

BOOK II.
THE ALBIGENSES.

CHAPTER I.

THE PAULICIANS OF ARMENIA.

FOR the purpose of exhibiting the Albigenses of Southern France in the character of hereditary Manichæans, the Bishop of Meaux has produced a considerable variety of authorities. The learned Mosheim, indeed, denies them to be, upon this point, the true sources of knowledge: and, at the same time, charges the dextrous Prelate, with having, by the spirit of party, been manifestly led even into *voluntary* errors. But, doubtless, on a hasty survey, the authorities in question have a somewhat startling aspect*.

* Boss. Hist. des Variat. livr. xi. § 7—70. Mosh. Eccles. Hist. cent. ix. par. ii. chap. 5. § IV. Of the Manichæism of the Albigenses Bossuet is so sure, that he defies all the Protestants

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these sacred books, hitherto locked up from him, he diligently applied himself: the perusal of them led, both to a great revolution in his own sentiments, and to the founding of a new Church on the principle of a reformation from error: proselytes rapidly gathered around him: and, from their special admiration of the great Apostle of the Gentiles (the name of whose friend *Sylvanus* he had assumed), rather than from an obscure and disowned individual of Samosata denominated *Paul*, they seem evidently, I think, to have adopted or received the title of *Paulicians**.

usque diem habitant Manichæi. Hic diaconum quendam captivum, qui e Syria in patriam revertebatur et Mananalis forte præteribat, tecto excepit, aluique dies aliquot domi suæ. Diaconus ergo, ut hanc quasi gratiam hospiti suo rependeret, codices duos, quos e Syria secum tulerat, Evangelium scilicet, Paulique Epistolas, dono dedit Constantino. Petri Siculi Hist. de vana et stolid. Manichæor. hæc. in Biblioth. Patr. vol. ix. par. post. p. 36.

* At ille, qui jam pridem nefariam atque impuram hæresim suam propter impia dicta foedaque flagitia, quæ Manichæorum scriptis continentur, omnibus odio atque horrore esse animadvertat, uti pietatem, magnopere pestem illam renovare iterum ac latius diffundere, in animum induxit; dæmone, ut par est, instigante, librum deinceps, præter Evangelii et Apostoli codices, nullum attingere: hoc spectans nimirum, ut mali labem universam, eorum ope, obtegeret; quemadmodum, qui noxia pocula propinant, eadem melle obliniunt atque obducunt. Et quidem ille, cum Manichæorum libris omnes jam ejusque impietatis artes percepisset, tantum mox Satanæ ope assecutus est, ut, Evangelii Apostolicæ sensus perperam interpretando,

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Of the more modern Albigenses of France, the ancient Paulicians of Armenia were clearly, I think, the theological ancestors.

Hence the first point of inquiry must obviously be this: *Whether, from the beginning, the Paulicians were a Community of sound believers, who faithfully maintained all the grand essential truths of the Gospel; or Whether, springing mainly as they did out of a Society of Manichæans, they were themselves originally Manichæans also, though afterward, having migrated into the West, they protested (if I may employ the language of Gibbon) against the tyranny of Rome, embraced the Bible as the alone authoritative rule of faith, and purified their once erroneous Creed from all the visions of the Gnostic Theology.*

I. About the middle of the seventh century (I take up the History of Peter Siculus), Constantine, a native of Armenia and an inhabitant of Mananalis, received from a Deacon, whom he had hospitably entertained while returning from captivity in Syria, a present of two volumes: the one, containing the four Gospels; the other, the fourteen Epistles of St. Paul*. To the perusal of

in the world to produce a sect in Europe, anterior to Peter Valdo, which were not a branch of the old Manichæans. Hist. des Var. livr. xi. § 91.

* Fuit, imperante Constantino (seu Constante) Heraclii nepote, non procul a Samosatis, Armeniæ indigena quidam, Constantinus nomine, vicum incoleus Mananalis, quem ad hunc

1. In the holy volumes, then, which he had thus obtained, Constantine, surrounded with the growing superstition of the age, honestly sought for the genuine creed of early Christianity; and, what he learned himself from those volumes, he was eager to communicate to others.

facile omnes in rem suam, quo vellet et pro libidine, detorqueret.—Sylvanum se illum jactabat, cujus mentio in Pauli Epistolis, quique, tanquam fidus discipulus, a Paulo missus est in Macedoniam: ostendensque discipulis suis Apostoli codicem quem a diacono acceperat: Vos, aiebat, Macedones estis; ego, Sylvanus, ad vos a Paulo missus. Atque id ille, post sexcentos annos quam a Paulo hæc scripta sunt, dicere non dubitabat. Petr. Sic. Hist. p. 36.

Ut a nobis in prolixiore opere commemoratum, cum de Paulo et Joanne Samosatensis, Callinices filius, ageremus: de illo, inquam, Paulo, a quo Pauliani pro Manichæis, mutato nomine, appellari coeperunt. Ibid. p. 37.

This Paul was an ancient Manichæan of Samosata, long prior to Constantine-Sylvanus: and, as the proselytes of Constantine rejected for a purer faith the Manichæism of their forefathers; so, consistently, they declared, that Constantine, not Paul the Manichæan, was the teacher from whom they derived their doctrinal system.

Οὗτοι, μετὰ χρόνους πολλὰς τῆς διαδοχῆς τοῦ δε τοῦ Παύλου, ἕτερον ἔσχον διδάσκαλον Κωνσταντίνον καλεῖμεν, τὸν πρὸς τὴν Σιδαναν. Τούτων ἔχουσιν ἀρχὴν τὴν διδασκαλίαν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐχὶ τὸν Παύλον. Cedren. Histor. Compend. vol. i. p. 341. Venet. 1729.

Since they disowned this Paul as their teacher, and since they formally renounced (as even their enemy Peter Siculus confesses) the Manichæan Scheme, they could not have called themselves *Paulicians* from him, but must have assumed the name from that Apostle whose writings they peculiarly esteem-

That a diligent perusal of the hitherto unknown New Testament, even under the defective form wherein our inquirer originally possessed it, should lead a person to reject the worship of the Virgin and the Saints and the Cross, and to deny the material presence of Christ in the consecrated elements of the Eucharist (for such is evidently the purport of the furious declamation of Peter Siculus): it is quite easy to conceive and to

ed and whose disciples they eminently professed themselves to be. Their adversaries, however, regardless of the palpable inconsistency, and bent upon pronouncing them to be Manichæans, asserted, that they were called *Paulicians* from the Manichæan Paul the son of Callinice, whom yet, as Cedrenus assures us, they *disowned* as their theological instructor. Peter Siculus goes still further: for he states, that they not only *disowned*, but even directly *condemned*, the very Paul, from whom he nevertheless asserts them to have borrowed their appellation. A curious effect is produced, by placing in immediate juxtaposition the two singularly incongruous statements of Peter Siculus.

Promptissimè etiam damnant Paulum Samosatenum. Petr. Sic. Hist. p. 31.

Cum de Paulo et Joanne Somasatenis, Callinices filius, ageremus: de illo, inquam, Paulo, a quo *Pauliniani* pro *Manichæis*, mutato nomine, appellari coeperunt. Ibid. p. 37.

They derived their name, it seems, from a person whom they condemned and whose Manichæism they abjured! Certainly calumniators ought to have good memories.

I suppose I need scarcely say, that this Paul of Samosata was an entirely different person from the more famous Paul of Samosata, who was Bishop of Antioch in the third century, and who speculated heretically on the doctrine of the Trinity.

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understand*. But the unsuspecting reader, who happens not to have particularly studied this part of Ecclesiastical History, will probably be surprised to learn: that the process of reading, with care and attention, the four Gospels in connection with the fourteen Epistles of St. Paul, actually *converted* Constantine into a Manichæan; and that the same process, universally and unanimously (so distinctly is Manichæism written in the New Testament), either *confirmed* or *introduced*, according to the nature of their previous opinions, the

* As a somewhat curious specimen of the style in which Peter Siculus delights to expatiate, I subjoin his own precise words.

Sergius, ille diaboli maximus propugnator: Sergius, qui multos ex ovibus lupos fecit, et per eos Christi ovilia dissipavit: Sergius, acer ipse sub ovina pelle lupo, virtutum fraudulentus simulator, quippe hac arte multis fucum faciebat: Sergius, inimicus crucis Christi; os impietatis; in Christi Matrem Sanctosque contumeliosus: Sergius, Christi Apostolorum adversarius, qui et Prophetas odio habuit, et, a divinis literis versus, ad fabulas et mendacia se convertit: Sergius, Christi osor, Ecclesie perduellis, qui Dei Filium conculeavit, et sanguinem Testamenti pollutum duxit, et Spiritui gratie contumeliam fecit. Petr. Sicul. Hist. p. 38.

The Sergius, thus energetically vilipended, was a most laborious successor of Constantine and a diligent teacher of the doctrine which was derived from the *confessedly* unadulterated New Testament itself. *Ibidem*, quibus apud nos sunt, verbis, is the acknowledgment of Peter himself respecting the several books of the New Testament used by the Paulicians. Ibid. p. 33.

gnosticising system of Manes among his variously proselytised followers!

It is true, indeed, that Constantine, deeply imbued with the discourses of Christ and with the writings of Paul, *openly rejected* the books of the ancient Manichæans: it is true also, that this *disciple of Manes*, as he is termed by Peter Siculus, *discarded* the theology of Manes, together with the whole theory of the thirty celestial eons and the marvellous formation of rain-water. Still, nevertheless, if we may credit the historian, nothing can be more clear and more certain, than, that, from the study of the New Testament, whence he had learned the catholic doctrines of the Trinity and of Christ's godhead and incarnation, the man rose a *hardened and inveterate Manichæan**!

Accordingly, though his ministerial success was

* Omnia quippe omnes Evangelii et Apostoli testimonia prædicant: sed illi soli capiunt et intelligunt fraudem hæreticorum, qui diu multumque in sacræ literaturæ disciplina sunt versati. Illi enim impuri, quando primum cum aliquo in disputationis certamen descendunt, quandam præ se ferentes morum sanctimoniam, omnia Catholicorum dogmata per astum comprobant pronunciantque. Et aiunt, se sanctissimam Trinitatem Deum profiteri: cum impiè prorsus imperitæque omnia, per allegorias, apud se taciti interpretentur; quando, sanctam Trinitatem inficientes, etiam detestantur. Incarnationem Domini Dei nostri in Virgine, quanquam alio et impio sensu, fatentur; sequiusque sentientes damnant: omnia tamen Incarnationis mysteria, aliter ore, aliter corde, Manetem et assecas

not *confined* to his gnosticising neighbours round Mananalis, it appears to have *lain very eminently* among them: for *these*, no doubt, whatever might be the case with the converted Catholics, reasonably thought, as we gather from the veritable narrative of Peter Siculus, that the most effectual mode of *preserving* and *improving* their long cherished system was to flock round a teacher, who had *avowedly rejected* their books, and who

illius imitati, exponunt. Promptissimè etiam damnant Paulum Samosatenum. Petr. Sic. Hist. p. 31.

Manichæorum itaque scripta idcirco protinus abiecit: et, hanc etiam maximè ob causam, quod multos videbat eo nomine gladio cædi. Ibid. p. 36.

Egregius autem Manetis discipulus Constantinus, quo facilius auditores suos in fraudem ac periculum induceret, et probabiliora redderet quæ docebat, Valentini primum blasphemias ac portentosa de triginta æonibus diisque dogmata, totam item Curbicii fabulam de pluvia quam ex formosi adolescentis virginem insectantis sudoribus manare affirmabat, et alia id genus non pauca, tanquam absurda nimis atque incredibilia, rejicienda sibi atque explodenda putavit: minime id quidem, ut tantam impietatem profligaret, sed quo plures ad se doctrinamque suam pertraheret. Ibid. p. 36.

It seems rather odd, that the most effectual mode of gaining the Manichæans of the old school should be an open rejection of their creed as absurd and incredible. We may pardon the historian, however, both for his gross inconsistencies, and for his uncharitably gratuitous ascription of motives, since he has recorded the vital facts: that *Constantine disowned, both the books of the Manichæans, and the system of Manichæism itself*; and that *The Paulicians, his followers, held the doctrines of the Trinity and of Christ's incarnation and godhead*.

had *unreservedly and unceremoniously discarded* Manes himself!

Yet this extraordinary adhesion of the *original* Manichæans, all the while actually *remaining* Manichæans, to the new Sylvanus, who so rashly acknowledged his preference of St. Paul to the slighted and disregarded heresiarch of Persia, is not the only paradox, wherewith, in the present strange eventful history, we are destined to be encountered.

As Constantine, though the *undeniable disciple* of Manes, *avowedly renounced* Manes; while though a *decidedly confirmed* Manichæan, he *openly rejected* the whole theological system of Manichæism: so, with beautiful consistency, the Manichæans, who joined themselves to him, and who in his person venerated a true apostolical follower of St. Paul, *with prompt minds* (I use the very words of the careful historian), *spat upon and detested Scythianus and Budda and even Manes also, who were notoriously the princes of the whole sect*; while yet, like their innovating reformer Sylvanus, they *remained* such staunch Manichæans, that, rather than *renounce* the creed of Manes which however they had *already renounced*, and rather than *express* an eternally-saving penitence which however they had *already expressed*, these most inexplicable religionists chose impiously to die as *heretics* in their *already rejected and detested heresy*!

* Idem vero sunt, nec quicquam divertunt a Manichæis Pauli-

But we have not yet come to the end of this wonder-loving narrative. Constantine, while he *discarded* Manichæism *without ceasing* to be a Manichæan, furthermore, while he *led a life of most exemplary godliness*, diligently, on scriptural authority, *inculcated all the abominations and impurities of the gnostic Basilides*. Like the primitive Christians, who were similarly accused by the soberly inquiring Pagans, he had clearly learned these abominations and these impurities from an habitually diligent perusal of the New Testament: and his acquiescent proselytes, at once unremittently studying the Blessed Gospel themselves, and warmly recommending the study of it to the Laity as well as to the Clergy, with ready conviction adopted, from the sacred volume,

liciani, qui hæc recens a se procusas hæreses prioribus adserunt, et ex sempiterno exitii barathro effoderunt. Petr. Sic. Hist. p. 31.

Adeo ut, quotquot nunc sunt Manichæi, technam istam et artificium ignorantes, Scythianum ac Buddam et Manetem ipsum, qui totius sectæ principes fuerunt, promptis animis respuant et detestentur: Constantinum vero hunc, qui Sylvani quoque nomen assumpsit, aliosque qui post eum exorti, in Christi Apostolorum numero habeant, et Paulo pares in honore ducant. Ibid. p. 36.

Simeon autem, ne quid regii mandati præteriret, Constantini discipulos, quo ad saniores mentem revocarentur, Ecclesiis commendat. Sed illi haud quaquam conversi sunt: malueruntque in errore suo implicari, quam Deum sibi poenitentia placare salutemque consequi sempiternam. Ibid. p. 37.

Itaque, extracto ad æcerum ingenti rogo, incensi et cremati omnes fuerunt. Ibid. p. 37.

the moral corruptions, which their master had thence taught them both by precept and by practice! In short, most *diabolically* and most *cunningly* to boot (as Peter Siculus remarks), the Paulicians, for the better establishment of their bad principles and worse conduct, were wont to insist: that *Both Priests and People are in duty bound to the constant perusal of the Gospel*; that *God wishes all to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth*; and that *The Priests of the day adulterated God's holy word, garbling and concealing and omitting a great part of its contents*!

* Basilidis vero infanda flagitia et impuritates, cæterorumque omnium tetrum ac graveolens coenum, amplectens, novus repente perniciosæ pestis ductor exiliit. Petr. Sic. Hist. p. 36.

Hic igitur (Sergius), cum juvenis adhuc esset, in foeminam quandam casu incidit, moribus infamem, secta Manichæam. Illa vero Diaboli sectatrix, ut callida erat ac subdola, sic juvenem est allocuta. Audio, domine Sergi, te literarum scientia et eruditione præstantem esse, ac bonum præterea virum usquequaque. Dic ergo mihi: cur non legis sacra Evangelia? Quibus ille verbis allectus, nec occultum potius intuens nequitie venenum quod latebat, ita respondit. Nobis profanis ista legere non licet, sed sacerdotibus duntaxat. At illa, Non ita est, inquit, ut putas: nec enim personarum acceptio est apud Deum; omnes siquidem homines vult salvos fieri Dominus, et ad agnitionem veritatis venire. At sacerdotes vestri, quoniam Dei verbum adulterant et mysteria occultant quæ in Evangeliiis continentur, idcirco vobis audientibus omnia non legunt quæ scripta sunt; sed quædam legunt, quædam omittunt: ne possitis pervenire ad agnitionem veritatis.—Eodemque filo singula percurrens Evangelii verba, et cujusque vocis sensum, prout

Nevertheless (so runs the testimony of our judicious and consistent historian), although these strangest of all strange Manichæans absolutely *learned* nothing from their professed rule of life, the Gospels and the Epistles, save the flagitiousness of Basilides: yet they *peremptorily rejected* every base lust; *exhibited*, in their whole practice, a consistent piety; and *declared themselves*, while alleged by their enemies to be the vigilant guardians and the unflinching champions of the speculative dogmas of Manichæism, entirely free from all the falsely imputed abominations of the Gnostic Theology*.

Such were Constantine and his Paulicians. As for their historian Peter, who in the year 870, spent nine months among them at Tibrice, he is fairly gruelled with the oddity of the case†.

capere illum videbat, mirificè depravans, brevi aptum reddidit diaboli instrumentum. Ibid. p. 38.

The person, thus converted to unacknowledged Manichæism by reading the New Testament, became afterward one of the most eminent successors of Constantine. His books were held in high veneration by the Paulicians. Ibid. p. 33, 39.

* Qui tametsi a Manichæorum impuritatibus se alienos dicunt, sunt tamen dogmatum ipsorum vigilantissimi custodes et propugnatores. Petr. Sic. Hist. p. 31.

Quandam præ se ferentes morum sanctimoniam. Ibid. p. 31.

Hic vero, rejectis omnibus illorum flagitiis ac libidinibus (de Sergio Manichæisque pristinis loquitur), blasphemias, veluti salubria dogmata, complexus, virtutes nonnullas callide simulabat. Ibid. p. 38.

† Ego Tibrice novem menses versatus, ea, quæ supra nobis

But he offers a solution of the difficulty ; which, since in all parallel cases of this perplexing description, it is uniformly adopted by the sagacious Bishop of Meaux, must needs be both respectable and satisfactory. The solution is this : *All their specious piety was mere hypocrisy ; and They themselves were undoubted wolves in the decent garb of harmless sheep* !*

2. In an age of burning zeal, it was not likely, that the affair could be suffered to rest here. The divine and orthodox Emperors (as Peter speaks) had, to their other illustrious deeds, *already* added the meritorious process, of consigning to the flames, wherever they could be found, the books which were used by the older Manichæans, of slaughtering without mercy the culprits themselves, and of dooming to well-deserved death and confiscation all who should presume to give them harbour†. But *now* their holy activity extended also to the Paulicians ; that extraordinary

commemorata sunt, accuratè perscrutatus, jussisque sanctissimis piorum et orthodoxorum principum, quamvis indignus et ultimus, multa cum cura obsecutus, omnibus palam facere enixè contendi. Petr. Sic. Hist. p. 40.

* Pietatis specie, velut ovina pelle, lupum tegens, pietatis autem abnegans virtutem, iis, qui ipsum norant, certissimus salutis ductor videbatur. Petr. Sic. Hist. p. 38.

† Hoc siquidem, ad cetera sua egregia facinora, divini atque orthodoxi Imperatores addiderunt, ut Manichæos Montanosque capitali puniri sententia juberent ; eorumque libros, quocumque in loco inventi essent, flammis tradi : quod, si quis

race of new Manichæans, who had so undeniably established their right to the title by *rejecting* Manes and Manichæism.

A bloody persecution was, accordingly, raised against them : and Simeon, an imperial officer, was dispatched with orders to put Constantine to death. He was charged, at the same time, to disperse his disciples, singly or in small companies, throughout the Church : that so, however obstinately determined to the contrary, they might be duly instructed, and thus finally converted to the full sincerity of well accredited Catholicism. The ringleader, with his associates, was soon taken : and a command was forthwith issued, that the Paulician Apostle should be stoned to death by his own disciples. All his proselytes, however, save one, disobeyed or evaded the sanguinary decree : but, in that one, a new David was not wanting to slay a new Goliath. Among the earliest converts of Sylvanus, was the disciple Justus. This highly-privileged instrument of divine vengeance, whose name (as the historian well remarks) so happily agrees with his deeds, repenting of the Manichæism in which he had long been deeply steeped, discharged a stone at his heretical seducer, and rapidly sent him into

uspium eodem occultasse deprehenderetur, hunc eundem mortis poenæ addici, ejusque bona in fiscum inferri. Petr. Sic. Hist. p. 36.

the pit which had been dug most appropriately by himself*.

II. But, from the martyrdom of Constantine, as from the martyrdom of Stephen, another Paul was raised up in the late persecutor Simeon. Three years, amidst the pleasures and blandishments of a court, he resisted his convictions : but, at the end of that term, he left all that he possessed, and fled privately from Constantinople.

* Cum eo loci annos septem et viginti versatus esset (Constantinus Sylvanus) multosque ex incolis in errorem impulsisset, dignum magisterio et doctrina sua vitæ finem sortitus est. Nam Imperator, postquam de hominis insolentia, nescio qua ratione, certior factus est, palatinum quendam Simeonem protinus ablegavit cum mandatis, quibus ipsum, ut improbitatis artificem, lapidare jubebatur, ejus vero discipulos, quos nempe induxerat ignorantia, per Dei Ecclesiam erudiendos convertendosque dispergere, quanquam illi corrigi prorsus noluerunt. Nec mora jussis intercessit. Advolans enim Simeon, simul ac destinatum locum attingit, comprehendi omnes, et in australem Coloniensis Castri partem duci, jussit. Quo loco, miserum illum ejusque discipulos ex adverse destituent, signum dat illico, ut unum omnes lapidibus incessant. Verum hi, magistro suo, ut qui a Deo ad ipsos missus esset, parentes, lapidibus arreptis, manus quidem ad balteos suos per speciem adducebant, clam autem lapides in terga vibrabant. Adoptarat ante plures annos Sylvanus Justum quendam, eumque Manichæi hæresi cum primis imbuerat ; tunc vero, educationis doctrinæque suæ congruentem, ab illo mercedem tulit : palatini enim jussis obsequens, sumpto in manu saxo, Sylvanum, quasi alterum Goliath, vi magna percussit et occidit. In quem aptè cecidit vox illa Davidica : *Lacum aperuit, et effodit eum ; et incidit in foveam, quam fecit.* Petr. Sic. Hist. p. 36, 37.

Peter Siculus promptly sets down his unaccountable conduct, as a clear case of *diabolical possession*. Whatever may be the value of that ingenious conjecture, Simeon became the successor of the man, over whose martyrdom he had presided : and, in imitation of Constantine who had assumed the name of St. Paul's friend *Sylvanus*, the new Paulician borrowed the appellation of St. Paul's disciple *Titus* *.

Meanwhile, the apostate murderer Justus seems, upon a profession of repentance, to have been unsuspectingly readmitted into the Society : for we find him disagreeing with the now spiritual ruler Simeon, as to the true import of a remarkable text in the Epistle to the Colossians†. This led to an act of what looks very like intentional treachery. In consulting the Bishop of Colonia as to the sense of the litigated passage, he gave, to that Prelate, a full account both of himself and of his fellows and of the discipline of the Commu-

* Quos quidem dum temerè nimis executit et auscultat Simeon, ut qui divinæ institutionis experts erat ac planè rudis atque (ut verius dicam) levis ac præceptis animo, pestiferam hæresim hausit, et cum ea rediit Constantinopolim ad Imperatorem. Triennio deinde domi suæ privatim acto, cum plenè jam irretitus possideretur a diabolo, relictis omnibus, clam excessit, Cibosam petens. Ubi, convocatis collectisque hinc inde Constantini discipulis, ejusdem impietatis successor effectus est : et ut nomini suo famam, eadem qua predecessores arte conciliaret, Titum se appellavit. Petr. Sic. Hist. p. 37.

† Colos. i. 15—17.

	<p>CHAP. I.] AND ALBIGENSES. 47</p> <p>nity. The Bishop communicated the confession to the Emperor : and the Emperor, forthwith collecting together the Manichæans (as Peter calls them), devoutly burned all, who were pertinacious in error, upon one enormous funeral-pile*.</p> <p>A certain Paul, however, with his two sons, having, some considerable time before, retired to Epispars, had thus fortunately made his escape : and, in him, and in his son Genesius upon whom he bestowed the name of St. Paul's disciple <i>Timothy</i>, the indomitable impiety revived and was continued†. In despite of internal dissention which too often shewed itself, the sect still increased and flourished : and the historian has recorded the names of <i>Zacharias</i> and <i>Epaphroditus</i></p> <p>* Gliscite igitur inter Justum et Simeonem contentione, proficiscitur Justus ad Episcopum Colonie : atque, ut de Apostoli sensu quod cupiebat audiret, omnia mox de se sociisque, et quam inter se disciplinam tenerent, liquido exposuit. Re comperta, Episcopus, nihil in his sibi cunctandum ratus, de singulis e vestigio refert ad Justinianum Augustum, qui post Heraclium Imperii sceptrum gubernavit. Qui quidem ut audiret, omnes statim in unum cogi Manichæos seorsimque interrogari jussit, atque flammis tradi quotquot essent in errore pertinaces. Itaque, extracto ad acervum ingenti rogo, incensi et cremati omnes fuerunt. Petr. Sic. Hist. p. 37.</p> <p>† Incensi et cremati omnes fuerunt, præter Paulum quendam, genere Arabem, cui duo filii erant, Genesius et Theodorus, quibuscum fuga se proripuit pater, et Epispalim abiit jam dudum.—Produceit ergo alter hic Paulus, ad impietatis scholam, filium Genesium, cui <i>Timothei</i> nomen imposuit. Petr. Sic. Hist. p. 37.</p>		<p>48 THE VALLENSES [BOOK II.</p> <p>and <i>Bahanes</i> (if the first ought not rather to be deemed an ambitious intruder), as its principal ministers or ecclesiastical superiors*.</p> <p>III. At length, on the death of <i>Bahanes</i>, the Community fell under the spiritual government of <i>Sergius</i>, who took the scriptural name of <i>Tychicus</i> †.</p> <p>Thirty and four years, this new Prelate (himself a convert, as it might seem, from among the Catholics) laboured in the paradoxical vineyard of unmanicheanised Manichæism. He supplied his people with books written by himself in the form of epistles ; which, though Peter Siculus declares them to be full of what <i>he</i> at least deemed all pride and impiety, were held in high veneration : he incessantly acted the missionary, in the same towns and through the same regions as those which had formed the oriental theatre of the great Apostle's exertions ; a circumstance which led (I suppose) to the transmission of the already mentioned pastoral epistles : and he</p> <p>* Petr. Sic. Hist. p. 37, 38.</p> <p>† The violent declamation of Peter Siculus against this individual, as well as the account of his conversion through the agency of a woman whom the rabid historian pronounces to have been a morally infamous Manichæan, have been given in the preceding notes. That he was a proselyte from among the Catholics, I gather from his expressed notion, so well combated by his female instructor, that the <i>Gospel</i> was too sacred a book to be read by profane Laics, and that it was reserved for the exclusive perusal of the Clergy. Petr. Sic. Hist. p. 38.</p>	
	<p>CHAP. I.] AND ALBIGENSES. 49</p> <p>thereby, as our historian pithily observes, turned many from the orthodox faith, and made numerous converts to the devil*. His active life he closed by martyrdom, being cut into two pieces with an axe : a remarkable instance, according to Peter Siculus, of the just judgment of God ; that he, who had divided the Church, should himself be divided, and that thus his unholy spirit should be consigned to eternal fire†.</p> <p>* Edoctus ergo ab exitiosa femina, diaboli propugnator Sergius, cum hæresim altius imbibisset, crederetque omnes homines, qui sinceram et illibatam Christianorum fidem nostram ac pietatem colunt, in perniciem versari : zelo satanico insurgit, et novus præco fit erroris ; cognomentumque assumens <i>Tychici</i>, cujus nomen est celebre in Epistolis Pauli, Pauli discipulum se vulgo jactavit, et ab eo missum ad prædicandum, non Dei verbum, sed hæresim perniciosam. Itaque civitates singulas regionesque, in quibus Apostolus veritatis verbum ante octingentos annos promulgavit, impigre circumcursans, multos ab orthodoxa fide avertit, et diabolo adjunxit. Quod ipsemet, in quadam epistola, gloriatur, his verbis : <i>Ab Oriente, inquit, usque ad Occasum, a Borea ad Austrum, cucurri, nuncios Evangelium Christi, et genibus meis laborans.</i> Triginta enim et quatuor annorum spatium, ab Irene Augustæ imperio usque ad Theophilum Imperatorem persistens, conflavit illam, quæ etiamnum obtinet, defectionem, quam Paulus Apostolus Thessalonicensibus prædixerat, quaque iste magnam Ecclesiæ partem graviter afflixit. Petr. Sic. Hist. p. 39.</p> <p>Habent porro Sergii magistri sui, invisas superis, omnisque superbæ et impietatis plenas, epistolas. Ibid. p. 39.</p> <p>† Justo tandem Dei judicio, securi dissectus, ut qui Ecclesiam Dei disseverat, in ignem missus est sempiternum. Petr. Sic. Hist. p. 40.</p>		<p>50 THE VALLENSES [BOOK II.</p> <p>After the death of <i>Sergius</i>, the historian gives us the names of <i>Michael</i> and <i>Canacares</i> and <i>John</i> and <i>Theodotus</i> and <i>Basil</i> and <i>Zosimus</i> and <i>Carbeas</i> and <i>Chrysocheris</i>.</p> <p>Under the administration of <i>Carbeas</i>, the Community so greatly increased in number that they migrated to a new settlement which they called <i>Tibrica</i> : and, while <i>Chrysocheris</i> was their chief pastor, Peter Siculus, in the service of the Imperial Court, spent, at that place, as I have already observed, nine months among them*.</p> <p>IV. At this time, to their originally defective New Testament, which, as received by Constantine from the Deacon, contained only the four Gospels and the fourteen Epistles of St. Paul, they had added the Acts of the Apostles, the Catholic Epistles of James and Jude, and the three Epistles of St. John : so that, with the exception of the two Epistles of St. Peter and the mysterious book of the Apocalypse, they then, in its full completeness, possessed the entire volume.</p> <p>Nor did they only possess it, <i>thus far numerically complete</i> : what is absolutely and inherently fatal to the malignant calumny of their pretended Manichæism, they possessed it likewise, as their hostile historian himself admits, <i>free from all interpolation and erasure and corruption, in the</i></p> <p>* Petr. Sic. Hist. p. 40.</p>	

precise words of the genuine copies used by the whole Church Catholic. This, I need scarcely remark to the theological student, is a matter of prime importance: and thence, in the way of testimony, it must carefully be borne in remembrance*.

From their readiness to add what they originally wanted, I venture to believe, that they would have been equally glad to possess the remaining books of the New Testament: though

* Sacra quatuor Evangelia, et Sancti Pauli Apostoli denas quaternas Epistolas, recipiunt: Jacobi item Catholicam, ternas Joannis, Catholicam Judæ, cum Actis Apostolorum, iisdem, quibus apud nos, verbis. Petr. Sic. Hist. p. 33.

Cedrenus, the copyist of Peter Siculus at a considerably later period, similarly admits, that the New Testament of the Paulicians, which they probably at that time had completed by the addition of the Apocalypse and the two Epistles of St. Peter, was precisely the same as the New Testament of the entire Catholic Church: but he states, that they interpreted it perversely.

Ὅς γὰρ εἰρήται, τῇ γραφῇ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις, οὕτως εἰσὶν ὡς καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπαρδύλακτα, τὰ δὲ νοήματα διαστρέφουσι. Cedren. Hist. Compend. vol. i. p. 343.

In the days of Cedrenus who flourished during the twelfth century, any interpretation of the New Testament, which ran counter to the prevailing superstition, would be deemed a perversion. His testimony is important: inasmuch as it thence appears, that, in the course of the three hundred years which elapsed between Peter Siculus and himself, no corruption of the New Testament, to serve the purposes of the Manichæan Heresy, had ever been attempted by the Paulicians. Yet, to extract Manichæism out of the genuine and unadulterated New Testament, is, I conceive, a moral impossibility.

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their intemperate historian declares, that *They reviled the Prince of the Apostles, and the key-bearer of the courts of heaven*. His very phraseology shews the true nature of what he characteristically styles *their evil-affectedness toward St. Peter*: the Sicilian Divine was indignant, that the supremacy of Peter and his successors should be denied by the bold heretics of Armenia. Their theological descendants in Europe obtained that Apocalypse, which their asiatic forefathers had wanted: and, in the features of the predicted Babylonian Harlot, those descendants readily traced the lineaments of the corrupt and persecuting Church of the seven hills.

With respect to the Old Testament, the language of the historian inevitably imports, though he plainly meant not to convey any such idea, that they were well acquainted with it. He tells us, that *they admitted it not*. Now this assertion, even if it be correct, implies, of necessity, a familiar knowledge of its contents: for a person can scarcely be said actively to reject a code, with which he is altogether unacquainted. His very objurgation, indeed, distinctly, from the mere terms in which it is conveyed, demonstrates their familiarity with it: for, in his wonted exaggerating and intemperate phraseology, he tells us, that they stigmatised the ancient hebrew prophets as robbers and vagabonds. The existence, then, of the prophets was fully known to them: and,

that they, who had read in the New Testament the attestations of Christ and the evangelical writers to their true character, should speak of them as Peter Siculus describes, will probably be more than doubted by all save those who wish to believe evil of the Paulicians*. For my own part, as they were indisputably acquainted with the Old Testament, so I think they likewise possessed it. The admission of the one circumstance seems, by a necessary consequence, to draw after it the admission of the other circumstance.

V. It will now, in conclusion, be useful to sum up the evidence, which, in regard both to the doctrines and to the principles of the much calumniated Paulicians, may be gathered from the History of Peter Siculus.

1. When the self-destroying violence and the determined misrepresentation and the undaunted inconsistency of this writer are put aside, the real and actual amount of his unwilling testimony to their doctrinal system will be as follows†.

The Paulicians, though perpetually by their enemies charged with the Manichæan Heresy, uniformly denied the justice of the accusation;

* Petr. Sic. Hist. p. 33.

† In the midst of much violent declamation and of assumptions alike uncharitable and gratuitous, every one of the subsequently specified particulars will be found in the History of the Paulicians written by Peter Siculus.

and always rejected, with strong expressions of abhorrence, both Manes and Manichæism*.

They held the allied doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation: but they renounced the worship of the Cross and of the Virgin and of the Saints; while they evidently disbelieved that material presence of the Lord's body and blood in the consecrated elements which finally received the name of *Transubstantiation*.

The God-denying speculation, which explains away the doctrine of the Trinity and which asserts Christ to be a mere man, they abhorred.

Their laborious teachers, such as Constantine and Simeon and Sergius, they revered, as faithful ministers of Christ, and as devout imitators of the Apostle Paul.

They were anxious to make converts; on the ground, that they proclaimed the sincere doctrines of the Gospel: while, consistently, they had ever the sacred volume in their hands; and while they

* I have not had an opportunity of reading the work of Photius against the Manichæans: but, as I learn from Mosheim, he also, like Peter Siculus, admits, that the Paulicians expressed the utmost abhorrence both of Manes and of his doctrine. Phot. cont. Manich. lib. i. p. 17, 56, 65. See Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. cent. ix. par. ii. chap. 5. § v. vol. ii. p. 367. The Historical Work of Peter Siculus, who in the year 870 spent nine months among the Paulicians to the great jeopardy of his orthodox catholicism, seems to be the original fountain, whence our knowledge of them is derived. Photius died sixteen years after the visit of Peter Siculus.

	<p>CHAP. I.] AND ALBIGENSES. 55</p> <p>always contended, that it ought not to be exclusively locked up among the Priesthood, but that it ought to be freely open to universal perusal.</p> <p>Nor did they derive their scheme of doctrine from a mutilated or interpolated or corrupted New Testament. The ancient Gnostics and Marcionites and Manichæans, conscious that their own allied systems and the genuine Gospel could not subsist together, were notorious for their unprincipled erasures and adulterations*. To the exhibition of anything like even a moderately plausible case, such management was absolutely necessary. Gnosticism or Manichæism, however modified, could not advance a step without it. Hence, where <i>real</i> Manichæism existed, <i>there</i> also was a garbled and spurious Gospel, arranged and prepared to suit the purposes of innovating heresy. But the Paulicians confessedly used the <i>genuine</i> Gospel: for, though, when the historian wrote, they had not as yet been able to complete the sacred volume by the sole requisite addition of the two Epistles of St. Peter and the Apocalypse of St. John; still their copies of the books which they possessed were <i>free from all corruption</i>, and ver-</p> <p>* See Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. iv. Oper. p. 222—225. Marcion substantially held the same doctrines as the Manichæans. Hence, in order to make it serve his purpose, he found it necessary so to corrupt and mangle and mutilate and interpolate the genuine Gospel as to produce a code which might well be termed <i>a new Gospel</i>.</p>		<p>56 THE VALLENSES [BOOK II.</p> <p><i>bally corresponded with the copies used by the whole Church Catholic.</i> Now this single circumstance alone, independently of all other evidence, is amply sufficient to demonstrate the <i>impossibility</i> of their pretended Manichæism. Had they been Manichæans, their copies of the New Testament would have been variously curtailed and interpolated and corrupted, in order to suit the palpable necessities of their system. But their copies were, confessedly, genuine and unadulterated. Therefore, unless universally, they were absolute fools, they could not possibly have been Manichæans.</p> <p>The proof acquires additional force from yet another circumstance. They did not receive their admitted genuine Gospel <i>unwillingly</i>, as a document, which they disliked indeed, but which they found it impracticable with any shew of decency to reject. On the contrary, they were so fully convinced both of its truth and of its vital importance to salvation, that, rather than abandon it and embrace the unscriptural superstitions of their persecutors, they readily submitted to death under its most appalling aspect and under its most painful nature.</p> <p>How persons, thus characterised even by an enemy, can have been Manichæans in doctrine, certainly exceeds my own skill to explain*.</p> <p>* I subjoin the six articles, under which Peter Siculus arranges the pretended Manichæism of the Paulicians. The</p>	
	<p>CHAP. I.] AND ALBIGENSES. 57</p> <p>2. As little, moreover, am I able to explain, how they can have been Basilidians in practice. The historian's reluctant attestation to their moral and religious principles is, I think, quite decisive and altogether satisfactory.</p> <p>In their conduct, they were so grave and holy and consistent, that nothing is left for their enemy, save to pronounce the whole of their specious piety mere hypocrisy.</p> <p>As they openly rejected with abhorrence the doctrinal errors of Manes: so they <i>indignantly disallowed</i> the allegation, that they were tainted with the impurities of Basilides.</p> <p>prudent reader of course will exercise his own discretion in judging how far they truly set forth the doctrine of the <i>acknowledged rejecters</i> of Manes and his whole system.</p> <p>Primum illorum axioma est: duo rerum esse principia; Deum malum, et Deum bonum: aliumque hujus mundi conditorem ac principem; et alium, futuri ævi.</p> <p>Secundum: quod Deiparam semperque Virginem, atque infinitis laudibus concelebrandam, per odium abjiciant, nulloque inter bonorum hominum cætum numero vel loco dignentur; neque Christum ex illa natum, ut qui corpus e cælo secum detulerit; Josephumque ex illa, post Domini partum, plures liberos suscepisse dicant.</p> <p>Tertium: quod, e sacris mysteriis, divinam ac tremendam corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi conversionem negent, aliaque de hoc mysterio doceant; a Domino nempe non panem et vinum in cœna discipulis propinatum, sed figuratè symbola tantum et verba, tanquam panem et vinum, data.</p> <p>Quartum: quod formam atque vim venerandæ et vivificæ crucis non solum non agnoscant, sed infinitis etiam contumeliis onerent.</p>		<p>58 THE VALLENSES [BOOK II.</p> <p>In their labour of proselyting they were so successful, that not only converts from among the less educated Laity, but even numbers of more learned Monks and Priests, joined their Community. These became preachers of the faith which they had adopted: and the fact <i>itself</i> experiences no change from the characteristic assertion of the historian, that <i>they were transmuted</i></p> <p>Quintum: quod Veteris Instrumenti tabulas non admittant, prophetasque <i>planos et latrones</i> appellent: aut sola duntaxat sacra quatuor Evangelia, et S. Pauli Apostoli denas quaternas Epistolas, recipiant, Jacobi item Catholicam, ternas Joannis, Catholicam Judæ, cum Actis Apostolorum, iisdem, quibus apud nos, verbis.</p> <p>Sextum: quod arceant ab Ecclesiæ administratione presbyteros et seniores: aiant enim, quod seniores adversus Dominum congregati sint. Petr. Sic. Hist. p. 33.</p> <p>In the third of these articles, their doctrine of the Eucharist has evidently been perverted and misrepresented: whence we may judge of the bigoted historian's accuracy in other matters. According to Peter Siculus, they maintained: that <i>Our Lord did not, in the institution of the Holy Supper, set before his disciples bread and wine; but that symbols only and words, as if they were bread and wine, were figuratively given.</i> This palpable perversion, he, that runs, may read. What they really taught, as in truth appears from the very necessity of the entire third article itself, was this: that, <i>The eucharistic bread and wine are not literally transmuted into the body and blood of Christ; but that, In the words of consecration, they are given figuratively as symbols or representations of the thing signified.</i> The vein, indeed, of determined misrepresentation, which runs through the whole document, is so manifest, that it can scarcely escape even the most careless observation.</p>	

<div>CHAP. I.] AND ALBIGENSES. 59</div> <div>from sheep into wolves, and that they learned to be devourers of men*.</div> <div>The firmness of their religious adherence to principle was marked by their frequent and ready submission to martyrdom. Hundreds of them were burned alive upon one huge funeral pile:</div> <div>* Monachos complures, et moniales quæ virginitatem suam Christo devoverant, per discipulos suos corrupti: et, a monastica vita revocans, a Deo simul alienavit. Multos denique sacerdotes et levitas ab orthodoxa religione avellens, et ex ovibus lupos faciens, hominivoros esse docuit. Petr. Sic. Hist. p. 39.</div> <div>Like their theological descendants in Europe, they deemed, I suppose, monastic vows absurd and unscriptural and tending only to concealed impurity.</div> <div>The most singular humour of Peter Siculus, in his dealing with the luckless Sergius (the special object of his vituperation in the preceding passage), is: that he not only heaps upon his devoted head a profusion of the most palpable and ridiculous calumnies, but that he actually charges him with all the consequences of his apostleship, in the shape of persecutions and troubles and captivity and the like; strangely describing him as being the person, who sold his disciples into bondage, and who put them to death. It seems, that the suffering Paulicians sometimes retaliated upon their persecutors. Of this, also, Sergius was destined to bear the blame, though he had expressed his decided disapprobation of such proceedings, and had admonished his followers to practise forbearance. If he could not restrain his suffering flock from occasional retaliation; if he could not alway make them obey his exhortations to meekness and submission: he ought not, argues the candid historian, to have erected himself into their teacher. By that single action, he makes himself responsible for all the misdemeanors of his people. Ibid. p. 39.</div>	<div>60 THE VALLENSES [BOOK II.</div> <div>two, out of three more eminent presidents, were severally stoned and cut in sunder with the axe: and the third, that very remarkable character Simeon or Titus, after a full deliberation of three years amidst the honours and pleasures of a court, from a persecutor became a steady convert, appeared as the successor of the very man over whose martyrdom he had presided, and finally submitted himself to the flames rather than abandon the faith which, by a sacrifice of all his worldly goods and prospects, he had embraced.</div> <div>In short, such mingled violence and inconsistency and absurdity, as distinguish the writer now before us, may well make a sober inquirer pause, before he admits the Paulicians to have been a sect of Manichæans. Palpable misrepresentation runs through every page of the Work of Peter Siculus: and, upon my own mind at least, its effect is precisely the reverse of that which it was intended to produce. In listening to his rabid declamation, I seem to hear some furious modern popish priest, bellowing against Luther, and childishly propounding his manifest connection with Lucifer. The school, to which these calumniators belong (for, in every age, calumny has been the regular staple of an apostate Church), is, graphically no less than prophetically, exhibited by the inspired Seer of the Apocalypse.</div> <div>I heard a loud voice, saying, in heaven: Now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of</div>
<div>CHAP. I.] AND ALBIGENSES. 61</div> <div>our God, and the power of Christ: for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night. And they overcame him, by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony: and they loved not their lives unto the death*.</div> <div>* Rev. xii. 10, 11.</div>	