

	<p>CHAPTER II.</p> <p>THE ALBIGENSES OF SOUTHERN FRANCE.</p> <p>WEARIED out with incessant persecution in the East, the suffering Paulicians meditated, at length, a retreat into the West.</p> <p>The earliest flight of expatriated emigrants seems to have occurred in the year 755, during the reign of Constantine the son of Leo Isauricus. These fugitives were followed by others : for, shortly after the Community was visited by Peter Siculus in the year 870, a considerable body of them passed over, from Asia into Thrace, whence they advanced into Bulgaria; and, if we may judge from the historian's monitory address to the Archbishop of the latter province, he appears to have known and anticipated their intention*.</p> <p>* Tibricæ igitur, legationis obeundæ caussa, apud Paulicianos diu moratus, sæpe disputando cum illis sum congressus, illorumque arcana omnia per Catholicos etiam ibi degentes curiosè investigavi: atque ab ipsismet impiis et delirantibus cognovi; quod, e suo conciliabulo, missuri essent, qui in Bulgaria quoscunque possent a Catholica Religione ad suam execratam et nefariam sectam averterent. A sacris enim literis facto præconii sui initio, presidentes opinantur facile se posse</p>			<p>CHAP. II.] THE VALLENSIS AND ALBIGENSIS. 63</p> <p>But, in Bulgaria, as might be expected from its dependence upon the Constantinopolitan Empire, they found little rest for the soles of their feet. Some, however, notwithstanding the persecution which there again relentlessly dogged them, still remained in that district: while others, fondly hoping, I suppose, to experience greater kindness in the papal regions of Europe, migrated further westward into Germany and Italy and France. Here they were distinguished by a variety of</p> <p>puræ sinceræque sementi infelix lolium hæreseos permiscere. Amant enim hoc impij sæpenumero facitare, ut omnem moveant funem, nullumque recusent periculum, quo damnatarum opinionum suarum pestem quibuscunque possint, infundant. Petr. Hist. Archiepisc. Bulgar. nuncupat. p. 31.</p> <p>The reader will not fail to observe, in this passage, two important admissions on the part of Peter Siculus: the one, that he picked up some of his tales respecting the Paulicians from the neighbouring Catholics, as prejudiced bigots, no doubt, as himself; the other, that these hated religionists made the Sacred Scriptures the basis of all their attempts at proselytism.</p> <p>It will be recollected, that the Sacred Scriptures, thus systematically made the basis of their zealous preaching, are those very Scriptures, which Peter Siculus himself, as well as Cedrenus three centuries later, admitted them to have possessed and used uncorrupted and un mutilated, so as precisely to correspond with the accredited copies used by the great Body of Christians in the Church at large.</p> <p>Thus perpetually does falsehood defeat its own ends by its own inconsistency: and thus wisely is it ordered by the righteous moral Governor of the Universe, that, to fabricate a lie, which shall so compactly hang together in all its parts as to laugh at detection, is perhaps nothing less than an impossibility.</p>
	<p>64 THE VALLENSIS [BOOK II.</p> <p>names, such as <i>Patarins</i>, <i>Publicans</i>, <i>Gazarians</i>, <i>Turlupins</i>, <i>Runcarians</i> or <i>Dungurians</i> apparently from Hungary, and <i>Bulgarians</i> certainly from Bulgaria: among which, that of <i>Cathari</i> or <i>Puritans</i> seems chiefly to have predominated, until, at length, from their abounding in the neighbourhood of Albi, they received the appellation, by which they are now most commonly known, of <i>Albigenses</i> or <i>Albigensis</i> *.</p> <p>* The progress of the Paulicians westward is very well given by Usher: but, without any sufficient grounds, so far as I can judge, he adopts the familiar calumny, that they and their successors in Europe were Manichæans. See Usher. de Eccles. Success. c. viii. § 17—22. Those successors I have, throughout this Work, styled <i>Albigenses</i>: a name, sufficiently definite, and certainly of all others the most familiar to modern ears. As to the time when it was first imposed, different opinions have been entertained. The Benedictine, who wrote the General History of Languedoc, contends, that it is not older than the year 1208, having been given to the religionists of Southern France at the commencement of the crusade against them. He supposes, that they were thus denominated from the circumstance of their having been condemned as heretics in the Council held in the year 1176 at Lombers in the diocese of Albi. Hist. Gener. de Langued. livr. xix. § 4. vol. iii. p. 4. It is a point of no great moment, save to the antiquary. I may add, that Ricchini, the editor of Moneta, has given a very good summary of the diffusion of the Paulicians through well nigh the whole of western and middle Europe. Ricchin. Dissert. de Cathar. c. i. ii. Like the rest of his fraternity, relying on the somewhat insecure authority of Bossuet, he rapidly decides, that the Albigenses were incontrovertibly Manichæans. Ibid. c. i. § 1. c. ii. § 5.</p>			<p>CHAP. II.] AND ALBIGENSIS. 65</p> <p>In accordance with their acquisition of this last name, a very large proportion of them settled in Gascony and Languedoc and Provence and Aquitaine: and their original number was swelled by the rapid addition of myriads of native converts, whom the disciples of St. Paul successfully proselyted throughout those districts of Southern France, which, long maintaining a sort of independence upon the Papacy, zealously opposed the idolatrous ordinances of the second Nicene Council, and shewed small inclination to adopt the wild reveries of the nascent Transubstantialists.</p> <p>Here, at the beginning of the eleventh century, they attracted the notice of the dominant Church: and the language of the Council of Tours which sat in the year 1163, concurring with that of Pope Innocent III in the year 1199 and with that of the Archbishop of Narbonne in the year 1213 and with that of Louis IX in the year 1228, distinctly intimates, both that they had already been long in the country, and that their doctrine had infected well nigh the entire population*.</p> <p>* In partibus Tolosæ damnanda hæresis dudum emersit, quæ paulatim more cancri ad vicina loca se diffundens, per Guasconiam et alias provincias, quamplurimos jam infectit. Concil. Turon. can. iv. Labb. Concil. vol. x. p. 1419. sive in Gul. Neubrig. Rer. Anglican. lib. ii. c. 15.</p> <p>Inter quos, in provincia vestra, quosdam, qui <i>Valdenses</i>, <i>Cathari</i>, et <i>Paterini</i>, dicuntur, et alios quoslibet quibuscunque nominibus appellatos, in tantum jam accepimus pullulasse, ut</p> <p style="text-align: center;">F</p>



	<p>66 THE VALLENSIS [BOOK II.]</p> <p>But, though their chief establishment appears to have been in the South of France, they had, on the whole, in the twelfth century, no fewer than sixteen Churches loosely scattered over the country which extends from Bulgaria to Gascony. Of these, the names and locality are given, with much precision, by the Inquisitor Reinerius: and that writer, who is commonly said to have composed his Work about the year 1254, additionally remarks; that, while the entire regularly associated Community scarcely amounted to four thousand members, those more loosely connected proselytes, whom they styled <i>Believers</i>, were absolutely innumerable*.</p> <p>innumeros populos sui erroris laqueis irretierint, et fermento corruerint falsitatis. Innoc. III. Epist. Decretal. lib. i. p. 56, 57.</p> <p>Cum enim in partibus istis pestis heretica, antiquitus seminata, nostris partibus usque adhaerens, quod cultus divinus ibidem haberetur omnino in opprobrium et derisum:—factum est, ut,—in parte maxima destructis adversitatibus et erroribus universis, terra, dudum a cultoribus horum dogmatum conculcata, demum divino cultui assuescat. Archiepis. Narbon. Epist. in Labb. Concil. vol. xi. par. 1. p. 86.</p> <p>Quia heretici longo tempore virus suum in vestris partibus effuderunt Ecclesiam matrem nostram multipliciter maculantes; ad ipsorum extirpationem statim, quod heretici, qui a fide catholica deviant, quocumque nomine censeantur, postquam fuerint de heresi per episcopum loci, vel per aliam ecclesiasticam personam quae potestatem habeat, condemnati, indilate animadversione debita puniantur. Ludov. IX. Epist. in Labb. Concil. vol. xi. par. 1. p. 423.</p> <p>* Sunt autem sedecim omnes Ecclesiae Catharorum.—In toto</p>		<p>CHAP. II.] AND ALBIGENSIS. 67</p> <p>Every calumny, which had assailed them in the East, attended them into the West: and Peter Siculus himself cannot be more violent, than the multiplicity of concurring authors adduced by Bossuet. Those authors he cites, for the purpose of shewing, that they were profligate Manichæans; and thence that they cannot be safely claimed by the Reformed Churches as part of an ecclesiastical succession in which the promises of Christ have been accomplished. But, in every point of view, there is such a mass of inconsistency in the evidence, that, if any person wishes to frame his belief upon it, he will find himself beset with difficulties and contradictions, which are more sensibly felt than they are easily surmounted.</p> <p>I. The first difficulty, by which he will be encountered, may be stated in manner following.</p> <p>The Albigenses are asserted to have been habit-</p> <p>mundo non sunt Cathari utriusque sexus quatuor millia, sed Credentes innumeri. Reiner. Opusc. de hæret. c. vi. in Biblioth. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 304.</p> <p>The actual <i>Cathari</i> were probably the physical descendants of the Paulician Emigrants, while the <i>Believers</i> were the native Proselytes whom they made in Europe. I may observe, that, in this citation, I have given the Work of Reinerius its real title as prefixed by himself. He calls it generally and accurately <i>Opusculum de Hæreticis</i>. The Jesuit Gretser, by way of implicating the Valdenses in the charge of Manichæism brought against the Cathari, has thought fit to style it <i>Liber contra Valdenses Hæreticos</i>.</p> <p>F 2</p>	
	<p>68 THE VALLENSIS [BOOK II.]</p> <p>ually guilty of the vilest abominations: nevertheless, as Bossuet himself is constrained to allow, while they themselves invariably repelled, with a firm denial, the charges brought against them; their very accusers admitted, that these monsters of profligacy and impiety might always be known by the peculiar strictness of their walk and conversation.</p> <p>1. Most curious is the effect produced by bringing together the discordant statements in question.</p> <p>(1.) Let us begin with the testimony of the universal doctor, Alan the Great.</p> <p><i>These heretics are variously styled Cathari, from the word Catha which signifies a flux; on account of their utter abandonment to dissoluteness of manners: or Cathari, as it were Casti; because they pretend to be chaste and just: or Catari, from the word Catus; because they are in the habit of kissing the hinder parts of a cat, under the form of which animal, as we are well assured, Lucifer is wont to appear to them*.</i></p> <p>(2.) After Alan, let us proceed to hear Bernard of Clairvaux.</p> <p>* Tales dicuntur Cathari, id est, diffluentes per vitia; a Catha, quod est fluxus: vel Cathari, quasi Casti; quia se justos et castos faciunt: vel Catari dicuntur a Cato; quia osculantur posteriora cati, in ejus specie, ut dicunt, apparet eis Lucifer. Alan. cont. hæret. lib. i. c. 63. apud Usser. de Eccles. Succ. c. viii. § 16.</p>		<p>CHAP. II.] AND ALBIGENSIS. 69</p> <p><i>It is asserted of them, that in secret they practise unutterable obscenities.—In order to hide their real baseness, they make themselves remarkable by a vow of continence.—Yet is their familiarity with women so scandalous, that no one can believe them to be chaste*.</i></p> <p>This Alanus, in the fashion of the day, was styled <i>Magnus</i> and <i>Doctor Universalis</i>. He is one of Bossuet's witnesses, upon whose credit we are invited to believe, that the Albigenses were abandoned Manichæans.</p> <p>Another of his witnesses hereafter to be produced, is Lucas of Tuy. This remarkable Prelate, for he was in truth a Bishop, introduces the cat under a totally different aspect from that of an avatar of Lucifer. In his plastic hands, the creature appears in the extraordinary and somewhat unexpected capacity, of a strenuous advocate for the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and of a stout assailant of an Albigensian heretic who presumptuously denied the truth of that doctrine. See Luc. Tudens. adv. Alb. lib. iii. c. 14. in Biblioth. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 283.</p> <p>The same veracious author assures us, in <i>verbo Episcopi</i>, that, in the province of Burgundy, the body of a burned heretic was preternaturally transmuted into a huge toad of the species <i>Cra-paudus</i>. Ibid. lib. iii. c. 15. p. 283.</p> <p>These were the arguments, wherewithal the Romish Clergy did battle against the hated Albigenses: cats and calumnies, crapauds and cremations.</p> <p>It is really sickening to see such miserable specimens, either of rank dishonesty or of besotted credulity, gravely brought forward as good and sufficient evidence to convict the Albigenses of Manichæism.</p> <p>* Nam nefanda et obscena dicuntur agere in secreto, siquidem et vulpium posteriora fetent. Bernard. super Cant. serm. lxxv. Oper. p. 760.</p>	



	<p>70 THE VALLENCES [BOOK II.]</p> <p>(3.) We may next attend to the apostate Inquisitor Reinerius, who gives us some yet further insight into their base practices.</p> <p><i>They make a cake of meal mixed with the blood of an infant. If the infant dies, it is deemed a martyr: if it lives, it is styled a saint. They meet together naked to pray, both men and women promiscuously*. Many of their Believers of both sexes, scruple no more to approach their nearest relatives, than their respective wives or husbands†. It is their common opinion, that marriage is a mortal sin: but they think, that no person is hereafter more severely punished for adultery and incest, than for lawful matrimony‡. Whatever sins they have committed</i></p> <p>In operimentum turpitudinis, continentiae se insinuerunt voto. Ibid. serm. lxvi. p. 762.</p> <p>Cum femina semper esse, et non cognoscere feminam, nonne plus est quam mortuum suscitare? Quod minus est, non potes: et, quod majus est, vis credam tibi? Quotidie latus tuum, ad latus juvenulae, est in mensa; lectus tuus, ad lectum ejus in camera; oculi tui, ad illius oculos in colloquio; manus tuae, ad manus ipsius in opere: et continens vis putari? Esto, ut sis: sed ego suspicione non careo. Ibid. serm. lxx. p. 760.</p> <p>* Ex sanguine infantis et farina conficiunt panem; qui infans, si moritur, martyr habetur; si vivit, sanctus dicitur. Adami- tae, ab Adam, nudi conveniunt ad orandum, viri et feminae. Reiner. de haeret. c. vi. in Bibl. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 307.</p> <p>† Multi Credentes, tam viri quam mulieres, non timent magis ad sororem suam, et filium sive filiam, fratrem, neptem, consanguineam et cognatam, accedere, quam ad uxorem et virum proprium. Reiner. de haeret. c. vi. p. 303.</p> <p>‡ Communis opinio omnium Catharorum est, quod matrimo-</p>		<p>CHAP. II.] AND ALBIGENSES. 71</p> <p><i>before their making a profession of heresy, they never repent of them. This is manifest from the circumstance, that they never make restitution of what they have gained by usury or theft or rapine. Rather, indeed, they reserve it: or else they leave it to their children and grandchildren remaining in the world, because usury, they say, is no sin*.</i></p> <p>(4.) Yet, to this very same Reinerius, are we indebted for the following most graphic account of those identical Cathari, whom, immediately before, he had been busily describing as the worst and most profligate of mankind.</p> <p><i>Heretics are known by their manners and their words. In their manners, they are composed and modest. They admit no pride of dress: holding a just mean, between the expensive and the squalid. In order that they may the better avoid lies and oaths and trickery, they dislike entering into trade; but, by the labour of their hands, they live like ordinary hired workmen. Their very teachers are mere artisans. Riches they seek not to multiply,</i></p> <p>nium carnale semper fuerit mortale peccatum, et quod non puniatur aliquis gravius in futuro propter adulterium et incestum quam propter legitimum conjugium. Reiner. de haeret. c. vi. p. 302.</p> <p>* Probatur etiam manifestè, quod non dolent de peccatis suis, quæ ante professionem suæ hæresis commiserunt, pro eo, quod nulli restituunt usuram, furtum, vel rapinam: imo reser- vant ea, vel potius relinquunt filiis et nepotibus in sæculo remanentibus; quia dicunt, usuram nullum esse peccatum. Reiner. de haeret. c. vi. 303.</p>	
	<p>72 THE VALLENCES [BOOK II.]</p> <p><i>but they are content with things necessary. They are chaste also: a virtue, in which the Leonists particularly excel. In meat and drink they are temperate. They resort, neither to taverns, nor to dances, nor to any other vanities. From anger they carefully restrain themselves. They are always engaged, either in working, or in learning, or in teaching: and, therefore, they spend but little time in prayer. Under fictitious pretences, nevertheless, they will attend church, and offer, and confess, and communicate, and hear sermons: but this they do merely to cavil at the preacher's discourse. They may likewise be known by their precise and modest words: for they avoid all scurrility and detraction and lyes and oaths and levity of speech*.</i></p> <p>(5.) Much of the statement, respecting their</p> <p>* Hæretici cognoscuntur per mores et verba. Sunt enim in moribus compositi et modesti. Superbiam in vestibus non habent: quia, nec preciosis, nec multum abjectis, utuntur. Negotiationes non habent, propter mendacia et juramenta et fraudes vitandas: sed tantum vivunt de labore, ut opifices. Doctores etiam ipsorum sunt sutores. Divitias non multiplicant, sed necessariis sunt contenti. Casti etiam sunt: maxime, Leonistae. Temperati etiam sunt in cibo et potu. Ad tabernas non eunt, nec ad choreas, nec ad alias vanitates. Ab ira se cohibent. Semper operantur, discunt, vel docent: et ideo parum orant. Item ad ecclesias fictè vadunt: offerunt, et confitentur, et communicant, et intersunt predicationibus, sed ut prædicantem capiant in sermone. Cognoscuntur etiam in verbis præcis et modestis. Cavent etiam a scurrilitate, et detractatione, et verborum levitate, et mendacio, et juramento. Reiner. de haeret. c. vii. p. 307.</p>		<p>CHAP. II.] AND ALBIGENSES. 73</p> <p>occasional conformity, I suspect to be pure misrepresentation. Reinerius, however, goes on to give us a very curious account of the mode, in which this vile and rustic and illiterate race (as Bernard contemptuously styles them*) made converts even among the great ones of the earth: a mode so successful, that they are known to have proselyted, not only the Princes of the House of Toulouse with other Nobles, but likewise the King of Aragon himself; proselyted them, that is to say, if we may believe the calumniators of the Albigenses, to the doctrinal follies and the practical impurities of Manichæism.</p> <p><i>The heretics cunningly devise, how they may insinuate themselves into the familiarity of the noble and the great: and this they do in manner following. They exhibit for sale, to the lords and the ladies, rings and robes and other wares which are likely to be acceptable. When they have sold them, if asked whether they have any more goods for sale, one of these travelling pedlars will answer: I have jewels far more precious than these, which I will readily give you, if you will secure me against being betrayed to the priests. The security being pledged, the heretic then proceeds to say: I possess a brilliant gem from God himself; for, through it, man comes to the knowledge of God: and I have another,</i></p> <p>* Vile nempe hoc genus, et rusticum, ac sine literis, et prorsus imbellem. Bernard. super Cantic. serm. lxx. Oper. p. 762.</p>	



	<p>74 THE VALLENTS [BOOK II.]</p> <p>which casts out so ruddy a heat, that it forthwith kindles the love of God in the heart of the owner. In like manner proceeds he to speak of all his other metaphorical gems. Then he recites a chapter from Scripture or from some part of our Lord's discourses. When he finds his auditor to be pleased, he will proceed to rehearse the twenty-third chapter of Matthew and the parallel passages in the twelfth chapter of Mark: wherein the Scribes and Pharisees are described, as sitting in the seat of Moses; and wherein a woe is denounced against those who shut up the kingdom of heaven against men, neither entering themselves, nor suffering the persons who wish it to enter. After this, the heretic draws a comparison between the state of the Roman Church and the state of the ancient Pharisees: applying, to the former, all that is said by Christ of the latter. Among the priests, he will remark, you can scarcely find a single doctor, who is able to repeat by heart three chapters of the New Testament: but, among us, you can scarcely find either a man or a woman, who knows not how to recite the whole text in the vulgar tongue. Yet, because we possess the true faith of Christ, and because we inculcate upon all our people holiness of life and soundness of doctrine: therefore do these modern Scribes and Pharisees gratuitously persecute us to the death, even as their Jewish predecessors persecuted Christ. Besides: they say and do not: but we practise all, that we teach. Moreover: they enforce the traditions of</p>		<p>CHAP. II.] AND ALBIGENSES. 75</p> <p>men, rather than the commandments of God: but we persuade persons only to observe the doctrine of Christ and the Apostles. They impose upon their penitents heavy punishments, which they will not alleviate with so much as a single finger: but we, after the example of Christ, say to a sinner; Go, and sin no more. Furthermore: we transmit souls, by death to heaven: but they send almost all souls to the infernal region of hell*. These matters being thus propounded, the heretic puts the question: Judge ye, what state and what faith is the more perfect; that of our Community, or that of the Church of Rome? And, when you have honestly judged, choose that which you deem the best. Thus, through their errors, is a person subverted from the catholic faith: and thus, believing and harbouring and favouring and defending and for many months hiding a vagabond of this description, he learns, in his own house, the several particulars respecting their sect†.</p> <p>(6.) A similar character of the Albigenses, though remarkably intermingled with determined prejudice, is given by Bernard.</p> <p>If you interrogate them respecting their faith, nothing can be more christian: if you inquire into their conversation, nothing can be more irreprehen-</p> <p>* Lat. Infernum. I have translated the word into Hell: but Reinerius may perhaps mean only Purgatory, described as a Lower Region.</p> <p>† Reiner. de heret. c. viii. p. 307, 308.</p>	
	<p>76 THE VALLENTS. [BOOK II.]</p> <p>sible; and, what they say, they confirm by their deeds.—As for what regards life and manners, they attack no one, they circumvent no one, they defraud no one. Their faces are pale with fasting: they eat not the bread of idleness; but they labour with their own hands for the support of life. Yet mark the sex.—Women leave their husbands, and husbands forsake their wives, in order to join their assemblies. Nay many even of the very Clergy and Priesthood, quitting their people and their churches, are perpetually found among them, unshorn and unshaven, herding with unlettered weavers*.</p> <p>* Si fidem interrogas, nihil christianius: si conversationem, nihil irreprehensibilis; et, quæ loquitur, factis probat.—Jam, quod ad vitam moresque spectat, neminem concutit, neminem circumvenit, neminem supergreditur. Pallent insuper ore jejuniis: panem non comedit otiosus; operatur manibus, unde vitam sustentat. Ubi jam vulpes?—Mulieres relictis viris, et item viri dimissis uxoribus, ad istos se conferunt. Clerici et sacerdotes, populis ecclesiisque relictis, intonsi et barbati; apud eos, inter textores et textrices, plerumque inventi sunt. Bernard. super Cantic. serm. lxxv. Oper. p. 761.</p> <p>Bernard, blinded by prejudice, and led away by the idle cock-on-a-bell stories of the age, never seems to have considered the utter improbability, that numerous priests, who possessed whatever knowledge was then possessed, should forsake their all to join a body of absurdly unscriptural and despised and proscribed Manichæans: for such, if we may credit Bossuet's extraordinary band of witnesses, were the old Cathari or Albigenses.</p> <p>I have used the expressive proverbial phrase cock-on-a-bell, familiarly corrupted into cock-and-a-bull, in its true and genu-</p>		<p>CHAP. II.] AND ALBIGENSES. 77</p> <p>2. Now what are the inferences, which any reasonable and sober-minded man, well acquainted with the principles and practices of the Romish Ecclesiastics, would draw from these most curiously mottled statements?</p> <p>When we recollect, that, against the primitive Christians, every babbling Pagan was ready to bring charges of a nature exactly similar to those which were brought against the Albigenses; and when we note the concurrent admission, that nothing could be more exemplary than their whole conduct and conversation: we may perhaps, on our Lord's wise system of judging a tree by its fruits, find it not very easy to believe, that these hated religionists were such monsters of iniquity as their enemies would fain have us to admit.*</p> <p>ine application to the fabulous narratives of Popery. There is some measure of antiquarian curiosity attendant upon it, which may rival the singular metamorphosis of the <i>Pix and Ousel</i> into the familiar sign of the <i>Pig and Whistle</i>. During the middle ages, as we learn incidentally from Reinerius, <i>Gallus-supercampanum</i> was the ecclesiastical hieroglyphic of a <i>Romish Priest</i>: and, as the gentlemen of that fraternity dealt somewhat copiously in legends rather marvellous than absolutely true, the contempt of our English Protestantism soon learned proverbially to distinguish any idle figment, such, for instance as the tales respecting Albigensic Manichæism, by the burlesque name of a <i>cock-on-a-bell-story</i>, or, as we now say, a <i>cock-and-a-bull-story</i>.</p> <p>* Minucius Felix, in his <i>Octavius</i>, gives a very full account of the calumnies, which, by the Pagans, were excogitated and propounded against the Primitive Christians: pro-</p>	



Nor is this all. As we have heard their *adversaries*, it seems only fair to hear *themselves*.

What, then, did *they* say to the allegations brought against them?

miscuous incest in the darkness of their private assemblies; an indecent worship paid to the presiding priest; an adoration of the head of an ass; and the murder of a young child, for the purpose of drinking his blood and devouring his mangled flesh. See Minuc. Fel. Octav. p. 70—90.

These senseless slanders have been duly plagiarised by the Popish Priests: and, with some trifling variations, as if the servile herd of imitators were, in their profitable trade of mendaciousness, unwilling to relinquish *all* claim to originality of invention, have, for the benefit and edification of the credulous, been transferred to the Paulician Albigenes. The reader will perhaps be amused with a few specimens of such romish figments: for which he stands indebted to the several workshops, of Conrad von Magdenberg; of an Inquisitor, who seems to have had grace sufficient to conceal his name; and of Lucas of Tuy, who has recorded the two surprising cases, of a cat, or male-cat, which at the point of his claws zealously advocated the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and of the metamorphosis of a dead Albigenic heretic into the toad denominated *Crapaudus*. Doubtless he will be prepared to receive, with all due implicitness of confidence, the testimony of such credible witnesses.

Quia vero illorum deus venter est, qui Veneris ingloriam speciali quadam celebritate colere nituntur: itaque nonnulli ex eis, commensationibus, ebrietatibus, et hujusmodi carnis illecebris, inhiantes, in libidines spumant, ut cum reverentia loquar, spurcissimas; adeo etiam ut, contra naturam, exercitia pessima committere crebris ausibus sint reperti. Conrad. de Mont. Puellar. cont. Beghard. in Biblioth. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 343.

Nothing of the sort. Prejudice was far too strong for plain common sense. In consequence of their denial of the atrocities laid to their charge, they were sagaciously subjected to the water-ordeal: and, when they found themselves unable to sink, they then, if we may credit the tales reported to Bernard, not merely confessed their impiety, but even gloried in it\*.

On such solid and well-authenticated grounds, the tales, to wit, of an ignorant and infuriated mob of brutal persecutors, he pronounces the whole of their specious piety to be mere dissimulation: and Bossuet, at the end of the seventeenth century, was content, with high encomiums upon Bernard's clear-sightedness, to adopt the same

\* Taceo, quæ negarent. Bernard. super Cantic. serm. lxxv. Oper. p. 760.

Plerumque fideles, injectis manibus, aliquos ex eis ad medium traxerunt. Quæsitæ fidem, cum, de quibus suspecti videbantur, omnia prorsus suo more negarent, examinati judicio aquæ, mendaces inventi sunt. Cumque jam negare non possent, quippe deprehensi, aqua eos non recipiente, arrepto, ut dicitur, freno dentibus, tam miserè quam liberè, impietatem non confessi, sed professi, sunt, palam pietatem astruentes, et pro ea mortem subire parati, nec minus parati inferre qui astabant. Ibid. serm. lxxvi. p. 766.

From the very mode in which Bernard tells his story, I think it evident, that, what they rather *professed* than *confessed*, was not the *truth* of the allegations brought against them in regard to faith and practice, but the system which he indeed called *impiety*, but which they knew to be the *Gospel*.

By the acknowledgment of Bernard, they flatly and steadily denied their truth.

Was the Abbot of Clairvaux, when he combined their admitted conduct with their admitted denials, convinced of their innocence?

Tenent quosdam diabolicos articulos: quorum paucos subscribam. Primo, adorant Luciferum: et credunt eum esse Dei fratrem, injuriosè de cælo detrusum, et se cum eo regnatos. Pueros eorum ei immolant: ipsumque pro divitiis rogant.—Ad loca subterranea conveniunt: promiscuas concupiscentias et abominabiles luxurias exercent. Ind. Error. in Bibl. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 341.

Dicunt eis hæretici: Omnia, quæ in hoc mundo visibilia sunt, a diabolo facta sunt. Unde non refert, in lucro pecuniarum, utrum bene acquirantur vel malè: quia nec bona adquisitio illarum salvet, nec mala damnet. Nihil prodest alicui bona facere, nec obest agere mala: quia omnis homo pari pœna damnatur, si extra nostrum ordinem moritur. Hæc dicentibus hæreticis, vani homines tribunt miserabiliter fidem: et se, fraudibus, homicidiis, latrocinis, et usuris, committunt. Efferrantur effrænes per varia desideria carnis: et nulla est nociva delectatio, quam non pertranseat eorum luxuria. Abutitur filius matrem: frater, fratrem: et pater in filia turpitudinem operatur.—Tales, per ministros suos hæreticos, diabolus elocet: quos, in præsentem, diversis immundiciis et fetore infamiae polluit; et, in futuro, æternæ damnationis flammis comburit. Hæc ab illis accepimus, qui fuerunt quondam cæno faciès hæreticæ obvoluti: et per gratiam Dei ad gremium sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ redierunt. Luc. Tudens. adv. Albig. lib. iii. c. 5. in Bibl. Petr. vol. xiii. p. 279.

It were easy to multiply specimens of similar fabrications, all relentlessly pilfered from the original manufactory of Paganism: but these, at least for the present, may suffice.

mode of solving the difficulty by a gratuitous hypothesis of systematic hypocrisy\*.

II. But the Albigenes were not only pious in their lives; pious, at least, externally, as their enemies themselves admit: they also stedfastly maintained what they held to be the true faith of the Gospel; and, rather than renounce it, cheerfully suffered martyrdom even under its most formidable aspect.

Active courage in battle may, no doubt, subsist along with great profligacy of manners: but the natural tendency of habitual vice is to weaken and destroy that passive courage, which, in cold blood, for conscience-sake, induces a man calmly to suffer death rather than relinquish what he is persuaded is the vital truth of God. Persons may live de-

\* Saint Bernard fait voir, que leur piété n'étoit que dissimulation. Boss. Hist. des Variet. livr. xi. § 35.

Saint Bernard leur fait voir, que leur vertu n'étoit qu'une vaine ostentation.—Ne croyez jamais rien de bon de ceux qui outrent la vertu. Ibid. § 60.

C'est d'eux, que saint Bernard a dit: *Leurs moeurs sont irréprochables; ils n'oppriment personne; ils ne font de tort à personne; leurs visages sont mortifiés et abattus par le jeûne; ils ne mangent point leur pain comme des paresseux; et ils travaillent pour gagner leur vie.* Qu'y a-t-il de plus spécieux que ces hérétiques de saint Bernard? Mais, après tout, c'étoit des Manichéens, et leur piété n'étoit que feinte. Regardez le fond: c'est l'orgueil; c'est la haine contre le clergé; c'est l'aigreur contre l'Eglise; c'est par-là qu'ils ont avalé tout le venin d'une abominable hérésie. Ibid. § 143.



	<p>82 THE VALLENCES [BOOK II.]</p> <p>bauched hypocrites : but, I should think, few such characters would be much disposed to be burned alive from an extraordinary love for the speculations of Manichæism. <i>Mistaken</i> men may die for what they honestly deem the Gospel : but <i>immoral</i> men are not the precise individuals, who commonly lay down their lives for their faith.</p> <p>How, then, in the case of the grossly profligate and hypocritical Albigenses, is this second difficulty to be solved ?</p> <p>Bossuet finds the task ready accomplished to his hand by the wisdom of the twelfth century, as displayed by the same most serviceable Bernard : and he might have yet additionally brought forward the sagacity of the thirteenth century, as exemplified by Lucas of Tuy ; for the solution of this ingenious Prelate perfectly quadrates with that of Bernard, and is indeed, with due acknowledgments, professedly and modestly borrowed from it.</p> <p>Notwithstanding that the Albigenses are somewhat incongruously described, as being ready to say and to swear anything in order that they might escape punishment : still, somehow or other, it was a public fact too notorious to be denied, that this most paradoxical race submitted, even joyfully and triumphantly, to martyrdom, rather than apostatise from the creed of their forefathers*.</p> <p>* Avouant et jurant tout ce qu'on vouloit, pour se sauver du supplice. Boss. Hist. des Variat. livr. xi. § 41.</p>		<p>CHAP. II.] AND ALBIGENSES. 83</p> <p>For the marked discrepancy which characterises these two strangely inconsistent particulars, Bossuet attempts not to account : but, the naked fact of voluntary and triumphant suffering for alleged conscience-sake on the part of the sufferers, he is content to explain in the manner recommended by Bernard.</p> <p><i>If Judas might be successfully tempted by the devil to lay violent hands upon himself : surely Satan, with at least equal facility, might tempt the Albigenses to brave death at the hands of others*.</i></p> <p>* I subjoin the originals, that full justice may be done to this curious and perhaps unique specimen of Latin ratiocination.</p> <p>S' il (le diable) avoit bien pu porter Judas à se donner la mort à lui-même, il pouvoit bien porter ces hérétiques à la souffrir de la main des autres. Boss. Hist. des Variat. livr. xi. § 147.</p> <p>Mirabantur aliqui, quod, non modo patienter, sed et læti, ut videbatur, ducerentur ad mortem : sed qui minus advertunt, quanta sit potestas diaboli, non modo in corpora hominum, sed etiam in corda, quæ semel permissis possederit. Nonne plus est sibimet hominem injicere manus, quam id libenter ab alio sustinere ? Hoc autem in multis potuisse diabolum, frequenter experti sumus, qui seipsos aut submerserunt aut suspenderunt. Denique Judas suspendit seipsum, diabolo sine dubio immitente. Ego tamen magis existimo, magisque admior, quod potuit immisere in cor ejus ut traderet Dominum, quam ut semetipsum suspenderet. Nihil ergo simile habent, constantia martyrum, et pertinacia horum : quia mortis contemptum in illis pietas, in istis cordis duritia, operatur. Bernard. sup. Cantic. serm. lxvi. Oper. p. 706, 707.</p> <p>Quorundam hæreticorum mentes in tantum invasit diabolus, ut, dum, propter hæresim capti ducuntur ad mortem, nullatenus</p> <p>G 2</p>
	<p>84 THE VALLENCES [BOOK II.]</p> <p>This truly logical argument, from the less to the greater, must needs, with all close thinkers, be invincibly conclusive. Satan was clearly the foul inspirer of the spurious martyrdoms of the Albigenses : because their unshaken fortitude could spring from no other quarter. The contempt of death, in genuine martyrs, as Bernard judiciously makes the distinction, is true piety ; but, in heretics, it is simply produced by a diabolically infused hardness of heart.</p> <p>Certainly, the Bishop of Meaux, by joyfully</p> <p>tristari, sed gaudere potius, videantur.—Qui autem non patitur pro justitia sed pro hæresi, in hoc, quod dicit se corporis non sentire dolorem, ostendit se ad Christi corpus minimè pertinere, qui pro nobis cum dolore sustinuit passionem.—Est ergo a diabolo ejus insensibilitas, cum cæcus mente dat se præcipitem morti : quod, in pluribus impiis, non solum legimus, verum etiam vidimus, præcessisse.—Saul et armiger ejus gladiis ceciderunt : et Achitophel suspensus occubuit, quia nutu Dei dissipatum est consilium ejus. Judas etiam Iscariotes laqueo se suspendit : et multi alii, seducti a diabolo, sponte se mortis præcipitio tradiderunt. De hac autem materia pulchrius beatus Bernardus fideles instruit. Luc. Tudens. adv. Alb. lib. iii. c. 21. in Bibl. Patr. vol. xiii. pp. 205, 206.</p> <p>Much in the same manner argued the Pagans respecting the martyrdoms of the primitive Christians. They were actuated by no philosophical love of truth, like the noble-minded Stoics : but they were driven along to death by the mere vain glory of an ostentatious madness. That he of the cat and the craпаud should eagerly catch up the wisdom of St. Bernard, retailing it with some judicious improvements of his own, is small wonder. Verily, Lucas of Tuy would have forfeited his charter, had he acted otherwise.</p>		<p>CHAP. II.] AND ALBIGENSES. 85</p> <p>adopting, in the seventeenth century, the cherished solution of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, has shewn the amiable quality of being very easily satisfied.</p> <p>III. A third difficulty yet remains to be solved : the evidential difficulty, I mean, when the whole matter is fairly considered, of admitting the sufficiency and satisfactoriness of the testimony, which is adduced for the purpose of establishing the asserted fact, that <i>The Albigenses were doctrinal Manichæans</i>.</p> <p>Like the primitive Christians, these religionists, as we have seen, were charged with the secret practice of various impurities. Yet they are admitted to have led holy and honest lives of habitual temperance and chastity and self-denial : and they are still further admitted to have always repelled the accusation, as a base falsehood concocted by their enemies.</p> <p>They were moreover charged, as we have also seen, with a time-serving readiness to avow and to swear anything that might be required of them : in order that, by such unscriptural dissimulation, they might escape the punishment which was awarded to heresy. Yet, even by the confession of their adversaries, they cheerfully and triumphantly laid down their lives, rather than renounce the doctrinal system, which, whether correctly or incorrectly, they themselves at least deemed the sincere truth of the Gospel.</p>



<p>86</p>	<p>THE VALLENTS [BOOK II.]</p> <p>We have now to learn, what, by their bigotted opponents, that system was alleged to be: in order that we may judge, how far the difficulty of attaching any credit to the testimony of such inconsistent witnesses may be fairly thought capable of a reasonable solution.</p> <p>1. With this view, I shall pass on to certain of those ancient accounts of the doctrinal system of the Cathari or Albigenses, which have come down to us from the middle ages: premising only, that, to avoid the wearisomeness of unprofitable repetition, I do not conceive it necessary to give the whole of them.</p> <p>(1.) Though the title, affixed (I suppose) by the Jesuit Mariana to the rambling Work of Lucas of Tuy, purports that it is a <i>Treatise against the Albigenses</i>, the author really says very little about their alleged peculiar opinions. That little, however, is sufficient to shew, that he wishes to charge them with having adopted, as their creed, the impious speculations of Manichæism.</p> <p><i>These heretics, says he, falsely assert, that the body of man was created by the devil.—Glorying in the name of philosophers or naturalists, they propound many doctrines contrary to the truth. But their object is to introduce the Manichæan Heresy and to acknowledge two Gods: of whom, the malignant, as they saucily pretend, created all things visible.—Thus they assert: that every visible object in this world was made by the devil: whence they argue, that</i></p>		<p>CHAP. II.] AND ALBIGENSES. 87</p> <p><i>it matters not, whether money be gained well or ill.—They likewise contend: that the Prelates of the Church can give no assistance, by indulgences of remission, to the souls of the faithful who have died in Christ; that the soul of no holy person ascends to heaven before the day of judgment; and that souls suffer no punishment, save in hell alone: adding, that they know nothing about the condition of those survivors, whom, while they lived in the body, they loved in this world*.</i></p> <p>(2.) Lucas of Tuy flourished in the thirteenth century: but the testimony of an earlier writer, Radulphus Ardens, who lived towards the close of the eleventh century, is somewhat more compact and explicit.</p> <p>* Humanum corpus factum a diabolo mentiuntur. Luc. Tudens. Præfat. adv. Alb. in Bibl. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 324.</p> <p>Alia plura, ut oppugnent veritatem, proferunt hæretici, qui philosophorum seu naturalium nomine gloriantur. Quorum finis est Manicheorum inducere sectam, et duos fateri Deos: quorum malignus, ut procaciter mentiuntur, creavit omnia visibilia. Ibid. lib. iii. c. 1. p. 277.</p> <p>Dicunt eis hæretici: Omnia, quæ in hoc mundo visibilia sunt, a diabolo facta sunt. Unde non refert, in lucro pecuniarum, utrum bene adquirantur vel malè. Ibid. lib. iii. c. 5. p. 279.</p> <p>Asserentes, Prælatos Ecclesie, Christi animabus mortuorum fidelium, remissionem indulgentiis, non posse ullatenus subvenire; nullius sancti animam, ante diem judicii, cælum ascendere; atque nusquam pati penas animas, nisi tantummodo in inferno; neque habere notitiam etiam eorum, quos, dum viverent, in sæculo dilexerunt. Præfat. in Ibid. p. 231.</p>
<p>88</p>	<p>THE VALLENTS [BOOK II.]</p> <p><i>Such, at this day, are those Manichæan Heretics, who by their heresy have polluted their native country of Agenois. They falsely pretend that they lead the life of the Apostles; saying, that they will neither lye nor swear at all; and, under the pretext of abstinence and continence, condemning marriage and the eating of animal food: for they assert, that it is as great a sin to approach to a wife as to a mother or a daughter. They likewise condemn the Old Testament: but of the New, they receive some books, and not others. What, however, is still more horrible, they propound two Creators of the universe: believing God to be the author of things invisible, while they hold the devil to be the author of things visible. Hence they secretly worship the devil, whom they esteem the creator of their own bodies. The sacrament of the altar they assert to be mere bread. Baptism they deny, as also the resurrection of the body: and they preach, that no one can be saved except through their hands*.</i></p> <p>* Tales sunt hodie hæretici Manichæi, qui sua hæresi patriam Agennensem maculaverunt: qui mentiuntur se vitam tenere Apostolorum; dicentes, se non mentiri, nec omnino jurare; sub pretextu abstinentiæ et continentie, escas carnum et nuptias damnantes. Dicunt, enim, tantum flagitium esse accedere ad uxorem, quantum ad matrem vel filiam. Damnant etiam Vetus Testamentum: de Novo, vero, quedam accipiunt, quedam non. Et, quod gravius est, duos prædicant rerum auctores: Deum invisibilem, Diabolum visibilem, auctorem credentes. Unde et occultè adorant Diabolum, quem sui</p>		<p>CHAP. II.] AND ALBIGENSES. 89</p> <p>(3.) Much the same account is given in a Fragment of the ancient History of Aquitaine, edited by Peter Pithæus, where it treats of the year 1017.</p> <p><i>Forthwith sprang up, throughout Aquitaine, certain Manichæans, seducing promiscuously the people from truth to error. They persuaded them to deny Baptism, the sign of the Holy Cross, the Church, and the Redeemer of the world himself; together with the veneration of the Saints of God, lawful marriage, and the eating of flesh: whence they turned away many simple persons from the faith*.</i></p> <p>(4.) We may trace again the alleged Manichæans of Aquitaine and the South of France, in the account given of the Publicans or Cathari of Gascony by the monk Robert of Auxerre, who flourished during the latter half of the twelfth century.</p> <p><i>The heresy of those, whom they call Publicans or Cathari or Paterins, denies the sacraments of</i></p> <p>corporis credunt creatorem. Sacramentum vero altaris purum panem esse dicunt. Baptismum negant. Neminem posse salvari, nisi per suas manus, prædicant. Resurrectionem etiam corporum negant. Radulph. Ard. Serm. in Dominic. post Trinit. viii. apud Usset, de Eccles. Success. c. viii. § 22.</p> <p>* E vestigio exorti sunt per Aquitaniam Manichæi, seducendo promiscuum populum a veritate ad errorem. Suadebant negare Baptismum, signum Sanctæ Crucis, Ecclesiam, et ipsum Redemptorem sæculi, honorem Sanctorum Dei, conjugia legitima, esum carnum: unde et multos simplices averterunt a fide. Fragment. Hist. Aquit. in Baron. Annal. vol. xi. A. D. 1017. col. 63.</p>



	<p>90 THE VALLENTS [BOOK II.]</p> <p><i>Christ. This had clandestinely sprung up in many places: but, in Gascony, it had openly taken possession of the people to a very great extent. For, there, the heretics, being cut off from the catholic communion, possess many castles fortified against the Catholics: rejecting the catholic rites and ceremonies, serving their own inventions, and poisoning by their virulence whomsoever they can. Wherefore, to crush their madness, Henry, who from being Abbot of Clairvaux had become Bishop of Alba, a man of a very eloquent tongue, was sent by Pope Alexander: and, accordingly, having gathered together, by the preaching of the word, both cavalry and infantry from various quarters, he attacked and conquered the aforesaid heretics. But his efforts were fruitless: for, as soon as ever they became masters of their own actions, they forthwith returned to wallowing in the filth of their pristine error*.</i></p> <p>* Hæresis illorum, quos Publicanos vel Catharos vel Paterinos vocant, quæ Christi abnegat sacramenta, clam quidem pluribus in locis irrepserat, sed palam in Guasconia maxime populos occuparat. Illic, namque, a catholica communione præcis, castra habent quam plurima adversus Catholicos communita: catholico ritu posthabito, suis adinventionibus inservientes; earumque virulentia, quos potuerint, toxicantes. Quocirca, ad eorum retundendam vesaniam, missus ab Alexandro Papa vir lingue disertæ, Henricus ex Abbate Clarevallis Episcopus Albanensis: quæ, prædicationis verbo, militum peditumque copias undecunque contraxit, præfatosque hæreticos expugnavit. Verum id frustra: nam, ut sui compotes facti sunt, se in erroris pristini volatibus revolverunt. Robert. Altiss.</p>		<p>CHAP. II.] AND ALBIGENSES. 91</p> <p>(5.) What, however, will perhaps be deemed the most important testimony to the Manichæism of the Cathari or Albigenses, is that of the Inquisitor Reinerius Sacco, who had been a member of their communion during the space of no less than seventeen years, who afterward conformed to the Roman Church, and who at length became a Priest in the Order of Preaching Friars. This peculiarly circumstanced individual is thought to have written about the year 1254: and, if we suppose him to have composed his Treatise toward the close of a long life, he may not improbably be the Friar Reinerius, whom Pope Innocent III., in his Decretal Epistles of the year 1199, mentions, as being employed by him, in conjunction with Friar Guido, for the purpose of hunting out the heretical Valdenses and Cathari throughout the South of France and the North of Spain*.</p> <p>Chronolog. in A. D. 1181. apud Usser. de Eccles. Success. c. viii. § 37.</p> <p>The same readily understood charge of denying the sacraments is brought against them by Nicolas Trivett in his Chronicle.</p> <p>Hæretici, quos Albigenses vocant, et alii multi, conveniunt circa Tolosam, malè sentientes de sacramento altaris, de matrimonio, et aliis sacramentis: ad quorum confutationem Petrus Romanus, et multæ aliæ personæ religiose, cum prædictis regibus, licet parum profecerint, conveniunt. Nicol. Trivett. Chronic. in A. D. 1178. in Dacher. Spicil. vol. viii. p. 478.</p> <p>* Innoc. III. Epist. Decretal. lib. i. p. 58, 57, 58. As I have stated in the text, it is commonly said, that Reinerius</p>	
	<p>92 THE VALLENTS [BOOK II.]</p> <p><i>The opinions in common to all the Cathari are these.</i></p> <p><i>This world, and all things that are in it, were created by the devil.</i></p> <p><i>All the sacraments of the Church, to wit, the sacrament of Baptism by material water, and the other sacraments, profit nothing to salvation, and are false sacraments: inasmuch as they are not the true sacraments of Christ and his Church, but deceptive and diabolical and appertaining only to a Church of malignant.</i></p> <p>wrote about the year 1254: but his Work, I think, affords a strong internal presumption, that he really wrote it in the year 1230. From a date which occurs in the Work itself, his Inquisitorship must have continued at least down to the latter mentioned year: and the wording of the passage, which contains the date, seems to indicate, that, in that same year, the Work was composed.</p> <p>Prima pars tenet opiniones antiquiores, quas omnes Cathari antiquiores habebant in annis Domini CURRENTIBUS mille ducentis triginta. Reiner. Opusc. de heret. c. vi. in Bibl. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 304.</p> <p>Somewhat awkwardly, the date is given in cardinal, rather than in ordinal, numbers: but it is hard to say, what the term CURRENT can import, unless it be used for the purpose of intimating, that the year 1230 was then actually current, when Reinerius was engaged in the composition of his Treatise.</p> <p>If, then, Reinerius was seventy years old in the year 1230 when I suppose his Work to have been written, he would have been thirty-nine years old in the year 1199, when a certain Friar Reinerius was employed by Innocent III. as his Inquisitor in the South of France and in the North of Spain. Now the Reinerius of Pope Innocent, and the Reinerius surnamed</p>		<p>CHAP. II.] AND ALBIGENSES. 93</p> <p><i>Carnal matrimony is a mortal sin: and, in the future world, a person is not punished more heavily for adultery and incest, than for lawful wedlock.</i></p> <p><i>There is no future resurrection of the body.</i></p> <p><i>To eat flesh or eggs or cheese, even in a case of urgent necessity, is a mortal sin.</i></p> <p><i>The secular authorities act sinfully, when they punish with death malefactors or heretics.</i></p> <p><i>No one can be saved, except through their ministration.</i></p> <p>Sacco, correspond, both in name, and in office, and in the country where that office was exercised. But, if these two Reinerii be one and the same individual: then, from the calculated age of thirty-nine, we must deduct seventeen years, for the seventeen years during which Reinerius Sacco was one of the Cathari. This process will leave twenty-two years, for the time before Reinerius became a Catharus, and for the time after he ceased to be one up to the year 1199. Let us suppose, that he joined the Cathari at the age of eighteen. In that case, he must have left them at the age of thirty-five. Hence in the year 1199, when, by the hypothesis, he would be thirty-nine years old, he might well be an Inquisitor sent forth by Pope Innocent: for I need scarcely remark, that it was the barbarous though sagacious policy of the Roman Church to employ recent converts from reputed heresy in the task of hunting out and persecuting their former associates.</p> <p>But, even if we retain the year 1254 as the date of the Work, the identity of the two Reinerii will still chronologically be quite possible. For, let Reinerius Sacco have been eighty-five years old in the year 1254, and let him have joined the Cathari at the age of twelve: and, according to such an hypothesis, he might easily have been acting as an Inquisitor in the year 1199.</p>	



*All unbaptized infants suffer eternal punishment no less severely, than homicides and robbers.*

*There is no purgatory\*.*

*The additional opinions of some of the Cathari, which they entertain beside the above-mentioned common opinions, are the following.*

*There are two Principles from the Deity: a Principle of good; and a Principle of evil.*

*The Trinity, namely, the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, is not one God: but the Father is greater than the Son and the Holy Ghost.*

*Each Principle, or each God, created his own angels and his own world.*

\* Communes opiniones omnium Catharorum sunt, videlicet: Quod diabolus fecerit hunc mundum, et omnia quæ in eo sunt. Item, quod omnia sacramenta Ecclesiæ, scilicet sacramentum Baptismi aquæ materialis et cætera sacramenta, nihil prosint ad salutem; et quod non sint vera sacramenta Christi et ejus Ecclesiæ, sed deceptorum et diabolica et Ecclesiæ malignantium. Item, communis opinio omnium Catharorum est: quod matrimonium carnale semper fuerit mortale peccatum; et quod non puniatur aliquis gravius in futuro propter adulterium et incestum, quam propter legitimum conjugium. Item, omnes Cathari negant carnis resurrectionem futuram. Item credunt, quod comedere carnes, ova, vel caseum, etiam in urgente necessitate, sit mortale peccatum. Item, quod potestates seculares peccent, mortaliter puniendo malefactores vel hæreticos. Item, quod nemo possit salvus fieri, nisi per ipsos. Item, quod omnes parvuli etiam, non baptizati, non levius æternaliter puniantur, quam homicidæ et latrones. Item, quod omnes negant Purgatorium. Reiner. Opusc. de hæret. c. vi. in Bibl. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 302.

2. Such, in point of doctrine, if we may credit the writers who have passed before us, were the Albigenses. According to the evidence, which in all fairness has been adduced, they were rank Manichæans. But here the question is: whether the witnesses against them are to be credited.

istæ. Quod duo sunt Principia a Deo: videlicet, boni et mali. Item, quod Trinitas, scilicet Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, non est unus Deus: sed quod Pater major est Filio et Spiritu Sancto. Item, quod utrumque Principium, sive uterque Deus, creavit angelos suos et suum mundum: et quod iste mundus est creatus, factus, et formatus, a malo Deo; et omnia, quæ sunt in eo. Item, quod diabolus cum suis angelis ascendit in cælum: et, facto ibidem prælio cum Michaelæ archangelo, angelus boni Dei extraxit inde et partem creaturarum Dei; et infudit eas quotidie in humanis corporibus et brutis et etiam de uno corpore in aliud, donec dictæ creaturæ reducantur in cælum. Item, quod Filius Dei non assumpsit humanam naturam in veritate, sed ejus similem, ex beata Virgine, quam dicunt fuisse angelum: et quod non verè comedit et bibit, nec verè passus est, nec mortuus, nec sepultus; nec ejus resurrectio vera fuit: sed quod hæc fuerunt putativa: similiter, de omnibus miraculis, quæ Christus fecit. Item, quod Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, Moyses, et cæteri plures patres antiqui, et beatus Joannes Baptista, fuerunt inimici Dei et ministri diaboli. Item, quod diabolus fuerit auctor totius Veteris Testamenti, exceptis his libris: scilicet, Job, Psalterio, libris Salomonis, Sapientiæ filii Sirach, Isaïæ, Hieremïæ, Ezechiel, Daniel, et duodecem Prophetarum. Item, quod mundus iste nunquam habebit finem. Item, quod judicium futurum jam factum est, nec amplius fiet. Item, quod infernus et ignis æternus, sive pœnæ æternæ, sunt in isto mundo, et non alibi. Reiner. de hæret. c. vi. in Biblioth. Patr. vol. xiii. pp. 304, 305.

*This world, and all things that are in it, was created and made and formed by the evil God.*

*The devil, with his angels, ascended to heaven: and, when war there took place with Michael the Archangel, the angel of the good God thence extracted a part of the creatures of God, and daily infuses them into human and brutal bodies and even from one body into another, until the said creatures are brought back to heaven.*

*From the blessed Virgin, who was an angel, the Son of God took not true human nature, but only its similitude. Hence he did not truly eat and drink: neither did he truly suffer or die: neither was he truly buried: neither did he truly rise again: but all these matters were only putative or apparitional. The same must be said also of his miracles.*

*Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and Moses and the old fathers and John the Baptist were all enemies of God and ministers of the devil.*

*The devil was the author of the entire Old Testament, save only the books of Job, the Psalms, Solomon, Wisdom, the Son of Sirach, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the twelve minor Prophets.*

*This world will never have an end.*

*The alleged future judgment has already occurred, and will never take place again.*

*Hell and eternal fire and eternal punishments are in this world, and not elsewhere\*.*

\* Opiniones istorum, præter communes supra scriptas, sunt

(1.) Now, even without the adduction of any counter-testimony (which, however, shall appear in its proper place), I should fearlessly say: that no confidence can be placed in such evidence. Upon its very front, it bears impressed the dark brand of determined prejudice or of interested calumny.

We have seen how entirely Peter Siculus has failed in attempting to fix the charge of Manichæism upon the oriental Paulicians; and equally vain are the efforts of the Romish enemies of the Albigenses. Finding, that the Paulicians had most incongruously been set down as Manichæans, for the very reason, which, according to plain common sense, should have effectually determined them to be *not* Manichæans; namely, because a large proportion of them had, in the first instance, been actually converted *from* Manichæism to what was plainly the sound faith of the Gospel; finding this, the prejudiced or interested bigots of Romanism readily caught up the same convenient cry against the Albigenses or Cathari; and, so far as minute particularity was concerned, had small difficulty in filling up the outline, with much specious and plausible exactness, from the ancient writings of Irenæus or Epiphanius.

Such is very eminently and clearly the case with the wretched apostate and persecutor Reinerius Sacco. His very minuteness convicts him of being a mere retailer from the Works of the



	<p>98 THE VALLENCES [BOOK II.]</p> <p>primitive writers against the real Gnostic and Docetic and Manichæan Heresies: and his horrible appeal to God, as a witness of his veracity, serves only to throw a greater discredit upon his foully calumnious statements; for no <i>honest</i> historian thinks it necessary to appeal to Heaven for the purpose of establishing his trustworthiness*. The consciousness of his apostasy (an apostasy, the guilt of which was tremendously aggravated by the persecution of his former brethren) is ever present to his view: and thrice, in a Work of only ten not very long chapters, does he refer to it. Having quitted his own communion for that of the Roman Church, and being forthwith required</p> <p><sup>1</sup> Ego autem, frater Reinerius, olim hæresiarcha, nunc Dei gratia, sacerdos in ordine Fratrum Prædicatorum, licet indignus, dico indubitanter, et testificor coram Deo, quia non mentior, quod illorum trium non est aliquod inter Catharos, sive in penitentia eorum. Reiner. de hæret. c. vi. p. 303.</p> <p>The man, who wrote this, was suspected of being a liar; and was conscious to himself, that the suspicion was well founded. Had he known himself to be a faithful witness to real facts, he would never have thought of saying, <i>Non mentior</i>. His whole phraseology and manner clearly import, that his injured brethren had charged him with gross falsehood and determined misrepresentation. Like Peter when he denied his Lord, he rebuts the charge with oaths and violent asseverations: but, unlike Peter, the unhappy man repented not of his enormous and aggravated wickedness. He lied: and he <i>knew</i> that he lied.</p> <p><sup>†</sup> Quia, heu, jam multi sunt hæretici, idcirco, ad laudem Dei et cautelam fidelium, ego frater Reinerius, olim hæresi-</p>		<p>CHAP. II.] AND ALBIGENSES. 99</p> <p>to shew the sincerity of his conversion by undertaking the office of Inquisitor among those with whom he had once walked in the bonds of the Gospel, he resolutely determined to make out a strong case against them, both to please his employers, and to vindicate his own foul apostasy. Yet so clumsy is he in the management of that very minuteness which was designed to make most strongly against them, that he more than once blunders into gross inconsistencies or into palpable contradictions.</p> <p>Thus he tells us that the Cathari rejected the sacrament of <i>Baptism</i>, as no true sacrament of Christ, but as a deceptive and diabolical ordinance instituted by a Church of Malignants. Yet, in the judgment of these very Cathari, if we are to believe this veracious witness to what he knew from an experience of seventeen years, all <i>unbaptised</i> infants suffer the same intensity of eternal punishment as homicides and robbers.</p> <p>Thus he asserts, that, with some considerable</p> <p>archa, nunc, Dei gratia, sacerdos in ordine Fratrum Prædicatorum, licet indignus, præsens Opusculum de hæreticis compilavi. Reiner. de hæret. Præfat. in Bibl. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 298.</p> <p>Præterea dico, quod, in septendecim annis, quibus, heu, conversatus sum cum eis, non vidi aliquem ex eis orare secreto seorsim ab aliis, aut ostendere se tristem de peccatis suis, seu lachrymari, vel percutere pectus suum. Ibid. c. vi. p. 303.</p> <p>The third instance of uneasy reference to his apostasy is given above.</p> <p>II 2</p>	
	<p>100 THE VALLENCES [BOOK II.]</p> <p>exceptions, they rejected the Old Testament as the work of the devil, while he is totally silent respecting any rejection of any part of the New Testament: an assertion and a silence, which evidently imply; that, like the old Paulicians, they received the latter just as the Catholic Church receives it; and that they did not, like the Marcionites and real Manichæans, corrupt it into another Gospel that so it might serve their own purposes. Yet he requires us to credit him, when he says: that, with the whole New Testament and with confessedly the greater part of the Old Testament in their hands, they deemed Abraham and the fathers to be servants of the devil; maintained, as a scriptural truth, the doctrine of two Independent Principles; adopted all the absurdities of the Docetæ, respecting the visionary character of Christ; maintained, that the whole material world was created by the devil; and broached a farrago of fables, all of which are hopelessly irreconcilable with that Gospel, which they not only had in their hands, but which, by this egregious blunderer's own confession, they could well nigh say by heart from one end to the other*.</p> <p>A witness, thus circumstanced and thus giving</p> <p>* Apud nos; says one of the Cathari, as his words are given uncontradictedly by Reinerius himself: Apud nos, rarus est vir vel femina, qui textum non sciat vulgariter recitare. Reiner. de hæret. c. viii. p. 307.</p>		<p>CHAP. II.] AND ALBIGENSES. 101</p> <p>his testimony, who will believe? The easy faith of Bossuet may admit his evidence: but the stubborn incredulity of a Protestant will laugh at the clumsy fraud and easily recognise the <i>scrinia</i> whence this compiler of calumnies has pillaged his materials. His whole account of the Cathari smacks of Irenæus and Epiphanius. From <i>them</i> he has borrowed a bungling account of the ancient Gnostics and Manichæans, who had fabricated for their own purposes a Gospel of their own: and then, not perceiving the grossness of his inconsistency, he saddles it upon a body of Christians, who possessed the genuine Gospel, and who, instead of seeking to corrupt it, could actually say almost the whole of it by heart.</p> <p>(2.) But this is not all. A prudent inquirer, before he gives credit to these repeated allegations of doctrinal Manichæism against the Albigenses, will naturally ask: <i>What answer did they themselves make to the charge?</i></p> <p>In good sooth, like their asiatic predecessors the Paulicians, who, as we have seen, <i>renounced</i> both Manes and Manichæism, the Albigenses <i>stoutly denied</i> the truth of the allegations*. Nor</p> <p>* The mischievous Paulicians seem to have amused themselves, perhaps not very wisely, with playing upon the voracious credulity of Peter Siculus in regard to their most absurdly pretended manichæan belief in two independent Principles!</p> <p><i>We are Christians, said they to Peter: you are Romans. You believe in the Creator of the world: we believe in him</i></p>	



<p>102 THE VALLENCES [BOOK II.</p> <p>did they deny it merely once or twice: nor yet was the denial confined to a few individuals. It was, we are assured, their universal custom, whenever they were questioned concerning their</p> <p><i>concerning whom our Lord speaks in the Gospel; Ye have neither heard his voice, nor seen his shape. John v. 37.</i></p> <p>Peter greedily interpreted their confessedly bantering language in his own way: and forthwith set them down as acknowledging their difference from the Romans to be; that they believed one God to be the Creator of the world, and another God to be the heavenly Father excluded from the administration of the world and ruling in eternity alone. Yet their bantering words, which he luckily gives us as well as his own comment upon them, really import nothing more, than that he, whom the Romans worshipped as the Creator of the world, was venerated by the Paulicians as that heavenly Father whose voice is not heard and whose shape is not discerned.</p> <p>Hoc sæpe licet in illis observare, quando, urbanitatis causa, cum aliquo liberiores facti, produnt liberè, quisnam sit, qui cum illis sermocinetur. Age, dic, inquit, quid nos a Romanis secernit?—Vos creditis in mundi opificem: nos vero in illum, de quo in Evangelii Dominus loquitur; Quoniam vocem ejus non audistis, neque speciem ejus vidistis.</p> <p>These expressions of the bantering Paulicians Peter gravely interprets as an admission, that they held the manichæan doctrine of two independent Principles!</p> <p>Asserunt autem, sejunctionem suam a nobis in hoc consistere: quod ipsi quidem alium aiunt esse Deum, mundi conditorem; et alium, quem Patrem Cœlestem vocitant, exclusam a mundi administratione, solaque in æternitate dominantem. Pet. Sic. Hist. in Biblioth. Patr. vol. ix. par. post. p. 33.</p> <p>From what part of the words of the Paulician does Peter deduce his Asserunt?</p>		<p>CHAP. II.] AND ALBIGENSES. 103</p> <p>faith, promptly to deny all the various matters of which they were suspected*.</p> <p>The evidence, then, at present, will stand as follows.</p> <p>By their enemies, the whole of whose concurrent testimony is hopelessly inconsistent and contradictory, the Albigenses are charged with having adopted and maintained the creed of Manichæism.</p> <p>But, by the confession of their very enemies, it was their universal custom to deny the truth of the charge: for they disclaimed altogether any participation or approbation of that heresy; and, their adversaries themselves being judges, the strictness of their lives might well vouch for their honesty.</p> <p>To which party, even as the evidence now stands, ought we to give credit?</p> <p>Certainly not to the Albigenses, replies the Bishop of Meaux. From the Paulicians of the East to their Catharistic Successors in the West, the whole generation are rank liars and equivocators. They may deny their Manichæism as often as they please: but a well practised Catholic Inquisitor is not so easily cheated. Nay, the very <i>pertinacity</i> and <i>uniformity</i> of their denial,</p> <p>* Quæsitâ fidem, cum, de quibus suspecti videbantur, omnia prorsus suo more negarent, examinati judicio aquæ mendaces inventi sunt. Bernard. super Cant. serm. lxxvi. Oper. p. 766.</p>
<p>104 THE VALLENCES [BOOK II.</p> <p>in all ages and countries, is <i>itself</i> a decided proof, that they ought not to be believed. It was the spirit of the Sect from its earliest commencement: and, since both Paulicians and Albigenses have invariably renounced Manes and disclaimed Manichæism, nothing can be more clear, than that the accusation is fully established by the simple and incontrovertible fact of <i>their unvarying consistency</i>*.</p> <p>Now what were these unfortunate men to do? Their invariable disclaimer of Manichæism was the surest proof that they were hardened Manichæans: and their specific declaration, that they believed all the Articles of the Christian Faith, clearly demonstrated their <i>unbelief</i>, and thence most fully and satisfactorily established the confident assertion of their <i>hypocrisy</i>.</p> <p>* Mais la marque la plus certaine pour connoître ces hérétiques étoit le soin qu'ils avoient de se cacher, non-seulement en recevant les sacrements avec nous, mais encore en répondant comme nous, lorsqu'on les pressoit sur la foi. C'étoit l'esprit de la secte dès son commencement; et nous l'avons remarqué dès le temps de saint Augustin et de saint Léon. Pierre de Sicile, et après lui Cédrenus, nous font voir le même caractère dans les Pauliciens. Non-seulement ils nioient en général qu'ils fussent Manichéens; mais encore, interrogés en particulier de chaque dogme de la foi, ils paroissent Catholiques en trahissant leurs sentimens par des mensonges manifestes, ou du moins en les déguisant par des équivoques pires que le mensonge, parce qu'elles étoient plus artificieuses et plus pleines d'hypocrisie. Boss. Hist. des Variat. livr. xi. § 31.</p>		<p>CHAP. II.] AND ALBIGENSES. 105</p> <p>Yet, paradoxical as it may seem, from the admitted fact, that, <i>In all ages have the Paulicians and the Albigenses invariably denied themselves to be Manichæans</i>, does Bossuet undertake to demonstrate the asserted fact of their inveterate Manichæism.</p>