CHAPTER VII.

THE FALSEHOOD OF THE ALLEGATION, DEMON-STRATED FROM THE STATEMENT OF BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX.

IF, however, in regard to the Manichèism of Bruis and his catharistic followers, Peter of Clugny be not quite so satisfactory a witness as Bossuet could have desired: the celebrated Bernard of Clairvaux, a brother Abbot and contemporary, whose general vituperation of Henry we have already heard, may perhaps somewhat better supply the wished-for information.

Such are the sanguine hopes of the Bishop of Meaux. Peter the Venerable, he admits, may indeed speak with some hesitation, as to their receiving, like the Manichèans, no part of the Sacred Canon except the Gospel alone: but then Bernard, he remarks, who knew them well in Gascony, had, upon this conclusively damning point, no doubt at all *.

* Saint Bernard assure, que cet hérétique et ses sectateurs ne recevoient que l'Evangile: mais Pierre le Venerable n'en parle qu'en doutent. Boss. Hist. des Variat, livr. xi. § 655. CHAP. VII.] THE VALLENSES AND ALBIGENSES. 189

I. The truth of Scripture, says the Abbot of Clairvaux, stands thus: It is the glory of Kings to conceal a matter; but it is the glory of god to reveal a discourse. Wilt thou not reveal? In that case, thou wilt not glorify God. But perhaps thou receivest not this portion of Scripture. Even so it is. They profess, that they, and they alone, are emulators of the Gospel alone.*

Here we have the charge in mood and form. Bernard, we see, alleges, against the Petrobrusian Cathari of Gascony, a rejection of the Old Testament: and his proof lies; partly, in an intimation, that they received not a text which he had professed to cite against them from the Proverbs; and partly in an avowal made by themselves, that they alone were emulators of the Gospel alone to the exclusion (as he understood their language) of the Hebrew Scriptures.

1. That the Cathari, perhaps with some slight tinge of sarcasm, should have refused to admit

Why, for the satisfaction of his readers, could not Bossuet cite, in his margin, the precise words of Bernard? That writer does NOT say of the Petrobrusians, that ne recevoient que VEoungile.

* Stat nempe Scripturæ veritas: Gloria regum celare verbum; gloria Dei revelare sermonem. Non vis tu revelare? Non ergo vis Deum gloriare. Sed forte non recipis Scripturam banc. Ita est. Solius Evangelii se profitentur æmulatores, et solos. Bernard. super Cant. serm. [xv. col. 760.

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the passage which Bernard professed to cite against them from the Book of *Proverbs*, will not excite much surprize in a Protestant Biblicist: while, at the same time, he will in no wise perceive the validity of the reasoning, which, from the rejection of the cited passage (for, verily, the Cathari did reject it), would demonstrate their universal rejection of the Old Testament also.

The truth is: neither in the Hebrew Original, nor yet in the Greek of the Seventy, nor yet again in the Latin Vulgate, does any such passage exist, as that which Bernard has unfortunately professed to cite (memoriter, no doubt) as a genuine portion of the Ancient Scriptures. We are taught, indeed, that It is the glory of God to conceal a matter, while it is the glory of KINGS to search it out *. But we

* I give the text in the Latin Vulgate; which, I suppose, would of course be Bernard's book of reference.

Gloria Dei est CELARE verbum : et gloria regum investigare sermonem. Proverb. xxv. 2.

In what part of Bernard's citation, Gloria Dei REVELARE sermonem, lies his Stat Scriptura veritas? I suspect, that the inveterate heretics, who, as Reinerius tells us, had well night the entire New Testament by heart, and who, I shall venture to believe, were reasonably well acquainted with the Old Testament to boot, must have smiled alike, if in the midst of their suffering they could smile, both at the faithfully laid premises, and at the logically drawn conclusion, of the zealous preacher's argument. They sometimes, we are assured, attended church like good Catholies: but it was unluckily discovered, that they

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no where read, that It is the glory of KINGS to conceal a matter, while it is the glory of GOD to reveal a discourse.

Now I submit, that the probably sarcastic rejection of a passage, which no where occurs in the Old Testament, is not a very logical proof, that the Old Testament *itself* was rejected by the Cathari *.

did so only to pick holes in the sermon. Intersunt prædicationibus: sed ut prædicantem capiant in sermone. Reiner, de hæret. c. vii. in Bibl. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 307.

* The Benedictine, who wrote the General History of Languedoc, assures us: that Bernard, in the year 1147, induced the greater part of these heretics to renounce their errors, either by the force of his eloquence, or by the diverse miracles which God wrought through his hands. Unluckily, however, neither the eloquence nor the miracles of the Saint produced any permanent conviction. The historian very honestly subjoins: Mais ils les reprirent bien-tôt après. After this he acknowledges, that the peculiarly christian logic of the two successive Cardinals, Peter of St. Chrysogon and Henry of Albano, was not a whit more successful than Bernard's eloquence and miracles. La mission, que le Cardinal de S. Chrysogone fit en 1178 dans les mêmes païs, n'eut pas un succès plus heureux, malgré les soins qu'il se donna pour faire une recherche exacte de ceux qui s'étoient laissé seduire : les penitences sévéres qu'il imposa à ceux qui furent convaincus, et la confiscation de leurs biens qui s'ensuivit, ne firent qu'irriter les esprits, et ne changerent rien à la disposition des cœurs. Enfin, le Cardinal Henri Evêque d'Albano, étant venu en 1181 dans le haut Languedoc, à la tête d'un corps de troupes, pour réduire les hérétiques, autant par les armes que par la persuasion, fit d'abord quelques foibles progrés: mais il n'eut pas plutôt terminé son expédition, que 192

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2, But these clearly convicted Manichèans professed also, that they alone were emulators of the Gospel alone: and, from such phraseology, Bernard was confirmed in his prepossession, that, confessedly emulating the Gospel alone, they must, by a plain implication, be understood, as also confessedly rejecting the Scriptures of the Old Testament.

When I consider the will-worship, wherewithal Popery has so mercilessly overlaid the sincere Gospel of Christ; and when I recollect, that, by Bernard's own account, the Cathari of Gascony ciaimed to be successors of the Apostles and distinguished themselves by the name of Apostolicals: I doubt not, that they really made the profession ascribed to them, though Bernard, much too hasty and much too violent to be a patient investigator, has somewhat absurdly mistaken its obvious and indeed necessary import.

What, then, was that profession, which is to

la crainte ne faisant plus d'impression sur les peuples, ils prèterent l'oreille comme auparavant aux discours séducteurs de leurs faux apôtres, et que l'erreur, au lieu de diminuer, ne fit que prendre de nouvelles forces. Hist. Gener. de Langued. livr. xxi. § 1. vol. iii. p. 127, 128. How much the general conduct of the Clergy advanced the project of converting the heretics, may be easily inferred from the estimation in which they were held. The Beuedictine cites William of Puy-Laurens, a writer of that period, as stating it to be a common proverb among the heretics: I had rather be a Priest, than have done such a thing. Ibid. § 2. p. 129.

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establish the alleged fact of their rejection of the Old Testament?

They profess, says he, that they, and they alone, are emulators of the Gospel alone.

Such was their profession. And what is its obvious and necessary meaning; necessary, I say, because the words, they alone, or they to the exclusion of their adversaries, absolutely forbid any other interpretation.

Bernard, though he himself, mingled with whatever superstition, repeatedly maintained the sound doctrine to which the Cathari of Gascony alluded; yet, impetuous and prepossessed, was easily led, by his prejudices, to misapprehend the purport of their profession, and thence to impose upon it a sense foreign alike to its plain meaning and to their evident intention. This I can readily comprehend. But, that the cool and penetrating and acute Bossuet really fell into the same mistake, albeit reluctant to judge uncharitably, I find it no easy matter to believe. Even a child in Theology, who knows the fundamental point of difference, between simulated Catholicism and genuine Catholicism, to be the vital doctrine of Justification through Faith on account of the alone perfect Righteousness of Christ, and not on account of the Infused Righteousness and alleged Meritorious Works of fallen man: even a child in Theology, I suppose, will readily understand the noble profession of these maligned and persecuted Petrobrusians, as

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it stands imperishably recorded by the hand of Bernard himself.

While the Romanists, as good Latimer quaintly expresses it, made an utterly unevangelical minglemangle of Christ's merit and Man's merit; a confused Scheme, which shortly afterward was reduced into regular phrase and form by the Schoolmen, and which ultimately was laid down as an Article of Faith by the shameless heretics who congregated together in the packed Conventicle of Trent: the Cathari, broadly in their day contrasting their own doctrine with that of their adversaries, professed; that They alone, in the wide world of antiscriptural error and ignorance, were emulous of preaching the Gospel alone; that They alone, as contradistinguished from the rife teachers of human merit, made it a principle to preach the Gospel, and nothing but the Gospel; that They alone, in the midst of the great predicted apostasy of the Man of Sin, refused to adulterate the Gospel by laying down terms of Justification and Salvation which the Gospel has not delivered and which the Gospel refuses to sanction.

On this ground, as the Abbot of Clairvaux testifies, they consistently censured the Papalists, for ascribing to Baptism the grace of Inward Regeneration, mechanically or ex opere operato; which he curiously mistook for a denial of the Sacrament of Baptism to Infants: and, on this same ground also, they, with great justice, ridiculed, both as

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utterly unwarranted, and as altogether contrary to the analogy of Evangelical Faith, the idle practice of praying for the dead and of supplicating the Saints for their suffrages *. Hence, moreover, as essentially subversive of the sincere Gospel which alone they were emulous to preach, inasmuch as it rests upon the unscriptural principle, that Man may either hereafter make satisfaction for himself by his own sufferings, or that Here he may make satisfaction for the dead by his reputed good works and by the sacerdotal offertory of the Mass: they rejected entirely the dangerous and unauthorised figment of a Purgatorial Fire; maintaining, that, as soon as the soul is separated from the body, it forthwith passes, either to a state of rest, or to a state of damnation +. And hence, finally, whatever names of reproach might be imposed upon them by their enemies, they themselves would acknowledge no appellation, save that of Apostolicals, equivalent to their old name Paulicians: inasmuch as they claimed to be the uncorrupted successors and followers of St. Paul and the Apostles ‡.

- Videte detractatores, videte canes. Irrident nos, quia baptizamus infantes, quod oramus pro mortuis, quod sanctorum suffragia postulamus. Bernard super. Cant. serm. lxvi. col. 765.
- + Non credunt autem ignem pargatorium restare post mortem; sed statim animam, solutam a corpore, vel ad requiem transire, vel ad damnationem. Bernard. super Cantic. serm. lxvi. col 766.
- 1 Nempe jactant se esse successores Apostolorum, et Aposto-

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II. Of this last peculiarity, Bernard was aware: and, accordingly, he notices it in a very remarkable passage, which, by placing these Apostolicals

licos nominant : nullum tamen apostolatús sui signum valentes ostendere. Bernard, super Cantic, serm, lxvi, col. 765.

On this point Bernard hits them hard; smiting them, without mercy, both hip and thigh.

To the exclusion of the apostatic Romanists, they claimed to be alone the body of Christ: meaning, no doubt, that mystical body of which Christ is the mystical head. But, in spite of their boast, says the victorious Saint, let those of them believe this, who believe also that they have the power of consecrating the body and blood of Christ to nourish them so that they shall become the body and members of Christ.

Non ignoro, quod se et solos Corpus Christi esse glorientur. Sed sibi hoc persuadeant, qui illud quoque persuasum habent, potestatem se habere quotidie in mensa sua corpus Christi et sanguinem consecrandi ad nutriendum se in corpus Christi et membra. 1bid. col. 765.

The heretics believed that they could figuratively consecrate the body and blood of Christ to the nourishing of them into Christ's mystical body and members, no less effectually at their own humble table, than Bernard himself at the gorgeous high altar of his own conventual church of Clairvaux: and he boldly ridicules the idea, that they could produce, by their beggarly consecration, the literal body and blood. Precious Apostolicals these, who claim to BE the body of Christ, and yet cannot MAKE it!

By the way, so perpetually does the truth look in upon us, we have here again an incidental proof that the Albigenses could not have been Manichèans. The old Docette, as we learn from Ignatius, abstained from the Eucharist: because, denying our Lord to have had a substantial body, they of course could not admit the Eucharist, which was his body

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(though unable, he contends, to shew any sign of their Apostolate) in direct contradistinction both to Manichèans and to Sabellians and to Arians

sacramentally or figuratively. Ignat. Epist. ad Smyrn. § vii. But the Albigenese of Gascony, as we are unwittingly told by Bernard, so far from rejecting the Eucharist, were fully persuaded (whereat, the Saint thought foul scorn of them); that, at their own tables, they could consecrate the body and blood of Christ to nourish them into Christ's mystical body and members. Now all this they never could have done, which yet his words plainly imply that they were in the constant habit of doing, if they believed, that Christ never had a material body, but that his form was merely spectral or phantasiastic.

I suspect, that the perpetual charge of Manicheism, brought against the Apostolicals or Albigenses, will afford the true key to a strange story told by William of Newbury.

When Pope Eugenius, Bernard's friend and disciple, presided at the Council of Rheims in the year 1148, a gentleman of Bretagne, Eudo, whose sirname is said to have been Eun, came, with his followers, under the cognizance of that Pontiff: on the ground, that, through the medium of an odd sort of pun upon the appellation Eun, he claimed to be Him who should come to judge both the quick and the dead. Quum, sermone gallico, Eun diceretur, ad suam personam pertinere crederet, quod in ecclesiasticis exorcismis dicitur: scilicet, Per Eum qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos.

Both the name and the story, so far as the claim of being Christ is concerned, I believe to be pure figments; built, however, upon one of the peculiarities of Gnosticism and derivative Manicheism.

The Priscillianists of Spain, a race of new Manichèans in the fourth century, borrowed from the older Gnostics the doctrine of Eons or Divine Emanations; a doctrine, which asserted Christ to be a principal Eon. Hence, I suppose, originated the name

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and to Eunomians and to Nestorians, thence of necessity admits, that They symbolised not with any one of those various classes of acknowledged Heretics.

The passage in question, Bossuet has thought it expedient to suppress altogether. Not even Bernard's ingenious theory, that, Satan himself was the true heresiarch of the Nameless Insincerity, can tempt him to communicate a statement, which, with whatever grossness of misrepresentation, abundantly indicates, that the Cathari or Albigenses of Southern France were not Manicheaus. I shall, therefore, in common justice, supply the learned historian's lack of service.

These heretics prohibit matrimony: and abstain from meats, which God hath created. But now, in order to see whether this ludification be not properly of demons and not of men, according to that which the Spirit had foretold, inquire of them the author of Em or Eon, imposed upon Eudo: and hence, likewise, proceeded the allegation, that he claimed to be the future judge both of the quick and of the dead, or, in other words, that he claimed to be the great Manichèan Eon Christ.

Eudo was evidently hostile to the romish will-worship of Monasticism; for he is described, as a special enemy to churches and monasteries: ecclesiarum maximė ac monasteriorum infestator. He himself perished in prison, after no very long confinement: and his disciples, at least, shewed their sincerity, by submitting to the flames, that ultima ratio papistarum, rather than renounce their doctrinal opinions, whatever those opinions might really have been. Curiæ prius et postea ignibus traditi, ardere potius, quam ad vitam corrigi, maluerunt. Gulielm. Neubrig. Rerum Anglican. lib. i. c. 19.

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of their sect : and they will assign none. What heresy is there, which, from among men, has not had its own heresiarch? The Manichèans had Manes, for their prince and preceptor: the Sabellians, Sabellius: the Arians, Arius: the Eunomians, Eunomius: the Nestorians, Nestorius. Thus all other pests of this stamp are known to have had, each a man, as their several founders : whence they have at once derived both their origin and their name. But, by what appellation or by what title, will you enroll these heretics? Truly, by none. For their heresy is not derived from man; neither, through man, have they received it: though far be it from me to say, that they have received it through the revelation of Jesus Christ. Rather, and without all doubt, as the Holy Spirit hath foretold, they have received it, through the fraudulent injection of demons, speaking lies in hypocrisy, and forbidding to marry*

* Hi nubere prohibent: hi a cibis abstinent, quos Deus creavit. Nunc autem videre, si non propriè dæmonum et non hominum ludificatio hæc, secundum quod prædixerat Spiritus, quære ab illis suæ sectæ auctorem: neminem dabunt. Quæ hæresis non ex hominibus habuit proprium hæresiarcham? Manichei Manem labuere, principem et præceptorem: Sabelliani, Sabellium: Ariani, Arium: Eunomiani, Eunomium: Nestoriani, Nestorium. Ita omnes cæteræ hujusmodi pestes, singulæ singulos magistros, homines habuisse noscuntur: a quibus originem simul duxere et nomen. Quo nomine istos titulove censebis? Nullo. Quoniam non est ab homine illorum hæresis, neque per hominem illam acceperunt; absit tamen, ut per reve-

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CHAP, VII. AND ALBIGENSES. The assertion, that the Petrobrusian Cathari of his accuracy*. And certainly our confidence in the stated result of his inquiries will not be prohibited matrimony, when yet, according to the testimony of Peter of Clugny, they absolutely much increased, when we recollect, that, even agreeably to his own shewing, this most perverse compelled the Monks to marry, and when, according to the researches of Coccius, Bruis himself * Monachi, ad ducendas uxores, terroribus sunt ac tormentis maintained that both Priests and Monks ought to compulsi. Petr. Clun. cont. Petrobrus. p. 208. marry; and the assertion, that They enjoined ab-Die ipso passionis dominicæ, publicè carnes comestæ. Ibid. stinence from meats on the known principles of p. 208 Sacerdotes et Monachos potius debere uxores ducere, quam Manichèism, when yet, still according to the tesscortari. Cocc. Thesaur. Cathol. lib. viii, artic. 6, apud Usser. timony of the same Venerable Abbot, they pubde Eccles. Success. c. viii. § 28. licly roasted and eat flesh-meat on Good-Friday: With respect to the employment of force, so justly reprobated such assertions, on the part of Bernard, tend not and so pathetically lamented by Peter the Venerable, we may to give us much confidence in the scrupulousness safely, I do suppose, set down, as a mere figure of rhetoric, his appalling statement: that the luckless Monks, who fell into the hands of the ferocious Apostolicals, were, not indeed murdered, lationem Jesu Christi: sed, magis et absque dubio, uti Spiritus Sanctus prædixit, per immissionem et fraudem dæmoniorum, in hypocrisi loquentium mendacium, prohibentium nubere. Berbut, what is still worse, were, by dint of sheer terror and sundry hard knocks to boot, relentlessly compelled to take wives unto nard. super Cantic. serm. lxvi. col. 763. themselves. Bernard assures us, that, so far as club-law is concerned, Strange it is, that this intemperate man should not have been these formidable Apostolicals were, after all, a very harmless conscious of his own absurdity. The very circumstance, which he foolishly alleged against them, was precisely that, which afforded one of the strongest arguments in their favour. They and peaceable sort of people; quite unfit, the more the pity, to furnish soldiers in the stirring age of the first crusade: vile genus et rusticanum et PRORSUS IMBELLE. And he further tells us, knew themselves to be a sound Branch of the Primitive Church that a great company of Clerks and Priests, leaving their Catholic: and, therefore, whatever nicknames their enemies might impose upon them, they themselves would acknowledge parishioners and their churches, joined themselves, freely and spontaneously, to these despised and persecuted religionists: no appellation save that of Apostolicals. The name was virtually Clerici et Sacerdotes, populis ecclesiisque relictis, intonsi et barthe same as that of Paulicians I regret, that I should be obliged to speak in such terms of bati, apud eos, inter textores et textrices, plerumque inventi sunt. Bernard: but simple justice to the Albigenses requires it. The Abbot of Clairvaux was, 1 believe, personally a good man: Bernard, super Cant. serm, lxv. Oper. col. 761. Hence, unless we can gravely believe Peter the Venerable, and his writings contain much that is sound and excellent. But that the unhappy Monks were dragged bodily out of the religious houses by a terrific raid of weavers, male and female, for he was too prejudiced to inquire fairly and to act with imparthe purpose of marrying them to a corresponding number of 202 THE VALLENSES AND ALBIGENSES. | BOOK II. spawn of the father of lies invariably denied alike, both the charge of Manichèan Heterodoxy and the imputation of Manichèan Impurity. females; whence procured, the zealous Abbot is not careful to inform us: we must, I fear, suspect, that no great compulsion was necessary to induce them to exchange their character of Benedictines for that of Benedicts. At all events, the Petrobrusians must have been very unsound and imperfect Manichèans, if they either compelled or persuaded the Monks to enter into a state, professedly, as Bossuet again and again reminds us, abhorred and abjured by Manichèism. The whole serves to shew, how badly the miserable figment of Albigensic Manichèism hangs together. Perpetually the pretended Manichèans are described as doing, what real Manicheans, on their own principles, never could have done.