

CHAPTER IX.

THE THEOLOGY OF THE VALLENCES DURING THE PERIOD OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

I now turn to the vitally important point of the Theology of the Vallenses.

In order, then, that we may have a full and distinct view of their Doctrinal System, it will be proper to exhibit it, as maintained at three several periods: the period of the twelfth century; the period of the thirteenth century; and the period either at or immediately after the Reformation. For, if we ascertain the Doctrinal System of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and if we find it the same as the Doctrinal System at the time of the Reformation, we may fairly infer the agreement of all the intermediate centuries.

Respecting the yet earlier period which preceded all the three periods thus marked out; a period, which may be viewed, as taking in the times of Jerome on the one hand and the times of Rodolph of St. Trudon on the other hand; a period, therefore, extending from the commencement of the fifth century down to the earlier part

CHAP. IX.] THE VALLENCES AND ALBIGENSES. 369

of the twelfth century: respecting this earlier period, nothing more needs here to be said; because every requisite statement has, in truth, been anticipated. During this lengthened term, there can be no reasonable doubt, that the opinions of Vigilantius and the opinions of Claude, as they stood at the beginning of the fifth century and at the beginning of the ninth century, were, universally and invariably, the doctrinal opinions of the Alpine Vallenses.

Such matters having thus been already dispatched, I proceed to inquire into the Doctrinal System of the Vallenses during the evolution of the period comprehended within the twelfth century.

To the very beginning of this age, or rather indeed to the last year of the preceding age, certainly *one* of the Valdentic Documents, which have come down to us, is to be referred: and, that another of them belongs to the latter half of the same twelfth age, there is at least very strong internal evidence.

Before this testimony is adduced, it may be necessary to make some preparatory observations.

In the year 1658, Sir Samuel Morland brought, from Piedmont to England, several manuscripts, which purported to be Works of the ancient Valdents of the Cottian Alps. These he deposited in the University Library at Cambridge: whence,

2 B

370 THE VALLENCES [BOOK III.

through whatever agency, most of them have since disappeared.

Among them may be specially noticed: *A Confession of Faith*; *A Catechism*; *A Treatise upon Antichrist*; and *A Poem denominated the Noble Lesson*.

Of these four Compositions, *two* only are given in the Work of Perrin, published in the year 1618: the *Catechism*, to wit; and the *Treatise on Antichrist*.*

With respect to the *Confession of Faith*, it strikes me, from its scholastic regularity and from its being systematically drawn up in fourteen several Articles, as affording decisive internal evidence, that it must have been composed subsequently to the Reformation. It was packed, with sundry other Documents of less moment, in one parcel; to the envelope of which the collector had affixed the general date of the year 1120: a circumstance, which itself shews, that *all* at least of the Documents, unless the doctrine of chances be a fable, could not have belonged to that *precise* year. I do not suppose, indeed, that there was any intentional imposition on the part of him who affixed the date: but the action must, I think, be

* Morland's Hist. of the Churches of the Valleys of Piedm. chap. iv. p. 30—37. chap. v. p. 72—93. chap. vi. p. 94—141. chap. vii. p. 142—177. Perrin. Hist. des Alb. p. 167—178, 253—333.

CHAP. IX.] AND ALBIGENSES. 371

viewed, as purely arbitrary, and as altogether unauthoritative*.

On the *Catechism*, I do not venture to give an absolutely positive opinion: but, as it is more refined and more speculative than the Catechism of the Church of England, I doubt its being the production of a simple people at a remote age; and, therefore, I shall not cite it in evidence to the doctrines of the Vallenses in the twelfth century†.

From certain internal marks, the *Treatise on Antichrist*, provided we keep strictly to the Treatise itself and dismiss its palpably spurious adjuncts, may be viewed as probably genuine‡.

Of the authenticity of the *Noble Lesson*, the beautifully simple production of a confessedly simple people, there can, I think with the learned Raynouard, be no reasonable doubt entertained§.

* Let this Confession of Faith, as given by Morland, chap. iv. p. 30—34, be compared with the simple Creed or Symbol of the Albigenes, as given by Roger Hoveden, and as assigned to the year 1176; the Confession of Faith, according to its pretended date, being fifty-six years *older* than the Symbol: and, I think, the spuriousness of the Confession will irresistibly force itself upon our belief. See above, book ii. chap. 9. § I. (2.)

† Perrin. Hist. des Alb. p. 157—178. Morland's Hist. of the Church of Piedm. chap. v. p. 75—84.

‡ Perrin. Hist. p. 253—295. Morland's Hist. chap. vii. p. 142—160.

§ Morland's Hist. chap. vi. p. 99—120.

2 B 2

Taking such a view of the four documents, I have no concern save with the two last: that is to say, the *Treatise on Antichrist* and the *Noble Lesson*.

1. The *Treatise on Antichrist* was tied up in the same parcel with the *Confession*: and, as I have just observed, the whole packet was labelled with the date of the year 1120*.

1. Now such a mode of affixing a *single specific date* to a whole parcel of *severally undated* papers is plainly incapable of giving the least authority to the date itself. Had the collector of the documents, after a careful examination, affixed to the parcel the *general*, though *indefinite*, date of the twelfth century: some attention might have been paid to it. But the *single and definite* date of the year 1120, affixed conjointly to a mass of *many* papers, cannot in itself be viewed as carrying any weight or authoritativeness. Hence, if the *Treatise on Antichrist* be admitted as a really ancient composition, the admission, since it contains no date within itself, can only be made on the internal testimony, which the texture of the Work may be found to afford.

Adopting this mode of trial, then, we must immediately strike off the supplementary articles: I mean those, which treat of *Purgatory* and the

* Perrin. Hist. p. 253, 254. note. Morland's Hist. chap. vii. p. 142.

Let us proceed, then, to examine the internal evidence presented to us.

In a manner, perfectly unobtrusive and thence bearing no resemblance to the intentional management of a subsequent fabricator, the *Treatise* describes *Antichrist*, as *having then attained to the full age of a perfect man*: while yet it speaks, both of the *mystical Babylon* being divided, and likewise of *many well-disposed persons* devoting themselves to the preaching of the Gospel, through which, it is hoped, that the Lord will consume that Wicked One with the spirit of his mouth, notwithstanding the persecution which had been set on foot against the members of Christ*.

Babylonia, o quarta bestia, o meretrix, o home de pecca filli de perdition.—La Sancta Gleisa se sia et es tengua per Synagoga: et la Synagoga de li malignant es predice per maire ben crescent en la ley. Treat. on Antich. in Perrin. p. 255, 264, 265.

Primo dicunt (Pauperes de Lugduno), quod Romana Ecclesia non sit Ecclesia Jesu Christi, sed Ecclesia malignantium;—et quod ipsi sint Ecclesia Jesu Christi;—et quod Romana Ecclesia sit meretrix in Apocalypsi. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. in Bibl. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 300.

* Ma creissent en li ses membres, zo es en li menestre cec et hypocrit, et de li sojet del mond, et el meseime creisee entro a baron parfait en pleneta daita. Treat. on Antichr. in Perrin. p. 258, 259.

Car la soa potesta et authorita es amerra, e que lo Seigneur Jesus occi aquest felon per lo spirit de la soa bocca, en moti home de bona voluntat, e tramet potesta contraria a si et a li seo amador, et decipa li seo luoc e possessions, et depart aquesta

Invocation of the Saints and the *Sacraments*. In these supplementary articles, a reference is made to what is known to have been a compilation of the *thirteenth* century, under the name of the *Milleloquium of St. Austin*. Therefore, as Bossuet justly remarks, let them have been written when they may, assuredly they cannot have been written in the *twelfth* century*.

2. The appendages having thus been struck off, the *Treatise* itself, specially on *Antichrist*, now remains alone: and, since it contains *no date* within itself, if it can safely be ascribed to any *particular* age, the only ground of such ascription must be the internal evidence afforded by the peculiarities of its own texture and the nature of its own allusions.

Now that internal evidence brings out at least a very strong presumption, that the *Treatise* was written in the course of the *twelfth* age: and, from its leading dogma that *the Roman Church is the Apocalyptic Harlot*, I much incline to deem it the production of Peter the Valdo, and thence to place it shortly after the year 1160 which witnessed the spiritual conversion of that eminent reformer†.

* Bossuet. Hist. des Variat. livr. xi. § 127.

† We may compare the language of the *Treatise*, with that of the Poor Men of Lyons, and consequently with that of their teacher Peter the Valdès.

Aital congregation, ensem pres, es appella *Antichrist*, o

These are the chronological marks, which occur quite incidentally in three several disconnected places of the Work: and perhaps it will not be

cita de Babylonia en laqual tota geseccion hac vigor de malicia. Ibid. p. 262.

La octava obra de l'Antichrist es, que et eyra et persee et acaissona, roba e mortifica, li membre de Christ. Ibid. p. 269.

An objection has, I believe, been made to the antiquity of the *Treatise* respecting *Antichrist*, on the ground: that, *When the inspired books are there cited or referred to, the chapters are specified; though the division of the Bible into chapters did not take place until the middle of the thirteenth century or about the year 1250*.

Now, even if the validity of this objection were admitted, it would do nothing more, so far as my own views are concerned, than induce a necessity of placing the *Treatise* about a century later than I am myself inclined to place it. But, in truth, even upon the very face of it, never was there an imaginary difficulty more childishly started. For let us take a case in point. *Claude's Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* is known to have been written in the ninth century. Now that *Commentary* exhibits the *Epistle* as being regularly divided into six chapters. Therefore, clearly, on the principle of the present objection, the *Commentary*, instead of having been written in the ninth century, is a mere comparatively modern fabricator. I suppose I need scarcely state the obvious solution to be, that the division into chapters was the work either of a modern transcriber or of the editors of the printed *Bibliotheca Patrum*: and I suppose I need scarcely say, that the same remark is equally applicable to the *Valdenses Treatise on Antichrist*.

After all, though I deem it by no means *essential* for the meeting of the present somewhat idle objection, the assertion, that the Bible was first divided into chapters about the middle of the thirteenth century, is incorrect. The manuscript Bible

easy to discover any period, to which they may all be referred, save the latter part of the twelfth century.

The notorious Pope Gregory VII. well known by the name of *Hildebrand*, who had aimed at universal empire both in Church and in State, and who had raised the Papacy to a degree of power as yet unheard of, sat in the pontifical chair from the year 1073 to the year 1086.

Yet, though, in *his* person, Antichrist (as the Vallenses deemed the Pope) might well be said to have attained the full age of a perfect man: Rome, in the eleventh century, was so divided against itself, that, between the year 1010 and the year 1086, there were no fewer than five papal schisms; while the latter end of that century, and all the earlier part of the twelfth century down to the years 1122 and 1138, were distinguished by the violent quarrels of Popes and Antipopes, of the Church and the Empire.

Still those schisms and quarrels prevented not the characteristic popish business of zealous persecution. Martyrs were burned at Orleans, in the year 1017; were hanged in Germany, in the

of Hugh Pudsey, Bishop of Durham, which was written by his order some time between the years 1153 and 1194, and which is now in the Library of the Chapter, is actually divided into chapters, though not perfectly coincident with our present chapters. For a knowledge of this fact I am indebted to my learned and persevering friend Dr. Gilly.

whose zeal in communicating the New Testament in the vulgar tongue would be very likely to produce such a Work as the *Treatise upon Antichrist**.

On this supposition, it will be easy to account for the appearance of the Work among the Vallenses of Piedmont. Either the intercourse of Peter the Valdo with his compatriots of Italy would readily and quickly secure its reception among them: or the emigration of persecuted believers, whether Albigenses or Vallenses or a mixture of both, from France into the Valleys of the Alps, which occurred in the year 1165, may very possibly have first introduced it into the latter country†. At all events, there is small difficulty in conceiving the rapid transmission of a Treatise by Peter the Valdo into the border region of France and Italy.

3. Each person will judge of this internal evidence, as he pleases: but, having fairly stated it, I now feel myself at liberty to produce some extracts from the Work, as exhibiting the religious sentiments of the Vallenses during the twelfth century. Of course, agreeably to its title, the Treatise, with a reference to the Church of Rome, specially discusses the character of Antichrist:

* Cum autem esset aliquantulum literatus, Novi Testamenti textum docuit eos vulgariter. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. in Bibl. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 300.

† Morland's Hist. of Church of Piedm. chap. iii. p. 12.

year 1052; and were executed at Treves, shortly after the year 1101: while, in the year 1126, after a laborious ministration of near twenty years, Peter de Bruis was brought to the stake at St. Giles in Languedoc; and, in the year 1147, his pupil and successor Henry, either perished in confinement, or (as some say), by the solicitation of Bernard and through the cruelty of the Papal Legate Alberic, was burned alive at Toulouse.

During all this time, the preaching of the Gospel by well-disposed persons as the Treatise expresses it, was going on: and, in the year 1160, by the spiritual conversion of Peter the Valdo and by his institution of those active missionaries the Poor Men of Lyons, a fresh impulse was given to that work, through which it was hoped that the Lord would speedily consume the Man of Sin by the breath of his mouth.

Such are the facts, respecting which a writer in the latter half of the twelfth century might truly say, that they had either already occurred or were still in a course of actual occurrence.

If, then, I be correct in referring the incidental allusions in the Treatise to this remarkable combination of circumstances, the result from the internal evidence will be: that the Treatise itself was written shortly after the year 1160, and that its probable author was no other than that devout merchant, whom Reinerius disparagingly owns to have been in some small measure learned, and

but such a discussion cannot be conducted, without propounding the theological system which was maintained in avowed opposition to Popery.

Antichrist is the falsehood of eternal damnation, covered with the appearance of the truth and righteousness of Christ and his Spouse.—The iniquity of such a system is with all his ministers, great and small: and, inasmuch as they follow the law of an evil and blinded heart, such a Congregation, taken together, is called ANTICHRIST or BABYLON, OF THE FOURTH BEAST, OF THE HARLOT, OF THE MAN OF SIN WHO IS THE SON OF PERDITION.

His first work is: that, the service of Latria, properly due to God alone, he perverts unto Antichrist himself and to his doings; to the poor creature, rational or irrational, sensible or insensible; to man, for instance, male or female saints departed this life; and to their images, or carcases, or relics. His doings are the sacraments, especially that of the Eucharist, which he worships equally with God and Christ, prohibiting the adoration of God alone.*

* From this passage it appears, that the idolatrous worship of the Eucharist had been fully established when the Treatise was written, or, as I suppose, in the twelfth century. The doctrine of the preceding century exhibits a curious instance of the variation of the Roman Church in regard to the effect produced by the words of the Priest in the consecration of the elements.

William of Malmesbury, who flourished during the reigns of our three first Norman Kings, after censuring the pretended heresy of his contemporary Berenger, professes his own full

His second work is : that he robs and deprives Christ of the merits of Christ, with the whole sufficiency of grace and justification and regeneration

belief; that, after the ecclesiastical benediction, the elements are the true body and blood of the Saviour : and he says, that he was induced thereto, both by the ancient authority of the Church, and likewise by many newly displayed miracles.

One of these convincing miracles was the following.

A little jew boy, entering into a church with a christian boy, beheld, upon the altar, a child, torn limb from limb, and thus severally divided to the people. Returning home, he innocently told the story to his parents : who, in a rage, threw him upon a burning pile. Here he lay unhurt for several hours : until, at length, he was drawn out by the Christians. When asked, how he escaped the effects of the fire, he said : *The beautiful woman, whom I beheld sitting on a throne, and whose son was divided to the people, always stood at my right hand in the furnace, turning aside with her robe the volume of fire and smoke.*

Nos sanè credimus, post benedictionem ecclesiasticam, illa mysteria esse verum corpus et sanguinem Salvatoris : adducti, et veteri Ecclesiæ auctoritate, et multis noviter ostensis miraculis. Quale fuit, quod beatus Gregorius exhibuit Romæ. Quale, quod Pascasius narrat contigisse in Alemannia, Presbyterum Plegildum visibiliter speciem pueri in altari contrectasse, et, post libata oscula in panis similitudine, conversum ecclesiastico more, sumpsisse : quod, arroganti cavillatione. ferunt Berengarium carpere solitum, et dicere : speciosa certe Pax nebulonis, ut cui oris præbuerat basium, dentium inferrat exigium. Quale, de pusione judaico, qui, in ecclesiam cum æquævo christiano forte et ludibundè ingressus, vidit puerum in ara membratim discerpi et viritum populo dividi : id cum innocentia puerili parentibus pro vero assereret, in rogi detrusum, ubi occluso ostio aestuabat incendium, multis post horis, sine

of words, or to his own performances, or to the saints and their intercession, or to the fire of Purgatory. Thus does he divide the people from Christ,

separatione facta, totum Christum contineri : anathema sit. Concil. Trident. sess. xiii. c. 8. can. III.

Here I submit, that the decision of the Tridentine Fathers is altogether irreconcilable with the necessary purport of the miracle attested by the little jew boy.

The decision of the Tridentine Fathers asserts : that the whole Christ is substantially contained, when a separation is made, under every particle of each species ; so that every communicant receives the whole Christ full and complete in all his members.

Whereas the purport of the miracle, attested by the little jew boy, was : that the whole Christ is NOT contained under every particle of each species when a separation is made ; for the boy beheld the child Christ on the altar, under the hands of the Priest, torn limb from limb, and distributed in this divided state, man by man, to the people.

But, in the eleventh century, the miracle, as we learn from William of Malmesbury, was held to be good and sufficient evidence of the soundness of the doctrine then inculcated respecting the practical results of what was afterward styled *Transubstantiation* : and, in the sixteenth century, the decision of the Tridentine Fathers was held to be a good and sufficient establishment of the entire doctrine of *Transubstantiation* under all its various aspects, which has ever since been devoutly held by each true son of the Roman Church.

Hence, the orthodoxy of the eleventh century, which DENIES that the whole Christ is substantially received by every communicant ; and the orthodoxy of the sixteenth century, which MAINTAINS that the whole Christ is substantially received by every communicant ; are two entirely different systems : and, hence, the miracle which establishes the former, and the deci-

and remission of sins and sanctification and confirmation and spiritual nourishment ; and imputes and attributes them, to his own authority, or to a form

jactura corporis exuviarum et crinium, a christianis extractum ; interrogatusque, quomodo voraces ignium globos evaserit, respondit : *Illā pulchrā fāmīnā, quā vidi sedere in cathedra, cujus filiū populo dividebatur, semper mihi in camino ad dexteram astitit, flammæ minas et fumæ volumina peplo suo submovens.* De Gest. Anglor. Continuat. lib. iii. c. 27.

Now it is clear, that this figment, detailed by William with implicit credulity and evidently with full approbation, could never have been constructed save on the basis of the recognised orthodox theology of the eleventh century.

Therefore the orthodox theology of the eleventh century must have been : that, *In each celebration of the Eucharist, the entire coherent mass of bread was changed into the UNDIVIDED body of ONE Christ : and that Such body, when distributed to the communicants, was afterwards DIVIDED into numerous portions or fragments, so that each communicant received, not the WHOLE Christ, but a PART only of a leg or an arm or any other member according as it might happen.*

Yet, strange to say, what, in the eleventh century, was so preëminently orthodox as to be confirmed by the testimony of a miracle, had become, in the sixteenth century, such a damnable heresy, that the infallible Fathers of the Tridentine Council actually subjected the unlucky holder of it to all the pains and penalties of a formal anathema.

If any one, say these unerring settlers of the Faith, shall deny, that, in the venerable sacrament of the Eucharist, the WHOLE Christ is contained under each species, and, when a SEPARATION is made, under EVERY PART of each species : let him be anathema.

Si quis negaverit, in venerabili sacramento Eucharistiæ, sub unaquaque specie, et sub singulis cujusque speciei partibus,

and lead them away to the things already mentioned : that so they may not seek the things of Christ nor through Christ, but only the works of their own hands ; and not through a living faith in God and Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, but through the

sion which establishes the latter, stand so directly opposed to each other, that the decision even pronounces all those to be accursed who adopt the system established by the miracle.

We have here, I take it, a very ugly business : for the matter finally resolves itself into the following awkward dilemma.

Is the well-meaning Romanist to believe, with his Church in the eleventh century : that in the administration of the Eucharist, Christ's substantial body is divided into as many parts as there are communicants ?

Or is he to believe, with his Church in the sixteenth century : that Christ's substantial body, in the administration of the Eucharist, is NOT divided ; but that every communicant receives substantially the WHOLE Christ complete in all his members ?

If the former : then the Fathers of the Tridentine Council, so far from being infallible, must have grievously and presumptuously erred, when they anathematised all those who denied, that the WHOLE Christ is contained under EVERY PART of each species.

If the latter : then the Church of the eleventh century, so far from being infallible, taught a grossly erroneous doctrine ; and the miracle, which had such a convincing effect upon the mind of William of Malmesbury and his contemporaries, could only have been a disgraceful figment, got up for the establishment of what the Council of Trent, in its infallible wisdom, has since pronounced to be an accursed heresy.

At all events, the doctrine of the eleventh century is palpably irreconcilable with the doctrine of the sixteenth century.

<p>384 THE VALLENSES [BOOK III.]</p> <p>will and the works of Antichrist, agreeably to his preaching that man's salvation depends upon his own deeds.</p> <p>His third work is : that he attributes the regeneration of the Holy Spirit to a dead outward faith ; baptising children in that faith ; and teaching, that, by the mere work of the outward consecration of baptism, regeneration may be procured.</p> <p>His fourth work is : that he rests the whole religion of the people upon his Mass ; for, leading them to hear it, he deprives them of spiritual and sacramental manducation.</p> <p>His fifth work is : that he does everything, to be seen, and to glut his insatiable avarice.</p> <p>His sixth work is : that he allows of manifest sins, without ecclesiastical censure.</p> <p>His seventh work is : that he defends his unity not by the Holy Spirit, but by the secular power.</p> <p>His eighth work is : that he hates, and persecutes, and searches after, and robs, and destroys, the members of Christ.—</p> <p>These things and many others are the cloak and vestment of Antichrist, by which he covers his lying wickedness, lest he should be rejected as a pagan.— But there is no other cause of idolatry, than a false opinion of grace and truth and authority and invocation and intercession, which this Antichrist has taken away from God, and which he has ascribed to ceremonies and authorities and a man's own works and saints and purgatory.—</p>	<p>CHAP. IX.] AND ALBIGENSES. 385</p> <p>As for Antichrist himself, he has already, by God's permission, long reigned in the Church*.</p> <p>II. I now pass on to an examination of the Noble Lesson.</p> <p>I. An ancient manuscript of this Work was one of the Vallensic Documents, which Morland deposited in the Library of the University of Cambridge, and which, as I have already stated, has, since his time, disappeared. Happily, however, another ancient manuscript of the same Work is preserved in the Library of the University of Geneva : and, as a transcript, moreover, of the Cambridge manuscript had fortunately been made by Morland, the loss of that manuscript is, after all, chiefly to be regretted in the way of antiquarian curiosity. For all effective purposes, we are still, virtually, in full possession of that important Document.</p> <p>Respecting the Noble Lesson itself, Mr. Raynouard, an indisputably competent judge, as he is styled by an able modern writer Mr. Hallam, has pronounced, purely on the strength of its dialect, that it must be a production of the period to which its own text refers ; adding, after a strict examination, that the Genevan Manuscript has not been interpolated, though he thinks that the now lost Cambridge Manuscript had been made</p> <p>* Treatise on Antichrist, in Perrin's Hist. des Alb. p. 253—287.</p> <p>2 C</p>
<p>386 THE VALLENSES [BOOK III.]</p> <p>from a copy more ancient than the Genevan : and, in full accordance with him, Mr. Hallam observes, that Any doubts, as to the authenticity of the poem, are totally unreasonable*.</p> <p>2. The Noble Lesson is remarkably distinguished by bearing a date, not attached to it conjecturally by another hand, but interwoven into the very texture of the verse by the author himself.</p> <p>Well have a thousand and a hundred years been completed entirely, since it was written, Now we are in the Last Time †.</p> <p>In this passage, the precise term of eleven complete centuries is specified : but the phraseology is such, that a doubt may be raised, whether those eleven centuries ought to be reckoned from the day when the words Now we are in the Last Time were written by one or more of the inspired penmen, or whether they ought to be reckoned from the more familiar era of Christ's Nativity.</p> <p>If we suppose, that they ought to be reckoned from the day when the words in question were written : then the date, thus brought out, will be either A. D. 1149 or A. D. 1164 or A. D. 1170 or A. D. 1180, according as the author of the poem is</p> <p>* Raynouard's Choix des Poésies Originales des Troubadours, vol. ii. pref. p. cxxxvii—cxliii. Hallam's Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Middle Ages, chap. i. § 33. note. vol. i. p. 37, 38.</p> <p>† Ben ha mil et cent anez compli entièrement, que fo scripta L'ora car sen al derier temps.</p>	<p>CHAP. IX.] AND ALBIGENSES. 387</p> <p>thought to allude to the language of St. Peter or the language of St. John, and according as the chronological arrangement of the respective first Epistles of those two Apostles by Michaelis or by Lardner is adopted*.</p> <p>But, if we suppose, that they ought to be reckoned from the more familiar era of Christ's Nativity : then the date, thus brought out, will, of course, be A. D. 1100.</p> <p>The strict letter of the passage would require the admission of the first supposition : but the mode, in which the eleven centuries are specified, would rather seem to demand the admission of the second.</p> <p>Against the first supposition may be urged the improbability, that the author of the poem should have reckoned a precise term of exactly a thousand and a hundred years completed entirely (for so runs his own description of the term) from a point of time, respecting the definite chronological settlement of which he must, like even the much more critical moderns, have been altogether ignorant : for, in such a case, a known period of accurately defined length is reckoned, what looks very like a physical impossibility, from an unknown point of</p> <p>* 1 Peter i. 20. 1 John ii. 18. According to Michaelis, the first Epistle of St. Peter was written A. D. 40, and the first Epistle of St. John A. D. 70 : according to Lardner, the first Epistle of St. Peter was written A. D. 64, and the first Epistle of St. John A. D. 80.</p> <p>2 C 2</p>

<p>388 THE VALLENSIS [BOOK III.]</p> <p>time; while, somewhat strangely, a date is framed, upon the <i>unusual</i> and indeed <i>unprecedented</i> era of the composition of an Epistle or Epistles, rather than upon the <i>usual</i> and perfectly <i>familiar</i> era of Christ's nativity*.</p> <p>Against the second supposition may be urged the fact, that, however extraordinary and uncommon such language may be, the author himself declares his <i>entirely completed eleven centuries</i> to have been reckoned from the day, whatever that day was, when it was written <i>Now we are in the Last Time</i>.</p> <p>3. Under these conflicting circumstances, our only resort can be to internal evidence: and this evidence, I think, requires the admission, that the complete eleven centuries were, in truth, reckoned by the author from the common era of Christ's Nativity, and consequently that the real date of the poem is A. D. 1100.</p> <p>(1.) In the <i>Noble Lesson</i>, the remarkable peculiarity of the date is: that it stands forth, not so much under the aspect of a formal and merely business-like date alone, as under the aspect of a solemn warning connected immediately with what</p> <p>* Had the author said, <i>ABOUT eleven centuries have elapsed, since it was written Now we are in the Last Time</i>; the present supposition would have been reasonable and intelligible: but, since he definitely says, <i>WELL have a thousand and a hundred years been COMPLETED ENTIRELY, since it was written Now we are in the Last Time</i>; the supposition involves what to myself at least is incomprehensible.</p>		<p>CHAP. IX.] AND ALBIGENSIS. 389</p> <p>we know to have been the general impression of Christendom throughout the whole of the eleventh century.</p> <p>From a chronological misinterpretation of the thousand years, mentioned in the Apocalypse as the period during which Satan should be bound; a misinterpretation, as old as the time of the commentator Arethas, and prevalent down even to the days of Usher who adopts it and of Bossuet who inclines to it: from this chronological misinterpretation, it was, in the year 1000 and for more than a century afterward, universally expected, that the world was drawing near to its termination. For St. John's thousand years were reckoned from the christian era. Whence the result was; that <i>Satan, having been bound during that millennium, was loosed in the year 1000</i>: while, from that result, by the persons who lived through the eleventh century, it was additionally concluded; that, <i>after Satan should have prevailed over the saints, during his short permitted period of freedom, through his special minister Antichrist, the world would be destroyed</i>*.</p> <p>* There is much on this curious subject in Usser. de Eccles. Success. c. i.—vi. Perhaps I may be allowed to add the following to the authorities collected by the Archbishop.</p> <p>About the year 906, we find the Abbot of St. Germain's, attesting the general expectation that the end of the world was approaching, and adding the speculation that the Hungarians would be the predicted Gog and Magog.</p>
<p>390 THE VALLENSIS [BOOK III.]</p> <p>To this opinion, the context of the passage, together with another parallel passage toward the close of the poem, evidently relates: and, since the old Valdenses were not singular in pronouncing</p> <p>Dicunt enim nunc esse novissimum sæculi tempus, finemque imminere mundi; et idcirco Gog et Magog esse Hungros, qui nunquam ante auditum sunt, sed modo in novissimo tempore apparuerunt.</p> <p>From this then fashionable speculation he himself dissents: pronouncing, that, by Gog and Magog, we ought rather to understand a formidable body of heretics; who, at the instigation of Satan, should arise out of the allegorical corners and caverns of error, and should grievously persecute the Church. Abbat. S. German. Epist. ad Episc. Virdum. in Dacher. Spicil. vol. xii. p. 352, 353.</p> <p>The singular legend of the second sight of Edward the Confessor, shortly before his death in the year 1066, as detailed by William of Malmesbury, has evidently the same reference.</p> <p>Stupenda, inquit, vidi: —Septem dormientes in Cæli monte requiescere, jam ducentis annis in dextro jacentes latere, sed tunc, ipsa hora risus sui, latus invertisse sinistram. Futurum, ut septuaginta quatuor annis ita jaceant, dirum nimirum mortalius omen. Nam omnia ventura in his septuaginta quatuor annis, quæ Dominus circa finem mundi prædixit discipulis suis: gentem contra gentem surrecturam, et regnum adversus regnum; terræ notus per loca, pestilentiam, et famem; terrores de cælo, et signa magna; regnorum mutationes, Gentilium in Christianos bella, item Christicolarum in Paganos victorias. Talia mirantibus inculcans, passionem septem dormientium et habitudines corporum singulorum, quas nulla docet litera, ita promptè disseruit ac si cum eis cotidiano vicitaret contubernio. Gul. Malmes. de Gest. Anglor. Contin. lib. ii. c. 34. p. 324.</p> <p>It must, I suppose, have been on the same principle of inter-</p>		<p>CHAP. IX.] AND ALBIGENSIS. 391</p> <p>the Papacy to be the predicted Antichrist and the Babylonian Harlot, and since the author of the <i>Noble Lesson</i> perceived that a thousand years with an additional hundred years (as he remarkably expresses himself in the form of a double numeration) had fully elapsed or had then been entirely completed; he, very naturally, both mentions the thousand years with their then centenary addition, and, from the signs which he beheld, anticipates the speedy arrival of the end of the world and the approaching inauguration of the day of judgment.</p> <p>Such, I think, is the true key to the <i>rationalè</i> of his singularly expressed date. The specification of the apocalyptic thousand years, with an entirely completed century appended to them, was introduced by him, not so much for a formal date of</p> <p>pretation, that, even at the close of the sixth century, Pope Gregory the great, in his Epistle to the newly converted King Ethelbert, anticipates the approaching end of the world and the speedy commencement of the portents which should be its harbingers.</p> <p>Præterea scire vestram gloriam volumus, quod, sicut in scriptura sacra ex verbis Domini Omnipotentis agnoscimus, præsentis mundi jam terminus juxta est, et sanctorum regnum venturum est quod nullo unquam poterit fine terminari. Appropinquante autem eodem mundi termino, multa imminet quæ antea non fuerunt: videlicet, immutationes aeris, terroresque de cælo, et contra ordinem temporum tempestates, bella, fames, pestilentia, terræ motus per loca; quæ tamen non omnia nostris diebus ventura sunt, sed post nostros dies omnia subsequantur. Gregor. Magn. Epist. ad Edilbert. in Bed. Eccles. Hist. lib. i. c. 32. p. 172.</p>

	<p>392 THE VALLENSES [BOOK III.]</p> <p>his composition, as for a solemn practical warning to his brethren. It is, I apprehend, as if he had spoken in manner following.</p> <p><i>The earlier times of Patriarchism and Legalism having passed away, we are now living in that last time of Christianity which was written of the Apostles Peter and John. But, as you all perceive the thousand years of the apocalyptic binding of Satan, have elapsed: and, after them, another century likewise has now been entirely completed. Satan, therefore, hath assuredly been loosed: and in strict correspondence with that event, Antichrist, the predicted murderer of the Saints, hath already appeared in his true character, seated monarchally in the seven-hilled city. But we have, by the voice of prophecy, been well fore-warned when Antichrist shall come: namely, at the time when Satan, at the end of the thousand years, shall be loosed*. Therefore, as we now behold him enthroned in the mystic Babylon, we thence also see, that the world is near to its end†. Consequently, we ought to covet little: for the time is short; and but little now remains‡.</i></p> <p>This train of thought relative to the thousand years which commenced by anticipation in the tenth century, and which pervaded the whole of the eleventh century, I believe to have been</p> <p>* Esser mot avisa CANT venne l'Antechrist. † Nos veen aquest mont esser pres del chavon. ‡ Poc deorian cubitar, che sen al remanent.</p>		<p>CHAP. IX.] AND ALBIGENSES. 393</p> <p>greatly instrumental in leading both the Valdenses and the Albigenses so constantly to deem the Pope and his Clergy Antichrist; while, in the Roman Church, they beheld the Babylonian Harlot of the Apocalypse. No less than the Papists, they supposed, that Satan was loosed and that Antichrist was revealed when a thousand years, reckoned from the christian era, had expired. But, with whatever reason, each party discovered the expected Antichrist, or at least the forerunner of the expected Antichrist, in the other party. With the Romanists, the rapid pullulation and increasing energy of the hated seceders, in the eleventh and afterward in the twelfth century, was a sure proof that Satan was loosed and that Antichrist was at hand. With their opponents, the monstrous portent, of a persecuting Priesthood whose labours commenced at Orleans almost immediately after the expiration of the fated thousand years, and of an apostate Church seated precisely upon the seven roman hills of prophecy, was a no less sure indication, that Antichrist and the Harlot had appeared*.</p> <p>* Undecimo sæculo, ut verè jam post mille annos solutus Satanas videri queat (ut Joannes prædixit Apoc. xx.), nempe ut ex hac parte mysterium iniquitatis operosius operaretur et plenius conficeret, multa et varia hæreticorum turba exorta est. Stapleton. Orat. Academ. xxviii. in Usser. de Eccles. Success. c. iii. § 7.</p> <p>Hæretica sententia, quæ a somniis Berengarii excitatur,</p>	
	<p>394 THE VALLENSES [BOOK III.]</p> <p>To the prevalence of such opinions, the <i>Noble Lesson</i> plainly refers: and thus, from internal evidence, establishes the supposition, that the entirely completed thousand years with the appended century are to be reckoned from the</p> <p>omnes doctores et Ecclesie Patres secundi Millenarii (nunc modo loquendi eorum utamur), id est, qui fuerunt infra trecentos et octoginta annos, aperte affirmat, fuisse post solutionem Satanæ; proferens, ex testimonio Apocalypsis, solum fuisse Satanam post annos Domini mille: doctrinamque, quam communiter tenemus esse fidem Ecclesie de benedicta Eucharistia, astruit, non esse rectam, sed errorem, imo hæresim ac lolium et zizania Satanæ jam soluti. Joan. Tissington. Confess. A.D. 1830. in Usser. Ibid. c. iii. § 9.</p> <p>Some suspicions, on the point complained of by Tissington, were entertained by others as well as by the Berengarians and Albigenses and Vallenses. Thus, in the year 992, when the supposed thousand years of the binding of Satan were on the eve of expiring, Arnulph, Bishop of Orleans, addressed the Fathers of the Synod of Rheims in terms, which directly applied to the Pope the character of the Man of Sin as delineated by St. Paul.</p> <p>Quid hunc, reverendi Patres, in sublimi solio residentem, veste purpurea et aurea radiantem: quid hunc, inquam, esse censetis? Nimirum, si charitate destituitur, solaque scientia inflatur et extollitur, Antichristus est, in templo Dei sedens, et se ostendens tanquam sit Deus.—Quod jam in aperto fit, ut, Romana potentia conquassata, religione profligata, nomen Dei frequentibus perjuriis impune humilietur: ipsiusque divine religionis cultus etiam a summis sacerdotibus contemnatur. Act. Synod. Rhemens. c. xxviii. in Usser. de Eccles. Success. c. ii. § 15.</p>		<p>CHAP. IX.] AND ALBIGENSES. 395</p> <p>era of the Nativity; which will give, as the really intended date of the poem, the year 1100.</p> <p>2. I may notice another matter, which, still on the principle of internal evidence, refers the Work to the same early period.</p> <p><i>Then sprang up a people newly converted: Christians they were named, for they believed in Christ. But we find here what the Scripture says: that the Jews and SARACENS persecuted them grievously*.</i></p> <p>During the eleventh century, the renovated Visigoths were fiercely struggling with the Saracens in Spain; and, in the year 1099, Jerusalem was taken by Godfrey of Bouillon and his confederated crusaders. Thus thrown into active hostility with determined enemies of the christian name, the illiterate nations of the West knew of no other Gentiles, who might be combined with the Jews in enmity to Christ and the primitive Christians, than the Paynim Saracens: or, if some were better informed, they no more scrupled to adopt the current phraseology of the day, than we scruple to designate, either the islands of the American Archipelago by the catachrestical name of the <i>West Indies</i>, or the aboriginals of the New World by the similarly abusive name of <i>Indians</i>. Chro-</p> <p>* Ad fo fayt un pobie de novel converti. Chrestian foron nomina, che illi creyan en Christ. Ma ço troben, que l'Escriptura di; Mot fort perseguijan Jusies e Saracins.</p>	

nology and propriety were, indeed, alike set at defiance by such a nomenclature : for, during the middle ages and in the times of the crusades, those decided monotheists the Saracens were resolutely set down, by the nations of the West, as a race of idolaters, who were said to worship two false deities entitled *Mahound* and *Termagant* and who were viewed as largely dealing in the unhallowed arts of pagan sorcery *. But, in applying the name of *Saracens* to the Gentiles who concurrently with the Jews persecuted the Primitive Church, the writer of the *Noble Lesson* used only the familiar language of the eleventh and twelfth centuries : and the oriental exploits of Godfrey, at the latter end of the eleventh age, and in the very country where these imaginary Saracens had grievously afflicted Christ and the early Christians, would naturally and readily suggest such phraseology to an author who wrote in the year 1100 †.

* *Mahound* is evidently no other than *Mohammed* : what is meant by *Termagant*, may not be quite so easy to determine. She was a Goddess, apparently of no very amiable character : for, by etymologists, she is, I believe, generally deemed the prototype of our english word *termagant*.

† I am not without some suspicion, that the circumstance of the *Noble Lesson* mentioning the five wounds of Christ, while it is silent as to the number of nails employed, affords another incidental testimony to the correctness of its date.

Lucas of Tuy, in the thirteenth century, is very large on this

nigh impossible to read it, without a growing conviction at every step, that it is the production of a distant age and of a simple people*.

4. To exhibit the force of this observation, and at the same time yet additionally to shew the nature of

proof positive, that four of the wounds were inflicted by four nails and not by three.

Such an argument would not have been used against those whom Francis was appointed to oppose, unless they had believed that three nails only were employed : and, accordingly more than a century earlier, the author of the *Noble Lesson*, whom I suppose to have been a Triclavian, mentions the five wounds ; but, probably in order to avoid giving needless offence is silent as to the number of the nails, and specifies not whether the right side or the left side was pierced.

Four wounds they gave him, beside other blows. After that, they gave him, a fifth, to make the completion : for one of the knights came and opened his side ; and forthwith there flowed out blood and water mingled together.

I may add, that the very phraseology here employed, still quite incidentally, refers the poem to the time specified in its own date. The side of the Saviour is pierced by a Cavalier or Knight.

Un de Cavalier vene, e li ubere la costa.

Lucas of Tuy tells us, that the heretics were confounded by the practical argument of Francis : but this assertion ought perhaps to be received *cum grano salis*. See Luc. Tudens, adv. Albig. error. lib. ii. c. 11. in Bibl. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 262, 263.

* L'esprit de ce poème est tout-à-fait celui d'un âge simple et reculé ; d'un peuple nourri sans altération de la pure doctrine primitive, si touchante dans ses naïvetés, si belle dans sa tolérance. Muston. Hist. des Vaud. vol. i. p. 146.

(3.) On the whole, it may be generally remarked : that the entire poem itself, from beginning to end, affords, through the medium of its extreme simplicity, one continued mass of internal evidence to its remote antiquity ; so that it is well

subject. He tells us, that the world had turned to many false opinions : and he specially enumerates, the alleged Docetism of the Albigenses which denied that *Christ had truly suffered in the flesh*, and the unsound tenet unauthoritatively advanced by other sectaries that *three nails only were used in the crucifixion* and that *the left side (not the right side) of our Lord was pierced by the spear*.

This last opinion was advocated from about the latter end of the eleventh century : but Pope Innocent III finally and infallibly determined, that *four nails were used*, and that *the roman soldier pierced the right side of Christ* ; a decision, which of course stamped the brand of heresy upon *Triclavianism*.

The judgment of the Pope was confirmed by a miracle : and, as a decisive proof that *four nails were used* and that *the right side was pierced*, Lucas of Tuy brings forward the remarkable case of St. Francis Assisi, upon whose body were, preternaturally impressed the five wounds of our Saviour, in such a manner, that the semblance of the heads of *four nails* appeared in the inside of the two hands and on the outside of the two feet, while there was so real a wound on the right side that it often emitted blood.

Now this impostor was the founder of one of the two Orders which were started by Innocent III against the *Hamiliated* and the *Poor Men of Lyons* : and as a part of the project, he contrived, we see, to mark himself in such a manner, as to bear a sort of practical testimony against the old triclavian heresy of those whom he was appointed specially to oppose. All parties acknowledged five wounds : but the semblance of four rusty nail-heads on the hands and feet of Francis were, of course,

the Vallensic Theology in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, I shall subjoin some extracts from that venerable monument of secluded piety, the *Noble Lesson*, which, unless I be altogether mistaken, its own date teaches us to ascribe to the year 1100.

O brethren, hear a Noble Lesson.

We ought always to watch and pray : for we see, that the world is near to its end. We ought to strive to do good works : since we see, that the world approaches to its termination.

Well have a thousand and a hundred years been entirely completed, since it was written that we are in the last times.

We ought to covet little : for we are at what remains. Daily we see the signs coming to their accomplishment, in the increase of evil and in the decrease of good. These are the perils, which the Scripture speaks of, which the Gospels have recounted, and which St. Paul mentions : that no man, who lives, can know the end. Therefore ought we the more to fear : since we are not certain, whether death will overtake us to-day or to-morrow. But, when the day of judgment shall come, every one shall receive his entire payment : both those who have done ill, and those who have done well. For the Scripture saith, and we ought to believe it : that all men shall pass two ways ; the good, to glory ; the wicked, to torment. But, if any one shall not believe this dipartition : let him attend to Scripture

from the end to the commencement*. Since Adam was formed down even to the present time, there may

* From this recommendation to study Scripture, an occasion, I believe, has been taken to assert: that *The Noble Lesson* could not, agreeably to its own pretended date, have been written in the year 1100.

Who, it has been asked, could then have thought of propounding such a recommendation: for, as no translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue then existed, who could then have acted upon it? And, furthermore, in the particular case of the Valdenses, if they already possessed a translation of the Bible in the year 1100, what occasion was there for Peter Valdo to make, or cause to be made, another translation in the year 1160?

I. It is really marvellous, that so futile an objection could ever have been seriously advanced.

According to the testimony of Peter Siculus, the Paulicians, even before they emigrated from Armenia, both possessed and so familiarly read the greater part of the New Testament, that even females were accustomed to its perusal. Petr. Sic. Hist. in Bibl. Patr. vol. ix. par. post. p. 31, 38. The sacred volume, confessedly altogether uncorrupted, they brought with them into the West. Cedren. Hist. Compend. vol. i. p. 341. And, so early as the year 1017, we find a branch of them, the converts of a woman, charged with reading both the Old and the New Testament only to deny the truth of their contents. Rodolph. Glab. Hist. lib. iii. c. 8. Hence we need not be surprised at the statement of Reinerius, that, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, most of those who were called *heretics*, were so familiar with their translation of Scripture, that they could even say the entire New Testament by heart. Reiner. de hæret. c. iii, viii. in Bibl. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 299, 307.

Nor is this all. William of Malmesbury tells us: that, in the eighth century, the venerable Bede put forth an interpreta-

he find, if he will give his attention to it, that few are the saved in comparison with those that remain.

Wherefore, whosoever wishes to do good works,

tion of St. John's Gospel in English for the benefit of those who were imperfectly acquainted with Latin. *Evangelium quoque Johannis, quod difficultate sui mentes legentium exerceat his diebus, lingua interpretatus anglie, condescendit minus imbutis latina.* Gul. Malmes. de gest. reg. Anglor. lib. i. p. 12. In the same eighth century also, Alcuin, the friend of Charlemagne, the native son of England and the adoptive son of France, gives that precise recommendation, which occurs in the *Noble Lesson*, and which has rapidly been deemed fatal to its claim of having been written in the last year of the eleventh century. *The reading of Holy Scriptures, says he, is the knowledge of everlasting blessedness. In the Holy Scriptures man may contemplate himself, as in some mirror, what sort of person he is. Just so the reading of the Holy Scriptures: it cleanseth the reader's soul; it bringeth into his mind the fear of hell-punishment; and it raiseth his heart to the joy above. The man, who wishes ever to be with God, he should often pray to him, and he should often read the Holy Scriptures.—He is very happy, who readeth the Holy Scriptures, if he turneth the words into works. All the Holy Scriptures are written for our health, that we may through them understand the truth.* Alc. M. S. in Bibl. Publ. Cant. apud. Soames's Bampton. Lect. p. 92, 93.

II. But it is urged by the objector, that, if the Valdenses possessed a translation of the Scriptures in the year 1100, Peter Valdo would never have undertaken another translation in the year 1160.

This objection, as it stands, will clearly, *mutatis mutandis*, demonstrate the non-existence of any english translation of the Bible anterior to our common version put forth in the time of King James: for, if we Anglicans had already a translation of

2 D

he ought to begin with paying honour to God. He ought likewise to call upon his glorious Son, the dear Son of Holy Mary; as also upon the Holy Ghost, who gives unto us a good way. These three, the Holy Trinity, being one God, ought to be invoked: full of all power, and all wisdom, and all goodness.

the Bible, what need could there be of another? In truth, however, the objection before us is built upon a gross confounding of the ancient Italian Valdenses with the comparatively modern French Valdenses: and, when sifted, it will probably bring out a result exactly opposite to that intended by its contriver. The making of a french translation for the use of the French Converts of Valdo by no means implies, that the Italian Valdenses did not already possess a translation in their own dialect. On the contrary, if the character of Valdo in point of literary attainments be considered, I deem the production of his french translation, to afford something very like a proof of the anterior existence of a translation in the dialect of the Italian Valdenses. When Reinerius tells us, that he translated the Scripture into the vulgar french tongue, he remarks: that he was only, *aliquantulum literatus*, slightly tinged with letters. Now the very circumstance of a person thus characterised, himself all the while an Italian Valdensis, attempting such an arduous task as a translation of the Bible, though we may admit his being aided by a friend more learned than himself, imports, both his own previous acquaintance with Scripture, and his taking as the basis of his french version an older version in the familiar dialect of his own country. At all events, nothing can be more futile, than to make the production of a french translation, in the year 1160, a proof, that a valdensico-italian translation, could not have previously existed in the year 1100.

In some of these remarks I have been anticipated by Dr. Gilly.

This we ought often to pray for and request: that he would give us fortitude to encounter the enemies; and that we may conquer them before our end, to wit, the world, the devil, and the flesh; and that he would give us wisdom accompanied with goodness, so that we may know the way of truth, and keep pure the soul which God has given us, both the soul and the body in the way of charity.

As we love the Holy Trinity, so likewise ought we to love our neighbour; for God hath commanded it: not only those who do good to us, but likewise those who do us evil. We ought, moreover, to have a firm hope in the Celestial King, that, at the end, he will lodge us in his glorious hostelry.

Now he, who shall not do what is contained in this Lesson, shall not enter into the holy house: though the saying be hard to be received by the caitiff race; who love gold and silver, who depreciate the promises of God, who keep neither his laws nor his commandments, and who suffer not good people to keep them, but rather hinder them according to their power.

How did this evil enter among mankind? Because Adam sinned from the beginning, by eating of the forbidden apple; and, to others, germinated the grain of the evil seed. He gained death to himself and to others who followed him. Well may we say, that this was an evil morsel. But Christ hath redeemed the good by his passion.

Now we find, in this Lesson, that Adam mis-

2 D 2

	<p>404 THE VALLENCES [BOOK III.</p> <p><i>believed God his Creator. And we may see likewise, that those now become still worse, who abandon God the Father Almighty, and who believe in idols to their own destruction.</i></p> <p>The author then, for the information of his simple-minded and primitive scholars, proceeds to give a brief summary of the history of the Old Testament; until, following the stream of chronology, he reaches the times of the Gospel Dispensation.</p> <p><i>Then God sent the angel to a noble virgin of the lineage of the King, sweetly saluting her, for she was separated unto the law. Afterward, he went on to say unto her: Fear, not, Mary; for the Holy Ghost shall be in thy companionship, and thou shalt bear a son whom thou shalt call Jesus: he shall deliver his people from that wherein they have offended. Nine months the glorious Virgin bare him in her womb: but, that she might not be reprehended, she was espoused to Joseph. Pure was our lady, and Joseph also. But this we ought to believe, for the Gospel hath said it, that they put the child in the manger when he was born, and enveloped him in rags, and poorly lodged him. Here may repent the covetous and the avaricious, who will never cease to amass riches.</i></p> <p><i>Many miracles were done, when the Lord was born: for God sent the angel to announce it to the shepherds: and, in the east, appeared a star to the three men; glory also was given unto God in heaven, and on earth peace unto the good.</i></p>		<p>CHAP. IX.] AND ALBIGENSES. 405</p> <p><i>Afterward, the little one suffered persecution: but the child grew in grace and in age and in divine wisdom wherein he was instructed.</i></p> <p><i>He called the twelve apostles; rightly are they so named: and he would change the law which he had before given*. Yet he changed it not, that it might be abandoned: but he renewed it, that it might be better kept. He received baptism to give salvation: and he said unto the Apostles, that they should baptise the nations; for they began the renovation. The ancient law well forbade fornication and adultery: but the new law forbids to look and to lust. The ancient law annulled matrimony, and permitted that a bill of divorce should be given: but the new law forbids to take her that is put away, and says that they should not be parted whom God hath joined.</i></p> <p>* This passage strongly indicates the unbroken doctrinal descent of the secluded Vallenses from the Primitive Church.</p> <p>It was a constant dogma of the early Christians, that the second Person of the Holy Trinity, who at length took upon him our nature from the womb of the Virgin, was the Jehovah of the Levitical Dispensation, who delivered the Law at mount Sinai, and who often appeared under the temporary form of a man bearing the economic title of <i>The Messenger of Jehovah</i>.</p> <p>The doctrine is clearly the doctrine of Scripture: but the Vallenses, I apprehend, so far as we may judge from their character and habits, received it catechumenically and by descent from generation to generation, rather than by any independent investigatory deduction of their own. In fact, the <i>Noble Lesson</i> itself is an evidence, as to how the dogma was transmitted.</p>	
	<p>406 THE VALLENCES [BOOK III.</p> <p><i>The ancient law cursed the womb which bears not fruit: the new law counsels to keep virginity. The ancient law forbade only perjury: the new law says, Swear not at all, and let thy speech be only yea and nay. The old law commanded to fight against enemies, and to render evil for evil: but the new law says, Avenge not thyself, but leave vengeance to the heavenly king, and let those live in peace who do unto thee injury, and thou shalt find pardon from the heavenly king. The old law said, Thou shalt love thy friends, and thou shalt hate thine enemies: but the new law says, Thou shalt do so no more, but love your enemies, and do good to them that injure you, and pray for them that persecute you and for them that seek an occasion against you, that you may be the children of your Father which is in heaven. The old law commanded to punish malefactors: but the new law says, Pardon all mankind, and thou shalt find pardon from the Father Almighty; for, if thou pardonest not, thou shalt not find salvation. None ought to kill or to hate any person: nor ought we to scoff at the simple and the poor, nor to hold as vile the stranger who comes from another country; for, in this world, we are all pilgrims. Thus ought all we, who are brethren, to serve God. This is the new law, which Jesus Christ has said that we ought to keep.</i></p> <p>He then gives an account of the crucifixion and of the first preaching of the Apostles: and, from the persecutions of the primitive Christians, natu-</p>		<p>CHAP. IX.] AND ALBIGENSES. 407</p> <p>rally adverts to those which their genuine successors the Vallenses were themselves then suffering from the pretended disciples of the Lord. Occurring in and before the year 1100, when as yet the Vallenses had not become missionaries in foreign regions, they relate, I suppose, to some of those local or domestic vexations and insults and harryings, which, through every age down to the present, they have experienced from the wretched bigotry of their government and their neighbours.</p> <p><i>The Apostles were so strong in the fear of the Lord, as also both the men and the women that were with them, that for these things they ceased not either their doings or their sayings: for many of them were determined to have Jesus Christ. Great were the torments according to what is written, only because they shewed the way of Jesus Christ. But, as for those who persecuted them, it was not so much for them to hold to the bad; because they had not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ: like those, who now take occasion and who persecute so much; who ought to be Christians, but whose semblance is evil. Yet in this they ought to be reprehended, because they persecute and imprison the good: for in no lesson is it found, that the saints persecuted or imprisoned any one. Now, after the Apostles, were certain teachers: they shewed the way of Jesus Christ our Saviour. And these are found, even to the present time: but they are manifest to only few</i></p>	

<p>408 THE VALLENSES [BOOK III.]</p> <p>people. These greatly wish to shew the way of Jesus Christ : but they are so persecuted, that they can do only little. So much are false Christians blinded with error ; and, more than all the others, those who are their pastors. For they persecute and hate those, who are better than themselves : and they let those live quietly, who are false deceivers. But by this we may know, that they are not good pastors : because they love not the flock, save for their fleece. Yet the Scripture says, and we may see it : that, if a person loves those who are good, he will wish to love God and to fear Jesus Christ ; and that he will neither curse, nor swear, nor lye, nor commit adultery, nor kill, nor defraud his neighbour, nor revenge himself upon his enemies. Nevertheless they say, that such a person is a VAUDES and is worthy of punishment : and they find occasion, through lyes and deceit, to take from him that which he has gotten by his just labour *. But he, who is thus persecuted, strengthens himself greatly through the fear of the Lord : for the kingdom of heaven shall be given to</p> <p>* Illi dijon quel es VAUDES e degue de punir, ban cayson menconias en engan, cusi illi li paysan toler go quel ha de son just a fan.</p> <p>The proof of the existence of a race of Italian Valdenses, long anterior to the time of Peter the rich merchant of Lyons, is, I think, quite independent of the occurrence of the term VAUDES in the <i>Noble Lesson</i> : though, certainly, if, with Raynour and agreeably to the internal evidence afforded by the poem itself, we receive the year 1100 as its true date, we shall have a powerful confirmation of the fact.</p>		<p>CHAP. IX.] AND ALBIGENSES. 409</p> <p>him at the end of the world. Then shall he have great glory in the place of such dishonour *.</p> <p>But, in this, is greatly manifested their malice : that those, who will curse and lye and swear and put out money to usury and kill and commit adultery and revenge themselves upon those who do evil to them, are said and reckoned to be good and loyal men. Yet let such a person take heed, that he be not deceived at the end, when his mortal malady comes, when death seizes upon him, and when he is scarcely able to speak. Then he calls for the priest, and wishes to confess himself : but, according to the</p> <p>* Respecting the persecutions undergone by the Piedmontese Vaudois anterior to the time of their countryman Peter, we know little or nothing. Their long seclusion in the fastnesses of the Alps, where, like the beleaguered woman in the Apocalypse (to whom, indeed, their descendants were fond of comparing them), they had a place in the wilderness prepared of God for their nourishment both spiritual and temporal, precluded much knowledge of them save among their immediate Italian neighbours. But, from the language both of Claude and of Atto and of Damian and of Rodolph of St. Trudon, it is evident, that they were held in abhorrence as inveterate heretics : and the concurring statement of the <i>Noble Lesson</i> shews, that, although, at the end of the eleventh century, they might not have been called upon to seal their faith with their blood ; yet were they exposed to those minor persecutions of rapine and pillage and fraudulent calumny, which, from time to time, impoverished them and harassed them and deprived them of their lawful and hard-earned substance.</p> <p>I may remark, that the very sort of persecution, here mentioned, forms another point of internal evidence, that the <i>Noble</i></p>
<p>410 THE VALLENSES [BOOK III.]</p> <p>Scripture, he has delayed too long ; for it commands and says, that thou shouldest confess while in sound health, and not wait to the last. The priest demands, if he has any sin. Two or three words he answers : and he has soon finished. The priest tells him, that he cannot be forgiven, if he does not restore all that he has taken from another and well examine his sins. When he hears this he has great trouble : and he thinks within himself ; If he shall restore it entirely, what will remain to his children, and what will the</p> <p><i>Lesson</i> was written in the year 1100, and not during the latter half of the twelfth century.</p> <p>Had the poem been written after the time when Peter began his ministration, persecution of a worse kind than that of plunder and imprisonment would assuredly have been mentioned : for so violently were the French Vaudois and their Founder harried by the Archbishop and the Church of Lyons, that those, who could escape, were fain to disperse themselves through all parts of France and Italy. But no persecution of this sort is specified in the <i>Noble Lesson</i>. On the contrary, imprisonment and loss of goods alone, not torture and loss of life, are mentioned as the trial to which the Vaudois were then exposed. Hence I think it clear, that the poem cannot consistently be referred to the latter half of the twelfth century : a period, to which a rough calculation of about eleven centuries, from the day when it was written <i>Now we are in the Last Time</i>, would of necessity conduct us.</p> <p>On the whole, I can have no hesitation in subscribing to the judgment of the learned Raynour, respecting the age of the <i>Noble Lesson</i>.</p> <p>La date de l'an 1100, qu'on lit dans ce poëme, merite toute confiance.</p>		<p>CHAP. IX.] AND ALBIGENSES. 411</p> <p>world say ? Then he commands his children to examine their faults : and gives money to the priest, that he himself may receive absolution. Though he has extorted from another a hundred pounds or perhaps two : yet the priest will pardon him for a hundred pence, and sometimes for less when he can get no more. And he tells him a long story, and promises him pardon : for he will say <i>Mass</i>, both for him and for his forefathers. Thus grants he pardon to them, whether they be just or felonious : and he puts his hand upon their heads. But, when he leaves them, he occasions a grand festival : for he makes them to understand, that they have been very well absolved. Yet ill are they confessed, who are thus faulty ; and they will certainly be deceived by such an absolution : and he, that makes them believe it, sins mortally. For I dare to say, and it will be found very true : that all the Popes from Sylvester down to the present one, and all the Cardinals, and all the Bishops, and all the Abbots, even all such put together, have no power to absolve or to pardon a single creature in regard to a single mortal sin ; inasmuch as God alone pardons, and no other can do it *.</p> <p>* This reference to Cardinals, in the year 1100, may be viewed as another internal and unintentional testimony to the genuine antiquity of the <i>Noble Lesson</i>.</p> <p>The mere name of Cardinal had long existed, both in the Roman Church itself, and in others also of the Latin Churches : but the College of Cardinals, with the power of electing the</p>

<p>412 THE VALLENCES [BOOK III.]</p> <p><i>But those, who are pastors, ought to do this. They ought to preach to the people, and pray with them, and often feed them with divine doctrine, and chastise sinners giving unto them discipline. That is to say: they ought to admonish them to repentance; so that they should confess their sins without fail, that they should repent in this present life, that they should fast and give alms and pray fervently; for, by these things, the soul finds salvation.</i></p> <p><i>Wherefore, we Christians, unworthy of the name of Christians, who have sinned, and who have abandoned the law of Jesus Christ (for we have neither fear nor faith nor charity), ought to confess our sins without delay: amending ourselves, with weeping and penitence, in respect to the offences which have been done through three mortal sins; namely, the lust of the eyes, the lust of the flesh, and the</i></p> <p>Pope, was first instituted in the Pontificate of Nicolas II., who sat in the Papal Chair from A. D. 1059 to A. D. 1061.</p> <p>His edict, to this effect, runs as follows.</p> <p>Constituimus: ut, obeunte hujus Romanæ Universalis Ecclesiæ Pontifice, inprimis Cardinales Episcopi, diligentissima simul consideratione tractantes, mox sibi Clericos Cardinales adhibeant, sicque reliquos Clerus et Populus ad consensum novæ electionis accedant. Hug. Floriac. in Baluz. Miscell. vol. iv. p. 62. See Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 483.</p> <p>The College of Cardinals, with this prerogative, having been thus instituted only about forty years before the composition of the <i>Noble Lesson</i>, the reference to them, with their allocation between the Pope and the Bishops, was at once natural and correct.</p>		<p>CHAP. IX.] AND ALBIGENSES. 413</p> <p><i>pride of life, through which we have done ill. This way we must keep. If we will love and follow Jesus Christ, we must have spiritual poverty of heart, and love chastity, and serve God humbly: so may we follow the way of Jesus Christ; and so may we overcome our enemies.</i></p> <p>The author then enumerates and describes the three laws, which have been given from God to man: the unwritten patriarchal law; the written law of Moses; and the also written law of Christ. This being done, he brings his poem to its conclusion.</p> <p><i>We have only to imitate Jesus Christ, and to do his pleasure, and to keep firmly that which he has commanded, and to be well advised when Antichrist shall come, that we may give no credence either to his doings or to his sayings. But, according to Scripture, there are many Antichrists: for all, who are contrary to Christ, are Antichrist.</i></p> <p><i>Many signs and great wonders shall be, from this time forward, to the day of judgment. The heaven and the earth shall burn: and all the living shall die*. Then all shall rise again to life everlasting. Every building shall be laid prostrate: and then</i></p> <p>* A reference is here made to various phenomena, which are said to have occurred in the course of the eleventh century, and which the persuasion of the age construed to be signs of the approaching end of the world. Usher has collected a curious multiplicity of examples. See his <i>Work de Eccles. Success.</i> c. ii. § 33. c. iii. § 3, 4. c. iv. § 2, 3, 4, 5, 9.</p>	
<p>414 THE VALLENCES AND ALBIGENSES. [BOOK III.]</p> <p><i>shall be the last judgment, when God shall separate his people according as it is written. Then shall he say to the wicked: Depart from me, ye accursed, into the infernal fire which shall have no end. There shall they be straitened by three grievous conditions: namely, by multitude of pains; and by sharp torment; and by an irreversible damnation.</i></p> <p><i>From this may God deliver us, if it be his pleasure: and may he give us to hear that which he will say to his people without delay, when he shall say: Come unto me, ye blessed of my Father, and possess the kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world. In that place, you shall have delight and riches and honour.</i></p> <p><i>May it please the Lord who formed the world, that we may be of the number of his Elect to stand in his courts? Thanks unto God. Amen.</i></p>			