

CHAPTER IV.

THE FALSEHOOD OF THE ALLEGATION OF MANICHEISM AGAINST THE ALBIGENSES, DEMONSTRATED FROM THE CASE OF THE CANONS OF ORLEANS.

THE earliest instance, I believe, of the public attention being drawn to certain reputed Manichæans who had suddenly appeared in France, is that afforded by the remarkable case of the Canons of Holyrood in Orleans.

I. After the favourite manner of the Gallican Romish Clergy, Bossuet rapidly tells the story in his own way: suppressing all the gross contradictions, which occur in the several accounts of the matter; observing a prudent silence, as to the very suspicious method in which was procured the pretended confession of the culprits; and, instead of honestly exhibiting in his margin the original documents upon which his scanty and garbled narrative claims to be founded, loosely giving mere references to books of no general access, so as effectually to preclude a reader from judging for himself, unless he possesses the op-

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portunity, and will encounter the trouble, of a patient verification.

I shall adopt a different mode of proceeding: and, though a full statement of the several accounts as they are variously given by Rodulphus Glaber and the Actuary of the Synod of Orleans and the ancient Historian of Aquitaine and John of Fleury, with the remarks appended to them, will, of necessity, occupy some considerable space; yet, by those conscientious inquirers whose object is the attainment of truth, my inability to imitate the convenient brevity of the Bishop of Meaux will readily, I trust, be pardoned*.

* I subjoin Bossuet's statement of the matter: because, as we proceed, a reference to it may be found not altogether useless. Its scantiness of correct information affords to the Bishop ample room for a redundancy of illustration.

Il est constant, que l'hérésie manichéenne jeta de profondes racines dans la Bulgarie: et c'est de là, qu'elle se répandit bientôt après dans le reste de l'Europe; qui fit donner, comme nous verrons, le nom de *Bulgares* aux sectateurs de cette hérésie.

Mille ans s'étoient écoulés depuis la naissance de Jésus-Christ: et le prodigieux relâchement de la discipline menaçoit l'Eglise d'Occident de quelque malheur extraordinaire. C'étoit peut-être aussi le temps de ce terrible *déchainement de Satan*, marqué dans l'Apocalypse, *après mille ans*; ce qui peut signifier d'extrêmes désordres: mille ans après que le *fort armé*, c'est-à-dire le démon victorieux, fut lié par Jésus-Christ venant au monde. Quoi qu'il en soit, dans ce temps et en 1017, sous le roi Robert, on découvrit à Orléans des hérétiques d'une

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I. The narrative of Rodulphus Glaber is to the following effect.

In the year 1017, the existence of a heresy, which had long been secretly germinating, was detected in the city of Orleans. The heresy in question was said to have been originally brought into France by a woman from Italy: who seduced from the faith persons of every description, not only simple Laics, but likewise many even among the more learned of the Clergy. This woman, in the course of her pernicious ramblings, came to Orleans; where, for a considerable time, she took up her abode. Here she infected many with her poisonous doctrines: and, what is more especially

doctrine qu'on ne connoissoit plus il y avoit long-temps parmi les Latins.

Une femme italienne avoit apporté en France cette damnable hérésie. Deux chanoines d'Orléans, l'un nommé *Etienne* ou *Héribert*, et l'autre nommé *Lisois*, qui étoient en réputation, furent les premiers séduits. On eut beaucoup de peine à découvrir leur secret. Mais enfin un *Arifaste*, qui soupçonna ce que c'étoit, s'étant introduit dans leur familiarité, ces hérétiques et leurs sectateurs confessèrent avec beaucoup de peine qu'ils nioient la chair humaine en Jésus-Christ; qu'ils ne croyoient pas que la rémission des péchés fût donnée dans le Baptême, ni que le pain et le vin pussent être changés au corps et au sang de Jésus-Christ. On découvrit, qu'ils avoient une Eucharistie particulière, qu'ils appeloient *la viande céleste*. Elle étoit cruelle et abominable, et tout-à-fait du génie des Manichéens quoiqu'on ne la trouve pas dans les anciens. Mais outre ce qu'on en vit à Orléans, Gui de Nogent la remarque

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deserving of notice, Heribert and Lisois, who both in rank and in knowledge stood among the highest of the Clergy, becoming her proselytes, were peculiarly active in spreading her opinions not only throughout Orleans but likewise throughout the neighbouring cities.

While indefatigably engaged in this work, they attempted to convert a Priest of Rouen. But he, being a man of a sound mind, forthwith took the alarm: and thence communicated the circumstance to the Count of the city, Duke Richard of Normandy. That Prince, equally thunderstruck with such tidings, lost no time in conveying the information to King Robert. Whereupon, the

encore en d'autres pays. Il ne faut pas s'étonner, qu'on trouve de nouveaux prodiges dans un secte si cachée, soit qu'elle les invente, ou qu'on les y découvre de nouveau.

Voilà de vrais caractères de Manichéisme. On a vu, que ces hérétiques rejetoient l'Incarnation. Pour le Baptême, saint Augustin dit expressément, que les Manichéens ne le donnoient pas, et le croyoient inutile. Pierre de Sicile, et après lui Cédrenus, nous apprennent la même chose des Pauliciens: tous ensemble nous font voir que, les Manichéens avoient une autre Eucharistie que la nôtre. Ce que disoient les hérétiques d'Orléans, qu'il ne falloit pas implorer le secours des saints, étoit encore de même caractère, et venoit, comme on a vu, de l'ancienne source de cette secte.

Ils ne dirent rien ouvertement des deux principes: mais ils parlèrent avec mépris de la création et des livres où elle étoit écrite. Cela regardoit l'Ancien Testament: et ils confessèrent dans le supplice, qu'ils avoient eu de mauvais sentimens sur le

	<p>CHAP. IV.] AND ALBIGENSES. 129</p> <p>zealous Sovereign, taking as his assessors many Bishops and Abbots and Lay Religious, immediately instituted a close scrutiny among the Clergy of Orleans. Heribert and Lisoye did not dissemble, how much they differed from the established faith of Rome: and many came forward, expressing their adherence to the two heresiarchs, and declaring that nothing should separate them from their fellowship.</p> <p>Sorely grieved, that an inculcation thus serious should attend upon men, who, with all probity of morals, had hitherto, in their appointed station, been pre-eminently useful; the King and the Prelates, retiring apart, proceeded to a more</p> <p><i>Seigneur de l'Univers. Le lecteur se souvient bien, que c'est celui que les Manichéens croyoient mauvais. Ils allèrent au feu avec joie, dans l'espérance d'en être miraculeusement délivrés: tant l'esprit de seduction agissoit en eux. Au reste, c'est ici le premier exemple d'une semblable condamnation. On sait, que les lois romaines condamnoient à mort les Manichéens: le saint roi Robert les jugea dignes du feu. Bossuet. Hist. des Variat. livr. xi. § 16—20.</i></p> <p>Such is the history which Bossuet gives of the Canons of Orleans: and, in his margin, he barely refers to the Acts of the Council of Orleans and to the History of Rodolphus Glaber. But, while he thus treats his unsuspecting readers with nothing beyond a meagre reference for the authority on which he gives his narrative, he cautiously abstains from saying a syllable, as to the essential discrepancies in the two accounts to which he refers. On the contrary, he makes up a very plausible and very respectable tale of his own out of the two, suppressing every incredible circumstance and every palpable</p> <p>K</p>		<p>130 THE VALLENTS [BOOK II.</p> <p>secret examination of the accused: and, as we are assured by the examiners themselves, the result of this secret examination was a full confession of the maintenance and advocacy of the most impious doctrines.</p> <p><i>We have, said the culprits, long since embraced the tenets of this sect, the existence of which you have only so recently discovered: but we are well assured, that, sooner or later, both you and all men will do the same. Whatever the Old and the New Testament may say respecting the existence of a Triune Deity, the whole is a system of mere delirious falsehood. For both the heaven and the earth have ever been exactly as they now appear, without having a Creator who gave them a beginning. To expect, therefore, any future eternal reward of a holy and christian life, is no better than a superfluous absurdity.</i></p> <p>absurdity which might shake its credit, preserving a profound silence as to the recorded language of the prisoners themselves which is totally incompatible with the idle figment of their Manichæism, and omitting the important fact that the examination was made with closed doors, and that we know nothing of the pretended confession of the accused, save what we have received from their interested enemies.</p> <p>That Bossuet himself had read the two jarring accounts to which he refers, and therefore that he could not have sinned from ignorance, is evident: because, in his garbled amalgamated statement, he says; that one of the Canons was called Stephen or Heribert. The fact is: that one account gives this person the one name; and the other account, the other name.</p>	
	<p>CHAP. IV.] AND ALBIGENSES. 131</p> <p>On making this confession, the choice of either recantation or cremation was freely and mercifully offered to them. To recant, however, the heretics altogether refused. Hence, an enormous fire having been kindled by the royal command not far from the city, they were forthwith led out to execution. But, to the number of thirteen, they were so far from being daunted, that they willingly offered themselves to the flames. Yet, when they experienced the pain of burning, they cried out, with what voice they were able to exert, that they had been deceived by the devil, and that they had entertained evil sentiments respecting the God and Lord of the universe. The by-standers, hearing this lamentable cry, immediately attempted to draw them from the fire: but the flames were so furious, that all their efforts were fruitless. Wherever any of their followers could be found, they were subjected to the same punishment*.</p> <p>2. Thus runs the narrative of Glaber: but the Actuary of the Synod of Orleans, who wrote in</p> <p>* Tertio de vicesimo, infra jam dictum millesimum, anno, reperta est, apud prefatam Aurelianensem urbem, cruda nimium atque insolens heresis: quæ, scilicet, diutius occultè germinata, in perditionis segetem male pullulans, plures in suæ cæcitatæ præcipitavit laqueum. Fertur namque, a muliere quadam ex Italia procedente, hæc insanissima hæresis in Galliis habuisse exordium: quæ, ut erat diabolo plena, seducebat quoscunque volebat non solum idiotas et simplices, verum etiam plerosque</p> <p>K 2</p>		<p>132 THE VALLENTS [BOOK II.</p> <p>the same year 1017, differs essentially from him in many important particulars.</p> <p>According to the statement of this functionary, when the Manichæan Heresy shewed itself at Orleans, an individual named <i>Arefaste</i>, one of the Knights of the Duke of Normandy, was eminently useful in detecting that pest, which, in all directions, was pullulating throughout the provinces of France. This military retainer supported, in his</p> <p>qui videbantur doctiores in clericorum ordine. Quæ, scilicet, veniens in civitatem Aurelianensem, dum moraretur per aliquot spatium temporis, veneno suæ nequitie plures infecit.—Fuerunt nempe hujus perversi dogmatis heresiarchæ duo (heu pro dolor), qui in civitate putabantur genere ac scientia valentiores in Clero: quorum unus <i>Heribertus</i>, alter <i>Lisoius</i>, dicebatur.—Qui, non solum in prædicta urbe, sed, etiam in vicinis urbibus, malignum dogma spargere tentabant: dum quendam sanæ mentis in Rothomagorum civitate presbyterum cupientes suæ consortem facere vesanie, missis legatis, qui et omne secretum hujus perversi dogmatis explanantes docerent. Dicebant nempe, fore in proximum, in illorum scilicet dogma populum cadere universum.</p> <p>Quibus compertis, presbyter sollicitè perrexit ad christianissimum Comitem ejus civitatis Richardum: exposuit ei omnem rei, ut compererat, ordinem. Qui, videlicet, Comes protinus misit celeriter ad Regem, palam ei faciens clandestinam in regno proprio Christi ovium pestem. Ut autem cognovit Rex, scilicet Robertus,—mores nimium effectus est.—Idcirco, quantocyus Aurelianos properans, convocatis plurimis episcopis et abbatibus ac religiosis quibusque laicis, acerrimè cœpit perscrutari, qui essent auctores hujus perversi dogmatis.</p> <p>Facta igitur perscrutatione inter Clericos, quomodo unus-</p>	

house, a clerk named *Herbert*: who, for the sake of prosecuting his studies, repaired to Orleans. There, while he was seeking after the teachers of truth, he blindly fell into the bottomless pit of heresy. For, at that time, there lived in the same city two clerks, *Stephen* and *Lisoye*: men, illustrious among all for their wisdom, redolent of sanctity, abundant in almsgiving. To their teaching, *Herbert* resorted: and, while he fondly

quisque sentiret et crederet ea, quæ Fides Catholica per doctrinam apostolicam incommutabiliter servat et prædicat: illi duo, videlicet Lisoius et Heribertus, statim se aliter sentire non negantes, quales diu latuerunt, manifestarunt. Deinde vero plures post illos se parti istorum profitebantur harere, nec ulla ratione se posse affirmabant ab illorum segregare consortio.

Quibus compertis, tam Rex quam Pontifices, tristiciores effecti, interrogaverunt illos secretius, utpote viros hactenus in omni morum probitate perutilissimos; quorum unus Lisoius,—alter Heribertus.—Qui dum interrogati fuissent, a quo, vel unde, eis ista præsumptio accidisset, hujusmodi dederunt responsum: Hoc enim diu est, quod sectam, quam vos jam tardè agnoscitis, amplectimur; sed tam vos, quam ceteros, cujuscunque legis vel ordinis, in eam cadere expectavimus: quod etiam adhuc fore credimus.

His dictis, continuo, palam exposuerunt omnium antiquarum stultissimam ac miserissimam nempe sui deceptricem hæresim. Dicebant ergo, deliramenta esse, quicquid, in Veteri ac Novo Canone,—de trina unaque Deitate, beata confirmat auctoritas. Coelum pariter ac terram, ut conspiciuntur, absque auctore initii, semper extitisse, asserabant.—Omne Christianorum opus, pietatis duntaxat et justitiæ, quod estimatur pretium remunerationis æternæ, laborem superfluum judicabant esse.—

mission to undertake the development of the alarming theological pestilence. Leave being easily obtained, the knight repaired to Orleans: and presented himself, before the two heresiarchs, in the garb of a humble scholar. Ere this spiritually dangerous step, however, was taken, he very prudently had the precaution to fortify himself with suppliant prayer against the machinations of *Lucifer*: and, furthermore, during the whole progress of his most adventurous enterprize, he effectually kept the foul fiend at arm's length, according to the wise sacerdotal advice which he had received, by a daily orthodox communion. For the deliberate purpose of betraying them, our mirror of knightly honour soon wormed himself into the confidence of the two unsuspecting clerics: and his report to his employers was, that, at length, they communicated the following summary of their religious system.

Christ was not born from the Virgin Mary: neither did he suffer death for mankind: neither was he truly buried: neither did he ever rise again from the dead. In Baptism, there is no washing away of sin: nor, through the consecration of a priest, is there any sacrament of the Body and blood of Christ. The invocation of Saints and Martyrs is mere idle folly.

In making this communication, they professed to open the gates of heaven for the triumphant entrance of the devout aspirant: and, feeding him

deemed himself to have reached the very pinnacle of true knowledge, he was, by their means, really entangled in the snare of the devil. On his return home, loudly celebrating Orleans as the true light of wisdom and as the resplendent lamp of sanctity, he sought to make a convert of his knightly patron *Arefaste*. But his lord was not so easily deceived. Suspecting that all is not gold which glitters, he quickly reported the matter to Duke *Richard*: who, in his turn, communicated it to King *Robert*; adding, that his trusty soldier *Arefaste* desired nothing more than the royal per-

Dictum est eis, quoniam, nisi celerius ad sanam fidei mentem redeant, Regis jussu, et universæ plebis consensu, igne essent protinus cremandi.—Cernens quoque Rex et universi qui aderant, minus posse illos revocari ab insania, jussit accendi non longè a civitate ignem permaximum, ut, vel eo forte territi, a sua malignitate desinerent. Ad quem cum ducerentur, rabida adacti dementia, se omnimodis hoc velle proclamabant, ac sese ultro ad ignem trabentibus inferebant. Quibus ad ultimum numero tredecim igni traditis, cum jam cœpissent aeris aduri, cœperunt, voce qua poterant, ex eodem igne clamare; se, pessimè deceptos arte diabolica, nuper de universorum Deo ac Domino malè sensisse; et, ob hanc ab iisdem illatam ei blasphemiam, illos temporali atque æterna ultione torqueri. His vero, plures e circumstantibus, auditis, humanitatis pietate permoti, accedentes, ut vel semivivos ab igne eriperent, minimè valuerunt; quoniam, vindicæ flamma consumente illos, continuo in pulverem fuerunt redacti. Si qui vero postmodum hujus perversitatis sectatores fuerunt reperti, simili ultionis vindicta ubique fuerunt perditæ. Rodolph. Glab. Hist. lib. iii. c. 8. in Baron. Annal. ad A. D. 1017. vol. xi. col. 61, 62, 63.

the while with celestial food, they undertook, by the imposition of hands, to liberate him from all sin, and to replenish him with the gift of the Holy Spirit.

But, notwithstanding such lofty promises, nothing could be a greater abomination, than the horrible mode in which they prepared their celestial food. On certain nights, they congregated together in an appointed house, holding lamps in their hands. There, after the form of a litany, they chaunted forth the names of demons: nor did they desist from their unhallowed orisons, until, in the shape of some small beast, they beheld the worshipped Evil One suddenly descend among their company*. As soon as the object of their adoration appeared, they forthwith extinguished their lamps: and, then, without any regard either to nearness of consanguinity or to the holiest vows of female chastity, they each seized upon the woman who happened to be nearest. When, from this infernal commerce, an infant was born, they preserved it until the eighth day: and then, like the Pagans of old, burning it in a fire, they prepared the celestial food from the nefarious ashes which remained.

* Alanus Magnus, as we have seen above, determines, with laudable precision, the favoured *Bestiola*, which was specially selected as the vehicle of *Lucifer*, to have been a *catus* or male cat.

The indefatigable Arefaste, having made these discoveries, perhaps indeed having himself witnessed the bestial *avatar* of Lucifer, communicated them incontinently to his pious employers: and, without loss of time, the accused, confronted by the daring knight who had thus magnanimously bearded the demon in his very *penetralia*, were subjected to an examination. This examination, however, took place, not in *public*, but before a *private* convention of the King and the Prelates which was held with closed doors in the basilica or cathedral. The charges were duly preferred by Arefaste: and, as we are assured by those who assisted at the process, were duly confessed by the prisoners. When variously examined on sundry doctrinal points, and particularly as to their sentiments respecting the Holy Scriptures, the final answer of the culprits is reported to have been the following:

The doctrine, which you hold, you may tell to those, who savour of earthly things, and who believe the figments of carnal men written upon animal parchment. But, to us, who have the law written in the inner man by the Holy Ghost, and who relish nothing save what we have learned from God the Creator of all things, you vainly propound matters which are superfluous and altogether alien from sound divinity. Put, therefore, an end to your*

* A divinitate devia. I can only understand the word *divinitas*, as here used, to be a sort of low latin translation of

words: and do with us what you list. We clearly behold our King reigning in heavenly places. With his own right hand, he is raising us to an immortal triumph: and he is, even now, about to bestow upon us the fulness of joy celestial.

From the first hour of the day to the ninth, all laboured incessantly to recall them from the strangeness of their wicked error: but, harder than any iron, they obstinately refused to repent. Whereupon, by the assembled Prelates, they were degraded from Holy Orders, preparatory to their being consigned to the arm of the secular power: and, lest the hitherto excluded people should rush into the church to kill them prematurely, Queen Constance herself, by the special order of the King, kept guard at the folding doors of the cathedral. When the ceremony of degradation was completed, the Queen, nobly sinking the feelings of the woman in the zeal of the catholic, with a stick thrust out the eye of Stephen who had formerly been her confessor. The heretics were then conveyed without the walls of the city: and, a mighty fire being kindled in a certain hamlet, they were all, together with the nefarious dust which has been mentioned as the material out of which the celestial food was prepared, consigned to the flames, save a single clerk and a

the greek *θεολόγια*. We have adopted the term *divinity* into our own language, precisely in the same sense.

single nun who recanted their impious doctrines*.

3. To the fact of the cremation of these martyrs, a not unimportant circumstance is added in the

* Rursus quoque duxi dignum memorie tradendum de præfato viro, scilicet Arefasto, quomodo, in Aureliana urbe, divina ope, sui que ingenii salubri acumine, hæreticam pravitatem, latenter pullulantem, jamjamque per Galliarum provincias nefandi erroris venena exitialia propinantem, non solum deprehenderit, sed etiam omnino compresserit.

Hic, in domo sua, quendam clericum habuisse dicitur, nomine *Herbertum*: qui, lectionis gratia, Aurelianam urbem adire decreverat. Verum, dum veritatis auctores querere satageret, cæco itinere in totius hæresis barathro dilabatur. Nam, ea tempestate, in eadem civitate, duo clerici, *Stephanus* et *Lisoius*, apud omnes sapientia clari, sanctitate seu religione magnifici, eleemosynis largi, opinione habebantur vulgi. Eosdem memoratus expetiit clericus, et, parvo temporis interstitio, docilis discipulus cum divini verbi dulcedine ab eis debriatur, mortifero nequitie haustu: qui, dementia et errore diabolico irretitus, totius divinitatis expertus, sapientie arcem conscendisse se credit. Qui, patriam repetens, dominum suum, quem singulari affectu diligebat, subtilitate verborum in erroris viam sensim admovendo, secum attrahere cupiebat: testificans Aurelianam urbem, præ cæteris urbibus, cõruscare luce sapientie atque sanctitatis lampade. In cujus verbis, dominus ejus, intellectuali auditu, ipsum animadvertit a via justitie devium: et cito Comiti *Richardo* causam innouit, atque rogavit, ut *Rodberto Regi*, litteris, pestem in regno ejus adhuc latitantem, antequam propagaretur, patefaceret, et ut Rex eidem Arefasto ad expellendam eam opportunum auxilium non denegaret.

Igitur, Aurelianus deveniens, uti edoctus fuerat, quotidie sacra communione ac supplici oratione munitus, ad eorum doctrinam veniens, ad instar rudis discipuli, ultimus intra domum errorum adsidebat.

ancient Fragment of the History of Aquitaine edited by Pithæus.

Heribert and Lisoye were not the only mem-

At ille, de omni verbo quod proferebant, semper Deo gratias referebat: unde rati sunt eum conversum esse in eorum errorem; jamque suæ nequitia sentiam, verbis divinum librorum, ante cõpertam, securi aperiant, dicentes: *Christum de Virgine Maria non esse natum, neque pro hominibus passum, neque vere in sepulchro positum, nec a mortuis resurrexisse: addentes, In baptismo nullam esse scelerum ablutioem, neque sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi in consecratione sacerdotis. Sanctos Martyres atque Confessores implorare, pro nihilo ducebant.*

Cumque hæc et alia execranda perdit et miserimi homines a festido pectore evomerent, Arefastus sic ad eos dixisse fertur: *Si, in his quæ enumerastis, salus hominum, quæ speratur, nulla, ut dicitis, esse potest: a vobis obnixè rogo, mihi aperire in quibus sperari poterit, ne meus animus, in dubio positus, cito cadat in desperationis ruinam. Proculdubio, frater, inquit, in charybdi falsæ opinionis hactenus cum indoctis jacuisti: nunc vero, erectus in culmine totius veritatis, integræ mentis oculos ad lucem veræ fidei aperire capisti. Pandemus tibi salutis ostium, quo ingressus, per impositionem videlicet manuum nostrarum, ab omni peccati labe mundaberis, atque Sancti Spiritus dono repleberis.—Deinde, celesti cibo pastus,—videbis persepe nobiscum visiones angelicas.*

Sed, antequam ad conflictum veniamus, de cibo illo, qui cælestis ab illis dicebatur, quali arte conficiebatur, nescientibus demonstrare curabo.

Congrebantur, siquidem, certis noctibus in domo denominata, singuli, lucernas tenentes in manibus; et, ad instar lètaniz, dæmonum nomina declamabant: donec subito dæmonem, in similitudine cujuslibet bestię, inter eos viderent descendere. Qui, statim ut visibilis illa videbatur visio, omnibus extinctis luminaribus, quamprimum quisque poterat, mulierem, quæ ad manum sibi veniebat, ad abutendum arripiebat, sine peccati

bers of the Clerical Order, who, on this occasion, suffered for their opinions: no fewer than ten Canons of the Holyrood in Orleans were consigned to the flames. Their heresy is confidently stated to have been Manichæism: and it is subjoined, that various individuals of the same per-

respectu: et, utrum mater, aut soror, aut monacha, haberetur, pro sanctitate et religione ejus concubitus ab illis astimabatur. Ex quo spurcissimo concubitu infans generatus, octava die, in medio eorum copioso igne accenso, piebatur per ignem more antiquorum paganorum, et sic in igne cremabatur. Cujus cinis tanta veneratione colligebatur atque custodiebatur, ut christiana religiositas Corpus Christi custodire solet agris dandum de hoc solo exituris ad viaticum. Inerat enim tanta vis diabolice fraudis in ipso cinere, ut quicumque de præfata hæresi imbutus fuisset, et de eodem cinere quamvis sumendo parum prælibavisset, vix umquam postea de eadem hæresi gressum mentis ad viam veritatis dirigere valeret.

Igitur, illis introductis ante Regem et Episcoporum conventum Arefastus ait:—*Docuistis equidem me nullam in baptismo promereri veniam peccatorum, neque Christum de Virgine esse natum, neque pro hominibus passum, neque verè sepultum, neque a mortuis resurrexisse, neque panem et vinum, quod super altare manibus sacerdotum Sancti Spiritus operatione effici videtur sacramentum, converti posse in corpore et sanguine Christi.*

Cumque hæc Arefastus viva voce perorasset, Guarinus Belvacensis Præsul interrogavit Stephanum et Lisoium, qui hujus erroris videbantur esse magistri, si ita sentirent et crederent quæ ab Arefasto erant memorata.

At illi, cum diabolo in inferno jam mansionem paratam habentes, vera esse memorata, et ita se sentire ac credere, constanter adserunt.

particular: which shews, that, along with the ten Canons, four of the Laity also, for the sake of their religion, must have encountered the horrid death of vivicremation.

He tells us, that the entire number of the sufferers at Orleans amounted to fourteen: and he adds, that among them were found certain of the more noble Laity, as well as of the better Clergy*.

Now the clerical sufferers were ten. Consequently, the additional four were Laics.

II. I have here simply given the various accounts of this detestable popish barbarity which have come down to us: and I will venture to say, that any unprejudiced reader will rise from the perusal of them, perfectly satisfied, that these ten

sunt. Et, per diversas Occidentis partes, Manichæi exorti, per latibula sese occultare coeperunt, decipientes quoscunque poterant. Hist. Aquitan. Fragment. in Baron. Annal. ad A.D. 1017. vol. ix. col. 63.

* Volo vos interea scire de hæresi, quæ, die Sanctorum Innocentium, fuit in Aurelianensi civitate: nam verum fuit, si aliquid audistis. Fecit Rex Robertus vivos ardere, de melioribus Clericis sive de nobilioribus Laicis, prope quatuordecim ejusdem civitatis: qui, Deo odibiles, perosique caelo et terræ, abnegando abnegabant, sacri baptismi gratiam, dominici quoque corporis et sanguinis consecrationem. Cum hoc, post perpetrata scelera vitiorum, negabant posse recipi veniam peccatorum. Enim vero, cum his assertionibus, nuptiis detrahebant: a cibis, etiam, quos Deus creavit et adipi, tanquam ab immunditiis, abstinerebant. Joan. Floriac. Epist. ad Oliv. Auson. in Masson. Annal. Franc. lib. iii. apud Usser. de Eccles. Succes. c. viii. § 21.

suasion were detected at Toulouse and were similarly punished; so that the Manichæans, who sprang up throughout various parts of the West, began to conceal themselves, though still deceiving whomsoever they could*.

4. Finally, John of Fleury, in his brief narrative of the same transaction, communicates yet another

Ista illis narrare potes qui terrena sapiunt, atque credunt figmenta carnalium hominum scripta in membranis animalium: nobis autem, qui legem scriptam habemus in interiore homine a Spiritu Sancto, et nihil aliud sapimus, nisi quod a Deo omnium Conditor didicimus, incassum superflua et a divinitate devia profers. Idcirco, verbis finem impone: et, de nobis, quicquid velis, facito. Jam Regem nostrum, in celestibus regnantem, videmus: qui, ad immortales triumphos, dextera sua, nos subleat: dans superna gaudia.

Cumque, ab hora diei primæ usque ad horam nonam, multifariam elaborarent omnes, ut illos a suo errore revocarent; et ipsi, ferro duriores, minime respicerent: jussi sunt singuli sacris vestibus indui in suo ordine, statimque ab Antistitibus a proprio honore sunt depositi. Et, Rege jubente, Constantia Regina ante valvas basilicæ stetit, ne populus eos intra ecclesiam interficeret. Et sic, de gremio Sanctæ Ecclesiæ, ejecti sunt. Qui cum ejicerentur, Regina, Stephani, sui olim confessoris, cum baculo, oculum eruit. Deinde, extra civitatis educti muros, in quodam tuguriolo copioso igne accenso, præter unum clericum atque unam monacham, cum nefario pulvere de quo supra diximus, cremati sunt. Gest. Synod. Aurelian. A.D. 1017. in Dacher. Spicil. vol. ii. p. 670—676.

* Eo tempore, decem ex Canonicis Sanctæ Crucis Aurelianis probati sunt esse Manichæi: quos Rex Robertus, cum nollet ad catholicam converti fidem, igne cremari jussit. Simili modo, apud Tholosam, inventi sunt Manichæi: et ipsi igne cremati

Clergymen, confessedly skilled in theology, and confessedly eminent for the holiness of their practice, together with the four Laymen their friends and proselytes and associates, were no Manichæans, but, on the contrary, resolute and heaven-supported martyrs to the pure and unadulterated faith of the Gospel.

It will be useful, however, to enter a little into the particulars, which, though with no small measure of incongruity, we have seen recorded.

I. Here I shall pass over the slighter points of discrepancy in the several accounts, though even these tend to throw a doubt upon their general fairness and accuracy: I shall confine myself to those broader points, which, when united with other matters, effectually take away from Bossuet and subsequent writers of his stamp, all the benefits which they would derive from the case turning it over, in the way of historical evidence, to their opponents.

According to Rodolphus Glaber, the accused were absolute atheists: who, thence, believing in *no God*, consistently denied both the creation of the world and a future state of retribution.

According to John of Fleury and the Fragment of the History of Aquitaine, they were Manichæans; who, as we all know, maintained the existence of *two Gods*: an evil God, the creator of the material world; and a good God, the creator of the spiritual world.

	<p>CHAP. IV.] AND ALBIGENSES. 145</p> <p>According to the Acts of the Synod of Orleans, they believed in <i>one God</i> the Creator of the universe: and, so far from denying a future state of retribution, they confidently, on the very eve of a dreadful death, looked forward to an immortal triumph and to joy celestial.</p> <p>Here we have <i>three</i> jarring accounts. Which of them are we to receive?</p> <p>By writers of the popish persuasion, they are <i>all</i> propounded, as being <i>all</i> severally the exact truth: and, though Bossuet is as silent as the grave respecting any <i>discrepancy</i>; yet, in the treatment of heretics, we all know the strictly honourable conduct of Romish Ecclesiastics.</p> <p>But some one may perhaps urge the express declaration: that <i>This atrocious heresy, in every particular, was fully confessed by the associated culprits themselves.</i></p> <p>And what man of plain common sense, I simply ask in reply, would <i>believe</i> such a declaration, even independently of the circumstance of its being propounded by the folly of their <i>enemies</i>?</p> <p>Bossuet, who had an object to serve, carefully avoids the exhibition of any symptoms of misgiving: but the searching incredulity of a Protestant will find it difficult to admit, that even the Albigenses could have pleaded guilty to a <i>tissue of absolute and irreconcilable contradictions.</i></p> <p>The entire case, I apprehend, may be briefly summed up, as follows:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">L</p>		<p>146 THE VALLENCES [BOOK II.</p> <p>Through a space of eight hours the examination was prolonged. And the <i>same</i> men, we are assured, in the course of the <i>same</i> scrutiny, confessed: that <i>They believed in one God</i>, that <i>They believed in two Gods</i>, and yet that <i>They believed in no God</i>; that <i>They asserted one God in heaven to be the Creator of all things</i>, that <i>They asserted the material world and the spiritual world to have been severally created by two Gods</i>, and yet that <i>They asserted the entire world both material and spiritual to have never been created at all but to have existed without any Creator from all eternity</i>: that <i>They totally denied a future state of rewards and punishments</i>, and yet that <i>Their assured confidence in an everlasting state of future glory and joy celestial was such as to make them face without shrinking the most terrible of all deaths!</i></p> <p>Such, then, being the case presented to us, we may perhaps, without incurring a very severe reprehension, be allowed, even on the <i>premises themselves</i>, to doubt, or possibly still <i>more</i> than doubt, whether the alleged heretics of Orleans ever <i>really</i> pleaded guilty either to Atheism or to Manichæism; for, out of their <i>three</i> recorded confessions, <i>two</i>, I suppose, must inevitably be apocryphal.</p> <p>2. As yet, however, we have in no wise, travelled to the end of our record.</p> <p>It is clumsily asserted, we have seen, that the Heretics, while professing the faith in one</p>	
	<p>CHAP. IV.] AND ALBIGENSES. 147</p> <p>Supreme Creator, made, nevertheless, a free confession both of Atheism and of Manichæism.</p> <p>Now what <i>evidence</i> have we, that they confessed either the one or the other of these two hopelessly jarring monstrosities?</p> <p>Truly, our <i>sole</i> evidence is the <i>allegation of their stupidly blundering murderers.</i></p> <p>Smitten, as it were, with judicial blindness, these wretched men seem not to have perceived, that, by issuing forth, as the result of their examination, a tissue of contradictory absurdities, they were shamefully blasting their own characters, and with a pen of infernal fire were writing their own historical condemnation.</p> <p>The accused were examined, <i>not fairly in open court</i>, so that all, who chose to attend, might hear what they <i>really</i> said: but, as both Glaber and the Acts of the Synod agree, they were examined <i>secretly</i>, before none, save the bigot King, and his miserable spy Arefaste, and his Conclave of interested Prelates, and his Synagogue of heartless Monks; they were examined in a Church <i>with carefully closed doors</i>, from which, on the easily intelligible pretence of apprehended danger to the prisoners, from a sudden ebullition of popular fury, the multitude were <i>sedulously excluded</i>, Queen Constance herself condescending in person to guard the portal*.</p> <p>* From the brutal rage of this woman against her former Confessor Stephen or Heribert, I suspect, that, in the spirit of</p> <p style="text-align: center;">L 2</p>		<p>148 THE VALLENCES [BOOK II.</p> <p>Hence, most plainly, we know nothing, either of the <i>asserted fact of their confession</i>, or of the <i>specific nature of their confession</i>, beyond what their infuriated enemies have been pleased to tell us. And, in the very sottishness of their malice, the martyred Baptist, a new Herodias had been admonished of her evil ways, too solemnly and too faithfully, ever to forget or to forgive what was felt as an injury and an insult.</p> <p>Constance is described as a woman of extraordinary beauty, but of conduct the reverse of gravity and simplicity and modesty. Hugh de Beauvais, Count Palatine and Prime Minister, enjoyed the confidence of his master: and to him the King communicated the anxiety and uneasiness which he experienced from the impropriety of his wife's conduct. This was sufficient to make that nobleman an object of her hatred and revenge. She, accordingly, had him assassinated in the presence of her husband, who, in vain, endeavoured to save the life of his favourite. Gifford's Hist. of France, vol. i. p. 274.</p> <p>Now Heribert had been the Confessor of Constance: but, before his martyrdom, he had ceased to be her Confessor. Hence it is evident, that he had been dismissed from his situation. The cause of his dismissal and of her hatred may, from her character, be easily divined.</p> <p>It is lamentable to note the rapid historical carelessness, with which Mr. Gifford adopts the wretched figments of popish writers respecting the martyrs of Orleans. Swallowing, without either hesitation or discrimination, the <i>Crambè recotta</i> of pagan calumnies which equally fitted the case of the primitive Christians and of the more modern Albigenses, this author speaks of such men as Heribert and Lisoye under the title of <i>leaders of a voluptuous sect</i>. Verily, a <i>voluptuous</i> Confessor would have been quite secure from the hatred of a <i>voluptuous</i> Queen. Such an Ecclesiastic would not have merited and obtained the <i>μῦθος</i> of Constance.</p>	

so egregiously have those enemies blundered : that, while, by way of blackening to the uttermost the objects of their hatred, they have put into their mouths the *two* palpably irreconcilable confessions of Atheism and Manichæism ; they have providentially been overruled to record yet a *third* confession, which is evidently the *true* one, and with which the antecedently mutual incongruity of the two *pretended* confessions can by no ingenuity be made to harmonise.

We have the law of God written in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, say these noble champions of the truth : and we relish nothing, save what we have heard from God the Creator of all things. You vainly propound, for our acceptance, matters which are alien from sound theology. Put an end, therefore, to your words : and do with us what you list. With the eye of faith, we see our King reigning in heaven. By his own almighty hand, he will raise us up to an immortal triumph, and will speedily bestow upon us joy celestial.

Were these men Atheists or Manichæans ? Were these men incestuous and abandoned worshippers of Satan ? Were these men deliberate murderers of children ; that so, from the ashes of their victims, they might compound an infernal parody on the Eucharist ? Can we seriously believe, that these men, firm unto death in the maintenance of their principles, were ever guilty of such unutterable, such monstrous, such wantonly gra-

tuitous, such palpably objectless, abominations ? Is it likely, that a diabolical faith and a hellish practice should train up men, confidently to look beyond this transitory world, and courageously to choose death in all its bitterness, rather than apostasy with all its temporal advantages ? Nay, calling in mere common sense to our aid against the splendid absurdity of fabled impossibilities, who *will*, who *can*, believe, that Lucifer either *did* or *could* appear among them in the shape of some small beast : a cat, to wit, as the grotesque superstition of a barbarous age was most commonly inclined to determine ? In the whole account, a Pelion upon an Ossa, absurdities are mercilessly piled upon gross self-contradictions : yet the Bishop of Meaux either is, or would affect to be, quite satisfied. At all events, he has taken especial care not to endanger the acquiescent faith of his easily-convinced admirer, by letting him into the secret of those damning incongruities, which may lie advantageously locked up in a dead language, or which may safely repose in massy tomes not to be found save in the popularly neglected libraries of special reference.

Perhaps, by determined prejudice it may be said : that, *Out of the very midst of the flames, the martyrs were heard publicly to confess, that they had been deceived by the devil, and that they had entertained evil sentiments respecting the God and Lord of the Universe.*

The allegation in question is certainly *made* by Rodolphus Glaber : but the very minute Acts of the Synod of Orleans are *altogether silent* respecting this particular ; and even Glaber himself, by the sort of trembling uncertainty which marks his phraseology, may well be deemed no secure witness to the pretended *fact*. They cried out, we are told by this writer, not with a loud and distinct voice, so that all the bystanders might easily hear their words ; but only with what feeble measure of utterance they possessed *. Whatever, then, they might say, in their agonies, they were indisputably heard very uncertainly and very indistinctly. Most probably they warned the bystanders of the snares of the devil : and, for their many sins against their Heavenly Father, confessing their own unworthiness, pleaded the alone merits of their Redeemer. Broken ejaculations to such effect would, by brutal or ignorant bigots, be readily construed into an acknowledgment, on the part of the sufferers, that they had been deceived by Satan, and that they had thought ill of the God and Lord of the Universe †.

* Voce qua poterant.

† If we could smile in the midst of romish horrors, there is certainly something not a little amusing in the even-handed justice, dealt out by the Papacy, to the persecuted Cathari on the one side, and to the persecuting Inquisitors on the other side.

When, on the score of his religion, a Catharus was put to

When we recollect, that a woman is recorded as having been the instrument of converting Sergius to ancient Paulicianism, we shall be struck with the singular resemblance of the asserted mode wherein the Canons of Orleans were

death : nothing could be more laudable and more equitable and more meritorious than such a procedure on the part of his butchers.

But, should an Inquisitor, in the discharge of his humane and highly christian duty, happen, through the resistance of worn-out patience, to be unluckily slain : as an undoubted saint and martyr, he was forthwith canonised.

Such, for instance, was the appropriate mode, in which the blessed Peter of Verona obtained, in the thirteenth century, his regular patent of celestial nobility.

Beatus Petrus Veronensis ex Ordine Fratrum Predicatorum, prosequendo inquisitionem pravitate hereticæ sibi ab Apostolica Sede commissam, ab ipsorum hæreticorum *Credentibus*, inter Comas (ubi Fratrum suorum Prior erat) et Mediolanum occisus, martyrio coronatur. In cujus canonizationis literis quæ eodem anno facta est Perusii, testatur Papa Innocentius, ipsum fere annos triginta vixisse in Ordine fultum cetera virtutum ; virginis etiam florem illibatam servasse, nulliusque mortalis criminis unquam sensisse contagium, suorum probatum testimonio Confessorum : cujus religiosa sanctitas, crebris et in vita et in morte miraculis, noscitur claruisse. Nicol. Trivett. Chron. in A.D. 1252.

Of course, the torturing and murdering of a Catharus, so far from being a mortal sin, was an indisputable merit.

The Blessed Peter's Preaching Friars certainly shewed some ingenuity in beating up for recruits to their ghostly regiment : a specimen of which is, by Nicolas Trivett, carefully handed down to the due admiration of all succeeding ages.

A Scholar of Bologna, who had been not quite so correct a

converted to Catharism. In the circumstance itself, I see nothing improbable, provided we allow, that these Clergymen were thus brought to the knowledge of the unadulterated Gospel: but I see everything improbable in it on the hypothesis, that they were quite easily induced to adopt the dreams of Manichæism by a vagrant female from Italy.

liver as might have been desirable, dreamed, that he was suddenly, in the midst of a vast plain, caught by a tempest.

Thus distressed, he knocked at the door of a house for admittance. *I am Justice*, said the Mistress thereof: *and I cannot, with any regard to my consistency of character, take in such a notorious rogue as your worship.*

He knocked at a second door, *I am Truth*, quoth the tenant: *and we have no lodgings here for liars.*

A third door was tried. *I am Peace: and I harbour no swaggering gallants and ruffling swashbucklers. But perhaps my sister, who lives at the next door, may take you in.*

Thus admonished, the Scholar made a fourth trial. *I am Mercy*, said the sister of Peace: *and the best direction, which I can give you, is this. Go your ways to St. Nicolas, where the Preaching Friars live: and there you shall find, a stable of penance, and a manger of continence, and a belly-full of doctrine, and an ass of simplicity, and an ox of discretion, and Mary illuminating, and Joseph profiting, and the child Jesus saving thee.*

Devoutly, when he awoke, ruminating on these matters, and filled with compunction for the crop of wild oats which he had sown, he lost no time in obeying the behests of his dream. And thus, to the confusion of all heretics, was added a Holy Brother to the Order of Preaching Friars. Nicol. Trivett. Chron. in A.D. 1238.

If, in point of fact, the Canons were really converted by a woman from that country, I conclude, that she must have been a member of one of the Italian Churches of the Paulicians*.

* These are duly enumerated by Reinerius, as they were subsisting in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Ecclesia Albanensis vel de Sensano; Ecclesia de Contorezo; Ecclesia Bagnolensium sive de Bagnolo; Ecclesia Vicentina vel de Marchia; Ecclesia Florentina; Ecclesia de Valle Spoletana.—Albanenses morantur Veronæ et in pluribus civitatibus Lombardiæ: et sunt numero fere quingenti, utriusque sexus. Illi autem de Contorezo sunt fere per totam Lombardiam: et sunt bene mille quingenti, vel etiam plures. Bagnolenses morantur in Mantua, Brixia, Bergomi, et in Comitatu Mediolanensium, sed pauci, et in Romaniola: et sunt fere ducenti. Ecclesia de Marchia nihil habet Veronæ: sed sunt circiter centum et quinquaginta. Reiner. de hæret. c. vi. in Bibl. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 304.

In Italy, as usual, and (I doubt not) with the very same measure of truth, the Paulicians or Cathari, during the Pontificate of Innocent III. or at the beginning of the thirteenth century, were charged with Manichæism by the Inquisitor Nicolas Eymeric, who pretends to sum up their faith in fourteen several articles. Eymeric. Director. Inquisit. par. ii. quæst. 13. See Allix on the Anc. Church of Piedm. chap. xv. Twelve out of the fourteen articles are there given at length. *Valeant quantum valere possunt.*