as plainly appears,
Only that the world might see it, and to be more honoured.
But little worth is this honour which soon vanisheth.
Then were the saints persecuted, and those that were just and good;
Then they prayed unto the Lord with cries and tears,
That he would come down on earth and save this world:
For all mankind was in the way of perdition.
Then sent God the angel to the noble Virgin of royal descent,
Who sweetly saluted her according to the command of Him that sent him,
And after said unto her, "fear not, Mary,
For the Holy Ghost shall overshadow thee;
Thou shalt bear a son whom thou shalt call Jesus,
He shall save his people from their sins."
Nine months the glorious Virgin bare him in her womb,
But that she might not be made a public example, she was espoused to Joseph,
Pure was this Virgin, and Joseph also.
But this we ought to believe, for Scripture saith it,
That they put the infant in the manger when it was born,
They wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and lodged him but very meanly.
Here may be reprehended those covetous and avaricious men,
Which never cease to heap up riches together.
Now there were many miracles wrought when the Lord was born:
God sent the angel to reveal this mystery to the shepherds:
In the East appeared a star to the three Wise Men.
Glory was given to God on high, and on earth peace to the good.
Afterwards the little child suffered persecution,
But the infant increased in grace and age,
And in divine wisdom, in which he was instructed,
And called the twelve apostles, which were rightly so named,
And would change the law which he gave before;
He changed it not, that it should be abandoned,
But renewed it that it might be better kept;
He received baptism for to give salvation,
And commanded the apostles to baptize the nations,
For then began the renewing,
The ancient law forbad fornication and adultery,
But the new reprehends looking and lusting after a woman;
The old law had power to make null marriage, and that bills of divorcement might be given,
But the new saith, Thou shalt not marry her that is put away,
And what God hath joined let no man separate.

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The old law cursed the barren womb,
But the new counselleth to keep virginity,
The old law forbiddeth only to forswear;
But the new saith, "Swear not at all;"
And that thy speech be no more than yea and nay.
The old law biddeth to fight against enemies, and render evil for evil,
But the new saith, Avenge not thyself,
But leave thy vengeance to thy heavenly king,
And let those live in peace which do thee hurt,
And then shalt thou find pardon with the heavenly king.
The old law saith, Thou shalt love thy friend and hate thine enemy,
But the new one saith, Thou shalt do no more so,
But ye shall love your enemies, and do good to them that hate you,
And pray for them that persecute you, and seek for occasion against you,
That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven.
The old law saith, Punish malefactors,
The new saith, Pardon all sorts of people,*
And thou shalt find pardon with the Father Almighty,
For if thou dost not pardon, thou shalt not be saved:
None ought to kill or hate any person,
Much less ought we to strike either single or poor men,
Nor dispise the stranger who cometh from far.
For in this world we are all pilgrims.
Thus all we that are brethren ought to serve God.
And this is the new law which Jesus Christ saith we ought to keep.
And he called the apostles and commanded them
To go through the world, and teach all nations,
To preach to the Jews and Greeks, and all mankind,
And he gave them power over serpents,
To drive away devils, and heal the sick,
To raise the dead, and cleanse the lepers,
And to do to others as he had done to them;
To possess neither gold nor silver,
But to be content with food and raiment.
To love one another, and to be at peace.
Then he promised them the heavenly kingdom,
And to those which were spiritually poor:
But he that should know who they are, would quickly number those,
That would be poor of their own accord;
Then he told them what should happen,
How he ought to die, and afterwards rise again.
And he told them signs and wonders
Which ought to happen before the end.
Many excellent parables he spoke to them and the people
Which were written in the New Testament.
But if we will love Christ, and know his doctrine,†
We ought to watch, and read the Scripture,

* This seems carried too if they mean Magistrates.
† With this sentence, Leger begins again, and gives the four following lines.

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Where we may find when we shall read,
That only for doing well Christ was persecuted;
He raised the dead by divine power,*
He made the blind to see, who never had seen,
He cleansed the lepers, and made the deaf to hear,
He cast out devils, working many miracles;
And by how much the more he did good, so much the more was he persecuted.
The Pharisees were they who persecuted him;
And the people of Herod, and the others, that is, they of the clergy:
For they envied him, because he was followed by the people;
Because they believed in him and his commandments,
They sought how they might torment him and put him to death,
And for this reason spoke to Judas and made an agreement with him,
To deliver him for thirty pieces of silver.
Now Judas being covetous wrought the treason,
And betrayed his Lord to those wicked men,
The Jews were they which crucified him,
Nailing fast his feet and his hands,
And putting a crown of thorns on his head,
And speaking many reproaches, they blasphemed him;
And when said, he was thirsty, they likewise gave him gall and vinegar to drink.
The torments were so bitter and painful,
That the soul parted from the body to save sinners.
The body having suffered this, hung there upon the cross
In the midst of two thieves; they gave him four wounds besides other blows:
And after that, the fifth, to accomplish the matter;
For one of the soldiers came and opened his side,
And immediately issued out water and blood, mixed together,
Whereupon all the apostles fled, but one returned,
And was there with two women near unto the cross,
All were very sorry, chiefly his mother,
When she saw her son dead and naked, fastened upon the cross,
He was buried by the good, and watched by the wicked.
He rose out of the grave the third day,
And appeared to his disciples, as he had said unto them;
Then were they possessed with great joy, when they saw the Lord,
And were confirmed, for before they feared greatly;
And he conversed until the day of the ascension;
Then our Saviour ascended into glory,
And said to his disciples and other followers,
That to the end of the world he would be with them.
But at the feast of Pentecost he remembered them,
And sent them the Holy Ghost, which is the Comforter,
And taught the apostles by divine doctrine,
And they understood the languages and the holy Scripture,

† Leger wants from this, nearly two pages of this MS.

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And then they remembered what he had said.
They spoke without fear, of the doctrine of Christ,
They preached to Jews and Greeks, working many miracles;
And baptized those who believed in the name of Jesus Christ.
Then was there a people newly converted;
They were called Christians, for they believed in Christ.
But we find here that the Scripture saith,
That the Jews and Saracins persecuted them grievously,
But the apostles were so fortified in the fear of the Lord,
And the men and women who were with them,
That for all that, they left neither speaking nor doing,
Whatsoever should happen, so that they might have Jesus Christ.
The torments were great, according to what is written,
Only because they taught the way of Jesus Christ.
But as for the persecutors we need not so much wonder,
For they had not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ,
Like those who now seek occasion to persecute the saints;
Which men ought to be Christians, but appear not to be such.
And in this they are to be blamed, for that they persecute and imprison the good;
For it is not found any where,
That the saints persecuted or imprisoned any.
Now after the apostles, were certain teachers,
Who taught the way of Jesus Christ our Saviour;
And these are found even at this present day,
But they are known to very few,
Who have a great desire to teach the way of Jesus Christ,
But they are so persecuted, that they are able to do but little,
So much are the false Christians blinded with error,
And more than the rest they that are pastors,
For they persecute and hate those who are better than themselves,
And let those live quietly who are false deceivers.
But by this we may know that they are not good pastors,
For they love not the sheep, but only for the fleeces.
The Scripture saith, and it is evident,
That if any man love those who are good, he must needs love God, and Jesus Christ.
Such an one will neither curse, swear, nor lie,
He will neither commit adultery, nor kill; he will neither defraud his neighbour,
Nor avenge himself of his enemies,
Now such an one is termed a Waldensian, and worthy to be punished,
And they find occasion by lies and by deceit,
To take from him that which he has gotten by his just labour.
However, he that is thus persecuted for the fear of the Lord, strengthens himself greatly,
By this consideration, that the kingdom of heaven shall be given him at the end of the world.
Then he shall have a weight of glory in recompense for all such dishonour.
But in this is clearly manifested the malice of those men,
That they who will curse, lie, and swear,

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He that will frequently put his money to usury, kill, and whore,
And avenge himself on those who hurt him;
This they say is a good man, and to be accounted faithful.
But let him take heed he be not deceived at the end,
When he has received the stroke of death, and when death seizes him, and he becomes almost speechless,
Then he desires the priest to confess him:
But according to the Scriptures he has delayed too long, for that commands us
To repent while we have time, and not to put it off till the last:
The priest asketh him if he hath any sin,
He answers two or three words, and so has done;
The priest tells him he cannot be forgiven,
If he do not restore, and examine well his faults:
When he hears this he is very much troubled,
And thinks with himself, if he restore entirely,
What shall he leave his children, and what will the world say?
Then he commandeth his children to examine their faults,
And buyeth of the priest his absolution;
Though he hath a hundred livres of another and better penny, yet
The priest acquits him for a hundred pence,
And sometimes for less when he can get no more,
Telling him a large story, and promising him pardon,
That he will say mass for him, and for his ancestors;
And thus he pardons them, be they righteous or wicked,
Laying his hand upon their heads,
(But when he leaves them, he maketh the better chear)
And telling him that he is very well absolved,
But, alas! they are but sadly confessed who are thus faulty,
And will certainly be deceived in such an absolution,
And he that maketh him believe it sinneth mortally.
For I dare say, and it is very true,
That all the popes which have been from Silvester to this present,
And all Cardinals, Bishops, Abbots, and the like,
Have no power to absolve or pardon,
Any creature so much as one mortal sin,
It is God alone who pardons, and no other.
But this ought they to do who are pastors,
They ought to preach to the people, and pray with them,
And feed them often with divine doctrine;
And chastise the sinners with discipline,
Namely, by declaring that they ought to repent.*
First, that they confess their sins freely and fully,
And that they repent in this present life,
That they fast and give alms, and pray with a fervent heart,
For by these things the soul finds salvation:
Wherefore we Christians which have sinned
And forsaken the law of Jesus Christ,
Having neither fear, faith, nor love,

* Leger wants the next thirty-five stanzas.

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We must confess our sins without any delay,
We must amend with weeping and repentance,
The offences which we have committed, and for those three mortal sins,
To wit, for the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life,
through which we have done evil;
We must keep this way.
If we will love and follow Jesus Christ,
We must have spiritual poverty of heart,
And love chastity, and serve God humbly,
For so we may follow the way of Jesus Christ,
And thus we may overcome our enemies,
There is a brief rehearsal in this Lesson,
Of three laws which God gave to the world;
The first law directeth men who have judgment and reason,
Namely, to know God and to pray to his Creator.
For he that hath judgment, may well think with himself,
That he formed not himself, nor any thing else:
Then here he who hath judgment and reason may know,
That there is one Lord God who created all the world,
And knowing him, he ought much to honour him;
For they were damned that would not do it.
The second law which God gave to Moses
Teacheth us to fear God, and to serve him with all our strength;
For he condemneth and punisheth every one that offends.
But the third law which is at this present time,
Teacheth us to love God, and serve him purely:
For he waiteth for the sinner and giveth him time
That he may repent in this present life.
As for any other law to come after we shall have none,
Save only to imitate Jesus Christ, and do his will, *
And keep fast that which he commands us,
And to be well forewarned when antichrist shall come.
That we may believe neither on his words nor on his works,
Now, according to the Scripture, there are already many antichrists.
For all those who are contrary to Christ, are antichrists.
Many signs and great wonders
Shall be from this time forward until the day of judgment,
The heaven and earth shall burn, and all the living die.
After which all shall arise to everlasting life,
And all buildings shall be laid flat.
Then shall be the last judgment,
When God shall separate his people, according as it is written,
To the wicked he shall say, Depart ye from me into hell fire, which never
shall be quenched:
With grievous punishments there to be straitened;
By multitude of pains, and sharp torments:
For you shall be damned without remedy,
From which God deliver us, if it be his blessed will,

* Leger has this, and next five lines, and then wants to the end.

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And give us to hear that which he shall say to his elect without delay;
Come hither ye blessed of my Father,
Inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world,
Where you shall have pleasure, riches and honour.
May it please the Lord which formed the world,
That we may be of the number of his elect to dwell in his court for ever.
Praised be God. Amen. *

No. II.—CATECHISM.

"A most excellent Catechism or Formulary, to instruct their children, which the Waldenses and Albigenses have used in the manner of a dialogue, when the pastor asks the question and the child answers, dated in the year 1100," by Leger, part p. 58. Boyer, chap. i. p. 7. gives it the same date as the Noble Lesson, that is, 1100. It is inserted at large in Leger, part i. pp. 58—64. Morland, p. 75—84. Perrin, part iii. book i. chap. i. The above title is mixed from all the authors. Leger omits the word Albigenses; but as the language was understood in North Italy, South of France, and in Catalonia, the Catechism was doubtless used through all these places. "I have judged this most excellent piece of so great importance," says Leger, "to satisfy people's laudable curiosity, that I have chosen to lay down the original opposite the (French) translation, for one finds in it all the substance of religion with a solid simplicity." The following is a specimen of the Catechism, A. D. 1100.—

Lo Barba. Si tu fosses demanda qui si es tu?

L'enfant. Creatura de Dio rational et mortal.

Lo Barba. Per que Dio te a crea?

Resp. Afin que yo conoissa lui meseime, et cola, et avent la gratia de luy meseime sia salva.

Lo Barba. En que ista la toa salut?

Resp. En tres vertus substantials de necessita pertinent a salu.

Lo Barba. Quals sont aquellas?

Resp. Fe Esperança et carita.

Demanda. Per que cosa proveras aizo?

Resp. L'Apostol scri, 1 Cor. xiii. Aquestas cosas permanon, Fe Esperança et Carita.

The Barba, the Uncle, that is to say, the Pastor, If one should demand of you, who are you, what would you answer? *Child.* A creature of God, reasonable and mortal.

Why has God created you? To the end that I might know him, and serve him, and be saved by his grace.

In what consists your salvation? In three substantial virtues, which necessarily belong to salvation.

Which are they? Faith, hope, and charity.

* Morland, pp. 99—120.

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How can you prove that? The Apostle writes, 1 Cor. xii. "Now abideth faith, hope, and charity, these three."

What is faith? According to the apostle, Heb. xi. It is "the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen."

How many sorts of faith are there? There are two sorts, viz. a living and a dead faith.

What is a living faith? It is that which works by charity.

What is a dead faith? According to St James, it is that which, without "works, is dead." Again, faith is null without works, or a dead faith is, to believe that there is a God, to believe concerning God, and not to believe in him.

What is your faith? The true Catholic and Apostolic faith.

What is that? It is that, which, in the creed of the Apostles, is divided into twelve articles.

What is that? "I believe in God the Father Almighty," &c.

By what way can you know that you believe in God? By this, that I know and I observe the commandments of God.

How many commandments of God are there? Ten; as is manifest in Exodus and Deuteronomy.

Which be they? "Here, O Israel, I am the Lord thy God. Thou shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not make any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven," &c.

What is the sum of these commandments? It consists in these two great commandments, viz. "Thou shalt love God above all things, and thy neighbour as thyself."

What is that foundation of these commandments, by the which every one may enter into life, and without which foundation none can do any thing worthily or fulfil the commandments? The Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the apostle speaks in 1 Cor. "Other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ."

By what means may a man come to this foundation? By faith, as saith St Peter, "Behold I lay in Zion a chief corner-stone, elect, precious, and he that believeth on him shall not be confounded." And the Lord saith, "He that believeth hath eternal life."

Whereby canst thou know that thou believest? By this, that I know him to be the true God, and true man, who was born, and who hath suffered, &c. for my redemption, justification, and that I love him, and desire to fulfil his commandments.

By what means may one attain to those essential virtues, faith, hope, and charity? By the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

Dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit? Yes, I do believe, for the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, and is one person of the Trinity: and according to the divinity, is equal to the Father and the Son.

Thou believest God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, thou hast therefore three gods. I have not three.

But yet thou hast named three. That is by reason of the difference of the persons, not by reason of the essence of the divinity; for although there are three persons, yet notwithstanding, there is but one essence.

In what manner dost thou adore and worship that God on whom thou believest? I adore him with the adoration of an inward and outward worship: outwardly, by the bending of the knee, and lifting up the hands, by bowing the body, by hymns and spiritual songs, by fasting and prayer: but inwardly, by an

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holy affection, by a will conformable unto all things, that are well-pleasing unto him; and to serve him by faith, hope, and charity, according to his commandments.

Dost thou adore and worship any other thing as God? No.

Why? Because of his commandments, whereby it is strictly commanded, saying, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." And again, "I will not give my glory to another." Again, "As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow before me." And Jesus Christ saith, "There shall come the true worshippers which shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth." And the angel would not be worshipped by St John, nor St Peter by Cornelius.

After what manner prayest thou? I pray, rehearsing the prayer given me by the Son of God, saying, "Our Father, which art in heaven," &c.

What is the other substantial virtue appertaining to salvation? It is charity.

What is charity? It is the gift of the Holy Spirit, by which the soul is reformed in the will, being enlightened by faith, whereby I believe all that ought to be believed, and hope all that ought to be hoped.

Dost thou believe in the holy church? No, for it is a creature; but I believe that there is one.

What is that which thou believest concerning the holy church? I say, that the church is considered two manner of ways, the one substantially, and the other ministerially. As it is considered substantially, by the Holy Catholic Church is meant, all the elect of God, from the beginning of the world to the end, by the grace of God through the merit of Christ, gathered together by the Holy Spirit, and foreordained to eternal life; the number and names of whom are known to him alone who has elected them. And finally, in this church remains none who is reprobate. But the church, as it is considered, according to the truth of the ministry, is the company of the ministers of Christ, together with the people committed to their charge, using the ministry by faith, hope and charity.

By what dost thou know the church of Christ? By the ministers lawfully called, and by the people participating in the truth of the ministry.

By what marks knowest thou the ministers? By the true sense of faith, by sound doctrine, by a life of good example, and by the preaching of the gospel, and by a due administration of the sacraments.

By what marks knowest thou the false ministers? By their fruits, by their blindness, by their evil works, by their perverse doctrine, and by their undue administration of the sacraments.

By what knowest thou their blindness? When, not knowing the truth which necessarily appertains to salvation, they observe human inventions as ordinances of God, of whom it is verified what Isaiah says, and which is alleged by our Lord Jesus Christ, Matt. xv. "This people honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. But in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

By what marks knowest thou their evil works? By those manifest sins of which the apostle speaks, Gal. v. saying, that "they which do such things, shall not inherit the kingdom of God."

By what mark knowest thou perverse doctrine? When it teacheth contrary to faith and hope; such is idolatry of several sorts, towards a reasonable, sensible, visible or invisible creature, for it is the Father alone, with his Son and the Holy Spirit, who ought to be worshipped, and not any creature whatsoever. But, when on the contrary, they attribute to man, and to the work of his hands,

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or to his words, or to his authority in such a manner, that men ignorantly believe that they have satisfied God by a false religion, and by satisfying the covetous simony of the priests.

By what marks is the undue administration of the sacrament known? When the priests, not knowing the intention of Christ in the sacrament, say, that the grace and the truth is included in the external ceremonies, and persuade men to the participation of the sacrament without the truth of faith, of hope, and of charity. But the Lord chargeth those that are his, to take heed of false prophets, saying, Beware of the Pharisees, that is to say, "of the leaven of their doctrine." Again, "Believe them not, neither go after them." And David hates the church of such persons, saying, "I hate the church of evil men." And the Lord commands, "to come out from the midst of such people." Num. xvi. "Depart from the tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest you be consumed in their sins." And the apostle writes, "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? and what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you," 2 Cor. vi. 14—17. Again, "Now we command you, brethren, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly," 2 Thes. iii. 6. Again, "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues,"—Rev. xviii. 4.

By what marks are those people known, who are not in truth within the church? By public sins, and an erroneous faith; for we ought to flee from such persons, lest we be defiled by them.

By what ways oughtest thou to communicate with the holy church? I ought to communicate with the church in regard of its substance, by faith, by hope and by charity, as also by observing the commandments, and by a final perseverance in well-doing.

How many things are there which are ministerial? Two; the word and the sacraments.

How many sacraments are there? Two; namely, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

What is the third virtue necessary to salvation? Hope.

What is hope? It is a waiting for grace and glory to come.

By what things does a man hope for grace? By the Mediator Jesus Christ, of whom St John saith, "Grace comes by Jesus Christ." Again, "We have seen his glory, who is full of grace and truth." And we "all have received of his fulness."

What is that grace? It is redemption, remission of sin, justification, adoption, and sanctification.

By what things is this grace hoped for in Christ? By a living faith, and true repentance, saying, "Repent ye, and believe the gospel."

Whence proceedeth this hope? From the gift of God, and the promises of which the apostle mentioneth, "He is powerful to perform whatsoever he hath promised." For he hath promised himself, that whosoever shall know him, and repent, and shall hope in him, he will have mercy upon him, pardon and justify, &c.

What are the things that put us beside this hope? A dead faith, the seduction of antichrist to believe in other things beside Christ, that is to say, in saints,

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in the power of that antichrist, in his authority, words, and benedictions, in sacraments, relics of the dead, in purgatory, which is but forged and contrived, in teaching that faith is obtained by those ways which oppose themselves to the truth, and are against the commandments of God; as idolatry in divers respects; as also by wickedness and simony, &c.; forsaking the fountain of living water given by grace, and running to broken cisterns, worshipping, honouring, and serving the creature by prayers, fastings, by sacrifices, by donations, by offerings, by pilgrimages, by invocations, &c.; relying upon themselves for the acquiring of grace, which none can give, save only God in Christ. In vain do they labour and lose their money and their lives, and the truth, and they do not only lose their present life, but also that which is to come; wherefore, it is said, that the hope of fools shall perish.

What doest thou say of the blessed Virgin Mary, for she is full of grace, as the angel testifies, I salute thee, full of grace? The blessed Virgin was, and is full of grace, as much as is necessary for her own particular wants, but not to communicate to others, for her Son alone is full of grace, and can communicate the same as he pleaseth, and "We have all received of his fulness, grace for grace."

Believest thou not the communion of saints? I believe there are two sorts of things wherein the saints communicate, the first substantial, the other ministerial. As to the substantials, they communicate by the Holy Spirit, in God, through the merit of Jesus Christ. As to the ministerials or ecclesiastics, they communicate by the ministry duly performed, namely, by the word, by the sacraments, and by prayer. I believe both the one and the other of these communions of saints. The first only in God, and in Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost, by the Spirit; the other in the church of Christ.

In what consists eternal life? In a living and operating faith, and in perseverance in the same. Our Saviour says, John xvii. "This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." And, "He that endures to the end shall be saved."

No. III.—ON THE FEAR OF THE LORD, TRIBULATIONS, AND THE LORD'S PRAYER.

La ternor del Segnor dagieta li pecca. Per la ternor del Segnor nayson moti ben Dont di Salomon, la ternor del Segnor es commencament de Sapienela, &c.

The fear of the Lord drives away sin. By the fear of the Lord is procured much good, of which Solomon saith, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." And again, "Happy is the man that always" thus "fears." For, by the fear of the Lord, his soul is delivered from the pains of hell, and by the fear of the Lord he find the joys of heaven. The love of God and of our neighbour, is charity; and he that has charity, is of God; and he that is of God, is weaned from the things of this world; and he which loves God, fears the pains of hell, and thirsts after the joys of heaven, of which he hopes to have the fruition, and wherein he hopes to live, where there is no fear of death, or of enemies, and where there is life without death; wherefore through the love of God, and of our

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neighbour is obtained eternal life. And St Paul saith, that the love of God and of our neighbour, works no evil. And he that shall do those things, shall never fall into sin, whereas he that lets his heart run after temporal things, departs from the love of God, for riches cannot be heaped up in this world without sin, because what one gaineth another cannot gain; and where the gainer rejoiceth, the loser is made sad. Now there are many who hope to give alms out of the sweat of other men, stripping one to clothe another; but such alms-deeds are not at all acceptable before God, according to that of St Augustine, "those alms are well-pleasing to God, which are given out of a man's own substance, and are not the fruits of rapine and usury." For, that charity which proceeds from rapine and usury is not a work of mercy, but a fomenting and cherishing of sin. O brethren, what shall we say of these rich men "that heap up riches, and know not for whom they have gathered them?" While they compass earthly things, they lose the heavenly, and in gaining the world, lose their own souls. How many are there who think they are in the light, and yet are compassed about with darkness? O blind covetousness, which divides the soul from Christ, and joins it to the devil! Just as that rich man who fared deliciously every day! O miserable rich men, why are ye not afraid and dismayed? ye that covet sublunary, and lose celestial treasures; according to that of St James, "Go to now ye rich men! weep and howl for the miseries that are coming upon you!" Wo be to such! for a lover of wealth shall find no mercy, and the covetous man who never says, It is enough, is like unto hell itself, which look how much the more it hath, so much the more it still desires. Now, wo be to them who shall thus be swallowed up by the infernal pit! who, while they have time and opportunity, will not repent and amend their lives; therefore when death shall come and seize on them, they shall leave all their power and riches behind them in this world, and only their miserable souls shall depart into hell torments. Even as our Saviour says in the gospel, that "it is (not only hard, but) impossible for him that trusts in his riches, to enter into the kingdom of God." And the apostle saith, that "covetousness is the root of all evil." It was a saying of St Gregory, that "the covetous and proud man were never found without pride and covetousness." The truth is, it matters not at all that a man is poor, if so be that his mind be carried out with a desire to possess. Wherefore we ought not so much as to desire worldly things, since "those things which are seen, are but temporal, and those things which are not seen, are eternal." The miserable sinner is ashamed to confess his sin, but is not afraid of giving an account before the eternal Judge at the great day of judgment, where they must not only give an account of their more crying sins, but also of their very thoughts and idle words, "and then there will be no place found for sinners where to hide themselves!" Then shall they say to the mountains, Fall on us. For this reason we ought to beware of covetousness and avarice, and of "heaping up to ourselves treasures in this world." It is our Saviour's counsel in the gospel of St Matthew, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where the moth and rust corrupt." And again he saith, "What will it profit a man to gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" And St Jerom saith, that "if all the friends or kindred of a damned soul should give all that they have in the world, they could not possibly redeem his soul," for in the infernal pit there is no redemption. And therefore St John counselleth us, "not to love the world, nor the things of the world," and saith that "if any man do love the world, the love of the Father is not in him: for, whatsoever is in the world consists either in the lust of the eye, the lust of the

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flesh, or the pride of life, which is not of the father; but is of the world." This should cause us to consider ourselves, and to consider where the king, princes, and potentates of the earth now are, how they have miserably fallen from so great a height of power and jollity into such an extremity of misery and anguish, from so great riches, to so great poverty; from such fulness, to so much want; from so sweet pleasures, to such a degree of sadness; from so short a life, to so long a death; from so little a measure of health, to so continued a sickness; from so little enjoyment of light, to so long a night of darkness: thus, all those who are acquainted with "the riches of this world, fall into temptations, and the snares of the devil, and into many vain and hurtful lusts," which draw the souls into destruction and perdition. And St Augustine, that "the lust or concupiscence of a man cannot be satisfied, and that it hath no bounds or measures;" wherefore it is said, O thou covetous man, thou hast no spiritual eye to see heaven, nor hast thou any heart to know God, and "by the hardness of thy heart, thou treasurest up wrath unto the day of judgment." Wherefore let us not covet after earthly, but after heavenly things; and let us set our love upon Christ; for the love of man bringeth sorrow, but the love of Christ quencheth the fire of hell, and expels the love of the world. Let us not then do our own will, but the will of him that came down from heaven, and said, "I am not come to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me." And again, "Thy will be done." But there are many who are apt to say, I am yet young, and cannot break or bridle my will, but when I am older, then I will repent. Alas, this is to speak like a fool; for the miserable wretch knows not whether he shall live till the morrow, and yet he thinks to live many years, yea, till he reach old age. Josiah knew that the young man is constrained to depart this life, for this life is short, and this shortness is uncertain. When we rise in the morning, we know not whether ever we shall live to see the evening. Again, there be others who say, our forefathers have lived, and never repented, it is sufficient to do as they have done before us. For my part, I am resolved to enjoy what I have, as long as I live, for it is too hard for me to part with my goods, and give them to the poor. O foolish man, that thou who pleadest thus! Wherefore doest thou not better consider? Thy fathers indeed have lived, but now they are no more; and what do these riches profit them, which they so greedly heaped up together? or what doth all their substance which they left to their children, now avail them? And if thou hast regard to those things which thou leavest behind thee, why doest thou not regard those things which thou losest? which hadst thou rather preserve, thy soul or thy son, who will become a stranger to thee after death? So then, he leads a wicked life, who thus departs from God's mercy, because he is meek, patient, and merciful, and hopes us to repent and amend; for God doth not only pardon those who repent, but also promiseth them to be their guardian; and to those who persevere, and hold on to the end, a crown of life. We have an example in the thief, who became converted even when he was upon the cross, and had his petition granted him, with a "verily I say unto thee, this day shalt thou be with me in paradise." Wherefore, happy is he who is always in readiness, for "the Lord will come in an hour that we are not aware of." Let us pray while we have time, and not delight ourselves in this world, which is full of iniquity, and wherein our life is full of temptations. Let us repent while we have time, for as much as our life is but short; as likewise, let us shun our visible enemies, and have recourse to the sovereignty of God, which ought to be our sanctuary. He it is "who hath redeemed us by his blood," and whom we ought therefore

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to love above all things, and to keep his commandments. But this thing ought not to be neglected by us, which the Lord Jesus hath shewed by the holy scriptures, for the end of this world draws nigh, and I trust the coming of the Lord is at hand, when he shall come to judge all the world with fire, and all things that are here before our eyes. For we know that at the last day, when the sins of men are come to their full height, then shall "fire go forth from the Lord," and burn up all things which are found in the world, and then all the glory of this world shall turn to nothing by reason of the sin of man. Then our Lord Jesus Christ, and all the angels of heaven with him shall come to judgment in the "Valley of Jehosaphat," and all nations shall be assembled before him, and they shall be separated the one from the other as the shepherd separates the sheep from the goats. Wherefore it is said in the Revelation, 'that "the days shall come, when the wicked shall call and cry for death, and shall desire to die and shall not be able, for death shall fly from them; and that golden mouthed, St John says, that "the Lord has prepared a kingdom for those," who shall resist sin, and attain unto grace, but for those who shall not repent, are prepared the pains and fire of hell.*

DE LAS TRIBULACIONS.

Motas son las tribulacions di li just. Ma lo Segnor deyliorare lor de totas. E. Sant Paul di, per motas tribulacions coventa nos intrar al regne de Dio, e qui non aure part a las tribulacions non aure part a las consolacions, &c.

ON TRIBULATIONS.

"MANY are the afflictions of the righteous, but the Lord will deliver them out of all;" and St Paul saith, that "through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God;" and whosoever has not his share of tribulations, shall not be partaker of the consolations. Our blessed Saviour saith in the gospel, "Love your enemies, and do good to them that hate you." And St Augustine saith, "The more thine enemy hurts thee, the more thou oughtest to love him, for, in so doing, thou shalt inherit eternal life." For the wicked, even when he seeks to do thee harm, his conscience accuses him before the action, so that all the mischief he deviseth against thee, returns upon his own head. And if a thief robs thee, and takes away thy estate from thee, he hath greater loss than thou, for, alas, he loseth his own soul. Those which see with the eyes of the heart, they both know and fear the damnation of their souls. There are many men who are quick-sighted enough to discern gold and silver, but have no eyes to discern the damnation of their own souls. The Lord comforts the righteous when he bids them "not to fear those who can kill the body only," but cannot hurt the soul. Our adversaries are doubtless bereaved of sense, who neither see nor know themselves, but do just like a mad-man, who having a naked sword in

* Morland, pp. 119—124. Leger, part i. chap. v. pp. 30—34. Perrin, part iii. Any slight verbal variations do not vary the sense.

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his hand, first cuts off the lap of his neighbour's garment, and then sheaths it in his own bowels; for as the coat is the vesture of the body, so is the body properly the vesture of the soul; and if a just man endure persecution in this world for the love of God, his reward shall be eternal in that which is to come. Consider the evils the Lord suffered for thee, and how loath thou wouldst be to suffer, were thou able, for his sake, what he has sustained for thee, thou wouldst be loath to hang on such a cross, as that on which the Lord was hung for thy sins. Think not that thine enemy has any power over thee, but what God gives him; do not therefore so much mind what power God gives to wicked men, as what reward he has promised in the Scripture to give to thee. "O beloved, we now see that we are the children of God, although it doth not yet appear what we shall be hereafter: we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like unto him, for we shall behold him as he is." Christ is our life; strive then to imitate Christ. Christ came into the world to suffer martyrdom, and was afterwards exalted. Christ suffered death for us, and rose again, as thou expectest to do; and if the work frighten thee, look upon the recompense which God promises to give thee. How dost thou think to obtain the joys of heaven, without labour and travail, seeing thou canst not have any earthly joy without some pain? "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution," and shall be both despised and vilified, as if they were mad-men or fools. That person hath no desire to be a member of Christ's body, that is not willing to suffer that which God himself hath endured. He that will not bear the yoke in this world, shall never come where God is. Pray not then only for thine enemy who persecutes thee, but even for all those which love the world, for therefore are they wicked, because they love the world, and think to find life and prosperity, whereas on the contrary, death and destruction waits for them. Therefore are the works of the righteous reprehended, to the end they may be approved of, for if thou sufferest for thy good-works, thy reward is not at all thereby lessened, but rather augmented. But if, when thou art rebuked for doing good, thou dost thereupon, thou thereby makest it appear, that thy doing good, was merely to have praise of the world. He that begins to do well, that so he may get praise of the world, quickly gives it over when once persecution comes. How canst thou keep God's commandments, if thou hast no enemies, for the Lord saith in the gospel, Love your enemies. By this it may be understood, that it is necessary there should be some wicked persons among the righteous. For as fire is a means to try and refine gold from the dross, so likewise wicked men serve to prove and try the righteous. Good men are compared to pure gold, and the wicked to stubble; therefore if thou art wicked, thou shalt surely be burnt like the stubble, and shall become as smoke, as the prophet speaks, "The fire shall devour the bands of wicked men." St Paul tells us, that "he accounts not all the sufferings of this present world, worthy to be compared with the glory which is to come, and which shall be revealed in us." And St Augustine, speaking of this glory which shall be revealed, says, that "the righteous are the children of God, and shall be like unto the angels in glory. Therefore let now the world be never so mad, and never so enraged against us, and defame us with their tongues, let the ungodly now pursue us with naked swords in their hands; let them now breathe out all the evil they can against us, since that all the hurt they can do us, is but little in comparison of the reward which God has laid up for us. He that kills thy body, is not able to kill thy soul, but rather serves as an instrument to increase thy reward. Pray, therefore, for him, that so thy reward may not be the less. We ought, for the love of God, to despise whatsoever seems to delight

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us most, yea, not only that which affords us delight, but likewise that which may terrify and affright us—a prison, bonds, poverty, hunger, cold, sword, and even death itself. Thou must, I say, despise and lightly esteem all these; and if thou art able to overcome all, then thou hast God to be thy reward. Think how great would be thy fear, wert thou shut up close in prison. Why then livest thou wickedly, knowing that for so doing, thou must be one day a close prisoner in hell? He that can kill thy body, cannot kill thy soul, but thou mayest soon kill thine own soul with thy tongue, for the tongue that speaks lies is said to kill the soul. Let us consider, then, what thing we ought, and what things we ought not to fear. He is worthy to be counted a madman, that fears a prison in this world, which soon hath an end, and in the meantime, dreads not to go to hell, where he must suffer perpetual imprisonment. That man is void of reason that fears the kings, princes, and prelates of this world, and dreads not to lull into the clutches of the devils in hell. I say, he is a very madman who fears the death of this world, which is but transitory, and does not tremble at the very thoughts of death infernal, which lasteth for ever; who would ever purchase so long a death, for so short a life? so long a mourning, for so short a mirth? so long and so great a darkness, for so small and so short a light? for so short laughter, such bitter weepings and wailings as the wicked shall suffer in the world to come, of which our Saviour speaks, when he saith, "Wo unto you that laugh, for ye shall weep and lament;" such ugly filthiness, for so poor and mean beauty; such weakness and infirmities, for so small a strength? such terrors and dreadful affrightments, for so little security as the world affords? St Austin says, "It is but a vain fear to be afraid to lose temporal things, and not to fear to lose the heavenly;" to be afraid to lose the company of father and mother, and not to fear losing the blessed presence of God the Father, and of the Virgin Mary; to be fearful to lose the company of brothers and sisters, and not to fear losing the blessed fraternity of angels, of which brotherhood, St John speaks in the Revelation, when he would have worshipped the angel, who forbad him, saying, "Take heed thou do it not, for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren also which have the testimony of Jesus Christ, worship God." Therefore, thou that fearest death, love thy life—the Holy Spirit is thy life. If thou sinnest, thou canst not please God. None but the righteous alone can be said to do so; not the wicked. A child, when he is born into the world, weeps before he laughs; the tears that come from him, bearing witness that he enters into misery; so that the child may well be said to be a prophet of his own misery. While a good man lives, he must suffer persecution, for the wicked do always persecute the just, if not always with the sword, stones, or other weapons, yet they do it with their bad lives and wicked works. Wherefore St Peter praiseth Lot's conversation, because he suffered tribulation among wicked men: or as St Paul calls it, Perils among false brethren. All other afflictions and persecutions in this world may possibly cease, except the persecution of the wicked against the good, and if thou dost not believe this to be a truth, do but once begin to do well, and thou quickly see how the wicked will persecute thee. The Wise Man tells us, that the friends of God ought to have three sorts of patience; the *first*, whereof consists in suffering patiently all the evils that are both done and said against them. The *second*, in the patient bearing their own infirmities, and whatever tribulations pleases God to inflict on them in this world. And the *third*, in resisting the devil, who always strives to turn them aside from doing good-works. Now, no man must expect to receive a crown that hath not fought faithfully for it, and where the greatest combat is there is the greatest reward, and the most noble crown, as the Wise Man speaks, I speak to

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you according to the patience of God. For he that is most patient in adversities, and under the persecutions of wicked men shall have the greatest recompence; as those grapes yield the most wine, which are most pressed and bruised; or as the olive, when it is most squeezed, the skins all slip aside, and the oil remains pure and clear; or, as the wheat when it is well threshed and beaten, is thereby separated from the chaff. Therefore if thou wouldest be good, whilst thou livest in this world, patiently suffer the wicked to dwell with thee. And Solomon says, the true patient man hopes to converse with the angels. The true patient man is never in wrath. It is most certain that God loves them that hate the world for his sake; therefore ought the righteous man to rejoice in his pains, labours, poverty, and sufferings, of what kind soever they be, knowing that God has promised to give him eternal life. But, on the contrary, the wicked ought to weep and mourn, even in the midst of all his jollity, delights, and riches, as knowing that for all the joys, pleasures, and wealth which he enjoys here below, God hath reserved for him the wrath to come. That person appeaseth God's anger, who bears with patience all the wrongs that are done unto them. St Sextus says, Thou oughtest not to lay hands upon thine own life, but if another seeks to kill thee, be not displeased at it; and if the wicked annoy thee, remember that God is with thee; and golden mouthed St John saith, "if Christ be with me, who shall be against me? Although all the waves of the sea should rise, and all the princes of this world were bent against me, they are but as sand, and weaker than the dust." I do not say this as having confidence in mine own strength; but I trust in our Lord Jesus Christ, and in his commandments, which I bear in my heart, and in my hands, that is to say, in my works, the which make me strong. Suppose all the waves of the sea should rise up against me, and all the princes of the world were bent to ruin me, they were not all of them able to hurt or subdue me. Whatsoever is found on the earth, or in the sea, cannot hurt a good man, if he himself become not hurt himself. God's friends hath sometimes been beaten and oppressed in several kinds; some of them have died by the sword, as St John the Baptist, who was beheaded in a prison by king Herod, because he reprehended him for the sin of luxury; St Laurence was roasted alive; St James, the son of Zebedee, was beheaded in Joppa; St James, the son of Alpheus, as he was preaching in Jerusalem, a young man knocked him down with a pole; St Bartholemew was beaten with rods, and was afterwards flayed alive; St Peter was crucified, his head downwards, and his feet upwards; St Andrew was crucified on a cross; St Matthew was shot to death with arrows; St Paul was taken and cruelly beaten, and afterwards lost his head. Our blessed Saviour humbled so far for man's sake, as to come down from heaven, and enter into the Virgin's womb; he who was God blessed forever, and King over the angels, became a mortal man for our sakes, was "put into a manger and wrapt in swaddling clothes," he was carried away from Judea into Egypt for fear of Herod that sought to kill him;" he was wearied and tired with travelling, tempted of the devil, suffered hunger and thirst for our sakes; he was called a madman, and one possessed with the devil, by the Jews, and the son of the carpenter; he suffered for our sakes, all that a man could possibly, sin only excepted; and, finally, he was betrayed by one of his disciples, as a murderer, and an excommunicated person; he was by them sold for our sakes, he was condemned, buffeted, and despised," he was crowned with thorns, and thrust through with a spear in his side; and this he did to redeem us from death, by the effusion of his blood, even he himself who was holy, pure, and without sin, was delivered, not by force, but of his own will and consent.

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St Stephen was stoned to death; Isaiah the prophet, was sawn asunder; Jeremy was stoned to death; Daniel was cast into the lions den; the three children, Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego, were thrown into the burning fiery furnace; several other men and women lost their limbs, and obtained the victory, receiving the reward of their labours, and are now crowned in heaven. "And," as the Wise Man says, "Let us look upon the life of those holy martyrs, both men and women, which yielded themselves to be put to death, giving up their bodies to be martyred," and let us not think they would thus have suffered their bodies to be put to death and torments, if they had not been truly persuaded, that from this momentary life, they were to pass to a life which is eternal. St Austin says, that "in celebrating the joyful remembrance of the saints, we ought not to pray God for them, but rather for ourselves, to the end God would grant unto us, that we may follow the same paths which they have traced out to us, and that we may sit in the kingdom of heaven as they do." Therefore are the lives of the saints written, to the end that we may take example by them, and imitate the same.*

TWO EXPLANATIONS OF THE LORD'S PRAYER.

GLOSA PATER NOSTER.

O tu lo Nostre Payre local sies en li cel. Nos deven saber que entre totas las obras lascals por asser faytas en aquesta vita, neuna obra non es prus honorival, ni prus profeytivol, ni prus legiera que aurar Dio, &c.

A GLOSS UPON OUR FATHER.

"O THOU, our Father, which art in heaven." We ought to know that amongst all the works which may be done in this life, none is more honourable, profitable, or easy, than to pray to God; it is most honourable, for if it be a great honour to speak often and familiarly with an earthly king, it is then certainly a much greater honour to talk familiarly with the heavenly and eternal King, with whom we discourse in prayer; therefore, Isidorus saith, "He that will be often with God, let him pray and read," for when we pray we talk with God, and when we read, God talketh with us. Again, it is a profitable thing to pray, for as the Lord saith, "Verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believe that ye shall receive it, and it shall be given unto you." It is the easiest thing in the world to pray, for a man may pray in all places and at all times. Neither is it necessary to bring any thing of a man's self, that to think only and desire well, is to pray. Therefore David saith, "The Lord heareth the desire of the poor," the humble; now the poor are those infirm creatures who cannot speak or do any thing, save only pray with desire, and God is ready to hear the prayer of their desire; so also saith David, "The Lord heareth the desire of the poor." Again, seeing that prayer is a work so honourable, so profitable, and so easy,

* Morland, pp. 125—133. Leger, part i. chap. vi. pp. 35—40, where he gives the original and a French translation.

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and also seeing it is said in the gospel, the apostles asked of Christ, as good disciples of a good Master, that he would teach them to pray, for they knew that they could not learn a better lesson, and "said unto him, O Lord, teach us to pray," who, answering said, "When you pray, do not speak much, but pray thus, O thou, our Father which art in heaven." In this prayer he teacheth us, *first*, to get the good will of God, and to ask for ourselves all things which are needful, when he saith, "O thou, our Father which art in heaven," it is as if he had said, thou art our Father by creation. To the same purpose speaks Moses in Deuteronomy, "Is not he thy Father which hath possessed thee, made thee, and created thee? But thou art our Father by redemption, for thou hast "ransomed us with thine own blood," which thing is the greatest sign of love that any father can shew towards his children; therefore it is said in the Revelation, "Which loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood." Again, thou art our Father, in respect of nourishment, government and inheritance, and therefore the Lord said to his disciples, "Call no man father on earth, for there is one your Father which is in heaven." Again, he saith, "O thou our Father," as if he had said, Thou shouldest not refuse our prayer, but give us those things which we ask of thee, and thou art our Father which hast created, redeemed, fed and governed us, and hast promised us thine inheritance. But as for that which followeth, "Which art in heaven," the Lord teacheth us to be such, that we may be worthy to be called heavenly; for as the Lord dwelleth in material heaven, so he dwells in spiritual heaven, that is in saints, by the habitation of grace; therefore, saith Isidorus, "The heaven is my throne," of the which throne saith Solomon, the "soul of the righteous in my throne." Again, if we be heaven, that is, we are enlightened within by true faith, and without by honest conversation. Again, it is extended and enlarged by love towards God, and by charity towards our neighbour, and mercy towards our enemy. Again, it is high and elevated above the earth, through contemplation of heavenly things, and despising of earthly, so that we may say with the Apostle, "our conversation is in heaven;" in this way the Lord acknowledgeth our prayer, when we say, "O thou, our Father, which art in heaven." This is the first part of our Lord's Prayer, in which he teacheth us to get first the good will of God, and then to ask him all things which are necessary for us. But this is to be observed, that from this place to the end of the Lord's Prayer, are contained seven petitions, brief in words, but weighty and large in their sense and meaning. Again, that this prayer can scarce be sufficiently expounded by all the doctors in the world. In these seven petitions or requests, are contained all things necessary for this present life, or that which is to come. But let us take at present for our edification a plain and downright exposition.

THE FIRST PETITION.

The first request is, "Hallowed be Thy name." In this request we desire the sin of lust may be removed, and that the virtue of chastity may be given us, for we bear the name of Christ, and are called Christians, which is nothing else but to be disciples, servants, and children of Christ: but thy name is polluted, vilified, and blasphemed in us, when we live in pollution and luxury: and on the contrary, it is sanctified and purified, when we abstain from all pollutions of heart, mouth, and body, and wash and purify our sins past by true repentance:

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for so those Christians which do indeed bear the name of Christ, are purified, that is, are made saints. Now a saint is such a one, who is without stain; but the sin of lust is rightly termed a stain, because as a stain taketh from cloth or wool the natural colour, so the sin of lust taketh from the soul the benefit of baptism, and all graces. Again, as a stain passeth through the cloth, within and without, so lust defileth a man within and without; and it first of all defileth a man at the heart by base and vile thoughts, and consenting to pleasures; as likewise the eyes, by unchaste looks; the ears with filthy words, that heat and inflame unto sin; the nose, by the unsavoury smells of ointments, which serve for allurements unto whoredom, with which some women, being possessed by the devil, paint themselves to please their lovers; the mouth, by unchaste words, kisses, and superfluous dainties, whereby lust is nourished, and made much of; the hands, by unchaste touches; and, finally, all the body by the detestible act of uncleanness, by which means the devil leads the miserable sinners two by two to hell. Again, the sense of "Hallowed be thy name," is as much as to say, O Lord do us the favour, that we which bear thy name, and are called Christians, may be holy, that is, without spot or defilement of carnality and sin: O Lord, thou wilt do these things for us, if thou please to give us the virtue and grace of continency, so that we may keep ourselves from the sin of lust. Of this sanctification speaketh the apostle, "Let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord." And, again, the apostle, "This is the will of God, even your sanctification, that ye abstain from whoredom." But as for that, we cannot do it without the assistance of God; according to that which Solomon saith, "None can be continent except God enable him." And this is the chief wisdom, to know from what fountain this gift cometh; for this cause we have need to cry daily to the Lord, "Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name."

THE SECOND PETITION.

Now followeth the second petition or request, "Thy kingdom come." In this request, we beg of our heavenly Father, that the sin of covetousness may be removed, and that the grace of spiritual poverty, piety and mercy, may be bestowed upon us; for the kingdom of heaven is denied to the covetous and rich men of this world, therefore the apostle saith, "the covetous shall not inherit the kingdom of God." And the Lord saith in the gospel, "The rich shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven; and it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven." And again, he saith, "Wo unto you rich men, which have your consolation in this life. But, on the contrary, the kingdom of heaven is given to the poor; therefore the Lord saith, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." They are fitly called *poor in spirit*, that is, voluntarily, not constrained or from necessity in this life, which is also conformable to what St Bernard saith, that "there are three sorts of poverty, to wit, feigned, constrained, and voluntary." Again, we ought to shun the feigned poverty of which David speaketh; they will be poor in such sort, that they, notwithstanding, suffer no necessity; we ought to endure patiently the constrained poverty, and embrace the voluntary with all the heart, and so shall we become poor in spirit. Of this poverty St James speaketh, "Hath not God chosen the poor in this world, rich

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in faith, and inheritors of the kingdom which God hath promised to them that love him." And Augustine saith, in the person of Christ, "I have to sell, but what? the kingdom of God; heaven, the kingdom of heaven. After what fashion is it to be bought? by poverty; for labour and travel is to be purchased rest; and life, by death; and thus the kingdom of heaven belongs to the poor." Again, it must be gotten by poverty, for such were the holy apostles, and their disciples that followed their steps, to wit, those religious men, who forsaking all temporal things, followed Christ in poverty, so that he is bought by the poor, by works of mercy done to the poor, as Zaccheus did who gave the half of his goods to the poor, and if he had done wrong to any man, he restored fourfold; so also do all the rich which are good, to whom it shall be said at the day of judgement, "Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world." But none may excuse themselves from buying this kingdom; for as Gregory saith, "The kingdom of God costeth as much goods as thou hast. It cost the holy apostles the ship and the nets; it cost Zaccheus the half of his goods; it cost one widow two mites, which she put into God's treasury; it cost another a cup of cold water," so saith Gregory. And again, "Nothing is more cheap to be bought, and nothing more dear, when one hath bought it." Thou mayest perhaps say, that thou canst not get a cup of cold water to give to the poor, but yet thou canst never excuse thyself from the purchase of the heavenly kingdom, for although thou hast nothing else, yet a good-will sufficeth, which God will account for the deed; for, as the apostle saith, the will is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that which he hath not. And Gregory saith, The hand is never empty of a gift, if the chest of the heart be full of good-will." Again, the sense of these words, "Thy kingdom come," is, O Lord, give us voluntary poverty, by which we may come to thy kingdom, and give us piety and mercy through which thy kingdom is purchased by the poor, and root out of our hearts concupiscence and avarice, for the kingdom of God shall be taken away from the avaricious and covetous.

THE THIRD PETITION.

Now followeth the Third Petition, "Thy will be done." In this petition we request, that the sin of negligence may be taken from us, which is an enemy to all goodness, for it begetteth lust, feeds the belly, soweth detractions, and causeth trouble for that which is good, that is, when we are to do any thing, or to see others do well; or if we do any thing which is good, we do it idly, coldly, and unsavourily; and so instead of obtaining a blessing, we get a curse, as Jeremiah, saith, "Cursed is he that doth the work of the Lord negligently:" wherefore heedlessness or idleness, when we do not finish the good which we have begun; and therefore we receive not the wages, for it is the end that crowns, and not the battles; idleness is directly opposite to the command of the law, in which was enjoined to offer up all the sacrifice, "the head with the tail." The sacrifice is every good work which we sanctify to God, as doing the same for God's honour; the head is the beginning of the work, and the tail is the end. To God we offer the sacrifice, the head and the tail, when persevering to continue good works to the end. Now, the negligent and idle would fain not do any thing, but be al-

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ways idle, which thing is exceeding dangerous both for body and soul. And so it is said in the Book of Wisdom, "Idleness begetteth much evil, for the belly of man can scarce be idle; for when it is not employed in good, it is employed in evil." And St Bernard saith, that "Idleness is the hold or store-house of all evils." The hold is the lowest place in the ship, and easily breeds serpents and creeping things; also, it is often seen, that in the idle soul are bred evil thoughts, consenting and delighting in sin. And Gregory saith, "The reason why the heart of Solomon forsook the wisdom of God so soon was, for that no discipline outward kept him in." Again, it is necessary for a man to be very watchful over himself, and to look carefully unto the castle of the body and soul, and to employ himself ever in some good thought, word, or work; as Jerom saith, "Be always doing some good thing, that so the devil may find thee employed." Again, we pray that this dangerous sin of idleness may be taken from us when we say, "Thy will be done." And we request that the grace of devotion may be given to us, and of true love and good-works, for devout men, and such as are inflamed with divine love will never be idle, but study always to occupy themselves in doing the will of God on earth, as the saints in heaven did, and do it. But for that we cannot do this without divine grace, we ought to pray, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." For the will of God is done in heaven without intermission, sorrow, murmuring, or contradiction; and thus all good Christians labour to do it on earth. Also Gregory saith, The approbation of the work is the accomplishment of love, and the love of God is never idle, for it doeth great things, if it be active, but if it refuse to work, it is not love." And St Bernard saith, "O blessed Jesus, thy love is never idle; those which love thee never cool; to speak of thee is perfect consolation; to think of thee is full satisfaction; to draw near to thee is eternal life; to depart from thee is eternal death. O blessed Jesus, thou art honey in the mouth, a sweet song to the ear, and joy to the heart." So then in this third petition, "Thy will be done," we pray that the sin of idleness may be taken from us, and the grace of devotion and of good-works may be bestowed upon us.*

"The Explication of the following Petitions," says Leger, "is wanting in the original, which I have recovered. But this prayer is again explained through the whole in the Book of the Waldenses entitled, 'The Treasure of Faith.'" Though our room is much limited, yet the other explanation of the same prayer is here inserted.

ANOTHER EXPOSITION WHICH THE WALDENSES AND ALBIGENSES HAVE GIVEN OF THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Saint Augustine being requested by a spiritual daughter of his to teach her to pray, has written and said, that "a multitude of words is not necessary in prayer," and you do not, however, pray the less, if you persevere in such an intention. People pray much when the prayer is fervent, and therefore to pray much, is not to ask necessary things in superfluous words. To pray much, is to solicit that for which we pray with a long decency and affection of heart, which is better

* Morland, pp. 133—141. Leger, part I. chap. vii. pp. 40—46.

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done by tears than by words, because God who sees all the secrets of our heart, is more moved by a groan, by sighs, and by tears drawn from the heart, than by a thousand words. But at this day many resemble the Pharisees, whom Christ did not wish his disciples to be like, who think they shall be the rather heard if they use many words in their prayers, whence it happens that they lose much time under a pretext of prayer. Job says, and experience shews it, "that man is never in the same estate in his life," but rather that he is "sometimes disposed to do one thing, sometimes to do another." And therefore no person is able to keep his spirit bent in prayer for the length of a day, and of a night, except God assist him by special grace. If a man has not his heart set on that which he speaks, he loses his time, and prays in vain. And therefore God has ordained to his servants other exercises, virtuous, corporeal and spiritual, in which a man ought ordinarily to exercise himself, either for himself or for his neighbour, having the heart in such a manner—the heart lifted to God, that he may not be idle: and therefore he who orders his life well according to the will of God, and the doctrine of his saints, he prays always. For every good-work is as a good prayer to God; and in regard to thee who readest, know that all the prayers of the Old and New Testament agree with this here: and that no prayer can be pleasant to God which is not comprehended in this. And therefore every Christian ought to apply his understanding to apprehend and to learn this prayer, which Christ has taught with his own mouth.

But it is necessary that he who is heard of God, be agreeable to him, and acknowledge those benefits which he has received from him: for ingratitude is a wind which dries up the fountain of the mercy and compassion of God. And therefore if thou wish to pray, and to ask any thing from God, think before thou ask, what and how great are the benefits which thou hast received from him, and if thou canst not remember them all, that at least it come into your mind that he grant the grace of power to call him "Father." For he is the Father of all creatures in general, by *creation*, for he created them; by *distribution*, for he has ordered them and disposed them every one in his own place as being very good; by *conservation*, for he has preserved all the creatures that they do not fail; among which creatures, thou art one. In another way, he is the Father of human nature, by *redemption*, for he hath bought man by the precious blood of his Son, the Lamb without spot; by *instruction*, for he has taught them by his prophets, by his Son, and by his apostles and doctors, in divers manners the way to return to paradise, whence we have been driven by the sin of our first father Adam; by *chastisement*, for he in a great many ways chastises and corrects in this life, to the end that we may return to him, and may not be eternally damned in the other life.

"Lo teo nom sia Sanctifica, Hallowed be thy name."

Thy name amiable to Christians, and fearful to Jews, to pagans, and to the wicked. Of this name speaks the prophet, saying, O our Lord, how excellent is thy name!" O our Father who art in heaven, we pray thee, that thy name which is holy, may be sanctified in us, by purity of heart, by the contempt of the flesh and of the world, and that by a firm perseverance in thy love, we may be holy as thy name is holy, which we bear, and by which we are called Christians. For which business let it be, and dwell always in us, and that we may aim at holiness and righteousness.

"Lo teo Regne adviene (vegne, Perrin) Thy kingdom come."

Thou that readest, understand that God the Father has two kingdoms, the one

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of glory and of eternal life; the other of virtue,* and of the Christian life. And these two kingdoms are joined together in such a manner, that betwixt them there is no middle but the point of death. But according to the order of divine justice, the kingdom of virtue is before the kingdom of glory. And, therefore, they who live in the kingdom of grace, through which we must pass, if we wish to enter the kingdom of glory, they shall without doubt reign in the kingdom of glory, and no one shall be able to reign by any other means. And, therefore, Christ our Saviour says to his disciples, "Seek first the kingdom of God and its righteousness;" that is to say, the kingdom of virtue, as are faith, hope, charity, and the other virtues of righteousness. But for as much as you cannot perform this of yourselves, without the heavenly grace, beg and entreat it, saying, "Our Father which art in heaven, thy kingdom come," that is to say, the love of virtue, and the hatred of the world.

"La toa volunta sia fayta, en aymi ès fayta en Cèl si fayta en terra.† Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven."

A man cannot affect, desire, or do any better thing in this life, than to endeavour with all his understanding, and with all his heart, to do the will of God, as the angels do it in eternal life. Now, to do the will of God, is to renounce himself, that is to say, his own proper will, and to dispose of and employ that which is in his own soul and heart, or that is without, in things temporal, according to the law of God, and the doctrine of the gospel of Christ Jesus. And to be well content with whatsoever it shall please God to do or permit, both in adversity and prosperity. Many think they are to be excused, saying, we know not the will of God. But these men really deceive themselves. For the will of God is written, and plainly manifested and proved by the holy Scripture of God which they will not read or understand. And therefore saith the apostle, "And be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God." And again, "This is the will of God even your sanctification." There is no work that is little, if it be done with a willing and fervent affection. And our God and Saviour teacheth his disciples both by words and examples, that the will of God must be done, not theirs, saying, "I am come into the world, not to do my will, but the will of my Father who hath sent me." Again, being near his passion, and seeing the torments of the death which he was to endure, as he was man, he prayed and said, "O my Father, if it be possible let this cup pass from me; but yet not my will, but thine be done." To be brief; we must thus pray in all our affairs, "O our Father, which art in heaven. Thy will be done" in us, by us, and of us in earth, as it is done by the angels in heaven, without idleness, continually; without fault, uprightly; without human desire, doing that which is good, leading a virtuous and a pure life, obeying our superiors, and contemning the good and evil of this world.

"Dona nos lo nostre pan quotidian enchoy. Give us this day our daily bread."

We may here understand two kinds of bread, corporeal and spiritual bread. By corporeal bread we are to understand our meats, and drinks, and clothing, and the things necessary for the body, without which we cannot live naturally. The spiritual bread is the word of God, the body of Christ, without which the soul

* This is what we would call the kingdom of grace.

† Perrin's copy is, La toa volunta sia faita, enaimi es faita en cel sia faita en terra.

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cannot live. And of this bread Christ spoke unto his disciples, " whosoever shall eat of this bread, shall live for ever." And therefore it is the duty of every man, in all humility to ask this bread at God's hands, who can give it him saying, O our Father, do us the favour, that we may obtain by our just labour, the bread that is necessary for our bodies, and to use it with sobriety and measure, yielding thee always thanks and praises, and that we may charitably bestow some part of them upon the poor. Moreover, we beseech thee that thou wilt be pleased so to deal with us, that we may use this bread with sobriety. For the prophet Ezekiel says, " Behold, this was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom, pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness. And they were haughty and committed abomination before me." So that he sent fire and brimstone from heaven and consumed them. Whence a certain sage remarks: " That fine apparel, superfluity in diet, play, idleness, and sleep, fatten the body, nourish luxury, debilitate the spirit, and lead the soul to death; but a scanty table, labour, short repose, and plain clothing, purify the soul, subdue the body, mortify luxury, and comfort the spirit."

The spiritual bread is the Word of God. Of this bread the Prophet spoke,— " thy bread quickens us." And Christ in the gospel says, " Verily I say unto you, The hour is coming, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God: and they that hear shall live." And this is found true by this experience, that is, that many being dead in their sins, hearing the preaching of the word of God, have departed quickened and raised by the said word of God, and betaken themselves to true repentance which giveth life. This bread of the holy Scripture illuminates the soul, according to that of David, " The entrance of thy word giveth light; it giveth understanding unto the simple," that is to say, to the humble, to the end they may know what they ought to believe and to do, to fear, to fly, to love and to hope. This bread delights the soul more than honey, and the spouse well-beloved addresses the husband in the Song of Solomon: O my lord and husband, " Let me hear thy voice, for sweet is thy voice" to my heart. The other spiritual bread is the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ in the sacrament. They that receive it worthily, not only receive grace, but Christ the Son of God in a spiritual manner, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom.

" Pardonna a nos li nostre debit, o pecca, coma nos perdonnen a li nostre debitor o offendadors. And forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors."

It ought not to appear, nor to be grievous to any man, to forgive his neighbour offences. For if all the offences which have been, or can be committed against all the men in the world, were committed against one man, and put into a balance, they would not altogether weigh as the least offence committed against God: but the pride of man will not suffer men to think aright, and to see such things, and therefore does not suffer them to pardon their neighbours, nor to receive their pardon from God. But a good Christian gently pardoneth, beseeching God that he may not make requital according to the evil his debtors, or such as have offended him have deserved, but that he will give them grace to acknowledge their fault by true repentance, to the end they may not be damned; and the injuries and wrongs done unto him, he accounts as dreams, in such a manner that he thinks not of repaying them according to their merits, nor desires to revenge himself, but to do them service, and to converse with them as before, and even with greater love that they were brethren. And, therefore, he that out of the cruelty of courage will by no means forgive his enemy or debtor, cannot hope for pardon from God, but rather eternal damnation: for it is a sentence of the Scripture of God, and it is true, " He shall have judgment without

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mercy, that hath shewed no mercy." The affection and the will that thou hast towards thy debtor, is the same which God has towards thee, and thou canst hope for no other.

" Non nos amenar en tentation. And lead us not into temptation."

We are not to pray God not to suffer us to be tempted: for Saint Paul says, none shall be " crowned" but he that fighteth loyally and faithfully against the world, against the flesh, and against the devil. And Saint James declares, " Blessed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tried he shall receive the crown of life." For no man can resist the power of the devil without the grace of God. We must therefore humbly with devotion and continual requests, pray our heavenly Father that we fall not into temptations and combats, but so as that combating with them, we may get the victory, and the crown, through the grace, which he has prepared for us. We are not to believe that he sooner or more willingly hears the devil than the Christian; and according to that which Saint Paul saith, " God is faithful, who will not suffer us to be tempted above what we are able to bear."

" Ma desliora nos del mal, &c. But deliver us from evil," &c.

That is to say, deliver us from the wicked and peculiar will of sin, from the temporal and eternal punishments of the devil. That we may be delivered from his invisible and infinite snares and trumperies. " Amen." This last word is an expression which denotes a fervent desire of him who prays, that the thing which he asketh may be granted. And this word, Amen, signifieth as much as if he should say, So let it be, and it can be put after all the petitions. *

No. IV.—A CONFESSION OF FAITH OF THE WALDENSES AND ALBIGENSES.

A. D. 1120.

I. Nos cresen, e firmament tenen tot quant se conten en li doze Articles del Symbolo loqual ès dict de gli Apostol, tenent esser Heresia tota cosa loqual se discorda, e non ès convenent à doze Articles, &c.

I. We believe and firmly hold all that is contained in the twelve articles of the Creed which is called the Apostles, holding to be heresy every thing which differs and does not agree with the said twelve Articles.

II. We believe in one God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

III. We acknowledge for Holy Canonical Scriptures, the books of the Holy Bible, namely, that of Moses, otherwise called Genesis; that of Moses, called Exodus; that of Moses, called Leviticus; that of Moses, called Numbers; that of Moses, called Deuteronomy; Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, 2 Kings, 1 Chronicles, 2 Chronicles, 1 Esdras (or Ezra), Nehemiah, Esther, Job; the Book of the Psalms, the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, otherwise the Preacher, the Song of Solomon, the Prophecy of Isaiah, the Pro-

* Translated from the copy in Leger, part i. chap. vii. pp. 47—50. See also Perrin, part iii. book i. chap. v.

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phecy of Jeremiah, the Lamentation of Jeremiah, Ezechiel, Daniel, Ozea, Joel, Ammos, Abdias, Jonas, Miches, Nahum, Abacuck, Sophonia, Aggeo, Sacharia, Malachia.

Here follow the Apocryphal books which are not received of the Hebrews, but we read them, as says Jerom in the preface of the Proverbs, for the instruction of the people, not to confirm the authority of the ecclesiastical doctrines, namely, the third of Esdras, the fourth of Esdras, Tobias, Judith, Sapientia, Ecclesiastic, Baruch, with the Epistle of Jeremia, Esther, from the tenth chapter to the end, the Song of the Three Children in the Furnace, the History of Susanna, the History of the Dragon, the first of the Machabees, the second of the Machabees, the third of the Machabees.

Now follow the books of the New Testament: the Gospel of St Matheo, the Gospel of St Marc, the Gospel of St Luc, the Gospel of St Joan, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle of S. Paul to the Romans, first to the Corinthians, second to the Corinthians, to the Galatians, to the Ephesians, to the Philippians, to the Colossians, first to the Thessalonians, second to the Thessalonians, first to Timotheo, second to Timotheo, to Tito, to Philemon, to the Hebrews, the Epistle of S. Jaco, the first Epistle of S. Peire, the second Epistle of S. Peire, the first epistle of S. Joan, the second Epistle of S. Joan, the third Epistle of S. Joan, the Epistle of St Juda, the Apocalis of S. Joan.

IV. The books above said, teach thus, that there is one God almighty, all wise, and all good, who has made all things by his goodness. For he formed Adam according to his own image and similitude, but by the envy of the devil, and the disobedience of the said Adam, sin entered into the world, and we are made sinners in Adam, and by Adam.

V. That Christ was promised to our fathers who received the law, that thus by the law knowing their sins, unrighteousness, and their insufficiency, they might desire the coming of Christ to satisfy for their sins, and accomplish the law by himself.

VI. That Christ was born at the time appointed by God his Father, that is to say, at a time when all iniquity abounded, and not for good-works only, for all were sinners; but to the end that being faithful, he might cause (fè) grace and mercy to us.

VII. That Christ is our life, and peace, and righteousness, and pastor, and advocate, and sacrifice, and priest, who died for the salvation of all those that believe, and rose for our justification.

VIII. We, in like manner, firmly hold, that there is no other Mediator and Advocate with God the Father, but only Jesus Christ: but that the Virgin Mary is holy, humble, and full of grace: and we believe the same thing of all the other saints, that they in heaven hope the resurrection of their bodies at the judgment.

IX. We also believe, that after this life, there are only two places, the one for the saved, which is called by name paradise, and the other for the damned, which we call hell, altogether denying purgatory, which is a dream of antichrist, and invented against the truth.

X. We have always believed all the inventions of men to be an unspeakable abomination before God, such as the feasts, and the vigils of the saints, and the water which they call blessed, abstinence from flesh on certain days, and the like things, and principally the masses.

XI. We abominate all human traditions as being antichristian, by which we are troubled, and which are prejudicial to the liberty of the Spirit.

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XII. We believe that the sacraments are signs or visible forms of holy things, holding it to be good that the faithful do from time to time use these signs or visible forms, if it can be done. But we do, notwithstanding believe and hold, that the foresaid faithful can be saved, when they have not place nor means to use them.

XIII. We do not acknowledge any other sacrament, but baptism and the eucharist.

XIV. We owe honour to the secular power in subjection, in obedience, in promptitude, and in tribute.*

No. V.

An Example of the Doctrine of the Waldenses and Albigenses explaining their Sentiments.

CONCERNING ANTICHRIST.

Perrin states, that the manuscript from which he transcribed his copy of this treatise, dates it in 1120, and contains also many sermons of the pastors. "This treatise," says he, "was afterwards preserved by the Waldenses of the Alps, from whom we obtained it, with various others." Leger thinks that as there have been many controversies regarding antichrist, a number may be very well pleased to peruse the sentiments of the Waldenses on this subject. His duplicate is copied from "an old book of parchment in manuscript, which also contains a number of sermons by the barbes. This book is dated in the year 1120." Mr Jones objects to the date of this paper, that it mentions the chapters and verses of the bible, but this addition has evidently been made by some modern transcriber. I do not perceive verses noticed by any except by Lennard, the old translator of Perrin. The copies of the original, found in Morland and Leger, refer to few chapters and to no verses. The original of this book begins thus:—

En ayma lo fum vay derant lo fuoc, la batailla derant la victoria, en ayma la tentation de l'Anti-Christ derant la gloria.

Anti-Christ ès falseta de damnation æterna (eterna Morl.) cuberta de specie (specia Morl.) de la Verita, e de la Justitia de Christ, e de la soa Sposa: contrapausa à meseime la via de Verita, de Justitia, de Fè, d'Esperanza, de Carita, e a la vita moral, e a la verita ministerial de la Gleisa, ministra per li fals Apostols, e defendica opiniosament de l'un e de autre bras, &c.

As the smoke goes before the fire, the battle before the victory, so the temptation of Antichrist before glory.

Antichrist is a falsehood worthy of eternal damnation, covered over with a shew of truth, and of the righteousness of Christ and his spouse, contrary to the way of truth, righteousness, faith, hope, and charity, as likewise to moral life, and to

* Perrin, book i. chap. xii. Leger, part i. chap. xvii.

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the ministerial truth of the church, administered by the false apostles, and resolutely upheld by the one and the other arm of secular and ecclesiastical power, or else we may say, antichrist is a deceit which hides the truth of salvation in substantial and ministerial matters; or that it is a disguised contrariety to Christ and his spouse, and every faithful member thereof. And so it is not any one particular person, ordained to such a degree, office or ministry, it is considered universally; but it is falsehood itself, in opposition to the truth, covering and adorning itself with a pretence of beauty and piety, without the church of Christ, as by the names and offices, the scriptures, the sacraments, and many other things may appear. Iniquity thus qualified with all the ministers thereof, great and small, together with all them that follow them with an evil heart, and blindfold, such a congregation compressed together, is that which is called Antichrist or Babylon, or the Fourth Beast, or the Whore, or the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition.*

His ministers are called false prophets, lying teachers, ministers of darkness, a spirit of error, the whore in the Revelation, the mother of fornications, clouds without water, withered trees, twice dead, plucked up by the roots, waves of the raging sea, wandering planets, Balaamites, and Egyptians.

He is called Antichrist, because being decked and garnished with a shew of Christ and his church, and faithful members, he doth oppose himself to that salvation which was wrought by Christ, and truly administered in the church of Christ, of which the faithful do partake by faith, hope, and charity. Thus he opposeth himself by the wisdom of the world, by false religions, and by a counterfeit piety, by spiritual powers, by secular tyranny, by riches, honours, and dignities, and by the delights and pleasures of the world.

And therefore let every one take notice that Antichrist could not come in any wise, but all these forementioned things must needs meet together to make up a complete hypocrisy and falsehood, viz. the worldly-wise men, the religious orders, the pharisees, ministers, doctors, the secular power, with the worldly people conjoined. And thus all of them together make up the man of sin and error completely; for although that Antichrist was conceived already in the Apostle's time, yet being but in his infancy, as it were, he wanted his inward and outward members, and therefore he might then have been more easily known, destroyed, and excommunicated, as being then more raw and rude, and as yet wanting utterance; for he was then destitute of rational, defensive, definitive, decretive, or determinative, wisdom. He wanted yet those hypocritical ministers, and human ordinances, and the outward shew of those religious orders. And, therefore, though away into that error and sin, yet he had then more withal to cover his villany, or the shame of his errors, or of that sin, having none of those riches yet, nor of those endowments whereby to allure unto himself any minister into his service, or to be enabled to multiply, preserve, and defend his adherents; for he wanted the secular strength and power, and could not force and compel, and run from the truth into falsehood. And because he wanted many things yet, therefore he could not defile or scandalize any by his deceits, and that, being so weak and tender, he could obtain no place in the church.

* Here critics remark, that in the original, the language alters, three parts Catalonian, one part Italian. Li seos Ministres son apella fals Prophetas, maistres mesongers, Ministres de tenebras Sperit de error, meretrix Apocalyptica, maire de fornication, nolas senza aquia, arbres automnals morts et auranias per doas ves undas del crudel mar. Stellas errans, Balaamitiens, Gissiptiens.

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But growing up in his members, that is to say, in his blind and hypocritical ministers, and in worldly subjects, he at length became a complete man, grew up to his full age, to wit, then when the lovers of the world in church and state, blind in faith, did multiply in the church, and get all the power into their hands. And it came to that pass, that as evil as they were, they would be sought unto, and honoured in spiritual matters, covering their authority, malice, and sins, for which end they made use of the worldly-wise, and of the pharisees, in manner above said; for it is a great wickedness to cover and colour iniquity worthy of excommunication, and to go about establishing one's self by such a means as cannot be attributed to man, but belongs to God alone, and to Jesus Christ as Mediator. And to deprive God of such and such things by fraud and usurpation, and to arrogate the same unto themselves and their works, appears to be the greatest felony; as when one doth attribute unto himself the power of regeneration, of pardoning sins, of dispensing the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and to make Christ, and such like matters. And in all these things to cover themselves with the cloak of authority and of the word, thereby deceiving silly people, that follow the world, in such things as are of the world, separating themselves from God, and from the true faith, and from the reformation of the Holy Spirit, withdrawing themselves from true repentance, pious practice and perseverance in goodness, and turning their backs upon charity, patience, poverty, humility, and that which is worst of all, they forsake the true hope, and rely on all evil, and on the vain hope of the world, serving all those ceremonies instrumental hereunto, and deceitfully causing the people to commit idolatry with all the idols of the world under the name of saints and relics, and their worship; insomuch that the people perniciously erring from the way of truth, and being persuaded they serve God, and do well, are stirred to hate and to be enraged against those that love the truth, even to murder so many of them, so that according to the Apostle we may truly say, This is that man of sin complete, "that lifts up himself against all that is called God and worshipped," and that setteth himself in opposition against all truth, "sitting down in the temple of God," that is in his church, and shewing forth himself as if he were God, being come with all manner of deceivableness, for those that perish. And since he is truly come, he must no longer be looked for, for he is grown old already by God's permission, nay, he begins even to decay, and his power and authority is abated: for the Lord doth already kill this wicked one by the Spirit of his mouth; by diverse persons of good dispositions, sending abroad a power contrary to his, and those that love him, and which disturbeth his place, and his possessions, and puts division into that city of Babylon, in which the generation of iniquity doth prevail and reign.

What are the works of Antichrist?

The first work of Antichrist is, to take away the truth, and to change it into falsehood, error, and heresy. The second work of Antichrist is to cover falsehood over with a semblance of truth, and to assert and maintain lies by the name of faith and virtues, and to dispense falsehood intermingled with spiritual things unto the people under his subjection, either by means of his ministers or by the ministry, or any other ways in relation to the church. Now, it is certain that these two ways of proceeding do contain so perfect and complete a wickedness, the like no tyrant and no power in the world was ever able to compass since the creation, until the time of Antichrist. And Christ had never any enemy yet like this, so able to pervert the way of truth into falsehood, and of falsehood into truth, and who in like manner did pervert the professors of the one to the other,

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viz. of truth and falsehood, insomuch that the holy mother, the church, with her true children, is altogether trodden under foot, especially in the truth, and in what concerneth the true worship in the truth and the ministry, and the exercise thereof, and the children partaking thereof; which causeth her to weep bitterly in the language and complaints of Jeremiah, saying, Ah, how desolate art thou, O city of the heathen people, and uncircumcised, she is become a widow, namely, being destitute of the truth of her bridegroom, lady of the people, by reason of the subjection to errors and to sin. Princess of provinces, by partaking with the world, weep and look but abroad a little, and thou shalt find those things now accomplished at this time, for the holy church is accounted a synagogue of miscreants, and the congregation of the wicked is esteemed the mother of them that rightly believe in the word. Falsehood is preached up for truth, iniquity for righteousness, injustice passeth for justice, error for faith, sin for virtue, and lies for verity.

What are the works which proceed from these first works?

These: the first is, that it perverts the service of Latreia, that is, the worship properly due to God alone, by giving it to Antichrist himself and his works, and to the poor creature reasonable or unreasonable, sensible or senseless; to the reasonable, as to man, male or female saints deceased, and into images, carcases, or relics. His works are the sacraments, especially the sacrament of the eucharist, which he adoreth as God, and as Jesus Christ, together with the things blessed and consecrated by him, and prohibits the worshipping of God alone.

The second work of the Antichrist is, that he robs, bereaves Christ of Christ's merits, together with all the sufficiency of his grace, of justification, of regeneration, remission of sins, sanctification, confirmation, and spiritual nourishment, imputes and attributes the same to his own authority, to a form of words, to his own works; unto saints and their intercession, and unto the fire of purgatory; and separates the people from Christ, and leads away to the things aforesaid, that they may not seek those of Christ, nor by Christ, but only in the works of their own hands, and not by a lively faith in God, nor in Jesus Christ, nor the Holy Spirit, but by the will, and by the works of Antichrist, according as he preacheth, that all salvation consists in his works.

The *third* work of Antichrist consists in this, that he attributes the reformation of the Holy Spirit unto the dead outward work, baptising children in that faith, and teaching that thereby baptism and regeneration must be had,* and in it he confers and bestows orders, and other sacraments, and groundeth thereon all his Christianity which is against the Holy Spirit.

* The sentence which begins, "The third work of Antichrist," &c. does not condemn the baptism of children, but only condemns the Antichristian administrator for baptizing "in that faith;" that baptism and regeneration always go together; "that he attributes the reformation of the Holy Spirit to the dead outward work." Mr Jones in his history of the church, gives a considerable part of the Treatise on Antichrist. The above part he thus renders, "He teaches to baptize children into the faith, and attributes to this the work of regeneration, thus confounding the work of the Holy Spirit in regeneration with the external rite in baptism," &c. Here, by leaving out several lines in the beginning of the sentence, he represents Antichrist as teaching "to baptize children into the faith." Morland's version is, "in THAT faith," which evidently refers to something mentioned above, which Mr Jones had omitted, namely, that Antichrist "attributes the regeneration of the Holy Spirit unto the dead outward work, baptizing children 'in THAT faith." The original words are *baptcia le enfant en a quella fe.* Mr Jones entirely conceals from his reader the force of the demonstrative pronoun, *quella*, "that," which agrees with *fe*, "faith," and which restricts the faith to the belief of the

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The *fourth* work of Antichrist is, that he hath constituted and put all religion and holiness of the people in going to mass, and hath patched together all manner of ceremonies, some Jewish, some heathenish, and some Christian, and leading the congregations, thereunto, and the people that hear the same, doth thereby deprive them of the spiritual and sacramental mandacation, and seduceth them from the true religion, and from the commandments of God, and withdraws them from the works of compassion by his offerings, and by such a mass hath he lodged the people in vain hopes.

The *fifth* work of Antichrist is, that he doth all his works so that he may be seen, that he may set all things to sale, and do nothing without simony.

The *sixth* work of Antichrist is, that he allows of manifest sins, without any ecclesiastical censure, and doth not excommunicate the impenitent.

The *seventh* work of Antichrist is, that he doth not govern nor maintain his unity by the Holy Spirit, but by secular power, and maketh use thereof to effect spiritual matters.

The *eighth* work of Antichrist is, that he hates, and persecutes, and searcheth after, despoils and kills the members of Christ.

These things are in a manner the principal works which he commits against the truth, they being otherwise numberless, and past writing down. It sufficeth for the present to have observed the most general, and those whereby this iniquity lies most covered and concealed.

First, And chiefly he makes use of an outward confession of faith. and it is that whereof the Apostle speaks, For they confess in words, that they have known God, but by their deeds they deny him.

Secondly, He covers his iniquity by the length or succession of time, and allegeth that he is maintained by certain wise and learned men, and by religious orders of certain votaries of single life, men and women, virgins and widows; and besides by a numberless people, of whom it is said in the Revelation, "That power is given him over every tribe, language, and nation, and all that dwell on earth shall worship him."

In the *third* place, he covers his iniquity by the spiritual authority of the apostles, against which the apostle speaketh expressly, "We are able to do nothing against the truth, and there is no power given us for destruction."

Fourthly, By many miracles here and there, whereas the apostle saith, The coming of them is according to the work, or operation of Satan, by all manner

Antichristian administrator mentioned in the beginning of the sentence. This ascription of regeneration to the dead outward work is indeed subsequently mentioned in Mr Jones' version, but is stated as a separate thing from the "faith;" but Morland shews that this ascription, and nothing else is *that* antichristian *faith* which the Waldenses and Albigenses condemn. They do not condemn baptizing children *into the faith* in general, but into, or in that false faith in particular. Though instead of *in*, we, with Mr Jones read *into*, it is also true, that in a certain sense children are baptized into the faith. See the Waldensian Confession of 1532.

But the Waldenses and Albigenses place their own meaning beyond a doubt in another part of the same papers on Antichrist, which Mr Jones chooses to leave out. In the article "of baptism," the first sentence runs, "That which is of no necessity in the administration of baptism, is the exorcism, the breathing on, the sign of the cross upon the infant's breast and forehead, the salt which they put into his mouth, plunging the infant three times, seeking for god-fathers," &c. The former sentence condemns the Popish faith regarding baptismal regeneration, and this testifies against the Popish ceremonies in the external administration of the ordinances, but does not make the baptism of infants a work of Antichrist. A warm advocate for sprinkling might say, that "plunging," as well as "plunging three times," is condemned as Antichristian.

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of miracles, and signs, and wonders of lies, and by all kind of deceitful iniquity.

Fifthly, By an outward holiness, by prayers, fastings, watchings, and almsdeeds against which the apostle testifies, saying, Having a shew of godliness, but having denied the power thereof.

Sixthly, He covers his iniquity by certain sayings of Christ, and by the writings of the ancients, and by councils which they observe so far forth, only as they do not destroy or overthrow their wicked life and pleasures.

Seventhly, By the administration of the sacraments, in which they lay open the universality of their errors.

Eighthly, By corrections, and mere verbal preachings against vices, for they say, and do not.

Ninthly, By the virtuous lives of some that live feignedly so, but especially of such as live so indeed among them; for the elect of God, that desire to do that which is good, are declared there as in Babylon, and are like unto gold, wherewith the wicked Antichrist doth cover his vanity, not suffering them to serve God alone, nor to put all their hope in Christ alone, nor to embrace the true religion.

These things, and many others, are as it were a cloak and garment wherewith Antichrist doth cover his lying wickedness, that he may not be rejected as a pagan, and under which he can go on and act his villanies boldly, and like a whore. Now it is evident, as well in the Old as in the New Testament, that a Christian stands bound, by express command given him, to separate himself from Antichrist; for the Lord saith, Isaiah lii. "Withdraw, withdraw yourselves; go forth thence; touch no unclean thing; go forth from the midst of her; cleanse yourselves, ye that bear the vessels of the Lord; for ye shall not go forth in haste, and march not flying," &c. And Jeremiah l. "Flee out of Babylon, and come away out of the land of the Chaldeans, and be like the he-goats that go before the flock: for behold, I go to raise up against Babylon an assembly of great nations from the north, who shall range themselves in battle array against her, that she shall be taken." In the 16th chapter of Numbers: "Separate yourselves from amidst this assembly, and I will consume them in a moment." And again: "Withdraw from the tabernacle of the wicked, and touch nothing that belongs unto them, lest you be involved in their sin." In Leviticus: "I am the Lord your God, that have separated you from the rest of the nations; and therefore shall ye separate the clean beast from the unclean, and shall not defile yourselves in beasts, nor in fowls, nor in any things that move themselves on the earth, and which I showed you that they are unclean." Again, in Exodus xxxiv. "Take heed that you make no friendship (or alliance) with the inhabitants of that city, for that would be thy ruin. And a little further: "Make no agreement with the men of that country, lest they having gone a whoring after other gods, and worshipped their idols, they call thee and invite thee to eat things consecrated to them; nor shalt thou take a wife from among their daughters, lest they having played the harlot," that is to say, committed idolatry, "they cause thy children to go a whoring likewise after their gods." Leviticus xv. "And therefore ye shall teach your children, and bid them beware of their uncleannesses, and that they may not die in them, having polluted my sanctuary." Ezekiel ii. "But the heart that walks on offending, and in its offences, I will render their way upon their head, saith the Lord." Deut. xx. "When thou shalt have entered into the land which the Lord thy God shall give thee, take heed thou do not according to the abominations of those people; for the Lord ab-

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horreth all those things, and by reason of such sins he will blot them out: when thou shalt enter their land, thou shalt be clean and without spot with thy God. Those people whose land thou goest to possess hearken to the soothsayer and diviner; but thy God hath disposed otherwise in thy behalf." Now, it is manifest in the New Testament, John xii. That the Lord is come and suffered death, that he might gather together the children of God; and by reason of this truth of unity, and separation from others, it is, that he saith in St Matthew, chap x. "For I am come to separate a man from his father, and set the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law: and they of a man's household shall be his enemies." And he hath commanded this separation, saying, "Whosoever doth not forsake father and mother," &c. And again: "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing." Again: "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees: and take heed lest any seduce you; for many shall come in my name and seduce many. And then, If any tell you, behold, Christ is here or there, believe him not, and walk not after them." And in the Revelation he warneth by his own voice, and chargeth his, to go out of Babylon, saying; "And I heard a voice from heaven, saying, O my people, come forth out of her, and be not partakers of her sins, that ye receive not of her plagues; for her sins are come up into heaven, and the Lord remembereth her iniquities." The Apostle saith the same: "Join not yourselves under one yoke with unbelievers; for what participation hath righteousness with iniquity? or what fellowship is there between light and darkness? and what communion hath Christ with the devil? or what part hath the faithful with the infidel? or what agreement is there of the Temple of God with idols? and therefore go forth from among the midst of them, and separate yourselves, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing; and I will rescue you, and will be instead of a father to you, and you shall be as sons and daughters to me, saith the Lord Almighty." Again, Ephes. v. "Do not partake with them; for ye were in the way of darkness, but now ye are light in the Lord." Again, 1 Cor. x. "I would not have you become the companions of devils: ye cannot participate of the Lord's table and of the table of devils." So 2 Thess. iii. "O brethren, we declare unto you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you beware of every brother walking dishonestly, and not according to the customs which ye received from us; for ye know after what manner ye ought to be followers of us. And a little below, he saith: "If there be any that obey not our word, set down in this epistle, have nothing to do with him, that he may be ashamed." Again, Ephes. v. "Have no communion with the works of darkness, which are unfruitful." And 2 Tim. iii. "Be it known unto you, that in the latter times there will be troublesome times." And afterwards: "Having a show of piety, but having denied the power thereof; turn thyself away from such." By what hath been said hitherto, it appears clearly what is the wickedness of Antichrist, and his perverseness. Also, the Lord commands our separating from him, and joining ourselves with the holy city of Jerusalem: therefore, knowing such things, the Lord having revealed them unto us by his servants, and believing this revelation according to the Holy Scriptures, and being admonished by the commandments of the Lord, we do both inwardly and outwardly depart from Antichrist, because we know him to be the same; and we keep company and unity one with another, freely and uprightly, having no other intent and purpose, but purely and sincerely to please the Lord, and to be saved: and by the Lord's help we join ourselves to the truth of Christ and his spouse, how small soever she appear, as far forth as our understanding is able to comprehend. And therefore we thought

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good to set down here for what cause we departed, and what kind of congregation we have, to the end, that if the Lord be pleased to impart the knowledge of the same truth unto others, those that receive it may love it together with us. And if, peradventure, they be not sufficiently enlightened, they receive help by this ministry, and be sprinkled by the Lord. If some one have more abundantly received, and in a higher measure, we desire the more humbly to be taught, and to learn better of him, and to amend our defects. Now, then, the causes of our separation are these ensuing:—

Be it known to every one in general, and in particular, that the cause of our separation is this, namely, for the essential truth of the faith, and by reason of our inward knowledge of the only true God, and the unity of the Divine Essence in three persons; which knowledge flesh and blood doth not afford; and for the befitting service due to that only God; for the love of him above all things; for sanctification; and for his honour above all things, and above every name; for the living hope through Christ in God; for regeneration, and the inward renewing by faith, hope, and charity; for the merit of Jesus Christ, with all the sufficiency of his grace and righteousness; for the communion of saints; for the remission of sins; for a holy conversation; and for the faithful accomplishment of all the commandments in the faith of Christ; for true repentance; for final perseverance, and life everlasting.

The ministerial truths are these:—the outward congregating of the pastors with the people in convenient place and time, to instruct them in the truth by the ministry, and leading, establishing, and maintaining the church in the truth aforesaid. The said good ministers press faith and good life, and are exemplary for manners and obedience, and watchfully follow the example and work of the Lord toward the flock.

The things which the ministers are obliged to do for the service of the people are these:—the preaching of the word of the gospel; the sacraments joined to the word, which do certify what the intent and meaning thereof is, and confirm the hope in Christ unto the faithful. The ministerial communion hath all these things by the essential truth; and all other ministerial things may be reduced to the foresaid. But as to the particular truths, some of them are essentially necessary to man's salvation; other some conditionally. They are contained in the twelve Articles of the Christian Faith, and in divers passages of the apostles, As for Antichrist, he hath reigned a good while already in the church by God's permission.

The errors and impurities of Antichrist, forbidden by the Lord, are these, viz. a various and endless idolatry, against the express command of God and Christ; divine worship offered, not to the Creator, but to the creature, visible and invisible—corporeal and spiritual—rational and sensible—natural and artificial—under the name of Christ or saints—male or female—and of relics and authorities; unto which creatures they offer the service or worship of faith and hope, works, prayers, pilgrimages, alms, oblations, and sacrifices of great price; and those creatures they serve, honour, and adore several ways, by songs and hymns, speeches and solemnities, and celebrations of masses, vespers, fitted unto the same by certain hours; vigils, feast-days, thereby to obtain grace, which is essentially in God alone, and meritoriously in Christ, and is to be obtained by faith alone, through the Holy Spirit.

And indeed there is nothing else that causeth idolatry, but the false opinion of grace, truth, authority, invocation, intercession, which this Antichrist hath deprived God of, to attribute the same to these ceremonies, authorities, the works

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of a man's own hands, to saints, and to purgatory. And this iniquity of Antichrist is directly against the first article of faith, and against the first commandment of the law.

So also, the excessive love of the world, that is in Antichrist, is that whence springs such a world of sin and mischief in the church, as well in them that govern, as in them that officiate in the same, who sin without control, they are against the truth of faith, and against the knowledge of God the Father. Witness St John saying, "He that sinneth knoweth not, nor seeth God: for if any love the world, the love of the Father is not in him." The second iniquity of Antichrist, lieth in the hope which he gives of pardon, grace, justification, truth, and life everlasting, as things not to be sought, and had in Christ, nor in God by Christ, but in men either living or already deceased, in human authorities, in ecclesiastical ceremonies, in benedictions, sacrifices, prayers, and such other things as were before mentioned, not by a true and lively faith, which worketh repentance by love, and causeth one to depart from evil, and giveth himself up to good. Again, Antichrist teacheth not to settle a firm hope in those things, viz. regeneration, spiritual confirmation or communion, remission of sins, sanctification of eternal life; but to hope, through the sacraments, or, by means of his wretched simony, whereby the people are greatly abused, insomuch that putting all things to sale, he invented a number of ordinances, old and new, to get money; giving way, that if any do but such and such a thing, he shall get grace and life. And this twofold iniquity is properly called in the Scriptures adultery and fornication; and therefore such ministers as lead the simple people into those errors, are called the Whore of the Revelation. And this iniquity is against the second article, and again, against the second and third commandment of the law.*

The *third* iniquity of Antichrist, consists in this, that he hath invented, besides the matters aforesaid, certain false religious orders and rules, and monasteries, putting men in hope of acquiring grace by building certain churches, as also because they do therein often and devoutly hear mass, receive the sacraments, make confession to the priest, though seldom with contrition, observe the fasts, and employ the purse for him, or has been and is a professed member of the church of Rome, or if one have dedicated or vowed himself to be of such an order, cap, or frock, all which he doth press as duties contrary to all truth. And this iniquity of Antichrist is directly against the eighth article of the creed, I believe in the Holy Ghost.

The *fourth* iniquity of Antichrist is, that notwithstanding his being the *fourth beast* formerly described by Daniel, and the whore of the Revelation, he nevertheless adorns himself with the authority, power, dignity, ministry, offices, and the Scriptures, and makes himself equal with the true and holy mother, the church, wherein salvation is to be had ministerially, and no where else wherein is to be found the truth of life, and doctrine, and of the sacraments, and subjects; for if he should not cover himself in this manner, his ministers being such notorious sinners, he would soon be abandoned by all; for kings and princes supposing him to be like or equal to the true and holy mother the church, they loved him, and endowed him against the commandment of God. And this iniquity of the ministers, subjects, and ordained persons, given up to error and sin, is directly against the ninth article, I believe the holy church. Thus much for the first part.

* The words "of the law" are wanting in Perrin.

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In the *second* place, those that being partakers of the outward ceremonies only, instituted by human inventions, do believe and hope to partake of the reality of pastoral cures and offices, if they be but shaved like lambs, and anointed like walls, and made holy by touching the mass book, and the chalice into their hands, they proclaim and publish that they are ordained lawful priests to all intents. In like manner also, the people, as is said before, subject unto them, communicating by words, signs, and other outward exercises, they conceive they partake of the truth thereon depending. And this is against the other part of the ninth article, I believe the communion of saints. But it behoves us to depart from the wicked communion of the monks, by whom carnal men are easily drawn away, they through covetousness making them to trust in things of nought, be they ever so riotous and wretched, provided only they give liberally unto them, and then they say, Such men are made partakers of their poverty and chastity.

The *fifth* iniquity of Antichrist consists in this, that he doth feign and promise pardon and remission of sins unto sinners, not the truly contrite, but such as are wilfully persevering in their evil practices: in the *first* place, he doth promise them forgiveness of their sins for their auricular confession's sake, and human absolution, and for their pilgrimages, and this he doth out of covetousness. And this iniquity is against the eleventh article of the faith, I believe the remission of sins. For the same is in God authoritatively, and in Christ ministerially, through faith, repentance, charity, and obedience to the word, and in man by participation.

The *sixth* iniquity lies herein, that to the very end of their lives they go on hoping and trusting thus in the forementioned iniquities and coverings, especially till they come to extreme unction, and their invented purgatory, insomuch that the ignorant and rude multitude do persevere in their error, they being taught and made to believe that they are absolved from their sins, though they never freely depart from them, for to hope forgiveness of sins and life everlasting. And this iniquity is directly against the eleventh and twelfth articles of the faith.*

ON PURGATORY,

Which is found in the same Book of Antichrist, dated 1120 *and* 1126.†

Lo Purgatori soima, loqual moti Preires et Fras promovon et enseignan coma Articl de (Fè) et com motas messongrias dessent. Quen apres aquesta vita, en apres lo montament de Christ al cel, las armas specialment d' aquilli que.

The Purgatory Dream, which many priests and monks hold forth and teach as an article of faith, with many lies, asserting is this; That after this life, since the ascension of Christ into heaven, the souls, especially of such as are to be saved,

* Morland, pp. 142—160. Perrin, part iii. book iii. chap. i. Leger, part i. pp. 71—83. In the original as given by Leger and Morland, there is some diversity of spelling; but none in the sense.

† In the index, Leger dates this paper 1120, and at the place of the work where it is inserted 1126. The former is usually allowed to be the true date, by the other historians.

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not having satisfied in this life for their sins, departing their bodies, must endure very sensible pains, and be thoroughly purged after this life in purgatory, and that being purged, they come forth thence, some sooner, some later, and others, some not till the day of judgment, and others readily and long before the day of judgement, in commiseration of which souls, every faithful man ought to help them, even after this life, by the bond of charity, through prayers, fasts, alms, masses; and in this purgatory's behalf, many have, to glut their avarice, invented abundance of uncertain things which they taught and preached, saying, That those souls are tormented in the said purgatory, some up to the very neck, others to their middle, others by the finger, and that sometimes they sit and eat together at table, and make good-cheer, especially on the day of all-souls when the people do offer largely unto the priests upon their sepulchres, and sometimes say they are picking up crumbs under the rich men's tables. By means of all which and many other lies, their avarice and simony is grown and multiplied to a great height. There are cloisters raised, temples costly built and endowed, altars reared up and multiplied above measure, and a world of monks and canons, who have invented many things more whereby to relieve and release those poor souls, making mere mockery of the word of God. And the people are grievously cheated and abused about the matter of their souls and their substance, they being made to put their trust in such uncertain things, whilst the faithful must heal themselves; for if once they refuse to teach the said purgatory as an article of faith, they are forthwith most cruelly condemned to death, and martyred.

And therefore we stand engaged to speak of this purgatory, and to hold forth what we conceive of it,—

First, then, we say, that the souls of those which are to be saved, must finally be purged of all their uncleanness, according to God's ordinance, declared Revelation xxi. "No unclean thing giving up itself to abomination and lying, shall enter into" heaven. Now, we do hold, that faith and the Scriptures do promise us many and sundry ways of purging or cleansing those that are in this present life of all their sins. But St Peter shews, Acts xv. that the hearts are purged by faith, and that faith is sufficient to cleanse evil, without any other outward means. As it is made plain by the thief's case on the right hand of Christ, who believing, and sincerely acknowledging his sins, became worthy of paradise. The other way of purging the spouse of Christ, is, by repentance, spoken of in Isaiah, "The Lord commanding there, "wash yourselves, cleanse yourselves, remove the evil out of your thoughts from before mine eye; desist doing perverse things: and afterwards, though your sins were like scarlet, they shall be made as white as snow, though they were as crimson, they shall be as white as wool." In which place the Lord presents himself unto the truly penitent in manner aforesaid, and those that are guilty of sin, shall be made as white as snow. There is another way yet of purging sin, mentioned by St Matthew iii. where it is said, "He hath his fan in his hand, and will purge his threshing floor clean, and gather his grain into his barn." Which passage Chrysostom applies to the church present in this life, and the tribulations thereof; and not only by tribulations, but by himself also doth the Lord here in this life cleanse his spouse and threshing floor, as St Paul saith, "Christ loved the church, and gave up himself for it, to hallow it, cleansing it by the washing of water, by the word of life, to make unto himself a glorious church, having neither spot nor wrinkle nor any such thing, but to be holy and unblameable." Where the apostle shews, that Christ so loved his church, that he would not cleanse it by any other washing but by his own blood, and that, doubtless, not so, as that it should be any

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way insufficient, but effectually in such sort that there remains no uncleanness at all, he having so glorified her, that she hath no spot nor wrinkle, nor any such thing remaining upon her, but is made holy and undefiled. And this testimony of the washing of the spouse of Christ in his blood, is not only rendered here on earth, but testimony is given also from heaven by those which obtained this effectual washing, it being said of them in the Revelation, "These are they that came out of great tribulation, and washed their garments, and whitened them in the blood of the lamb, and therefore are they before the seat of the lamb, and serve him. And thus ye see, how many ways may be taken forth by faith out of the Scriptures, to shew them that sojourn in this life, are purged of their sins here present.

We hold in the *third* place, that it would be far safer for every one so to live in this present life, that he should not need any purging afterwards, for it is much better to do well in this life, than to hope for uncertain help after it. And it is the far surer way, instead of what good others will do us after death, to do the same ourselves while we are yet alive, it being a happier thing for a man to depart hence in a free condition, than to seek for liberty after he shall be fettered.

Besides, what hath been said, we maintain, that it cannot be made out by any express passage of the holy scriptures of the law of God, nor of any holy teachers grounded upon the said Scriptures, without wresting them, that it hath been held by common consent, that the faithful ought to believe of necessity, and publicly to profess as an article of faith, that there should be such a place as purgatory, after this life to be entered into for sins after the ascension of Christ, by such souls especially, as being otherwise to be saved, shall not have made satisfaction in this life for their sins committed, where they should endure most sensible pains, being once departed their bodies, and to be cleansed, and that thence some should come forth sooner; and some later, some at the day of judgment, and others before. And as to the first part, viz. Scripture proofs there is none at all to be found; let us peruse the whole law, we shall not meet with any one passage of Scripture obliging or binding a Christian necessarily to believe, as an article of faith, that after this life there should be such a place as purgatory, as some aver. There is not one place in all the holy Scriptures to shew it, neither can there be any evidence produced that ever there entered any one soul into such a purgatory, and came out again from thence.

And therefore it is a thing not to be credited nor believed; for proof whereof, St Augustin, in the book which he entitled "Melle Verba," writes thus, We believe by faith universal, and by divine authority, that the kingdom of heaven is the first place whereinto baptism is received. The second is that where the excommunicated and stranger from the faith of Christ, shall suffer everlasting torments. As for a third, we know none such at all, and find nothing certified of it in the holy Scriptures.

Again, in the same book upon this passage, "Shall not enter into the kingdom of God." "O brethren, let none deceive himself, for there are but two places, the third is not at all; for he that is not found worthy to reign with Christ, doubtless must perish with Satan." To this purpose, St Chrysostom, on the twentieth chapter of St Matthew, where it is said, That "the kingdom of heaven is like unto a housekeeper," speaks in this manner, "This housekeeper is Christ, to whom heaven and earth is a house, as it were, and the families are the celestial and the terrestrial creatures; in this house he hath built three chambers, hell, heaven, and earth—the militant or combating party are these which inhabit the earth; those that are overcome go down to hell; but they that have overcome

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enter heaven." "Let us take heed," saith he, "we that are in the middle region, that we descend not after them which are in hell, but rather that we may mount up to them which are above in heaven."

Is it not plain by these authorities, that there are but two certain places after Christ's ascension into heaven, whether the souls do go, departing from their bodies, and that there is no third place at all, and none to be found any where in the holy scriptures?

And therefore no express mention at all throughout the law, of any such place as purgatory; and the apostles have not left us any instruction about the same; and the primitive church, also, governed according to the gospel, and by the apostles themselves having not left any ordinance or commandment behind about it; and seeing Pope Pelagius first, five hundred and fifty-eight years after Christ, began to make this institution, that remembrance should be made of the dead in the mass, it follows, there being no one express proof for it in the law of God, that it is needless to believe the said purgatory as an article of faith, and that there should be such a thing after this life.

But whence is it, then, (one might wonder) that people now-a-days are so much taken with this opinion of assisting the dead? seeing that in all the Scriptures there is nothing taught concerning it, unless it be in the book of Maccabees, which doth not belong to the Old Testament, nor is canonical, and that neither Christ, nor any of his apostles, nor any of the saints next succeeding and living after them, ever taught any to pray for the dead, but were all of them very careful to teach that the people that lived unblameably should be holy: therefore, answering his query, we say, that the first cause hereof is, the deceit and craft of the priests, proceeding from their greedy avarice, who did not teach and instruct the people as the prophets and apostles of Christ, well to live, but only to offer roundly, and to put their trust and hope of deliverance and salvation upon purgatory.*

THE INVOCATION OF SAINTS,

In the Old Manuscript above named, and dated 1120.†

Ara es a dire de l' envocation de li Sanct, laqual acer li Maistre com li aiostant se a lor predican et promonon con grand diligentia publican coma per Article de Fe, &c.

Now we shall speak also something of the invocation of saints, concerning which some of our masters and their adherents preach and keep a stir, to publish it as an article of faith, saying, that the saints departed, and being possessed of the heavenly country, ought to be prayed unto by us, in such a manner as the priests use to do, and other people, by their instruction, enjoining them many other things to further and facilitate their invocation; by which invocation, authorizing and magnifying of it, the people believe carnally, and err greatly, conceiving, that as it is practised in the courts of earthly kings, being provoked or

* Morland, pp. 160–166. Leger, part i. pp. 83–87. Perrin, part iii. book iii. chap. iii.
† This title is from Leger, part i. chap. xvi.

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wroth, that some about them, which are not in the like passion, do intercede for others, and mitigate their displeasure; so it must needs be also with God himself; that is to say, that the saints deceased must assuage God's anger when it is kindled against a sinner.

But we ought to believe no such matter, for, if that were true, there would be no true conformity between the will of the saints and that of God; for, it would have an appearance as if the saints were not moved with indignation against him that provokes God to indignation.

And *secondly*, by this magnifying of, and praying to the saints, the people fall away into idolatry, putting more trust in the saints than in God himself, and serving them with more affection than the only God; which they do effectually make appear by the adorning of their altars most preciously; their loudest peals; the multiplicity of lights and candles, and other solemnities about them; by all which the simple people conceive no otherwise of them, than the saints are more merciful than God himself, as being able to deliver from damnation, by their intercession. Besides, to maintain this the better, the silly people are taught that the said saints love to have gifts and presents offered them; and that they are delighted to hear their praises; and that they intercede most for those that offer, and praise, and honour them most; all which things are to be carefully shunned, and had in abomination.

This sort of invocation it is that we are now to treat of, and to make known what we do hold concerning the matter. And *first*, we say, we will say what the name invocation is. Invocation is an earnest desire of all the mind and soul, addressed to the only God by voice; *secondly*, we hold that Christ man, is mediator between God and man, and our advocate towards God the Father, having paid for our sins, approaching unto God of himself, ever living to intercede for us. No man comes to the Father but by him; and whatsoever (saith he himself) ye shall ask the Father in my name, I will do it. Who giveth abundantly to all that ask him, and upbraideth no man. He is our Advocate towards God the Father; and he forgives our sins. The truth is, he presents himself in some sort unto us before we stir ourselves. He standeth at the gate; knocketh that we should open to him; and to obstruct all means and occasions of idolatry, he sitteth at the right hand of the Father in heaven, and wills that every faithful soul should mind him only, and have an eye and recourse to him alone; for all the care, thought of the faithful should be bent to Christ, with all the heart and affections, imitating him that is above. In which regard it is said; "If ye be risen with Christ, then seek the things that are above, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God." He is the gate: whosoever enters by him shall be saved. No man cometh to the Father, but by me. In the *third* place, we hold, that the saints are not set before us to adore them, but to imitate their practice, as St Paul saith: "Be ye followers of me as I am of Christ;" and take heed to them that walk, as ye have us for an example. St Peter would not suffer himself to be worshipped by Cornelius, nor the angel by St John the evangelist. And therefore doth St Augustin write thus in his book of True Religion: "Do not," saith he there, "O religious people, give yourselves to worship the dead, for if they lived holily, they were not such as used to seek or desire those honours, to be worshipped by us: by him that illuminates them, they rejoice that we are made partakers with them; and therefore we should honour them by imitation, not worshipping them by devotion." All this being set down for our foundation, we say, that no man bodily born, whosoever, but Christ, ought to be adored; and none other is the

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certain and true Advocate or Mediator between God and man, nor intercessor for our sins towards God the Father, but he alone; and there is no need at all that any such religious address should be made unto the saints deceased, by the living. But Christ alone hath that prerogative, to obtain whatsoever he requests in behalf of mankind, whom he hath reconciled by his death. He is the only and sole Mediator between God and man—the Advocate and Intercessor towards God the Father for sinners; and so sufficient that the Father denies nothing to any one, which he prays and sues for in his name; but for his sake he heareth them that pray unto, and ask in his name: for being near unto God, and living of himself, he prayeth continually for us: for it became us to have such a High Priest, as was holy, guiltless, blameless, separated from sinners, and exalted above the heavens"; the first born, begotten of the Father, who, being above all men, should have power and authority to sanctify others, and to pray and intercede for them. St Austin * writes concerning Christ, on Psalm lxiv. saying; "Thou art the Sacrificer: thou art the Sacrifice. Thou art he that offers, and the Offering itself." Jesus entered not into places made with hands, which were figures of the true ones; but he is entered into heaven, to appear there in our behalf, before the face of God.

And it is of him that St John saith; We have an Advocate with the Father, viz. Jesus Christ the Righteous. And St Paul saith; That Jesus who died for us, did also rise for us, and sitteth at the right hand of God, praying for us.

Therefore, it were but a foolish part to seek for any other intercessor; for Christ is always living and making continual intercession for us to God the Father, and is ever ready to succour them that love him; and therefore keepeth close to what is said of him: to what purpose should we address ourselves to any other saint or mediator, seeing he is himself far more loving, and far more ready to succour and relieve us, than any of them? considering withal, that the spirit of him that prayeth must needs be distracted and straying, through the multitude of saints to be prayed unto, so that the affection must needs abate and grow remiss towards Christ, it being divided among so many. And there are many that think the addressing of one's prayer to one alone, making him his sole intercessor, proves more beneficial in spiritual matters; yet, doubtless, the church would advance and improve much more, if she acknowledged no such multitude of intercessors, newly invented. It were great folly indeed to abandon the Fountain of living water, and go to the rivulets that are nothing nigh so clear and ready at hand. Thus, then, it is evident, *first*, that there is nothing obtainable at God's hand, but by Christ the Mediator; *secondly*, that it were far more expedient to adore Christ alone, of all men, he being absolutely the best and kindest mediator and intercessor in all kind of extremities; *thirdly*, that keeping to his word, we need not make our address to any other saints for intercessors; for as much as he is more ready to help us than any other saint, as being ordained by God for that very purpose, viz. that our address and intercession should be made by him, that is more merciful than any of the rest; for he knows for whom it is fittest to intercede: he hath shed his blood for them which he can never forget: they are written on his hands and on his breast; *fourthly*, that it would be folly to seek for another intercessor; *fifthly*, that in

* Dr Allix, Pied. p. 169, doubts the correctness of the date of this treatise, by remarking, that "it quotes the Milleloquium of St Austin, which was not composed by Fr. Bartholomeus of Urbin till about the midst of the fourteenth century." But Augustine on the Psalms is thought genuine.

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the primitive church men addressed their prayers to this singular person, as Mediator for spiritual help; *sixthly*, that the church then did profit and increase more than she doth now, since they found so many intercessors, which are but as so many clouds without water, obscuring Christ, the Sun of Righteousness, who is the true Intercessor. For many waiting for spiritual aid, found themselves forsaken, through their vain hope; for as God is just, and we unjust, and insufficient for ourselves, he it is that pardons our sins, as well past as present; for he hath given himself for our redemption, that is to say, he was the oblation whereby our pardon was procured. God sent his son to be the forgiver of our sins: he is remedy against sin, to keep us from falling into despair. We must have recourse to Christ the advocate, who perpetually pleads our cause, in interceding with the Father in our behalf, being not only our advocate, but our judge also; for the Father hath given all judgment to the Son; and therefore the penitent have great hope, being sure to have him for their judge, that is, their advocate. This faith is grounded in Christ, as upon a firm stone, whereon the saints always safely reposed, and which was held always sufficient, until the man of sin got power to introduce this *new intercession of the saints*; which faith all the saints had while they were here; and they confess to this day, that they are not saved by the oblation or intercession of any other God, and that they arrived at that heavenly kingdom, according to that of the Revelation, v. "O Lord, thou art worthy to receive the book, and to undo the seal thereof, and to open the same; thou that hast been slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thine own blood, out of all tribes and languages, and hast made us kings and priests unto our God." Lo! how their humility and their acknowledgment resounds on earth still, they leaving such record behind them, that they entered where they now are, by no other means but his blood, and confess to have received by him all their weal and welfare there, and whatsoever they enjoyed during their abode here. In a word, that they received no kind of good at any time, but by our good Mediator and Intercessor, Jesus Christ. *

ARTICLE IV.

OF BAPTISM AND THE REST OF THE SACRAMENTS IN THE CHURCH OF ROME.

[Leger states this from the Book on Antichrist.]

That which is of no necessity in the administration of baptism, is the exorcism—the breathing on—the sign of the cross upon the infant's breast and forehead—the salt which they put into his mouth—the spittle put to his ears and nose—the anointing of his breast—the capuchin—the unction on the crown of the head, and all the rest of those things consecrated by the bishop—putting wax in their hands—arraying them in white—blessing the water—plunging the infant three times—seeking for god-fathers: all these things commonly practised about the administration of this sacrament are needless, as being not at all of the substance of, nor requisite in the sacrament of baptism. These things giving but occasion

* Morland, pp. 167—173. Perrin, part iii. book iii. chap. iii.. Leger, part i. pp. 87—91.

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to many, that they rather fall into error and superstition, than that they should be edified by them unto salvation; which made some doctors profess that there was no virtue nor benefit to be had by them. *

Fora lo necissari encerea l' administration del baptism son li exorcism, lo soffior, lo seno de la croeal peit et al front, lo mettre lo sal en la bocca, l' ognament de la saliva, &c.

I do not perceive that the word infant is used in the original, but god-fathers (Pairin) is expressed.

ON THE SACRAMENT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

[In the Book on Antichrist, as Leger states.]

The eating of the sacramental bread, is the eating of Christ's body figuratively, Christ having said; Whensoever ye do this, do it in remembrance of me; for if it had not been a figurative eating, Christ had thereby obliged himself to be eaten continually; for we stand in a manner always in need of feeding on him spiritually, according as Austin saith: "He truly eateth Christ that believeth in him;" and Christ saith; that to eat him is to abide in him. In the administration of this sacrament, these things are profitable:—prayer, charity, the preaching of the Holy Scriptures in the known tongue, for edification, and whatsoever else is instituted as tending thereunto, according to the law of the gospel, for the increase of peace and charity among the people: but as for other things besides the consecration of the eucharist, such as are those which the priests do in the mass, or the clergy chant in the choir, from the beginning to the end; and the ornaments of the priests, such as the Roman Church and her adherents now make use of, they are not of necessity to this holy supper.

ON MARRIAGE AND ORDERS.

Concerning marriage it behoves us to make use of prayer, of fasting, and due admonitions, instructions, and warnings about it; but the coupling of the hands, and tying of the robe, and such other ceremonies as are in common use about it, and of human custom, besides the express Scripture, are not of the substance of, nor at all requisite to marriage.

As touching orders, we ought to hold, that order is called the power which God gives to man, duly to administer or dispense unto the church the word and the sacraments. But we have nothing in the Scriptures touching such orders, as they pretend, but only the custom of the church. And all those testimonial letters; the anointing of the hands, the giving of the girdle, and putting the lamp into the hand; and the rest usually observed in this case, besides the express Scripture, are not of the substance of, nor any necessary requisite unto order. ‡

* Leger, p. 65. Morland, p. 173. Perrin, chap. iv. Boyer, chap. i. p. 19.

† Leger, pp. 66, 67. Perrin, ib. Morland, pp. 173, 174.

‡ Morland p. 174. Perrin, ib. Leger, p. 67.

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ON CHRISM OR CONFIRMATION.

Now to speak of the chrism, which they at present call the sacrament of confirmation, having no ground at all in the Scripture to this purpose; that first, it must be consecrated by a bishop, and compounded of olive oil and of balm, to be applied to the person baptized, upon the forehead, with the sign of the cross, and with these words:—"I sign thee with the sign of the cross, and confirm thee by the sign of salvation, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" which is performed by imposing of hands, and with a white attire fastened to the head. This is what they call the sacrament of confirmation, which we find not instituted by either Christ or his apostles; for Christ, the pattern of all his church, was not confirmed in his person, and doth not require that there should be any such unction in baptism, but only pure water: and therefore such a sacrament is not found needful to salvation, whereby God is blasphemed, and which was introduced by the devil's instigation, to seduce the people, and to deprive them of the faith of the church, and that by such means they might be drawn the more to believe the ceremonies, and the necessity of the bishops.*

ON EXTREME UNCTION.

The seventh sacrament of the Church of Rome is the extreme unction of the sick, which they go about to prove by the saying of the apostle St James. There is no ground to show that Christ or his apostles did institute any such thing; for, if this bodily unction were a sacrament, as they would make us believe, Christ or his apostles would not have past over in silence the evidence of putting the same in use: upon the deliberate consideration whereof, we dare not presume to hold or profess it as an article of faith, that this sacrament was instituted by Christ or any of his apostles. †

ON FASTING.

It follows now to say something also of fasting, which is twofold, viz. the bodily and the spiritual. The spiritual is to abstain from sin: the bodily is to abstain from meat. But the Christian is at liberty to eat at all times, as also to fast at any time, provided he do not fast superstitiously, as by a virtue of abstinence.

And observe, that there are some fasts which ought not to be kept nor commended by the faithful, but rather to be abhorred and eschewed, such as the fasts of the Scribes and of the Pharisees, and those instituted by Antichrist, savouring of idolatry; the fasts of heretics and superstitious people, observed by enchanters, sorcerers, and nicromancers; and the fasts dedicated to creatures, and not to the creator, which have no ground in the law of God. Those fasts inordinate which are kept feeding only on more rare—more costly, and more select meats, such as all manner of sea-fish, figs, raisins, and almonds, of which

* Morland, p. 175. Leger, p. 68. Perrin, ib. who varies, but not materially, from the former two. † Morland, p. 176. Leger, p. 68. Perrin. All the same.

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the poor are deprived, and with which the rich abound, while alms are withdrawn from the poor; instead of which, if they fasted so as to eat afterwards more common and less chargeable meat, they would be able to provide the better, both for their own families, and for the poor. So, then, it being plain, that fasting consists not in the abstaining from any bodily meat as unclean, because all things are clean to them that are clean; and nothing is to be refused, if taken with thanksgiving, or sanctified by the word of God and prayer. It followeth that all these fasts aforesaid are to be detested and rejected by the faithful; and of such things they ought to be guiltless and remain unspotted. *

No. VI.

A brief EXPOSITION of the Waldenses and Albigenses of the APOSTLES' CREED, confirming the Articles thereof by express passages of the Scripture,† and which thus begins: Nos deven croyre en Dio Payre lot poissant, &c.

WE must believe in God the Father Almighty, the Creator of heaven and earth: the which God is one Trinity, as it is written in the law: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one." And Isaiah: "I am the Lord, and there is none else; neither is there any God besides me." And St Paul, in the fourth of the Ephesians: "One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all." And St John: "There are three that bear witness in heaven; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one." And the Gospel of St John shows, that the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are one, when Jesus Christ says, "that they all may be one as we are one." We must likewise believe that this Holy Trinity has created all things, and is the Lord of all things celestial, terrestrial, and infernal, as it is in St John: "All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made." And in the Revelation it is said; "Worship him who has made the heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters." And David has said; "Thou Lord in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the works of thy hands." And again: "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all their hosts by the spirit of his mouth." All these things, and many other testimonies and reasons drawn from the Scriptures, affirm that God created all things of nothing, whatsoever they are.

Again, we must believe that God the Father hath sent his Son from heaven to earth, and that for our sakes he has taken on him our flesh, in the womb of the Virgin Mary, for our salvation; as the prophet Isaiah speaks: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel," which is, being interpreted, God with us. And the Lord declares in the gospel, that this has been accomplished, saying; "I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world." Again: "I leave the world, and go to the Father."

* Leger, p. 69. Morland, pp. 176, 177. Perrin, ib. All three give it the same way.

† Perrin, part iii. book i. chap. iv. Leger, part i. chap. viii. The translator of Perrin gives the chapter and verse from the Scripture. Leger does neither, except in two instances the chapter.

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And further: "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." And in the Epistle of John: "We know that the Son of God is come;" that for us he hath taken our flesh upon him; that for us he is raised again from death; and that he "hath given us an understanding that we may know him that is true; and we are in him that is true, even in his Son, Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal life." And to the Galatians: "When the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law;" who, by the commandment of God the Father, and by his own free will, was lifted up upon the altar of the cross, and crucified, and has redeemed mankind with his own blood; which having accomplished, he arose from death the third day, having dispersed in the world a light everlasting, like a new sun; that is, the glory of the resurrection, and of the heavenly inheritance, which the same Son of God has promised to give to all true servants of the faith. For ascending up into heaven the fortieth day after his resurrection, he, on the tenth day after his ascension, sent his Holy Spirit from heaven to comfort his apostles, and to replenish his Holy Church with the same Spirit.

We must believe that the same God hath chosen to himself a glorious church, without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, as St Paul speaketh, to the end it should be holy and undefiled, according to the commandment of the Almighty: "Be ye holy, for I am holy." And in Matthew v. Be ye perfect, as your Father who is in heaven is perfect:" for nothing that commits abomination, or maketh a lie, shall enter into the kingdom of God, but only they that are written in the book of life, as said in the Revelation.

We must believe the universal resurrection of which our Saviour speaks in the Gospel of St John: "The hour cometh when all that are in their graves shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and shall come forth, they that have done good, to the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil, to the resurrection of damnation." And St Paul saith, in the first to the Corinthians, that "all shall be raised, and all shall be changed." And Job says; "I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth; and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God whom I shall see for myself, and not another." Thus my hope rests in my breast.

We must believe the general judgment upon all the children of Adam, as the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament affirm. As our Saviour promises in St Matthew: "When the Son of Man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit on the throne of his glory; and before him shall be gathered all nations, and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats; and he shall set the sheep on his right hand." And Jude Thaddeus: "Behold the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints, to execute judgment upon all." And the prophet Isaiah saith; "The Lord cometh in judgment with the ancients of his people, and with his young men also." These things are said in the Old and New Testament, and especially the four Evangelists; and the prophets witness in many sentences.

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AN EXPOSITION

OF THE

WALDENSES AND ALBIGENSES

ON THE

TEN COMMANDMENTS OF THE LAW OF GOD,

FAITHFULLY TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL, WHICH IS FOUND IN THE BOOK OF VIRTUES.

" Lou premier Commandament de la Ley de Dio es aquest, Tu non aurés Dio estrang devant mi.* The first commandment of the Law of God is this, Thou shalt have no other gods before me."

All they who love the creature more than the Creator, observe not this commandment. What every one honours and serves more than God, that to him is God. And therefore St Chrysostom says on St Matthew, " That the evil to which a man is servant, is to him for a God." So that if any one say, I cannot know what I love more or less, whether God, or the thing which he forbids me to love. Let him know that what a man loves less in case of necessity, is that which he is more willing to lose; and that which he loves, is that which he keeps and preserves, as the merchant does when he is in danger of drowning; when he fears death, he voluntarily casts away the merchandise to save his life, he loves his life better than the merchandise. In like manner, think thou with thyself, if on any occasion thou wouldst rather lose temporal things, or wouldst receive any damage in them, as in thy money, in thy house, or in thy cattle, in thy wife and children, even the life of thine own body rather than commit any sin by which thou mightest lose God, then without doubt thou lovest God more than all the above mentioned things. But on the contrary if thou lovest rather to sin than to lose such temporal things, then certainly thou adorest and servest such things more than God, and thou art become an idolater, which the Lord affirms in the gospel, saying, " If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple."

All such offend against this first commandment, who believe that the planets can enforce the proper will of man. Such men, as much as in them lies, account the planets as gods, for they ascribe to the creature what belongs to the Creator, against whom the prophet Jeremiah speaks, " Learn not the way of the heathen, and be not dismayed at the signs of heaven; for the heathen are dismayed at them." And St Paul in the fourth to the Galatians, " Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain."

All they act against this commandment, that believe sorcerers and soothsayers, for these men believe the devils to be Gods. The reason is, because they ask of devils that which God alone can give, that is to manifest hidden things, and to announce the truth of things to come, which is forbidden of God, Leviticus xix. " Regard not them that have familiar spirits, neither seek after wizards, to be

* For Lou and estrang, Perrin's copy has Lo and straing.

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defiled by them." Likewise, "There shall not be found among you any one that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer. For all that do these things are an abomination unto the Lord: and because of these abominations the Lord thy God doth drive them out from before thee."*

In regard to the punishment of this sin, and the vengeance that God takes on such a one, we read in the book of kings, that Elijah sent to Ahaziah saying: "Is it not because there is not a God in Israel, that ye go to inquire of Baal-zebub the god of Ekron?" And, therefore, speaks the Lord in that place: "Thou shalt not come down from that bed on which thou art gone up, but shalt surely die." Saul died because he had altered the commandment of God, which he gave him. He regarded it not, neither did he hope in the Lord, but took counsel of the sorcerer, for which cause the Lord took away his life, and transferred his kingdom to David the Son of Jesse. And in the book of Leviticus: "The soul that turneth after such as have familiar spirits, and after wizards, to go a whoring after them, I will even set my face against that soul, and will cut him off from among his people."

Let every man, therefore, know, that all enchantment, or conjuration, or ligament, or writing, or mark, or charm, carried to afford remedy to persons or beasts, is of no value, but is rather a snare and ambush of our ancient adversary the devil, by which he strives to deceive mankind.

AN EXPOSITION OF THE SECOND COMMANDMENT.

"Tu ne te feras image taille," &c. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image," &c.

Thou shalt make thee no image, cut out of stone or wood, or any other thing, which may be cut into any figure, or picture, or in any other manner whatever, "which is in heaven above," as the angels, the sun, the moon, and the stars. "Nor in the earth beneath," as men and other animals, as the Egyptians do. "Nor in the waters," as the fishes, for the Philistines served Dagon, which was an idol having a head like a fish. Nor "under the earth," as the devils; as like the men of Ekron, who worshipped Beelzebub. "Thou shalt not worship them" by doing them outward reverence, nor serve them with inward reverence. Neither shalt thou do any work that may tend to reverence or honour them. Thus he manifestly forbids to make any graven image of any thing, with a design to serve and adore it. It is therefore wonderful, that there are some that frame unto themselves figures and images, and by their ignorance attribute unto them by their ignorance, and against the commandment of God, the honour and reverence which belong to God alone.

But there are some that say, that images are laymen's books, who, not being able to read in books, may see that upon the wall which they cannot read.

To whom we may say and answer, that in the fifth chapter of Matthew, the Lord says to his disciples, "Ye are the salt of the earth—the light of the world." For the life and conversation of the pastors ought to be the book of their flock. And if a man should grant that they are books, yet they are false and ill-written. For if lay people will take example by the images and figures of the lives of the saints, it is most certainly impossible. For the holy Virgin was an example of

* Perrin's copy omits this passage of Scripture.

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humility, poverty, and chastity; and they adore her image, rather with vestments of pride, than humility. So that the lay people do not read in their habits the humility of the holy Virgin, but pride and avarice, if they conform themselves to the said corrupted and ill-written books. For in these days the priests and the people are covetous, proud and luxurious. They therefore cause their images to be pictured like themselves. Therefore saith David, "Thou, thou thoughtest that I was altogether such an one as thyself."

But there are others that say, We worship the visible images in honour of the invisible God.

This is false. For if we will truly honour the image of God, doing good unto men, we serve and honour the image of God. For the image of God is in every man, but the resemblance or likeness of God, is not in all, but only in those where the thought is pure and the soul benign. But if we wish truly to honour God, we give place unto the truth, that is to say, we do good unto men that are made after the image of God. We honour God when we give meat to those that hunger, drink to those that thirst, and clothing to those that are naked. And therefore what honour doest thou give to God to serve him in a stone or a stock; when men adore idle figures without a soul, as if some divinity were in them, and contemn man who is the true image of God? Saint Chrysostom, on Matthew says, "That the image of God cannot be painted or pictured in gold, but figured in man." The money of Cæsar is gold, but the money of God is man. And therefore the Jews were commanded under the ancient law, that they should destroy all the figures and images, and addict themselves to one only God; as it is written in the first book of the Kings. But Samuel said to all the house of Israel, "If ye do return unto the Lord with all your hearts, then put away the strange gods, and prepare your hearts unto the Lord, and serve him only: and he will deliver you out of the hand of the Philistines." Much less ought Christians, then ought Christians to depend on such signs and images which the Jews did not; but they ought to lift up their affection to Christ at the right hand of God.

AN EXPOSITION OF THE THIRD COMMANDMENT.

"Tu ne prendras point le Nom du Seigneur ton Dieu en vain, &c. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain," &c.

In this commandment we are forbidden to swear falsely, vainly, and by custom, as it is written, Leviticus xix. "And ye shall not swear by my name falsely, neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God." An oath confesseth God to know the truth, and the swearing is to confirm a thing doubtful; for an oath is an act of God's service: and, therefore, they that swear by the elements commit impiety. This is the reason why Christ Jesus forbids us to swear, namely, neither by heaven, nor by the earth, nor by any thing else, but that our speech be yea, yea; nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil." And Saint James, in the fifth chapter of his epistle, says; "But above all things, my brethren, swear not; neither by heaven; neither by the earth; neither by any other oath: but let your yea, be yea; and your nay, nay; lest you fall into condemnation."

AN EXPOSITION OF THE FOURTH COMMANDMENT.

"Souvienne toy du jour du repos, &c. Remember the Sabbath-day," &c.

They that will keep and observe the Sabbath of Christians, that is to say, to sanctify the day of the Lord, must be careful of four things. The *first* is to

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cease from all earthly and worldly labours: the *second*, not to sin: the *third*, not to be idle in regard to good works: the *fourth*, to do those things that are for the benefit of the soul.

Of the first it is said; "Six days thou shalt labour and do all thy work: but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work." And in Exodus it is said; "Ye shall keep the Sabbath therefore; for it is holy unto you: every one that defileth it shall surely be put to death." And in Numbers we read that one of the children of Israel being seen to gather sticks on the Sabbath-day, was brought to Moses, who, not knowing what course to pursue in the matter, "the Lord said unto Moses; The man shall be surely put to death: all the congregation shall stone him with stones without the camp. And all the congregation brought him without the camp, and stoned him with stones, and he died." God wished that the Sabbath be kept with such reverence, that the children of Israel would not dare, on that day, to gather the manna which was given from heaven.

The second cause is, to preserve ourselves from sin, as it is said in Exodus: "Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy;" that is, that thou observe it by keeping thyself carefully from sin; and therefore saith Saint Augustine; "It is better to labour and to dig the earth on the Lord's day, than to be drunk, or to commit any other sins; for sin is a servile work, by which a man serves the devil."

Again, he says, that it is better to labour with profit, than to roam abroad in idleness; for the day of the Lord was not ordained to the end that a man should cease from earthly good works, and give himself unto sin; but to the end he should addict himself to spiritual labours, which are better than earthly; and that the whole Sabbath throughout he reform himself of those sins he has committed; for idleness teaches all evil. Seneca declares, "it is the sepulchre of a living man."

The fourth thing is to do that which is profitable to the soul; as to think on God—devoutly to pray to him—diligently to hear his commandments and his holy doctrine—to give thanks to God for all his benefits—to instruct the ignorant—to correct the erroneous, and to preserve ourselves from all sin; to the end that saying of Esay may be accomplished: "Cease to do evil: learn to do well;" for rest is not good if it be not accompanied with good works.

AN EXPOSITION OF THE FIFTH COMMANDMENT.

"Honorr ton Pere et ta Mere, &c. Honour thy father and thy mother."

These commandments enjoin us in what manner we must live with our neighbours.

We are not to understand these words, "Honour thy father and thy mother," as if the question were only regarding outward reverence; but also concerning maintenance, and things necessary for them; and therefore we are to do that which is enjoined in this commandment, for that honour which is due to fathers and mothers; for we receive from them three excellent gifts, namely, our being, our nourishment, and our instruction, which we are never able fully to recompense, nor to accomplish, which is read in Ecclesiasticus* vii. "Honour thy

* The Waldenses and Albigenses did not quote the Apocrypha as of equal authority with the inspired Scripture. See the Confession, No. IV. of this Appendix.

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father, and forget not the sorrows of thy mother. Remember, that by them thou hast had thy being; render then a recompense answerable to the price they have given thee." And, therefore, having regard to that natural being which we have received from our father and mother, we are to serve them in all humility and reverence, after a threefold manner. First, with all the power of our bodies we are to support their bodies, and to yield them the service of our hands. Eccl. iii. "He that feareth the Lord will honour his father and his mother, and will serve them as his lords that have begotten him." Again, we must serve our fathers and mothers with all our power, never debating or questioning with them by hard and bitter speeches; but we must answer them humbly, and hearken lovingly to their reprehensions. Prov. i. "My son, hear the instruction of thy father, and forsake not the law of thy mother. Whoso curseth his father or his mother, his lamp shall be put out in obscure darkness." We must likewise honour them by administering things necessary for this life. For fathers and mothers have nourished children with their own flesh, their proper substance; and children nourish their parents with that which is without their flesh, being impossible they should restore to them those benefits they have received of them.

And regarding the instruction we have received of our fathers and mothers, we must obey them in whatsoever shall tend to our salvation, and to a good end. Eph. vi. "Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right." Of which obedience Christ has given us an example, as it is in the second chapter of St Luke: "And he went down with them, and was subject unto" his father and mother. And therefore honour first thy father that has created thee; and then thy father that hath begotten thee; and thy mother that hath carried thee in her womb, and hath brought thee forth, to the end thy days may be prolonged upon the earth, and that persevering in that which is good, thou mayest pass out of this world to an everlasting inheritance.

AN EXPOSITION OF THE SIXTH COMMANDMENT.

"Thou shalt not kill. En aquest commandement es des fen," &c.

Murder is especially forbidden in this commandment; but more generally we are forbidden to hurt our neighbour in any manner whatsoever; as with words, detractions, injuries, or deeds; as to strike our neighbour. Of the first sort of anger it is said, Matthew v. "Whoso is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the judgment." And St James saith, chap. i. "The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God." And St Paul, Ephes. iv. "Let not the sun go down upon your wrath." He that is angry with his brother without cause, is worthy of judgment; but not he that is angry upon just occasion; for, if a man should not be angry sometimes, the doctrine were not profitable, neither would the judgment be discerned, nor sins punished. And, therefore, just anger is the mother of discipline; and they that in such a case are not angry, sin: for that patience that is without reason is the seed of vices—nourisheth negligence—suffereth not only the bad to swerve, but certainly also the good; for when the evil is corrected, it vanisheth; so that it is plain that anger is sometimes good, when it is for the love of righteousness, or when a man is angry with his own sins, or the sins of another man. Thus was Christ angry with the Pharisees. The other sort of anger is wicked, which proceedeth from a desire of revenge, which is forbidden. "Vengeance belongs unto me, saith the Lord, and I will repay."

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AN EXPOSITION OF THE SEVENTH COMMANDMENT.

"THOU shalt not commit adultery. Lo qual commandement defend tota," &c.

This commandment forbids all unlawful lust and pollution of the flesh, as it is said in the fifth of St Matthew: "He that looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart." And in the fifth chapter of the Apostle to the Ephesians, it is said; "This ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of God." And in 1 Cor. vi. "Be not deceived: neither fornicators nor adulterers shall inherit the kingdom of God." And in chap. v. "If any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, covetous, &c. with such an one no not to eat." Now, as there is a corporeal whoredom, so there is a spiritual; that is to say, when a man separateth himself from God.

AN EXPOSITION OF THE EIGHTH COMMANDMENT.

"THOU shalt not steal. En aquest commandement es deffendu totalment furt et fraud de cosas stragnas," &c.

In this commandment is forbidden all manner of theft, and all unlawful means to obtain for ourselves the goods of another, by fraud, or avarice, or injury, or violence; for they are not only thieves who take the goods of another, but they that command them—who receive thieves into their houses, and who buy stolen goods, or knowingly make profit of them. All they that do such things, and they that consent to them, shall suffer equal punishment: or if thou findest any thing and restorest it not, thou hast committed robbery; for men are bound to make restitution of that which they find. They who deprive their subjects of their goods and commodities, as Lords used to do, imposing unjust charges and taxations—overburdening the poor by their wicked inventions; and if they refuse to do it, they imprison them, and frequently torment them even to death; and thus in an unjust manner take from them their goods, are thieves. Of these Esay speaks, chap. i. "Thy princes are rebellious, and companions of thieves, and follow after rewards." They are also thieves that retain the wages of the labourer by fraud. Of such it is said in the nineteenth of Leviticus: "The wages of him that is hired shall not abide with thee all night until the morning." And as St James speaks in his fifth chapter: "Ye that have heaped treasure together for the last days; behold the hire of the labourers which have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth, and the cries of them which have reaped, are entered into the ears of the Lord of Hosts." They act the part of thieves that hurt the commonwealth, as coiners of bad money. And in the weight, number, value, and generally all such as falsify their weights and measures, and divers merchandize; these are called robbers of the common good, and such, according to the law, are to be put to death in boiling oil. They are thieves who labour with fraud—who deceive men in their wares and merchandize, selling bad for good. Also gamblers, who invite others to gaming—who play from avarice; the root of all evil, rapine, lying, vain and idle speeches, oaths, blasphemies against God—ill example—loss of time. Thus by playing, any one unjustly winds into the goods of another person.

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AN EXPOSITION OF THE NINTH COMMANDMENT.

"THOU shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour."

En aquest commandement non es solament deffendu la messogna, &c.

In this commandment not only is lying forbidden, but also all offences that may be given to our neighbours by false or feigned words or works; for all the lovers of lying are the children of the devil, and those who impeach the honour of their neighbour by lying, and all those who bear false witness for the wicked. According to St Augustine the false witness wrongs three: God, whose presence is contemned: *secondly*, the judge, who is deceived by him who lies: in the *third* place, he wrongs the innocent party, who is oppressed by the false witness. Detractors sin against this commandment. The detractor is compared to an open sepulchre, as David speaketh: "Their throat is an open sepulchre." No grave is so loathsome to God as the mouth of a slanderer. And this caused Ambrose to say, that "a thief is more to be borne with than a calumniator; for the former robs a man only of his corporeal substance; the other of his good name." The slanderer deserves to be hated of God and men. The stroke of the whip marks the flesh; but the stroke of the tongue breaks the bones.

AN EXPOSITION OF THE TENTH COMMANDMENT.

"THOU shalt not covet," &c.

En aquest commandement es defendua la cabititia de tui li ben, &c.

In this commandment is forbidden the covetous desire of all goods, that is, as of wife, servants, fields, vineyards, houses, and the like. And it also forbids the concupiscence of the eyes and of the flesh. The lust of the flesh is like a running water; but the lust of the eyes is like earth, by reason of our earthly affections. And as of earth and water a material mud is formed; so of concupiscence the spiritual mud of the soul, which makes a man odious to God. From hence comes the pride of life, which blows like a violent wind in the soul turned to ashes; and this wind carries it like dust.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE EXPOSITION OF THE COMMANDMENTS.

AQUESTI son li dies commandament de la ley, &c.

These are the ten commandments of the law; the first of which concern our duty to God, and the others regarding our neighbour: and whoever wish to be saved must keep these commandments. Many excellent blessings are promised to those who keep these commandments; and to those that transgress them, many grievous and horrible maledictions are prepared.—Deut. xxviii. If we truly acknowledge our sins, we know that we are far from God. For salvation is far from sinners; and the knowledge of sin leadeth to repentance, for no man repents that knoweth not his sin. The first grace of salvation is the knowledge of sin; and, therefore, acknowledging our fault, we approach with confidence to the throne of the grace of God, and confess our sins to him. For he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness, and to bring us to the life of grace. Amen. *

* Leger, part i. chap. ix. pp. 51—56. Perrin, part iii. book i. chap iii.

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No. VII.

A CONFESSION OF SINS.

This was commonly used by the Waldenses and Albigenses, faithfully translated from the original in their book entitled "Lo Novel Confort," The New Comfort, mentioned in the Book of Martyrs, p. 23.

O Diou de li Rey, et Segnor delli Segnor, yò me confesso à tu, car yo sey aquel peccador que t'ay mot offendu, &c.

O God of kings, and Lord of Lords, I confess myself unto thee, for I am that sinner who have grievously offended thee by my ingratitude. I cannot excuse myself, because thou hast showed me what is good and what is evil. I have known what thy power is—have understood thy wisdom—have been acquainted with thy justice, and seen thy bounty. All the evil, therefore, which I have done, proceeds from my own corruption. O Lord, pardon me and grant me repentance, for I have contemned thee by my great presumption. I have given no credit to thy wisdom, nor to thy commandments, but have transgressed them, for which I am much displeased with myself. I have not feared thy justice nor thy judgments, but have committed many wickednesses since the beginning of my life, and have not loved thy great bounty as I ought, and as I am commanded; but I have too much believed the devil by my own perversity. I have followed pride and hated humility. If thou dost not pardon me I am undone, so deeply is lust rooted in my heart. I am so much in love with avarice, and cherish vain glory, and have little love to those who have obliged me by their benefits. If thou dost not pardon me, my soul shall go to perdition. Anger reigns in my heart, because I have not appeased it; and envy gnaws me, because I have no charity. Lord, forgive me for thy goodness. I am rash—slow to do good—hardy and bold to do evil. Lord, grant me thy grace that I may not be numbered with the wicked. I have not as I ought, and as thou hast commanded me, returned thee thanks for the good which thou hast done me; for by my perversity I am disobedient. Lord, forgive me, for I have not served thee, but on the contrary have greatly offended thee. I have too much served my body and my will, in many vain thoughts and wicked desires, in which I have taken pleasure. I have blinded my body, and have thought against thee in many wicked matters, and have hunted after many things contrary to thy will. Have pity on me and give me humility. I have lifted mine eyes to vain delights, and have not been able to turn them towards thy face. I have given ear to the sound of vanity and wicked speeches: but it has been an irksome thing to me to understand the speech of thy law and discipline. I have committed great sins, especially in my understanding; for the savour of evil has been more pleasing than the divine sweetness and heavenly honour; for adoring the evil I have had more contentment, because I have done many evils, and have left undone much good; and not acknowledging my fault, I have endeavoured to cast it on another. I have not been sufficiently temperate in my eating nor in my drinking. I have often rendered violence for violence, and have even in that taken pleasure. I have a wounded body and soul. I have stretched out my hands to touch vanity, and have perversely endeavoured to take the goods of another, and to smite my neighbour and displease him. My heart has delighted in what I have said, and much more in many other vain delights. Lord, pardon me and give me chastity. I have ill employed the time which

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thou hast given me, and during my youth have followed my pleasures and vanity. I have turned from the good way, and by my lightness have shown an evil example. I know but little good in myself, and find much evil. I have displeased thee by my wickedness—have condemned my own soul, and have provoked my neighbour. Lord God, preserve me that I be not condemned. I have loved my neighbour because of my temporal benefit. I have not deported myself faithfully when there has been any question of giving and receiving; but I have had respect to persons according to mine affection. I have too much loved the one, and too much hated the other. I have rejoiced too little in the good of the godly, and have been too much lifted up at the evil of the wicked. And besides, all the evils that I have done in times past to the present day, I have not had such repentance nor remorse proportionable to the offence. I have often by my transgression returned to the evil, even to the evil which I have confessed, for which I am heartily sorry. Lord God, thou knowest I have confessed all; and there are still in me many evils which I have not recounted to thee: but thou knowest the wicked thoughts, and the wicked words, and the perverse works which I have committed, even to this present time. Lord, pardon me, and give me space to repent as far as I am able in the present life, and vouchsafe me grace in time to come, that I may so hate those sins as I may not commit them any more; and that I may so love virtue and keep it in my heart; that I may love thee above all things; and that I may fear thee in such a manner, that at the day of death I may do the thing which is agreeable to thee. And give me such affiance in the day of judgment, that I may neither fear the devil, nor any other thing which terrifies me. But cause me to be received at thy right hand without any fault. Lord, let this come to pass according to thy good pleasure, for thy Son Christ Jesus' sake. Amen. *

No. VIII.

THE ANCIENT DISCIPLINE OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCHES OF THE VALLEYS OF PIEMONT.

Art. I.—CONCERNING DISCIPLINE.

La Disciplina contenen si tota doctrina moral segond l' enseignament de Christ, et de li Apostolat, &c.

Discipline contains in itself all moral doctrine, according to the teaching of Christ and the apostles, showing after what manner every one ought to live in his calling by faith, and to walk worthily in present righteousness.

The holy Scripture reciteth diverse doctrines regarding this discipline, and showeth not only how every one in particular ought to live, of whatever estate, age, or condition he be, but also what ought to be the union, consent, and bond of love in the communion of the faithful. Now, if so be any desire to have a knowledge of these things, let him read what the Apostle says in his Epistles, and he shall find it there amply, especially in what manner every one is bound to keep himself in unity, and to walk in such sort that he be not a scandal and an occasion of ruin to his neighbour, either by sinful words or wicked actions;

* Leger, part i. chap. x. pp. 57, 58. Perrin, part iii. book i. chap. ii. Morland, pp. 35—37.

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and in that sort he is bound not only to avoid evil, but to flee also the occasion of evil; and when any is fallen, how he shall be able to be reformed and amended.

By divers such general instructions those who are of the household of faith ought to be instructed, that so they may behave worthily in the house of the Lord, and not make the house of the Lord a den of thieves, by their profane and perverse conversation, and by their toleration of evil.

Art. II.—CONCERNING PASTORS.

All those who are to be received as pastors among us, while they remain with their relations they entreat us to receive them into the ministry, as likewise that they would be pleased to pray God that they may be made worthy of so great a charge; but the said petitioners present such supplications to give a proof of their humility.

We also appoint them their lessons, and set them to get by heart all the chapters of St Matthew and St John, with all the Epistles called canonical, and a good part of the writings of Solomon, David, and the prophets.

And afterwards, having good testimonials, they are, by the imposition of hands, admitted to the office of preaching.

He that is last received ought to do nothing without the licence of him that was received before him; and in like manner the former ought to do nothing without the licence of his associate, to the end that all things among us may be done in good order.

Our food and clothing are administered to us, and given *gratuitously*, and by way of alms by the good people whom we instruct.

Among the other powers which God has given to his Servants, he hath given them authority to elect the Leaders who govern the people, and to constitute the Elders in their charges, according to the diversity of the work in the unity of Christ; which is proved by the saying of the Apostle in the Epistle to Titus, in chap. i. "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee."

When any of us, the aforesaid pastors, fall into any gross sin, he is both excommunicated and prohibited from preaching.

Art. III.—ON THE INSTRUCTION OF YOUTH.

Those children who are born of carnal parents, ought, by discipline and instruction, to be made spiritual towards God, as is said in Ecclesiasticus: "He that loveth his son causeth him often to feel the rod, that so he may have joy of him in the end, and may not be ashamed before his neighbour. He that instructeth his son shall have praise in him, and shall gain commendation in the midst of his household. He that teacheth his son maketh his enemy jealous, and getteth honour among his friends. Though his father die, yet he is as though he were not dead, for he leaveth behind him one like unto himself. While he lived he saw and rejoiced in him, and when he died he was not confounded or sorrowful before his enemies; for he left behind him such as shall uphold his house against his enemies, and children that shall requite kindness to his friends."

Instruct thy son in the fear of the Lord, and in the ways of the customs, and of the faith.

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Despair not of thy child when he will not receive willingly thy correction, and though he be not speedily good; for the labourer gathereth not all the fruit of the earth so soon as he casts the seed into the ground, but waiteth the appointed time.

In like manner a man ought to correct and keep in his daughters. Hast thou daughters? keep their bodies that they wander not; for Dinah the daughter of Jacob was ravished by showing herself abroad to strangers.

Art. IV.—CONCERNING ELDERS, THE COLLECTIONS AND COUNCILS.

Rulers and elders are chosen out of the people, according to the diversity of the work, in the unity of Christ. And the Apostle proveth it to Titus, chap. i. "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee."

The money which is given us by the people, is by us carried to the foresaid general council, and there delivered publicly in the presence of all; and afterwards the same is taken and distributed by our stewards, part of the money being given to such as are sent upon journeys for occasion, and part of it given to the poor.

We that are pastors assemble once a-year, to treat of our affairs in a general council.

Art. V.—ON ECCLESIASTICAL CORRECTION.

In like manner correction is to be used to retain the people under a reverence, that so those who are not faithful may be punished and separated, either for their wicked doctrine against the faith; or transgressing the rules of charity; or for failing in point of hope; or for being guilty of any of those forementioned evils, which may possibly be all found together in some one person. Now, that the use of such correction as this is necessary, the Lord Jesus Christ teacheth us saying; "If thy brother sin, go and rebuke him between thee and him alone: if he hearken to thee, thou hast gained thy brother." The Apostle likewise, addressing the Galatians, confirmeth this: "If a man be taken in a fault, you that are spiritual instruct such an one in the spirit of meekness.

But for as much as all receive not correction in love, the Lord teacheth what the spiritual guides ought to do in this case, saying; "But if he hearken not unto thee, then take with thee one or two, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established."

And this is the Lord's meaning in case the fault be not known to many. But it is to be understood otherwise when the sin is manifest and known to every one as a sin; for in such a case the chastisement ought to be public; and thus the Apostle showeth, saying; "Rebuke such as sin, in the presence of all, that others may fear."

Art. VI.—ON EXCOMMUNICATION.

But in case all these chastisements produce no amendment of life, not forbearance of evils, Christ himself teacheth us how we ought to proceed against such

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an one: if he hear not those, tell it to the church; that is, to the rulers by whom the church is governed and conserved, that so he may be afflicted with punishment, especially because of his contumacy. Which the Apostle confirms: "For I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already as though I were present. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ to deliver such an one to Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus Christ." And, "If any man that is called a brother amongst you be a fornicator; or covetous; or an idolater; or a railer; or a drunkard; or an extortioner; with such an one no not to eat. Therefore, put away from among yourselves that wicked person." Also; "If there be any that obeyeth not our words, mark such an one by epistle, and have nothing to do with him that he may be ashamed; and yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother." And as the Lord sayeth; "Let him be to thee as a heathen man and a publican;" that is, let him be deprived of all benefit from the church or ministry, and from the assembly of the church and the communion of saints.

Art. VII—ON MARRIAGE.

Marriage ought to be performed according to the degrees prescribed by God, and not within those degrees which he hath forbidden. And there need no scruple of conscience be made concerning what the pope hath forbidden, although we give him no money for a dispensation; for that which God hath not forbidden may very well be done without permission of him, (the Pope).

The bond of holy marriage ought not to be made without the consent of parents on both sides, forasmuch as children ought to be wholly at the disposal of their parents.

Art. VIII.—ON TAVERNS.

The Tavern is a fountain of sin, and school of the devil, where he worketh his miracles after his own manner. God useth to shew his power in the holy church, and there to work his miracles, namely, by opening the eyes of the blind, and making the lame to walk, and the dumb to speak, and the deaf to hear, but the devil doth quite the contrary in the tavern; for when the drunkard goeth to the tavern, he goes upright; and when he returneth, cannot stand, and hath, as it were, lost his sight, hearing, and speech. Behold the miracles which the devil worketh in the tavern. The lessons which are learned in this school of the devil are drunkenness, swearing, lying, perjury, blasphemy, denial of God, and the commission of many other sins, for in the tavern are raised all quarrels, slanders, contentions and murders; and those who keep the taverns, and suffer this, are partakers of all sins and evils there committed. For certainly, if any should offer to speak so reproachfully of their father and mother, or wives, as they suffer to be spoken of God, the glorious Virgin, and the saints in paradise, for to sell a penny-worth of wine, they would never suffer them so peaceably. And therefore it is said in Ecclesiasticus, that he that keepeth a tavern shall not be held guiltless.

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Art. IX.—ON DANCINGS OR BALLS.

A BALL is the devil's procession, and whosever entereth the dance, entereth into his procession. The devil is the leader, the middle and the end of the dance. So many paces as a man maketh in a ball, so many leaps he maketh towards hell. They sin in dancing sundry ways, in walking, for all their paces are numbered; they sin in touching, in their ornaments, in hearing, and seeing, in speaking, in lies, in singing, and vanities. A ball is nothing but misery, sin, and vanity; and therefore we will shew as touching balls; *first*, by testimony of Scripture, and afterwards by reason, how wicked a thing it is to dance. The first testimony we produce is out of the gospel, where the dancing damsel caused John Baptist's head to be cut off. The *second* is in Exodus, when Moses, drawing to the congregation, saw the calf, he "cast the tables out of his hands, and brake them beneath the mount," and afterwards by him and the sons of Levi, were slain "of the people about three thousand men." Besides, the ornaments which women wear in balls, are as so many crowns, signifying the several victories which the devil hath obtained by them against the children of God. For the devil hath not only a sword in their balls, but also comely persons, and well adorned; for the tongue of a woman is a glittering sword; and, therefore, certainly, that place is much to be feared where the enemy hath so many swords, seeing that any one of his swords is exceedingly to be dreaded. Moreover, the devil in this place smiteth with a very sharp sword, for the women come not willingly to balls without painting and adorning themselves, which paint and ornaments are like the whetting of the devil's sword, and the rings which are made in balls, as the round stones on which he sharpens them. Those which thus attire and adorn their daughters, are as they which lay dry wood upon the fire, that it may burn the better; for such women do kindle the fire of lust in the hearts of men: and as the foxes of Samson burned the corn of the Philistines, so have these women fire in their faces, and in their actions, namely, it is in their looks, features, and words, by which they consume men's estates. The *third* reason is, that the devil maketh use in balls of his best armour of proof; for the strongest weapons the devil hath, are women, which is shewn in that the devil made choice of the woman, to deceive the first man by. And Balaam made choice of women to make the children of Israel to be rejected. By a woman, the devil made Samson, David and Absalom to sin. The devil tempted the man by the woman, three manner of ways, namely, by touch, sight, and hearing. By these three ways he tempts at balls those men who are unwise, that is to say, by touching of the hands, by a beautiful look, and by sweetness of songs and the voice. The *fourth* reason is, that they who thus dance, break the agreement which they made with God at their baptism, when their god-fathers promise for them, to renounce the devil and all his pomp. The ball is the pomp and mass of the devil; and whoso entereth into balls, entereth into the devil's pomp and mass; for the woman that singeth at the ball, is the priestess of the devil; and they that answer are clerks, and they which look on are parishioners. As likewise the cymbals and flutes are the bells, and the musicians are the ministers of the devil. For as when the swine are scattered abroad, and the swine-herd makes one cry, straightway the others flock together. So the devil causeth the woman to sing at the ball, or play on the music, that so all the swine, that is the dancers, may draw together.

Likewise, at the ball they violate the ten commandments of God, viz. the first, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me."

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At the ball they adore that person whom they study to serve, and therefore St Jerom saith, "that the God of every one is that which he serveth, and loveth all things."

They sin in balls against the second commandment, when they make idols of that which each one loveth.

Against the third commandment, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain," when at the balls they serve the vanity of sin.

Against the fourth: for by balls, the Sabbath-day is profaned.

Against the fifth: "Honour thy father and thy mother." For in dancing, the parents are often dishonoured, while many contracts are there made without their counsel.

Against the sixth: "Thou shalt not kill." For persons are often killed at balls; since every person who striveth to please another, killeth the soul in moving to lust.

They sin in balls against the seventh, "Thou shalt not commit adultery." For the person, male or female, commits adultery so often as they lust, for "He that looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her."

Against the eighth, "Thou shalt not steal." They sin at the ball against this commandment, when one steals the heart of another person away from God.

Against the ninth, "Thou shalt not bear false witness." When one speaketh falsely at the ball contrary to truth.

Against the tenth, "Thou shalt not covet." They sin against this commandment, when the women covet the ornaments of others, and when men covet the wife, daughters, and servants of their neighbours.

Moreover, it might be shewn how great an evil these balls are, by the multitude of sins which they that dance commit. For they do all by measure and number. And, therefore, St Augustine said, "The miserable dancer knoweth not that so many paces as he maketh at a ball, by so many leaps he maketh nearer to hell." They sin in their ornaments in five respects:—*first*, in being proud. In the *second* place, when they inveigle the hearts of those which look upon them in lust. In the *third* place, when they shame others with their ornaments, giving them occasion to covet the like. *Fourthly*, when they make women importunate in asking such ornaments of their husbands. In the *fifth* place, when not obtaining them of their husbands, they procure them by other ways through sin.

They sin in singing and playing on instruments; for their songs charm and make drunk the hearts of those who hear them with temporal joy, forgetting God, and uttering nothing in their songs but lies and follies. Yea, the very gestures themselves which are made in dancing, bear witness of the evil.

Men ought to know that balls are the procession of the devil, and that whoso entereth into the ball, entereth into his procession. The devil is the leader—the middle and the end of the dance. Many there are who enter good and wise into the ball, who come out corrupted and wicked. Sarah, that holy woman, was none of these.

Art. X.—IN WHAT MANNER PEOPLE OUGHT TO BEHAVE TO THOSE WITHOUT.

Not to love the world. To shun bad company. If it be possible, to have peace with all. Not to sue at the law. Not to avenge one's self. To love one's enemies. To be willing to undergo travels, calumnies, threatenings, rejection, shame, injuries, and all sorts of torments, for the truth. To possess their souls

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in patience. Not to yoke themselves with infidels. Not to communicate at all with wicked works, and more especially with those which savour of idolatry, or the service belonging to it, and so of other things.

Art. XI.—AFTER WHAT MANNER THE FAITHFUL OUGHT TO GOVERN THEIR BODIES.

Not to serve the mortal desires of the flesh. To keep their members that they be not weapons of iniquity. To govern their thoughts. To subject the body to the soul. To mortify their members. To shun idleness. To keep sobriety and moderation in eating and drinking, in speeches, and in the cares of the world. To perform works of mercy. To live by faith, and lead a moral life. To fight against lusts. To mortify the works of the flesh. To observe times that are due to exercises of religion. To confer together, touching the will of God. To examine diligently the conscience. To purify, amend, and quiet the spirit.

REMARKS.

Bucer, the Swiss reformer, having largely conversed with two of the Waldensian pastors, declared, that "they have preserved among them the discipline of Christ, which constrains us to give them this praise." In 1533, Melancthon wrote them as follows: "In reality I do not at all disapprove of that very severe manner of exercising the discipline which is practised in your churches. Would to God it were enforced with a little more vigour in ours." He intimates, that though his church and theirs differ in some ceremonies, yet he trusted they all agreed in the grand work of extending the gospel.* Mr Acland remarks: "If the value of different systems of governing be estimated by their results, that which prevailed in the Vallensian Church has certainly never been excelled. The synod, presided over by the moderator, has always possessed the chief authority in the Vallensian church. It was composed, as at present, of all the pastors, and a portion of the elders deputed by the people." After mentioning the synod, sometimes of 140 pastors, meeting in September, he adds: "They were sent by turns into every part of Europe to visit their scattered brethren, and preach the gospel to them, especially," not solely, "after the year 1180. Bohemia, England, and Germany, are among the countries enumerated. Funds were placed at the disposal of the synod to provide for these travellers and the poor." After noticing their diligence in preserving and diffusing the gospel in the dark ages, he adds: "Nor was this the casual work of detached individuals, but the constant object of successive generations, acting in concert, and acknowledging the same ecclesiastical authority. Sublime indeed is the picture of these venerable Christians, assembled in conclave among the Alpine snows, to protect a doctrine as superior in glorious simplicity to that opposed by them, as are the mountains which surrounded them to the gorgeous cupola of St Peter's."†

Dr Allix, on the churches of Piemont, mentions the Waldensian bishops, priests, and deacons, whom the Pope had excommunicated, and counted mere laymen. In his work on the Albigenses, he asserts they also "had their bishops, their priests, and their deacons," whose ministry Rome rejected.‡ Mr Gilly also pleads from Article II. of the discipline, the existence of "degrees in the ec-

* Leger, part i. p. 199, and p. 105.

† Acland's History of the Glorious Return of the Vaudois, with a Compend of the History of that people, pp. lxxix—lxxxi. ‡ Pied. p. 239, and Alb. p. 207.

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cerdotal orders" of the ancient Waldenses; but said article shows that no other superiority was admitted among the Waldensian pastors over one another, except what arose from seniority and experience, which is admitted in every church. When two went together the younger was to be guided by the older They did not distinguish the teaching presbyter from the bishop. They had indeed three orders of men above their ordinary members—the bishop or teaching elder—the lay-elder, and the deacon. The existence of the second class is clearly expressed in Article IV. of the foregoing discipline, for they are called "rulers and elders chosen out of the people." The deacons are always mentioned as taking charge of the funds of the churches, but never as preaching. Though the public money is mentioned in the above article, yet the existence of deacons is not stated. Probably at that time the ministers and lay-elders were able to take charge of the contributions. After all, these three orders are probably just what Dr Allix means by bishops, priests, and deacons. If in presbyterian churches the lay-elders would do a little more in teaching the young and visiting the sick, they would have nearly the three orders of Allix; and if Episcopalians would call the pastor of each congregation a bishop, with several assistants under him to aid in government, in teaching the ignorant, and comforting the distressed, making the deacons almoners of the poor, both churches would, in the author's view, be nearer the scriptural model.

Mr Acland* asserts that the moderator was not amenable to the Waldensian synod, and he alone "could confer holy orders by the imposition of hands; and he only had authority to visit the churches—inquire into the doctrine and practice of their pastors—examine at his discretion the whole economy of the church, and reform such abuses as he might discover." But no intimation is made in the second article of discipline, that the power of ordination was restricted to the moderator. The synod does the whole, for the document runs: ".We appoint them their lessons: they are, by the imposition of hands, admitted to the office of preaching." Whatever may be the practice of the present Waldenses, their ancestors seem to have ordained ministers by the moderator, as joined by his brethren in the act of laying on hands. Popular election was practised in the choice of all church-officers. Leger† tells us that the lay-elders were not only elected by the people at first, but the congregation, or heads of families, appointed every year the elder who was to represent them in the synod.

Though the doctrine of church-government does not lie so near the foundation of our hopes as the principles of the atonement, and such points, yet we ought to adopt that form of government which is nearest the Scripture pattern. No form of ecclesiastical government in Britain seems exactly the same as that of the ancient Waldenses. Viewing them as having a constant moderator, Episcopalians think him like a bishop. But in regard to episcopal consecration, Mr Acland,‡ an Episcopalian, informs us that "this ornament of our church-establishment, so justly cherished by us, is unquestionably no longer preserved among the Vaudois." Viewing them as having a synod, and having a consistory or session in each congregation, they are presbyterians; yet with this difference, that in our country, synods and presbyteries have a new moderator every year, and the lay-elders are sent by the session in each congregation, or by some court, while the Waldensian congregations meet and appoint the elder. The visits of the moderator to the different congregations, as appointed by the court, have nothing in them inconsistent with presbytery. Mr Gilly§ admits that the present Vaudois are nearer Presbyterians than they are to any form of church-

* Ib. p. lxxxix. † Part i. p. 208. ‡ Ib. p. lxxxix. § Researches, p. 383.

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government, only not so rigid. In this last particular, and in the congregation appointing the synod elder, their government is more popular than our presbyterianism, and verges nearer to the Independents, though not quite the same.

No. IX.

THE SPIRITUAL ALMANACK.

(See page 223.)

Such parts of this book as are inserted in Perrin and Leger are here given, omitting those passages which are contained in the foregoing treatises.

ON THE SACRAMENTS.

A SACRAMENT, according to the saying of Saint Augustine, in his book of the City of God, "is an invisible grace represented by a visible thing;" or, "a sacrament is a sign of a holy thing." There is a great difference between the bare sacrament and the thing (*cosa*) of a sacrament, even as much as between the sign and the thing signified; for the thing of the sacrament is the divine grace, and the merit of Jesus Christ crucified, who is the raising of those that were fallen. This cause of the sacrament is powerfully, essentially, and by authority in God, and meritoriously in Jesus Christ; for by the cruel passion and effusion of his blood, he has obtained grace and righteousness for the faithful. But the thing of the sacrament is the soul of the faithful by participation, as St Paul speaketh: "We are partakers of Christ." This is in the word of the gospel by declaration or manifestation. In the sacraments, sacramentally; for the Lord Jesus has lent or given the helps of the outward sacraments, to the end the ministers instructing in the faith should so accommodate themselves to human weakness, and instruct the people by the word of the gospel.

There are two sacraments: the one of water; the other of nourishment, that is to say, of bread and wine.

ON BAPTISM.

THE first is called baptism, that is to say in our language, the washing with water, either of the river or the fountain; and it must be administered "in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" to the end that first, by the means of the grace of God the Father beholding his Son, and by the participation of Jesus Christ, who hath bought us; and by the renewing of the Holy Ghost, who imprinteth a lively faith in our hearts, the sins of those that are baptized may be pardoned, and that they may be received into grace; and afterwards, having persevered therein, may be saved in Jesus Christ.

The baptism with which we are baptized, is the same with which our Saviour himself was pleased to be baptized, to accomplish all righteousness, as he was pleased to be circumcised, and with which he commanded his apostles to be baptized.

[The Almanack adds a paragraph from the book on Antichrist regarding the things unnecessary in baptism, such as exorcisms, the signs of the cross, &c. and then proceeds:]

But this baptism is visible and material, which makes the person neither good nor evil, as in the Scripture we learn by Simon Magus and St Paul. And whereas baptism is administered in a full congregation of the faithful, it is to the end that he that is received should be reputed and held of all for a brother and a Christian, and that all may pray for him that he may be a Christian in heart,

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as he is outwardly esteemed to be a Christian: and for this cause we present our children to baptism; which they ought to do, to whom the children are nearest, as their parents, and they to whom God has given this charity.

ON THE HOLY SUPPER OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

As baptism, which is taken visibly, is a register among the faithful Christians, which is in itself a protestation and promise to follow Christ Jesus, and to keep his holy ordinances, and to live according to his holy gospel. In like manner the holy supper and holy communion of our Saviour—the breaking of bread and the giving of thanks, is a visible communion made with the members of Jesus Christ; for they that take and break one and the same bread, are one and the same body, that is to say, the body of Jesus Christ; and they are members one of another, ingrafted and planted in him to whom they protest and promise to persevere in this service to the end, never departing from the faith of the gospel, nor from the union which they have all promised to God by Jesus Christ. And, therefore, as all the members are nourished with one and the same food, and all the faithful take one and the same spiritual bread of the holy word of life, the gospel of salvation; they all live by one and the same spirit, and one and the same faith.

This sacrament of the communion of the body and of the blood of Christ is called in Greek, εὐχαριστία, that is to say, good grace; of which St Matthew says; "Jesus took bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body." And St Luke: "This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me." And taking the cup he blessed it, and gave it to them, "saying, this cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you."

This sacrament was instituted by a divine ordinance, perfectly to signify to us the spiritual nourishment of man in God, by means of which the spiritual life is preserved, and without which it decayeth, the Truth itself saying; "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." Concerning which sacrament we must hold what followeth by the testimony of the Scriptures; that is, that we must confess purely in heart regarding the bread which Christ took in his last supper, which he blessed, brake, and gave his disciples to eat, that in the taking of it by the ministry of his faithful pastors, he hath left a remembrance of his passion, which in its nature is true bread, and that by the pronoun *this*, is demonstrated this sacramental proposition. "This is my body." Not understanding these words, identically of a numeral identity, yet sacramentally, really and truly, but not measurably. The same body of Christ, sitting in heaven at the right hand of the Father, unto whom every faithful receiver must cast up the eyes of his understanding, having his heart elevated on high, and so eat him spiritually and sacramentally, by an assured faith. The same we are to understand of the sacrament of the cup.

Saint Augustine saith, that "the eating and drinking of this sacrament must be understood spiritually;" for Christ saith; "The words that I speak unto you; they are spirit and they are life." And Saint Jerom saith; "The flesh of Christ is to be understood after a twofold manner, either spiritually, of which Christ says; 'My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.' Or it is to be understood of that flesh which was crucified and buried." Of the spiritual eating Christ speaks; "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him." There is also a two-fold manner of eating; the one sacramental, and thus both good and bad do eat; the other spiritual, of

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which the good only do eat. And, therefore, saith Augustine; "What is it to eat Christ? It is not only to receive his body in the sacrament, for many do eat him unworthily, who will not dwell in him, nor have him to dwell in them; but he eats him spiritually that continueth in the truth of Christ.

[The paragraph on the Lord's Supper, from the Book on Antichrist, is here added, but it need not be repeated.]

ON MARRIAGE.

Marriage has been instituted of God from the beginning of the world; and, therefore, it is an honourable thing when it is kept as it ought, and in all purity, and when the husband, who is the head of the wife, loves her, and keeps her, and conducts himself honestly towards her, being faithful and loyal towards her; and that the woman, who is made to be a help to man, is subject to her husband, obeying him in every thing that is good, and honouring him as God hath commanded her, taking care of his household affairs; keeping herself not only from ill-doing, but from all appearance of evil; continuing faithful and loyal unto him, and both of them persevering in that which is good, according to the doctrine of God, taking pains together to love honesty, wronging no person, and instructing those children which God hath given them in the fear and doctrine of our Lord, and to live as our Lord hath commanded them.

Prayer and fasting are profitable when there is a question of the celebration of matrimony, and the reasons, and instructions, and advertisements regarding it. But the imposition of hands, and the ligatures made by the priest's stole, and other things usually observed in it, and by human custom without the express Scripture, are not of the substance, nor necessarily required in marriage. Regarding the degrees prohibited, and other things that are to be observed in the matter of matrimony, we shall speak in the Discipline.* [On orders, chrism, confirmation, extreme unction, and fasting, the Almanack adds the same statements as are contained in the Treatise on Antichrist.]

ON THE VISITATION OF THE SICK.

He who is the messenger of the word of God our Saviour, should invite and unite every one to our Lord, with all diligence and labour, both by the good example of a good life, and the good doctrine to the people; and it is not sufficient that he teach in the congregation, but also he ought to teach in their houses, and in all other places, as Christ and his apostles have done before him, comforting the afflicted, and especially those that are sick. He must admonish them regarding the great bounty and mercy of God, showing that from him who is the fountain of all goodness, nothing except goodness can proceed; and that he who is Almighty is our merciful Father, more careful of us than ever father or mother has been of their children; telling them that though a mother may forget her child, and the nurse him to whom she has given suck, and whom she has born in her womb, yet, notwithstanding, our heavenly Father will not forget us, doing all things for our benefit, and sending all things for our good; and if it were more expedient for us to be otherwise it would be done; and, therefore, we ought to submit our souls to his conduct, and assuredly to believe that he loveth us; and out of his love he chastiseth us. Neither must we respect the grief or poverty we endure, nor think that God hateth us and casteth us off; but rather we must think that we are the more in his favour, nothing regarding those

* See No. viii.

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that flourish in this world, and have their consolation; but ought to look to Christ Jesus, more beloved than any other of his Father, who is the true Son of God, and yet has been more afflicted than we all, and more tormented than all others, and in his end more destitute: for not only that most bitter passion which he suffered was very hard and grievous to him in this, that in the midst of his torments every one cried out against him like angry dogs, belching out against him many vile speeches, doing against him the worst in their power, in such sort, that in his torments he was obliged to cry out; "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" And finding the hour of his passion to draw near, he grew sorrowful unto death, and prayed the Father that the death might pass from him: he did sweat water and blood, because of that heaviness and anguish which he should endure in his cruel death.

And, therefore, the sick man must consider with himself that he is neither so ill treated, nor so grievously tormented as this good Saviour was when he suffered for us, for which he ought to yield thanks unto God that he has been pleased to deliver us, and to give this good Saviour unto the death for us, begging mercy and favour at his hands in the name of Jesus. And we must have all this perfect confidence and assurance, that our Father will forgive us for his goodness' sake; for he is full of benignity, slow to anger, and ready to shew mercy.

And, therefore, the sick party must recommend and commit himself wholly to the mercy of the Lord, to do with him as shall seem good in his eyes, and to dispose both of his body and soul according to his pleasure. Necessity also requires to admonish the sick person to do to his neighbour as he would have him to do unto him, not wronging any man, and to take such order with all that are his that he may leave them in peace, that there may not be any suits or contentions amongst them after his death.

He must also be exhorted to hope for salvation in Jesus Christ, and not in any other, or by any other thing, acknowledging himself a miserable sinner, to the end he may ask pardon of God, finding himself to be in such a manner culpable that of himself he deserves eternal death. And if the sick party shall have a fear of the judgment of God, and of his anger and fury, he must announce those comfortable promises which our Lord has made unto all those that come unto him, and from a good heart call upon him, and how God the Father has promised pardon whenever he shall ask it through our Saviour Jesus. These are the things in which the true preacher of the Word ought faithfully to employ himself to conduct the poor sick one to our Lord.

And when he is departed, the preacher must give good courage to the survivors, by godly exhortations, to the end they may take pleasure to praise God, and to conform themselves to his holy will; and whereas in former times the custom has been to cause the poor and desolate widow to spend much silver, having lost her husband, upon singers, and eaters, and drinkers, whilst she sits weeping and fasting, wronging hereby her fatherless children; to the end that loss be not added to loss, we must take pity on them, to aid them both with our good counsel and with our goods, according to that ability that God hath bestowed on us; taking care that the children be well instructed, to the end, that living like Christians according to the commandments of God, they may labour to get their living, as God has ordained and commanded.*

* Leger, part i. chap xii. xiii. pp. 64—70. Perrin, part iii. book i. chap. vi.—viii.

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