

CHAPTER IX.

THE FALSEHOOD OF THE ALLEGATION, DEMONSTRATED FROM THE CASE OF THE ALBIGENSES AT LOMBERS.

WE have already seen more than one specimen of Bossuet's management in the garbling and packing of evidence : but all, that we have hitherto beheld, sinks into insignificance, when compared with his treatment of a witness, who, by faithfully giving us from their own lips their own Confession of Faith, practically and effectually acquits the Albigenes of any taint of Manichæism.

The witness in question is Roger Hoveden : and the Confession, recorded by him, was publicly delivered in open court and addressed at large to the multitude there assembled.

In the year 1176, a Council was held at the town of Lombers near Albi, for the purpose of examining certain reputed heretics. These sectaries, it appears, prevailed, in great numbers, throughout the region of Toulouse ; where they were known by the appellation of *Good Men* :

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quite sufficient to make our Protestants blush for the errors of their ancestors.*

Here, as if nothing of any importance followed, the Bishop suddenly stops short.

II. Now, even upon the face of his own meagre citation from Hoveden, we might well demur to the validity of this testimony. For, simply taking the matter as there exhibited, we might justly observe : that the very statement, which was formally made the ground-work of the charge against the Albigenes, *itself* contains the most palpable internal marks of falsehood. These strange heretics are said to have made a profession : that *They received none of the Books of the New Testament ; save only the Gospels, and the Epistles of St. Paul, and the seven Canonical Epistles, and the Acts, and the Apocalypse*. In other words, since ALL the Books of the New Testament are enumerated, they are actually charged with an

* Un historien du temps, Roger Hoveden, récite au long ce Concile : et donne un fidèle abrégé des actes plus amples qu'on a recouvrés depuis. Voici, comme il commence son récit. Il y avoit dans la province de Tolouse des hérétiques qui se faisoient appeler Les Bons Hommes, maintenus par le soldats de Lombes. Ceux là disoient, qu'ils ne recevoient, ni la loi de Moïse, ni les prophètes, ni les psaumes, ni l'ancien Testament, ni les docteurs du nouveau ; à la réserve des Evangiles, des Epîtres de saint Paul, des sept Epîtres Canoniques, des Actes, et de l'Apocalypse. C'en est assez, sans parler davantage du reste, pour faire rougir nos Protestans des erreurs de leurs ancêtres. Boss. Hist. des Variat. livr. xi. § 38.

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and, as the Bishop justly remarks, they were indisputably those, upon whom, subsequently to the Council of that year, has most usually been bestowed the local name of *Albigenes*.

Thus far, all is clear. But now comes the question, *Whether, on the authority of Roger Hoveden, Bossuet was justified in asserting the Albigenes to have been Manichæans*.

On this point, let us first hear the French Prelate's representation of his evidence, and afterward attend to the entire testimony of the writer upon whose statement he professes to depend.

I. Respecting the alleged Manichæism of the Albigenes at Lombers, Bossuet writes and quotes, as follows.

An historian of the time, Roger Hoveden, speaks of this Council at considerable length : and he gives a faithful abridgment of its Acts in a more ample form than they have ever since been recovered.

Mark, how he begins his recital.

In the province of Toulouse, says he, there were certain heretics, who assumed the name of GOOD MEN, and who were supported by the Knights of Lombers. These said : that They received, neither the Law of Moses, nor the Prophets, nor the Psalms, nor the Old Testament, nor the Doctors of the New ; save the Gospels, the Epistles of St. Paul, the seven Canonical Epistles, the Acts, and the Apocalypse.

Without speaking more of the remainder, this is

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avowal : that *They received NONE of the Books of the New Testament ; save only EVERY Book which the New Testament comprehends !*

But let this pass. In order to expose and put down a writer, whose disgraceful calumny is built upon a deliberate suppression of evidence, and who yet (as I may truly say) has the unaccountable impudence to aver, that, *without speaking more of the remainder, the modicum, which he cites, is sufficient to make Protestants blush for the errors of their ancestors* : I have little to do, beyond exhibiting Hoveden's own narrative ; which Bossuet himself graces with the well-deserved name of *faithful*, and which Bossuet himself describes as giving an abridgement of the Acts of the Council in a more ample form than they have ever since been recovered.

There were, in the province of Toulouse, certain heretics, who assumed the title of GOOD MEN, and whose cause the Knights of Lombers maintained. These persons taught the people contrary to the faith of Christ, propounding and saying : that They received, neither the Law of Moses, nor the Prophets, nor the Psalms, nor the Old Testament, nor the Doctors of the New Testament ; save only the Gospels, and the Epistles of Paul, and the Seven Canonical Epistles, and the Acts of the Apostles, and the Apocalypse.

When interrogated, concerning their faith, and concerning the baptism of infants, and as to whether

they were saved by baptism; also concerning the body and blood of the Lord, where or by whom it was consecrated, and who took it, and whether it was more or better consecrated by a good man than by a bad man; also concerning marriage, whether man and wife could be saved if they were carnally united: they answered, that, Concerning their own faith and the baptism of infants, they would not speak, nor were they obliged to speak. Concerning the body and blood of the Lord, they said: that He, who received it worthily, was saved; and he, who received it unworthily, gained to himself damnation. But, concerning marriage, they said: that Man and woman were joined together, in order, as St. Paul speaks, to avoid luxury and fornication.

They said also many things, without being interrogated: as, for instance, that Men ought not to swear at all with any oath; as John declared in the Gospel and James in his Epistle. They said, moreover, that Paul commanded Bishops and Presbyters to be ordained in the Church; and that, If such persons as he commanded were not ordained, they were not Bishops or Presbyters, but ravening wolves, hypocrites, and seducers, lovers of salutations in the market-place and of the highest seats of feasts, wishing contrary to the commandment of Christ to be called Rabbi, bearing white and splendid robes, having on their fingers rings of gold decorated with jewels, which

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things their Master commanded not. Wherefore, since such Bishops and Presbyters resembled the Presbyters who betrayed Jesus, men ought not to obey them, because they were bad men.

The allegations, therefore, being heard on both sides, before Gerard Bishop of Albi; and judges being elected and appointed by each party; and these judges consenting and acting as assessors to the said Gerard Bishop of Albi, namely Roger Abbot of Castres and Peter Abbot of Ardoural, and the Abbot of Candeil and Arnold of Narbonne; and this, furthermore, in the presence of good men, as well Prelates and Clerks as Laics, to wit, the Lord Peter Archbishop of Narbonne and other Bishops and Abbots and Archdeacons, as also Counts and Nobles of that Province to the number of twenty, and almost the whole population of Albi and Lombards: many authorities from the New Testament, against the propositions of the aforesaid heretics, were brought by the Archbishop Peter of Narbonne and by the Bishop of Nismes and by Abbot Peter of Cendras and by the Abbot of Fontfroide; for the heretics would receive no judgment save through the New Testament*.

* Erant itaque in provincia Tolosana quidam heretici, qui se appellari faciebant Bonos Homines, quos manu tenebant milites de Lambertio; proponentes, et docentes populum, contra Fidem Christianam: dicentes etiam, quod non recipiebant Legem Moisi, neque Prophetas, neque Psalmos, neque Vetus Testamentum, neque Doctores Novi Testamenti; nisi solummodo

Having thus given a summary of the accusations and the proceedings, Roger next details at great

Evangelia, et Epistolas Pauli, et septem Canonicas Epistolas, et Actus Apostolorum, et Apocalypsim.

Et, interrogati de fide sua; et de baptismo parvulorum, et si salvabantur per baptismum; et de corpore et sanguine Domini, ubi consecrabatur, vel per quos, et qui sumebant, et si magis vel melius consecrabatur per bonum, quam per malum; et de matrimonio, si poterant salvari, si carnaliter jungebantur vir et mulier: responderunt, quod, de fide sua et de baptismo parvulorum, non dicerent; neque dicere cogeantur. De corpore et sanguine Domini dicebant: quod, qui dignè sumebat, salvabatur; et, qui indignè, adquirebat sibi damnationem. De matrimonio autem dicebant: quod vir et mulier jungebantur, propter luxuriam et fornicationem vitandam; sicut dicit Paulus.

Dixerunt etiam multa, non interrogati: quod non debebant jurare omnino per aliquod juramentum; sicut dicebat Joannes in Evangelio, et Jacobus in Epistola sua. Dixerunt etiam: quod Paulus prædicebat, quod essent ordinandi in Ecclesia Episcopi et Presbyteri; et, si tales non ordinabantur quales præcipiebat, non essent Episcopi nec Presbyteri, sed lupi rapaces, hypocritæ, et seductores, amantes salutationes in foro, primas cathedras, et primos accubitus in coenis, volentes vocari Rabbi, contra præceptum Christi, ferentes albas et candidas vestes, gestantes in digitis aureos annulos et gemmas, quos non præcepit Magister eorum. Et, ideo, quia tales Episcopi et Presbyteri erant quales fuerunt presbyteri qui tradiderunt Jesum, non debebant illis obedire, quia mali erant.

Auditis, itaque, utrique allegationibus coram Girardo Albiensi Episcopo; electis etiam et statutis iudicibus ab utraque parte; et consentientibus, et assidentibus præfato Episcopo Girardo Albiensi, et Rogero Castrensi Abbate, et Petro Abbate Ardurellensi, et Abbate de Candilio, et Arnaldo Narbone, in præsentia bonorum virorum, tam Prælatorum et Cle-

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length, under seven different heads, the arguments of the Court against the asserted opinions of the Albigenses: and the result was, that, on the several counts of the indictment, they were formally pronounced to be heretics*.

1. Now, before we admit the justice of this sentence, or, in other words, before we admit the Albigenses to have been convicted Manichæans, we must inquire: *Whether they themselves acknowledged, that they held the opinions ascribed to them; or Whether, on the contrary, they altogether disowned and rejected them.*

The allegations against them may be conveniently arranged under two divisions: and their several replies shall be duly given and fairly discussed.

(1.) As affording a distinct proof of their Manichæism, it was alleged against the Albigenses: that *They rejected the Scriptures of the Ancient*

ricorum quam Laicorum, videlicet, Domini Petri Narbonensis Archiepiscopi atque aliorum Episcoporum et Abbatum, et Archidiaconorum, necnon et Comitum et Virorum Potentum numero viginti illius provincie, et fere totius populi Albie et Lumberci: contra quæ prædicti heretici proponebant, et inductæ sunt Novi Testamenti multæ autoritates, a Domino Petro Narbonensi Archiepiscopo, et a Neumacensi Episcopo, et a Petro Ceudracensi Abbate, et Abbate de Fonte Frigido; præfati enim heretici volebant recipere iudicium, nisi per Novum Testamentum. Roger. Hoveden. Annal. par. post. in A. D. 1176. fol. 317.

* Roger Hoveden. Annal. fol. 317—319.

Dispensation. And, in point of form, the charge against them ran: that *They received, neither the Law of Moses, nor the Prophets, nor the Psalms, nor the Old Testament* *.

Their reply to this charge, according to the report of the Bishop who acted as spokesman, was an acknowledgment: that *They received Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms, only in those testimonies which are induced by Jesus and the Apostles, and not in any others; for the reception of one part of a written instrument does not pledge a man to receive every part, so that he must either believe the whole or reject the whole* †.

* Non recipiebant Legem Moisi, neque Prophetas, neque Psalmos, neque Vetus Testamentum. Roger. Hoveden. Annal. fol. 317.

† Confessi sunt etiam isti hæretici, se recipere Moysen et Prophetas et Psalmos, in his tantum testimoniis quæ inducuntur a Jesu et Apostolis, et non aliis. Non enim dicimus: quod, si instrumentum vel scriptum testimonium in aliqua parte sui creditur, debet totum credi, vel in nulla parte sui recipi. Roger. Hoveden. Annal. fol. 318.

The learned Benedictine, who, in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, published the large History of Languedoc, states the confession of the Albigenses to have been: that *They rejected the Law of Moses and the other Books of the Old Testament, and received nothing save the New*.

L'Evêque de Lodève interrogea ensuite les hérétiques au nom de l'Evêque d'Albi, qui, comme Diocésan, avoit la principale autorité sur eux: et leur demanda, s'ils recevoient la Loi de Moïse et les autres livres de l'Ancien Testament. Ils répon-

is directly contradicted by the remarkably precise statement of one of their own ancient Symbols or Confessions. For, in that instrument, they expressly declared: that *They received the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, as well as those of the New Testament* *.

Under these conflicting circumstances, the Confession saying one thing and the episcopally-reported answer saying quite another thing, what is the conclusion to be deduced from the existing evidence?

Nothing, I think, is more clear, than that the actual answer of the Albigenses at Lombers has been garbled and managed by its popish reporter, in order that it might be made to speak a language altogether opposite to that which it really spoke: and, if I mistake not, the process of misrepresentation may, particularly when we are assisted by the specific statement of their ancient Confession, without much difficulty be detected.

The charge ran: that *They received, neither the Law of Moses, nor the Prophets, nor the Psalms, nor the Old Testament*.

But the reply, if we may credit the reporting Inquisitor, leaves the sweeping clause, *NOR THE OLD TESTAMENT*, altogether unnoticed, mentioning

* Expressè vero declarabant, canonicos se, tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti, libros recipere. Viguier. Hist. Eccles. in A. D. 1206. See below, book ii. chap. 10. § II.

The phraseology of the report now before us is certainly not of a common description; and the report itself admits the Albigenses to have disclaimed at least an *universal* rejection of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms: but still, whether justly or unjustly, the sufficiently obvious design of the reporter was; to convey an idea, that *The Albigenses professed to receive no part of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms, except the few sentences verbally cited from them by Christ and the Apostles*; and thus, on their side, to produce the semblance of an acknowledgment of Manichæism.

Yet the idea, so plainly intended to be conveyed by the episcopal reporter of their answer,

dirent: qu'ils n'admettoient que le Nouveau. Hist. Gener. de Langued. livr. xix. § 2. vol. iii. p. 3.

I can only say, that, in regard to their confession on this point, I have faithfully given the precise words, in which Roger Hoveden records the statement of it, as made by the acting Bishop himself.

In the narrative of Roger Hoveden, the Bishop, who acted by the authority of the Bishop of Albi, is variously called *Gilebertus Lugdonensis Episcopus* and *Gocelinus Lodovens Episcopus*. Probably the first title ought to be erased in favour of the second. This, I suppose, was the opinion of the Benedictine: for he speaks of the acting Prelate, as being *Gaucelin Bishop of Lodeve*. It is a matter of no great consequence in itself: I have, however, in the text, thought it best to refrain from giving either christian name or episcopal title to the spokesman.

nothing more than *Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms*.

Now it is not very likely, that the important clause in question would, in their reply, be omitted by the Albigenses themselves: but it is very easy to understand, why it should be omitted in a report of their reply, drawn up, for a special purpose, by an interested and unscrupulous Ecclesiastic.

Under the comprehensive denomination of *THE OLD TESTAMENT*, the Romanists included, as well the Apocrypha, as the Canonical Books of the Inspired Hebrew Scriptures.

By the very terms, then, of the accusation, the Albigenses were charged with rejecting, not only *Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms*, or, agreeably to the well-known jewish division, *The Tora and the Nebim and the Chethubim*, but likewise *THE ENTIRE OLD TESTAMENT viewed as comprehending also the Apocrypha*.

To such an accusation, their answer was, not the garbled statement reported by the episcopal Inquisitor, but a statement, which exactly corresponded with their ancient Confession as already adduced: a statement, in truth, which that very Confession itself enables us to disentangle from the palpable misrepresentation of their malicious and dishonest adversary.

Their ancient Confession ran: that *They received the CANONICAL Books of the Old Testament, as well as those of the New Testament*.

	<p>CHAP. IX.] AND ALBIGENSES. 233</p> <p>Their ungarbled answer at Lombers harmoniously ran: that <i>They received Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms and the OLD TESTAMENT, only so far as the several Books of the entire Volume had been respectively attested by Jesus and the Apostles, no other attestation possessing any validity; for it did not follow, that, because they received some Books of the Volume which in the language of the day was collectively styled THE OLD TESTAMENT, they were therefore bound to receive them all.</i></p> <p>And the obvious purport of such an answer was: that <i>They received the CANONICAL Books of the Old Testament, because those Books had the attestation of Christ and the Apostles; but rejected the APOCRYPHA, though by the Papists deemed a part of the Old Testament, because it was not thus attested.</i></p> <p>(2.) It was further alleged against the Albigen- ses: that <i>They refused to confess, with the mouth, the faith which they cherished in the heart; that They denied Baptism to be a mean of salvation to children; that They asserted the consecration of the Eucharist to be invalid, if performed by an ungodly Priest; that They maintained man and woman, united in marriage, not to be in a state of salvation; and that They received none of the Doctors of the New Testament, save only the Gospels and the Epistles of Paul and the Seven Canonical Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse;</i></p>		<p>234 THE VALLENSES [BOOK II.</p> <p>in other words as I have already noted, that <i>They received NONE of the Books of the New Testament, save only them ALL.</i></p> <p>To these allegations, while they reasonably refused to plead before their iniquitous judges, they freely made a full reply before what they deemed the more impartial tribunal of the assembled multitude.</p> <p><i>Seeing themselves convicted and confounded, says the narrative of Hoveden, they turned themselves to the whole people, and said: Hear, good men, our faith which we confess; for we now confess it, through love of you and for your sakes. Then the above-mentioned Bishop answered: You speak, it seems, not for the love of God, but for the sake of the people. Whereupon, they confessed, as follows.</i></p> <p><i>We believe in one God, three and one: the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost.</i></p> <p><i>Also we believe: that the Son of God took our flesh upon him; was baptised in Jordan; fasted in the wilderness; preached our salvation; suffered, and died, and was buried; descended into hell; rose again on the third day; ascended to heaven; sent, on the day of Pentecost, the Spirit the Paraclete; and will come again, in the day of judgment, to judge the quick and the dead, when all will rise again.</i></p> <p><i>We acknowledge likewise: that, what we believe with the heart, we must confess with the mouth.</i></p> <p><i>We believe: that he, who eateth not the body of</i></p>	
	<p>CHAP. IX.] AND ALBIGENSES. 235</p> <p><i>Christ, is not in a state of salvation; and that the body of Christ is not duly consecrated save in the Church and by a Priest, whether that Priest be good or bad; and that the consecration is performed, not more effectually by a good Priest, than by an evil one.</i></p> <p><i>Also we believe: that a person is not in a state of salvation, unless he has been baptised; and that infants, through baptism, are placed in a state of salvation.</i></p> <p><i>We believe likewise: that man and woman are in a state of salvation, though they be carnally joined in marriage; and that every one ought to receive penitence, both in mouth and in heart, from a Priest; and that he ought to be baptised in the Church.</i></p> <p><i>If any thing more than these articles can be shewn to us through the Gospels or the Epistles, we are prepared to believe and to confess it*.</i></p> <p>In this most important document, we have,</p> <p>* Videntes hæretici, se esse convictos atque confusos, converterunt se ad omnem plebem, dicentes: Audite, O boni viri, fidem nostram quam confitemur: nunc confitemur autem propter amorem et gratiam vestram. Respondit Episcopus prædictus: Vos dicitis, quod non propter Deum dicatis, sed propter gratiam populi. Et illi inquit:</p> <p>Nos credimus unum Deum, trinum et unum; Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum.</p> <p>Et Filium Dei carnem nostram suscepisse; baptizatum esse in Jordane; jejunasse in deserto; prædicasse salutem nostram; passum, mortuum, atque sepultum; ad inferos descendisse; surrexisse tertia die; ad coelos ascendisse; Spiritum Paracle-</p>		<p>236 THE VALLENSES [BOOK II.</p> <p>distinctly and honestly recorded, A FULL CONFESSION OF THE REAL FAITH OF THE ANCIENT ALBIGENSES. <i>Positively</i>, it propounds the genuine catholic doctrines of the Gospel: <i>negatively</i>, it rejects those various manichæan peculiarities which were alleged against them by their accusers. In short, so far as I can perceive, it definitely settles</p> <p>tem, in die Pentecostes, misisse; venturum, in die judicii, ad judicandum vivos et mortuos; et omnes resurrecturos.</p> <p>Cognoscimus etiam: quia, quod corde credimus, ore debemus confiteri.</p> <p>Credimus: quia non salvatur, qui non manducat corpus Christi; et quod corpus Christi non consecratur, nisi in Ecclesia; et non nisi a Sacerdote, sive bono sive malo; nec melius fieri per bonum quam per malum.</p> <p>Credimus etiam: quod non salvatur quis, nisi qui baptizatur; et parvulos salvari per baptisma.</p> <p>Credimus etiam: quod vir et mulier salvantur, licet carnaliter misceantur; et penitentiam debeat unusquisque accipere ore et corde et a Sacerdote, et in Ecclesia baptizari.</p> <p>Et si quid amplius posset eis ostendi, per Evangelia vel Epistolas, illi crederent et confiterentur. Roger. Hoveden. Annal. fol. 319.</p> <p>The Benedictine Historian of Languedoc, in his general narrative of this transaction, is far more fair and honest than Bossuet. This Noble Confession of Faith, publicly recited by the Albigenes on the present occasion, and fully recorded by Roger Hoveden, he does not indeed give at large, as he ought to have done. But he, at least, mentions it: and, on the contested articles, namely, the articles wherein they were charged with manicheanising, he distinctly owns, that they spoke soundly, even as Catholics themselves would have spoken.</p> <p>Les hérétiques, se tournant alors vers le peuple: Ecoutez,</p>	

for ever the question, as to the Doctrinal System really maintained by the Paulician Churches of Southern France and Italy.

2. Here, then, notwithstanding the previous juridical conviction of the accused (against the justice of which they formally protested*), we doubtless may well expect a speedy reversal of

dirent-ils, gens de bien, notre profession de foi. Ils parlerent ensuite sur les articles contestés, comme les Catholiques. Hist. Gener. de Langued. livr. xix. § 2. vol. iii. p. 3.

It may be proper to state: that, according to our Benedictine, the Council, before which these Albigenes were examined, was held, not in the year 1176 but in the year 1165, and not at Lombez on the Save in the Toulousain (as Bossuet supposes) but at Lombers which is distant only about two leagues from Albi. *Ibid.* p. 4. Locality, I think, determines Lombers to have been the place: but, so far as my purpose is concerned, such a variation of time and place is of no consequence.

He further states very justly: that the Albigenes of Lombez or Lombers, whichever town may have been the real seat of the council, were Henricians. That is to say, they professed the same religious principles as Henry and his master Peter de Bruis. *Ibid.* p. 3, 4. It will be remembered, that the idle and unsubstantiated charge of Manichæism was similarly preferred against both of those pious and eminent reformers. See above, book ii. chap. 6. Such a charge more or less served the purpose of the day and the priesthood. If its utter and hopeless falsehood be not completely established by the distinct and unequivocal confession of faith, publicly made by the Albigenes at Lombers, and duly handed down to us by Roger Hoveden, I am at a loss to understand what greater and more precise historical testimony can be required for the establishment of a fact.

* Subjunxerunt etiam hæretici illi: quod Episcopus, qui

required them to conceal *. On this principle, he very ingeniously proceeded to act: and, knowing that they were privately bound *both to swear and to forswear*, he, somewhat incomprehensibly on

* Denique indixere, ut dicitur, latebras sibi: firmaverunt sibi sermonem nequaquam; *Jura, perjura, secretum prodere noli.* Eumvero alias, ne tenuiter quidem, jurare ullatenus acquiescunt, propter illud de Evangelio: *Non jurate, neque per calum, neque per terram.* Bernard. super Cantic. serm. lxxv. col. 759, 760.

In spite of Bernard's prudent *ut dicitur*, Bossuet, for the good of his Church and with a most magnanimous disregard of his own digestion, swallows bodily, at one brave gulp, the whole of this most ridiculous and most self-contradictory figment. *Hist. des Variat. livr. xi. § 32.* The Abbot of Clairvaux, I suppose, had either read or heard of the maxim, which, according to Augustine, was patronised by the Manichæan Priscillianists: and thence, without further ceremony, though not without telling us that the whole was pure hearsay, he very liberally, on the grave authority of his talebearers, made a present of it to the conscientiously over-scrupulous religionists of Gascony who would not take an oath even in a court of justice. Meanwhile Bossuet is quite sure, that these men, who, notwithstanding their alleged maxim that *a person might allowably either swear or forswear himself at pleasure*, would actually suffer death rather than confirm the truth of their confession by an oath: Bossuet is quite sure, that they must have borrowed their philætopiorcian maxim from some lurking remnant of the Priscillianists, who flourished in Spain in the time of Augustine.

Priscillianiste, quos in Hispania Priscillianus instituit, maximè Gnosticorum et Manichæorum dogmata permixta sectantur. Quamvis, et ex aliis hæresibus, in eas sordes, tanquam in sentinam quandam, horribili confusione confluerint. Propter

the finding: we doubtless may expect, that, with an acquittal in full of all tendency to Manichæism, the much maligned Albigenes will now be discharged.

So we might reasonably imagine: but a Popish Court of Ecclesiastical Judicature is not so easily satisfied. The episcopal prolocutor at Lombers seems to have studied the Works of Bernard with no less emolument than the Bishop of Meaux. The former Prelate, like the latter, had there read, I suppose: that, while, on the plea of conscience, the Manichæan Heretics of Gascony refused *to swear at all*; they, nevertheless, had a mysterious arcane maxim, which enjoined them *to swear and to forswear rather than betray the dread secret which the free-masonry of their sect*

sententiam dederat, hæreticus erat, et non ipsi; et quod inimicus eorum erat; et quod lupus rapax erat, et hypocrita, et inimicus Dei; et quod non bene judicaverat. Nec, de fide sua, respondere voluerunt, quia cavebant se ab eo, sicut eis præceperat Dominus in Evangelio; Attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium; intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces: et quod ipse erat persecutor eorum fraudulentus; et parati erant ostendere per Evangelia et Epistolas, quod non erat bonus pastor, nec ipse, nec ceteri episcopi vel presbyteri, sed potius mercenarii. Respondit episcopus, dicens: quod sententia in eos de jure erat dictata, et hoc paratus erat probare in curia Domini Alexandri Papæ Catholici vel in curia Ludovici Regis Franciæ vel in curia Raimundi Comitis Tolosani,—quod rectè fecerat judicatum, et quod ipsi manifestè essent hæretici, et quod hæresi notati. Roger. Hoveden. Annal. fol. 319.

the premises, though doubtless very usefully for the object which he had in view, brought the truth of their Public Confession to the undeniable test of *their refusing to take any oath whatsoever*.

occultandas autem contaminationes et turpitudines suas, habent, in suis dogmatibus, et hæc verba: Jura, perjura, secretum prodere noli. August. de hæres. ad Quodvultdeum. Oper. vol. vi. p. 12.

The transfer might have been very plausible, no doubt, if the Priscillianists, however inconsistently, had made a conscience of taking an oath, as we know the ancient Albigenes to have done: but Augustine gives no hint, that they entertained any scruples of the sort. On the contrary, as they allowed both swearing and forswearing in a good cause (some specimens of which by the way, we have recently seen in certain religionists, who would not acknowledge themselves to be disciples of Priscillian): *a fortiori*, they could not be expected to strain at a mere simple falsehood.

Porro, inter alia dogmata eorum quæ subvertenda sunt, etiam hoc est utique: quod dogmatizant, ad occultandam religionem, religiosos debere mentiri in tantum, ut, non solum de aliis rebus ad doctrinam religionis non pertinentibus, sed de ipsa quoque religione, mentiendum sit, ne patescat alienis: ut, videlicet, negandum sit Christus, quo possit inter inimicos suos latere Christianus. August. cont. mendac. ad Consent. c. xi. Oper. vol. iv. p. 19.

Had the confessors of Lombers been Priscillianists, as Bossuet either wildly or wickedly supposes, would they have fallen into the snare which was so cunningly laid for them by Bishop Gilbert? Would they not at once have disappointed him and kept their secret, by swearing, according to their alleged maxim, that they believed the truth of their confession? Happily it is so ordered by Providence that malice is not always so

	<p>CHAP. IX.] AND ALBIGENSES. 241</p> <p><i>Then the aforesaid Bishop asked them: whether they would swear, that they really held and believed that faith: and whether there was any thing else, which they ought to confess: inasmuch as they had previously both thought ill and preached ill. In reply, they said: that they would not swear at all; because, if they swore, they would act contrary to the Gospel and the Epistles*.</i></p> <p>The trap completely answered the warmest hope and expectation of the dextrous Prelate. These unaccountable religionists, whose arcane doctrine, it seems, was well known to be that <i>They ought to boggle neither at an oath nor at perjury when the secret of their sect was in question</i>, and whose fixed principle, nevertheless, was equally well known to be that <i>They ought not to swear at all upon any occasion</i>, REFUSED to swear precisely when their arcane dogma REQUIRED them to swear. And the result was: that they were clearly convicted of being Manichæan Heretics, because they would in no wise <i>swear</i> to the sincerity of their Public Confession, and thus</p> <p>sharp-sighted as to avoid inconsistencies in its labour of calumny.</p> <p>* Interrogavit etiam eos prædictus Episcopus, si jurarent, se tenere fidem istam, et credere, et siquid amplius deberent confiteri: quia male senserant et prædicaverant ante. Respondentes dixerunt: quod nullo modo jurarent; quia, contra Evangelium et Epistolas, facerent. Roger. Hoveden. Annal. fol. 319.</p> <p>R</p>		<p>242 THE VALLENCES [BOOK II.</p> <p>effectually conceal the dread secret of their nefarious community.</p> <p>In arrest of this most righteous judgment, our manifest Heretics pleaded the bargain which Bishop Alberic had made with them that they should not be compelled to swear*.</p> <p>The plea was overruled by the Bishop of Albi, who flatly denied the existence of any such bargain†.</p> <p>Thus was defeated the provident caution of the precondemned Albigenses: who, shrewdly anticipating that they would be required to take an oath touching the truth or falsehood of whatever their enemies might please to profound, and having scruples on that point however unfounded, made it an express stipulation with their treacherous sacerdotal judges, that no confirmation by oath should be demanded.</p> <p>Accordingly a final sentence of condemnation was pronounced: and it was severally confirmed, both by the President Gerard of Albi, and by all</p> <p>* Videntes, itaque, quod super hoc erant convicti, dixerunt: quod Episcopus Albericus fecerat eis pactum, quod non cogeret eos jurare. Roger. Hoveden. Annal. fol. 320. Was there ever such a <i>conviction</i> in a court of law, save where law is administered by popish priests and inquisitors? The prisoners saw plainly enough, that they were scandalously <i>entrapped</i>: but, according to the notions of Protestants at least, <i>entrapment</i> is not precisely the synonymm of <i>conviction</i>.</p> <p>† Quod et Albiensis Episcopus negavit. Roger. Hoveden. Annal. fol. 320.</p>	
	<p>CHAP. IX.] AND ALBIGENSES. 243</p> <p>his assessors whether Bishops or Abbots or Provosts or Priors or Archdeacons or Nobles; whose united wisdom was at once enlightened and confirmed by the strictly concurrent judgment of a noble female theologian, the Lady Constance, sister to the Majesty of France and wife to the Count of Toulouse*.</p> <p>III. We have now seen the Solemn Confession of Faith, publicly delivered by the Albigenses at Lombers: a Confession; which, on the one hand, correctly propounds the great leading doctrines of the orthodox Catholic Creed; and which, on the other hand distinctly renounces the incompatible peculiarities of Manichæism with the holding of which they were charged by their enemies.</p> <p>THIS CONFESSION WITH ALL ITS CONCOMITANTS HAS BEEN DELIBERATELY SUPPRESSED BY THE BISHOP OF MEAUX.</p> <p>A brief citation of what he must have <i>known</i> to be the mere hearsay charge of their enemies; for, almost at the commencement of Hoveden's narrative, it is explicitly said, that allegations were heard on <i>both</i> sides, that is, both <i>on the part of the accusers</i>, and <i>on the part of the accused</i>: a brief citation of <i>this</i> description is all, that Bossuet gives, to his miserably duped readers and admirers, out of the present most important and (eviden-</p> <p>* Hanc sententiam ratam habemus: et istos hæreticos esse scimus, et eorum sententiam improbamus. Roger. Hoveden. Annal. fol. 320.</p> <p>R 2</p>		<p>244 THE VALLENCES AND ALBIGENSES. [BOOK II.</p> <p>tially speaking) most DECISIVE trial; and such a citation, he adds, with a mixture of true gallican flippancy and popish impertinence, <i>is quite sufficient, without speaking more of the remainder, to make our Protestants blush for the errors of their ancestors</i>*.</p> <p>The Bishop was writing for the avowed purpose of saddling the charge of Manichæism upon the Albigenses. This charge he professes to establish on the authority of what he himself styles <i>a faithful abridgement</i>. That abridgement unequivocally demonstrates, that THE ALBIGENSES WERE NOT MANICHEANS. But the part of it, which contains this demonstration, Bossuet DELIBERATELY SUPPRESSES.</p> <p>* Auditis igitur UTRINQUE allegationibus. Roger. Hoveden. Annal. fol. 317.</p>	