

CHAPTER XII.

THE ALBIGENSES DID NOT APPEAR IN FRANCE UNTIL AFTER THE CLOSE OF THE TENTH CENTURY.

PERHAPS it may be asked, why, in the preceding lengthened discussion, I have made no use of the Work of Dr. Allix on the Ancient Churches of the Albigenes.

The simple reason is : that, *In his whole account of the state of religion in the South of France down to the end of the tenth century, I can find no traces whatever of any Albigenic Church or Churches being then and there in existence\**.

I. Of course, it will not be supposed, that I am quibbling about a mere name. I know full well, that the precise name of *Albigenses* did not come into use until after the Synod of Albi or Lombers in the year 1176 : and I likewise know full well, that, although the Albigenes themselves would recognise no other names than those of *Good*

\* Allix's Remarks on the Anc. Church of the Albig. chap. i.—x. p. 1—109.

S 2

260 THE VALLENSES [BOOK II.

*Men or Apostolicals* ; they were, by their enemies, before that time, variously called *Petrobrusians* and *Henricians* and *Publicans* and *Paterines* and *Cathari* and *Bulgarians*. But, what I mean, is this. Let those religionists be distinguished by what appellation they may, I can discover no vestiges of them in the South of France until about the commencement of the eleventh century.

1. At that time, as Dr. Allix states on the authority of Ademar Cabannensis, certain Manichæans (for so he incautiously styles the descendants of the Asiatic Paulicians), being chased by the Emperor of Constantinople out of his dominions, made their first appearance in France ; having, in their progress westward, previously shewn themselves in the more eastern region of Lombardy\*.

Now, long before the commencement of the eleventh century, quite back indeed to the semi-apostolical times of the second century, we may observe, throughout the Churches of Southern France, a strong adherence to a purer system of religion than what had become fashionable at Rome : and, with it, we may also observe a strong disposition to resist the papal encroachments and usurpations. From time to time, moreover, we may see many eminent individuals, inculcating the sincere truths of the Gospel, and protesting

\* Allix on the Albig. chap. xi. p. 109.

CHAP. XII.] AND ALBIGENSES. 261

against the veneration of saints and images and relics. But, so far at least as the Work of Dr. Allix is concerned ; which seems, however, to have exhausted the subject : we can perceive nothing, which at all resembles a detached and compact Church of avowed and uncompromising and systematic witnesses against the manifold corruptions and abominations of Popery.

2. Such was the state of things at the commencement of the eleventh century. But, as soon as the mis-named Manichæans, from Lombardy and the East, make their appearance upon the stage, a totally different scene rapidly develops itself.

The strangers, it is true, were a mere handful : but, then, they were a well-disciplined handful, accustomed to act together in concert and to move with a common object. They were so few, that they have not even communicated to the West any of the proper names of the East : but, then, they were a nucleus, round which serious and dissatisfied inquirers might perpetually and combinedly be gathered\*. From Bulgaria to the Atlantic, their entire number, as appears from an estimate of the associated or proper Cathari

\* Among the names which have come down to us, we meet with *Gerard* and *Arnold* and *Radulph* and *Bruis* and *Henri* : but we never meet with *Constantine* or *Sergius* or *Simeon* or *Michael* or *Canazares* or *Carbeas* or *Chrysocheris*, though all these names were famous among the Paulicians of Asia.

262 THE VALLENSES [BOOK II.

made in the thirteenth century by *Reinerius*, scarcely amounted to four thousand : but, then, their compactness, and admirable fitness for missions, no less appear, from the concurring statement of the same writer ; that, along that whole line of country, planted here and planted there, they had sixteen Churches, regularly organised under the government of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons\*.

3. *Reinerius* adds : that, although the proper or associated Cathari were, as we have seen, barely four thousand in number ; their local proselytes, whom they styled *Believers*, were absolutely innumerable†.

Now, as to the growth of the main Church of the Albigenes in France, such a statement exhibits precisely my own view of the matter. When the emigrating Paulicians first appeared in that country, the people were already pre-disposed to resist the papal authority, and were already inclined to maintain what the Pontificals were pleased to call *heresy*.

*This whole district of Toulouse*, says *Peter of Vaux-Sernay* in perfect accordance with the ac-

\* *Reiner. de hæret. c. vi. p. 304.* Their Priests were divided into senior and junior.

† *Lector, dicas securè, quod in toto mundo non sunt Cathari utriusque sexus quatuor millia ; sed Credentes, innumeri. Et dicta computatio pluris facta est inter eos. Reiner. de hæret. c. vi. p. 304.*



count given by Dr. Allix, was, from the very foundation of the city, notorious for its theological craftiness: insomuch that the town might well be called DOLOSA, rather than TOLOSA. Rarely or never, as report credibly asserts, has it been free from this pest: yea, rather, it has ever been notorious for the detestable prevalence of this heretical pravity. Generation after generation, from father to son, the venom of superstitious infidelity has been successively diffused\*.

\* Hæc Tolosa, tota dolosa, a prima sui fundatione, sicut asseritur, raro vel unquam expers hujus pestis vel pestilentie detestabilis hujus hæreticæ pravitatis, a patribus in filios successivè veneno superstitiosæ infidelitatis diffusæ. Petr. Vallisarn. Hist. Alb. c. i. In another place, the Monk breaks out: O Toulouse, mother of heretics! O tabernacle of robbers. Ibid. c. 108.

Exactly to the same purpose, somewhat earlier, or in the year 1178, speaks Henry of Clairvaux. From his statement, indeed, it might appear, that the very Clergy, as well as the Laity, determinately worshipped God in the way which the Abbot called Heresy.

Audite cæli, quod plangimus: scias terra gemitum cordis nostri. Doleant vices Christi catholici christiani! et, ad detrimenta fidei, fidelis populus ingemiscat. Quique terrigenæ et filii hominum humanæ salutis damna deplorent: et generalis vitæ nostræ subversio ab omnibus viventibus generaliter lugeatur. Stat contra phalanges Israel novus nostri temporis Philistæus, hæreticorum ordo, exercitus perversorum, qui agminibus Dei viventis irreverenter exprobrat, et Deum majestatis in prima presumptione blasphematur. Quid dubitas, O David? Quid trepidas, ira fidelis? Summe tibi fundam et lapidem. Percutiat protinus in fronte blasphemus: et caput æquam, quod im-

What Peter calls *superstitious infidelity*, or (in other words) *overscrupulous unbelief*, was, no doubt, a pertinacious unwillingness to receive new doctrines and new practices: an unwillingness, united with a troublesome demand for the production of scriptural authority, whenever the usurping Roman Church strove to force those doctrines and those practices upon the struggling consciences of the reluctant Gallicans.

4. Hence, under such circumstances, the minds of the people being thus prepared, we shall not

puidentur erigitur, suo tuis manibus mucrone tollatur.—Surgite, inquam, surgite, viri patres, cæces gentium, principes populorum, abigite feras pessimas, quas vidimus, quas monstramus: vel saltem vulpes parvulas effugare et capere quidem melius. Sed, ad hoc, quis idoneus? Non habent certos aditus: semitas ambulant circulares: et, in quodam fraudium suarum labyrintho, monstra sævissima reconducuntur. Tanquam damula, de manu diffugiunt: et, instar colubri tortuosi, quo eo plus astrinxeris, facilius elabuntur.—Contigit nuper, ad imperium Domini Papæ, et hortatu piissimorum Principum Ludovici Francorum et Henrici Anglorum Regum, dominum Petrum Apostolicæ Sedis Legatum, virosque venerabiles Pictavensem et Bathonensem Episcopos, nosque in comitatu eorum, urbem adire Tolosam: quæ, sicut erat civitas maximæ multitudinis, ita etiam dicebatur esse mater hæresis et caput erroris. Perreximus ergo ad illam: ut sciremus, si, juxta clamorem qui ascendit, esset dolor ejus. Et, ecce, inventa est plaga ejus magna nimis: ita ut, a planta pedis usque ad verticem capitis, vix esset in eo sanitas. Verè enim tertia pars nobis nuntiata non fuerat de omnibus abominationibus suis malis, quas civitas illa nobilis, in incredulitatis suæ gremio, confovebat. Locum in ea sibi abominatio

wonder at the portentously rapid success of the Paulician Albigenes.

The baleful tyranny of Rome was daily increasing: and the necessity of a regular and complete separation from that incorrigible Church became daily more and more manifest. By the zealous disciples of St. Paul, a rallying point was offered: and now we begin to hear of a spread of religion, swift as lightning, and incapable of submitting to a confinement within the comparatively narrow boundaries of Southern France. The framework

desolationis invenerat: et prophetiarum similitudo reptilium in latibulis ejus domicilium obtinebat. Ibi hæretici principabantur in populo, dominabantur in Clero: eo Quod populus, sic sacerdos; et, in interitum gregis, ipsa configurabatur vita pastoris. Loquebantur heretici: et homines admirabantur. Loquebatur catholicus: et dicebant, Quis est hic? in stuporem et miraculum deducentes, si esset aliquis inter eos, qui de verbo fidei auderet aliquid vel mutire. In tantum prævaluerat pestis in terra, quod illi sibi non solum sacerdotes et pontifices fecerant, sed etiam evangelistas habebant, qui corrupta et cancellata evangelica veritate nova illis evangelia cuderent, et de corde suo nequam recentia dogmata seducto populo prædicarent. Epist. Henric. Abbat. Clarevall. in Roger. Hoveden. Annal. A.D. 1178, par. post. fol. 329, 330.

The various particulars, set forth in this most graphical exhibition both of the temper of popery and of the state of religion in and round Toulouse, will readily account for the circumstance, noted, with so much wrath, by Peter of Vaux-Sernay. He tells us, that the greater part of the Barons and Nobles loved and protected the heretics, in opposition to the Catholic Church, far more ardently than was consistent with their duty. Petr. Vallisarnens. Hist. Alb. c. i.

of the Church was the Church of the ancient Paulicians: but its acquired members were native French or Italians or Germans or Spaniards\*. Its grand and most influential settlement, however, seems ultimately to have been in the south-

\* Ecce quidam latibulosi homines, perversi et perversiores, qui per multa tempora latuerunt et occultè fidem christianam in multis stultæ simplicitatis hominibus corruerunt, ita per omnes terras multiplicati sunt, ut grande periculum patiatur Ecclesia Dei a veneno pessimo, quod undique adversus eam effundunt: nam sermo eorum serpit ut cancer, et quasi lepra volatilis longè latèque discurret, pretiosa membra Christi contaminaus. Hos nostra Germania, Catharos; Flandria, Piphles; Gallia, Texerant ab usu texendi; appellat. Sicut de eis prædixit Dominus, dicunt In penetralibus esse Christum: quid, veram fidem Christi et verum cultum Christi non alibi esse, dicunt, nisi in conventiculis suis, quæ habent in cellariis et in tetrinis et in hujusmodi subterraneis domibus. Apostolorum vitam agere se dicunt: sed contrarii sunt fidei sanctæ et sanæ doctrinæ, quæ a sanctis Apostolis et ab ipso Domino Salvatore nostro tradita sunt. Eckbert. adv. Cathar. serm. i. in Biblioth. Patr. vol. xii. p. 898.

In the estimation of the Romanists, these widely-spreading religionists perverted sound doctrine, because, among other matters, as Eckbert testifies, they rejected prayers and masses for the dead, denied the existence of a purgatory, and disbelieved the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Ibid. serm. ix. p. 913. serm. xi. p. 922. Eckbert flourished A.D. 1160.

Bernard, as we have seen, speaks very contemptuously of the *textores* and *textrices*; who contrived, nevertheless, to seduce numbers even of the Clergy from their allegiance to their sovereign lord the Pope. Bernard. super Cantic. serm. lxxv. col. 761.



ern provinces of France: though a correspondence and connection was long kept up with the Church in Bulgaria, from which the more western Bishops received their consecration, and which itself was viewed under the aspect of a spiritual Metropolis\*. Here also, finally, in the same southern district, the prevailing name of *Albigenses* was bestowed upon its members: a local or geographical appellation, which itself indicates the mighty increase of the misnamed heretics throughout Languedoc and Provence and Gascony.

II. When it is considered, that we literally

\* *Primis temporibus, quibus hæresis Catharorum in Lombardia multiplicari cepit, primum habuerunt Episcopum quendam Marcum nomine; sub cujus regimine Lombardi et Tuscii Machiani regebantur. Iste Marcus ordinem suum habebat de Bulgaria. Veniens, autem, quidam Papa, Nicetas nomine, a Constantiнопoli in Lombardiam, cepit accusare ordinem Bulgariae quem Marcus habebat. Unde Marcus Episcopus, hæsitare incipiens, relicto ordine Bulgariae, suscepit ab illo Papa Niceta ordinem Druguriae cum suis complicibus, et tenuit per multos annos. Vet. Auct. in Vignier. Hist. Eccles. in A. D. 1023, apud Usser. de Eccles. Success. c. viii. § 18.*

The Druguria of these early writers seems probably to be Hungary. Hence one branch of the Community bore the local name of *Runcarii*: which I take to be a corruption of *Hungarii*. See Reiner. de hæret. c. iv. p. 290, c. vi. p. 301.

Some further divisions produced another metropolitanism in Slavonia: so that the European Paulicians, at an early period, had three of those superior Episcopates.

Ex his porro alie divisiones ortæ, processu temporis, in tres sectas desierunt: quarum unaquæque suum seorsim habebat

know nothing of the Paulicians and the Albigenses save what has come down to us through the medium of their enemies; and when it is recollected, that, by the malignant diligence of the popish inquisitors, the writings of the Albigenses themselves have been so effectually destroyed, as to prevent their now being independently heard in their own defence: we may well consider it to be specially providential, that, through the blunders or inconsistencies or admissions of their unrelenting persecutors, enough, and more than enough, should have come down to us for their complete exculpation.

Episcopum. Prima suum ordinem e Bulgaria, secunda e Druguria, tertia ex Slavonia, accepit. Usser. de Eccles. Success. c. viii. § 18.

The Albigenses of Aquitaine, however, it might appear, preferred the more ancient and original connection with Bulgaria.

Aliquam quoque inter Bulgaros et Albigenses intercessisse necessitudinem, ex eo colligitur: quod Albigenses papam, in finibus Bulgarorum, Croatiae, et Dalmatiae, sibi constituisse, ex epistola Conradi Portuensis Episcopi, tradat in Majore Historia, ad A. D. 1223, Matthæus Parisius: et Albigenses Gallie, in Roberti Altissiodorensis et Gulielmi Nangiaci Chronologia, ad A. D. 1207, appellantur *Bulgari*. Ibid. § 19. See also Hist. Gener. de Langued. livr. xxiii. § 74.

The connection, I suppose, was broken, when the Albigenses were well nigh exterminated in the Crusade of Simon de Montfort. What finally became of the Paulicians of Bulgaria and Hungary and Slavonia, I know not. Apparently, they gradually wasted away, and became extinct. According to Eneas Sylvius, some of them still existed in the fifteenth century.

They were charged with Manichæism. But, invariably, and (as Bernard speaks) *according to their custom*, they are admitted to have firmly denied the justice of the accusation.

They were publicly examined upon that precise charge. But their open confession in full court, as happily preserved by Roger Hoveden, was a perfectly sound and orthodox confession, directly opposed, in all its articles, to the Manichæan System.

They were accused of the most profligate impurity, and were even charged with an actual adoration of the devil. But their lives are confessed to have been eminently holy: and they cheerfully preferred martyrdom to apostasy.

They were charged with turbulence and insubordination; verily, the wolf's arraignment of the lamb: they were said to have propagated their opinions by fire and sword: they were reported to have been public plunderers and stark marauders; who, at length, sorely against their will, forced the meek and unoffending Papists into a just war (the ruthless hypocrites!), undertaken for self-defence no less than for the extirpation of heresy. Yet Bernard describes them, as a timid race, of mere rustics and weavers; *altogether unwarlike*, and much more disposed to hide themselves in the dens and caves of the earth, than, in the spirit of the age, to court the chivalrous dangers of glorious battle: while, at a somewhat

later period, their lawful feudal Sovereigns, the Count of Toulouse, the Count of Foix, the Count of Cominges, the Viscount of Bearn, and even the young Viscount of Beziers though himself a professed Romanist, against whom all these pretended deeds of violence, if committed at all, must indisputably have been committed, not only endured but protected them; and, when the Pope, through the agency of his military apostles, kindly undertook to free those princes from such troublesome subjects, actually made common cause with the lawless miscreants, and suffered in their defence every calamity which the unchristian zeal of the misnamed holy croisards could inflict\*.

*There is, however, a character with which the God of truth has branded every liar: and that is SELF-CONTRADICTION. It is impossible to escape it. No tale of falsehood can be so artfully framed, as not to contain within itself its own confutation. This is manifestly the case with the stories fabricated respecting the Albigenses†. Their credibility is destroyed by their inconsistency.*

\* For the extraordinary moral influence, which the Albigenses exercised over the minds both of the Count of Toulouse and of the Count of Foix, see Petr. Vallisarnens. Hist. Alb. c. vi., vii.

† Introd. to Translat. of Sismondi's Hist. of the Crusades against the Alb. p. 18.