

## CHAPTER XII.

RESPECTING THE POOR MEN OF LYONS OR THE  
MISSIONARY VALDENSES OF FRANCE.

IN establishing the Antiquity of the Vallenses of Piedmont, I brought down their history, until, in the twelfth century, they stand connected with the Vallenses of France \*. Resuming the subject, I shall now give some account of these modern Leonists, as they are styled by the Inquisitor Reinerius Sacco.

Perhaps, through the whole range of ecclesiastical story, there can scarcely be mentioned an individual, who in the hand of God has been more eminently an instrument for good, than the rich and holy merchant Peter of Lyons.

This illustrious reformer began his labours about the year 1160: and he is commonly thought to have died about the year 1179. He was the founder of the comparatively modern Society of the Poor Men of Lyons; and to them he imparted the name of *Valdenses*, derived from his own agno-

\* See above, book iii. chap. 8.

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men of *Valdo* or *Valdès* or *Valdensis* or *Valdensius* or *Valdus*; for, in all these slightly varied forms, does the agnomen occur \*.

I. Thus far, the matter is perfectly clear: but, although Peter communicated to his new Society the title of *Valdenses*, the question still remains, whence he himself derived his own agnomen.

With respect to this question, the very form of that agnomen shews, with sufficient clearness, that it cannot be viewed as the proper family name of the wealthy merchant; that is to say, as his family name after the manner in which family names are *now* borne. It is evidently a title imposed, either from some town, or from some people, or from some country, or from some cir-

\* *Petrus Valdus*, locuples civis Lugdunensis, anno Christi circiter 1170, *Valdensibus* nomen dedit. Is, domo ac bonis relictis, totum se evangelicæ professioni devoerat; et prophetarum atque apostolorum scripta, populari lingua vertenda, curaverat.—Cum jam multos sectatores, exiguo tempore, circa se haberet; eos, tanquam discipulos, ad evangelium promulgandum, in omnes partes ablegat. Thuan. Hist. lib. vi. § 16. vol. i. p. 221.

*Valdesius*, a primate ipsorum *Valde* dictos, qui fuerat civis Lugduni super Rhodanum. Gualt. Mapes. de Nugis Curial. distinct. i. c. 31. apud Usser. de Eccles. Success. c. viii. § 5.

*Valdenses* dicuntur a suo heresiarcha, qui *Valdus* dicebatur: qui, suo spiritu ductus, non a Deo missus, novam sectam invenit.—Quorum discipuli, id est, masculinæ, jam per diversas mundi partes, simplices seducunt a via. Alan. cont. Valdenses. lib. ii. c. 1. apud Usser. de Eccles. Success. c. viii. § 5.

Fuit quidam civis Lugdunensis, nomine *Valdensius* seu *Val-*  
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cumstance connected with Peter's own religious sentiments.

Accordingly, we are told: that he received the name from a town or district named *Valdis* or *Vaudra* or *Valden*, which is indifferently said to have been situated in the march of France or in the borders of France: for, in the middle ages, the term *march* was applied to all border countries; whence the Count or Warden of the Marches received the title of *Margrave* or *Marquis*.

On this point, *simply*, there is an universal agreement: but, if we descend to *particulars*, there is a slight apparent variation. I say *apparent*: because, in reality, when *one* account, that given by the Centuriators of Magdeburg, repre-

*densis*, qui dives existens divitias reliquit, ut pauper fieret et Christum sequeretur et evangelicam perfectionem servaret. Sed, errore prave intelligentiæ Scripturarum abductus a veritate demens, ipse et ejus sequaces, ab unitate et obedientia Ecclesiæ alienati, per schisma in hæresim sunt prolapsi. Guid. Perpin. in Summa de hæres. apud Usser. de Eccles. Success. c. viii. § 5.

Insurrexit in partibus gallicanis, in archiepiscopatu et civitate Lugdunensi, quidam vocatus *Valdensius* seu *Valdensis*; qui, relictis omnibus, proposuit servare evangelicam paupertatem, sicut Apostoli servarunt: qui plures sibi adherentes habuit, et congregationem magnam virorum et mulierum fecit.—Hi vocantur *Valdenses*, a *Valdense* eorum magistro errorum et auctore. Vocantur etiam *Pauperes de Lugduno*, a civitate Lugdunensi unde traxerunt originem, et quia vitam elegerunt panperem. Nic. Eymeric. Direct. Inquisit. par. ii. quest. 14. apud Usser. de Eccles. Success. c. viii. § 5.

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sents his family, as having originated from that place or district; and when *another* account, that given by John Masson, speaks of him, as having been himself born there; and when yet a *third* account, that given by Pilichdorf, describes him, as having once been a citizen of Valden: there is nothing at all incongruous or irreconcilable in these several statements \*. Rather, indeed, I apprehend, that they each convey a *portion* of the truth: so that, from them all *combined*, we learn; that Peter was born in Valdis or Valden of a family belonging to that country, and that he himself had lived there in his youth before he settled as a merchant at Lyons.

Now, if these concurring statements are to be viewed as intimating nothing more, than that

\* *Petrus quidam Valdensis*, ab oppido *Valdis* sito in marchia Galliæ, unde erat oriundus, sic appellatus. Centur. Magd. apud Usser. de Eccles. Success. c. viii. § 5.

*Petrus* ei nomen fuit; *Valdo*, cognomen: natus in vico, qui, prisco nomine postea mutato, dictus est *Vaudra*; eo quod, populari lingua, *Valdo* et sectarii ejus *Vaudois* cognominarentur. Masson. Præfat. in Alan. cont. Valdenses. apud Usser. de Eccles. Success. c. viii. § 5.

Ortus et origo *Valdensium* hæreticorum talis est.—Notandum, quod, fere octingentis annis post Papam Sylvestrum, tempore Innocentii Papæ II, in civitate *Valden*, quæ in finibus Franciæ sita est, fuit quidam civis dives, qui vel ipse legit vel audivit, Dominum dixisse cuidam adolescenti, *Si vis perfectus esse, vende et vende omnia quæ habes, et da pauperibus*.—Putabat ille *Petrus Valdensis*, cum hanc audiret aut legeret scripturam, quod vita apostolica jam non esset in terra. Unde, cogitabat



Peter received his agnomen from *some* place called *Valdis* or *Valden* or *Vaudra* vaguely described as situated *somewhere* near the extensive frontier of France: they will not explain his very peculiar conduct, when his mind first became deeply and vitally impressed with the importance of religion.

Luther, trained a Papist from his childhood, and having at the age of about twenty years finished his course of philosophy at Erfurt, happened one day to walk in the fields with an intimate friend and associate. A violent thunder-storm came on: and his companion, by a stroke of lightning, was killed at his side. This awful occurrence produced a mighty effect upon the mind of the future reformer: but, in what *outward* demonstration, did that effect shew itself?

eam innovare: et, omnibus venditis et pauperibus datis, cepit vitam pauperem ducere; quod videntes, quidam alii corde compuncti sunt, et fecerunt similiter.—Cum autem diu in paupertate stetissent, inceperunt cogitare, quod etiam Apostoli Christi non solum erant pauperes, imo etiam predicatorum: ceperunt et ipsi predicare verbum Dei. Pilich. cont. Valdenses. c. i. in Bibl. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 312, 313.

What Masson means, is, I suppose, this. The place of Peter's nativity was originally called *Valden* or *Valles*: and thence he and his disciples were styled *Valdenses* or *Vallenses*. But, since the French called the men *Vaudois*; they similarly, and on the same principle of lingual alteration, called the place *Vaudra*. The term *Vauderie*, by which the pretended sorcery of the Vaudois was described, is formed in a manner strictly analogous.

Precisely in *such* a demonstration, as might have been anticipated from the School of Theology in which he had been nurtured. He determined to withdraw himself from the world and to enter into a monastery at Erfurt. His father strongly remonstrated: but the son was inflexible, as to what he deemed a manifest vocation from heaven; and the result was his taking upon himself the vows of monasticism.

Now, by Reinerius, we are informed, that a very similar occurrence befell the opulent merchant of Lyons, whose name indeed he does not mention, but whom he sufficiently identifies, by describing him as the founder of the sect of the Poor Men, and by afterward specifying a sect under the precise name of *Valdenses*. When, on some public occasion, the more wealthy or the more dignified citizens were assembled together, it happened, that one of the number suddenly dropped down dead. By this event the mind of Peter was as much impressed, as that of Luther was by the instantaneous removal of his friend: and, since the same causes usually produce pretty much the same effects, we may safely infer; that, if the previous sentiments of Peter had been identical with the previous sentiments of Luther, in that case, just as the poor student Luther, under the influence of those sentiments became a monk, so, under the influence of the same sentiments, the rich merchant Peter would have de-

voted his wealth to the erection of an Abbey, and would himself have become (what the Papists call) one of the *Religious* in his own munificent foundation\*.

So, from such premises, we may fairly infer: but, in truth, this was *not* the case. Instead of acting, proportionably to the difference of his rank in life, like Luther: Peter distributed his substance among the poor; devoted himself altogether to the profession of the Gospel; caused the Scriptures to be translated into the vulgar tongue; began eagerly to make proselytes to what (so far as mere speculation is concerned) must plainly

\* Nota, quod secta Pauperum de Lugduno, qui etiam *Leonistæ* dicuntur, tali modo orta est. Cum cives majores pariter essent in Lugduno, contigit, quendam ex eis mori subito coram eis. Unde quidam inter eos tantum fuit territus, quod statim magnum thesaurum pauperibus erogavit. Et ex hoc maxima multitudo pauperum ad eum confluit, quos ipse docuit habere voluntariam paupertatem et esse imitatores Christi et Apostolorum. Cum autem esset aliquantulum literatus, Novi Testamenti textum docuit eos vulgariter. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. in Bibl. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 300.

According to Stephen de Borbon, what seems not unlikely, Peter, in his work of translating the Scriptures, employed two Priests, Stephen de Ansa and Bernard Ydros: the one, dictating the words of the translation; and the other, writing them down from his mouth. He professes to have received the account, both from many who claimed to have been eye-witnesses, and especially from Ydros himself. Steph. Borbon. aliter Bellavill. de Septem Donis Spiritus S. par. iv. c. 30. in Ricchin. Dissert. de Valdenses. c. i. § 5.

have been his *already* adopted sentiments; and sent them forth throughout the whole world, to denounce the Roman Church as the Babylon of the Apocalypse, and to warn all men against partaking of her abominations\*.

Here we have a case totally different from that of Luther. Peter had speculatively held sentiments the very opposite to those which Luther entertained when he threw himself into a monastery: and, as soon as his mere speculation began to be practically operative, the result was that which has been stated. On evangelical principles, he declared war against the Roman Church: and, thus acting, we find him distinguished by the agnomen of *Valdes* or *Valdensis* or *Valdius* or (as the word would be expressed in French) *Le Vaudois*.

With these matters before us, we shall, I think, view the preceding statements, as intimating something much more definite and particular than some uncertain place, either of Peter's family origination, or of his own personal nativity, or of his early residence in the way of his mercantile business.

1. The place, or district, it seems, was called *Valdis* or *Valden* or (in a gallican form) *Vaudra*;

\* Quod Romana Ecclesia sit meretrix in Apocalypsi:—quod Papa sit caput omnium errorum:—quod ipsi sint Ecclesia Jesu Christi. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. in Bibl. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 300.



and it was situated in the marches or upon the borders of France.

What, then, was this place? and where are we to seek it definitely and precisely?

Truly, both the very name of the place, and its descriptive geographical situation, alike refer us to the Valleys or the Valden of Piedmont and Dauphiny: for the ancient or proper Vallenses, those primeval Leonists whom Reinerius notes to be the oldest of all known sects, occupied the Valleys on either side of the Cottian Alps.

Originally, on the breaking up of the Western Empire, Dauphiny was within the limits of the kingdom of Arles, itself a member of the kingdom of the Burgundians: and, thence, it became a fief of the restored empire under Charlemagne. But, in the middle of the fourteenth century, it was annexed to France. Still, however, in either case, the Valleys of the Cottian Alps were always a march country: for, situated as they were on the borders of France and Savoy, they constituted the *marches*, as the phrase ran, of both those neighbouring Sovereignities. Hence, in the eleventh century, we find Peter Damian addressing the Dutchess Adelaide of Savoy, as the Marchioness or the March-Countess or the Lady March-Warden of the Cottian Alps\*.

\* Ad Adelaidem, Ducissam, et Marchionissam Alpium Cottiarum. Pet. Damian. Oper. lib. vii. epist. 16. p. 339.

for the individual: and, through him, had a purpose also of great and abiding, and extensive good to his sincere Church. An awful dispensation, witnessed by the merchant, while seated among his brother burgesses of Lyons in all the pride of place municipal, proved effectual and decisive. It spake to his sleeping conscience, with a voice of thunder. And the result was precisely in accordance with the previous speculative illumination of his understanding.

2. In point of connection, here it is, that Peter and his new French Society join themselves to the ancient Vallenses of Italy: and thus, agreeably to the explicit testimony of Conrad of Ursperg, that *The Valdenses, in both their divisions, originated, at a remote period, in Italy*, they appear as a gallican branch springing out of the parent stock which had long flourished in the Valdis or Valden or Vaudra of the bordering Cottian Alps\*.

This circumstance fully accounts for the peculiar language of Reinerius in his Treatise concerning Heretics: language, which, with some modern writers, has led, most unfortunately, to blunders and misapprehensions of no ordinary magnitude.

The *Leonists*, he tells us, are to be ranked

\* Olim duæ sectæ in Italia exortæ, adhuc perdurant: quorum alii *Humiliatos*, alii *Pauperes de Lugduno*, se nominabant. Conrad. Abbat. Ursperg. Chron. in A. D. 1212. See above, book iii. chap. 8. § II. note.

Here, then, was that march or border country of France: whence, either from birth, or from family origin, or from early inhabitation, Peter received his agnomen of *Valdo* or *Valdes* or *Valdensis* or *Le Vaudois*. The march-land region, called *Valdis* or *Valden* or *Vaudra*, was plainly no other, than the border Valley district of the ancient Vallenses or Leonists\*.

Such, in whatever precise mode, being the connection of Peter with the Vallenses of Dauphiny and Piedmont, we shall now have no difficulty in accounting for the form which his sudden religious impression assumed: a form, so essentially different from any that could have been produced by the papally superstitious spirit of the age in which he lived. Either by birth, or by origin, or by early inhabitation, the wealthy merchant was a *Valdensis* or *Vaudès* or *Vaudois*. With the pure and primitive doctrine of the pious Dalesman, he had long, most probably from his very childhood, been acquainted: but the full occupation of successful traffic, and the consequent increase of worldly opulence and worldly respectability, had choked the word, so that it became unfruitful in a thorny soil of mere speculative knowledge. But the Lord had a purpose of mercy

\* I doubt, what (I believe) has sometimes been proposed, the derivation of *Valden* from the Teutonic *Walden*: whence our English *Wild* and *Would* and *Wilderness*.

among the sects of ANCIENT Heretics; for they are older than either the Arians or the Manichæans or any other of the seventy sects which had once existed, but which had then become extinct: while the poor men of Lyons, who are also, as well as the members of the older sect from which they had branched out, denominated *Leonists*, are a sect of MODERN Heretics; having been founded, as late as the twelfth century, by an opulent merchant of that city\*.

\* De sectis ANTIQUORUM hæreticorum, de quarto nota: quod sectæ hæreticorum fuerunt plures quam septuaginta; quæ omnes, per Dei gratiam, deletæ sunt, præter sectas Manichæorum, Arianorum, Runcariorum, et Leonistarum, quæ Alemanniam infecerunt. Inter omnes has sectas, quæ adhuc sunt vel fuerunt, non est perniciosa Ecclesiæ, quam *Leonistarum*: et hoc, tribus de causis. Prima est, quia est DIUTURNIOR.—De sectis MODERNORUM hæreticorum, nota: quod secta Pauperum de Lugduno, qui etiam *Leonistæ* dicuntur, tali modo orta est. Reiner. de hæret. c. iv. v. p. 209, 300.

In his *Summa*, Reinerius speaks much to the same purpose: though here he reduces all the then existing sects under the two principal heads of Cathari and Leonists; identifying the latter with the Poor Men of Lyons, because the more modern French Valdenses were a branch or offset from the ancient stock of the Piedmontese Valdenses.

Cum sectæ hæreticorum olim fuerint multæ, quæ omnino fere destructæ sunt per gratiam Jesu Christi, tamen duæ principales modo inveniuntur: quorum altera vocatur *Cathari* sive *Paterini*; altera, *Leonistæ* seu *Pauperes de Lugduno*. Summ. Frat. Reiner. in Marten. Thesaur. Anecd. vol. v. col. 1761.

The view, taken of the engraftment of the modern French



<p>462 THE VALLENSSES [BOOK III.]</p> <p>Though, on the first survey, these two statements are apparently discordant; they will, on examination, be found perfectly to agree with each other.</p> <p>The proselyted French Valdenses, considered as a congregation gathered out of those who were previously members of the Roman Church, were no older than Peter the Valdo: but, in point of</p> <p>Valdenses upon the ancient Piedmontese Valdenses by Mr. de la Rogue, as cited by Bossuet for the purpose of shewing its erroneusness, is, nevertheless, with submission to the learned Prelate, perfectly correct.</p> <p>Pierre Valdo ayant trouvé des peuples entiers séparés de la communion de l'Eglise Latine, il se joignit à eux avec ceux qui le suivoient, pour ne faire qu'un même corps et une même société par l'unité d'une même doctrine.</p> <p>The entire bodies of men already separated from the Roman Church, to which Peter Valdo and his disciples joined themselves, were assuredly the Piedmontese Valdenses: those very ancient Leonists, from whom, through the connecting link of their founder <i>himself</i> a Valdensis, the more modern French Leonists were derived, and with whom, consequently, they were in close and immediate communion.</p> <p>Such obviously, is the import of the statement made by Mr. de la Rogue: and it perfectly agrees with the classification of Reinerius, who describes the Leonists as being the oldest of all known sects, and who yet says that the Poor Men of Lyons under the same name of <i>Leonists</i> were founded by Peter the Valdo as late as the twelfth century.</p> <p>But Bossuet impugns this very just assertion of his countryman, on the ground: that, <i>Anterior to the time of the merchant Peter, there were no bodies of men in a state of separation</i></p>		<p>CHAP. XII.] AND ALBIGENSES. 463</p> <p>ultimate theological pedigree, when considered as a branch or continuation of the ancient Vallenses of Dauphiny and Piedmont, they were, agreeably to their own true and perpetual allegation, as old as the times of the Apostles themselves. Hence, in <i>France</i>, the name of <i>Valdenses</i> occurs not until <i>after</i> the commencement of Peter's ministry: for the first writer who mentions the name as se-</p> <p><i>from the Roman Church, save the various branches of the Cathari or Albigenes, all of whom, with whatever minor variations, were alike fundamentally Manichæans.</i> Whence, if any such engraftation, as that asserted by Mr. de la Rogue, took place: it will serve only to bring out the not very satisfactory result, that <i>The Manichæans were the spiritual ancestors of the Reformed.</i> Boss. Hist. des Variat. livr. xi. § 91.</p> <p>The attack of Bossuet rests, throughout, upon an entirely false foundation.</p> <p><i>Anterior to the time of Peter the Valdo, the ancient Valdenses of Piedmont had long been in a state of separation from the Roman Church: and they confessedly were never Manichæans.</i> Therefore, <i>previous to the twelfth century</i>, the Cathari or Albigenes, alleged by Bossuet to have been Manichæans, were <i>not</i> the only entire bodies of men that were separatists.</p> <p>And, even if the Albigenes <i>had been</i> the only entire bodies of men that were separatists, and even if Peter and his french disciples <i>had</i> exclusively joined themselves to those previously existing religionists: still the Bishop's attack upon Mr. de la Rogue would exhibit nothing better than a complete <i>Non sequitur</i>; for it has been fully shewn, and will hereafter yet further be inductively shewn, that the Albigenes were <i>not</i> Manichæans. See above, book ii; and below, book iv. chap. 1.</p>	
<p>464 THE VALLENSSES [BOOK III.]</p> <p>tari ally connected with <i>that</i> country, is Walter Mapes in the year 1179*.</p> <p>Thus we see, how utterly repugnant to historical testimony is the assertion of Bossuet: that <i>The Valdenses so owed their origin to Peter Valdo, as to have had no existence in any part of the world previous to his time</i>†.</p> <p>Thus also, on the specific ground taken up by himself, we may perceive the absolute childishness of his objection to the antiquity of the Valdensic <i>Treatise on Antichrist</i>.</p> <p>Some unknown collector, he states, ascribes the <i>Treatise</i> to an early part of the twelfth century. But the very founder of the Valdenses did not commence his ministry until after the year 1160. Therefore the antiquity of the <i>Treatise</i> must be purely fictitious‡.</p> <p>Now, whether in <i>itself</i> that <i>Treatise</i> be or be not a genuine relic of antiquity: at all events, <i>this</i> objection, which is insecurely based, partly upon the mere guess of an unknown collector, and partly upon the false assertion that the Valdenses corporately are not older than the time of Peter of Lyons, furnishes no proof that it is a <i>modern</i> fabrication. The <i>Treatise</i>, I admit, is <i>not</i> so ancient as the beginning of the twelfth century.</p> <p>* Gualter. Mapes. de Nugis Curial. distinct. i. c. 31. apud Usset de Eccles. Success. c. viii. § 12.</p> <p>† Boss. Hist. des Variat. livr. xi. § 2, 3, 73.</p> <p>‡ Boss. Hist. des Variat. livr. xi. § 126.</p>		<p>CHAP. XII.] AND ALBIGENSES. 465</p> <p>But what then? The mere random circumstance of a collector's having erroneously ascribed it to an early part of the twelfth century, even if, on Bossuet's theory, Peter of Lyons were <i>really</i> the founder of the entire Church of the Valdenses, would afford no very satisfactory evidence that it <i>must</i> have been the production of a <i>modern</i> writer; a writer, for instance, who flourished subsequently to the age of the Reformation.</p> <p>II. During many centuries, as I have already observed, the old Vallenses seem rarely to have departed from their native Valleys. Their testimony was, indeed, faithfully borne against their immediate papalising <i>neighbours</i>: and <i>there</i>, as we have seen, their existence was well known to the governing powers and to the influential members of the Roman Church. But, a simple and primitive race, strongly attached to their mountain fastnesses, we hear not of them out of their own direct vicinage: for, as Bossuet justly remarks, it was an error of Gretser (and, I may add, of Mariana also, and of other Jesuits), in a much later age, unskilfully and vaguely to apply the name of <i>Valdenses</i> to those who were <i>really Albigenes</i>*.</p> <p>With Peter the Vaudois, however, a new succession of ages commences: and, what his alpine brethren (his brethren, apparently, after the flesh, as well as after the spirit) had hitherto wanted,</p> <p>* Boss. Hist. des Variat. livr. xi. § 46.</p>	<p>2 H</p>



the christian zeal of the enlightened and liberal merchant amply supplied. Under the name of the *Poor Men of Lyons*, he instituted a special order of Preachers or Missionaries: who, instead of quietly vegetating at home from generation to generation, should go forth, like the wandering Albigenes, into the world at large, and should thus carry the Gospel to every quarter of Europe\*.

1. Of this peculiarity in the new local sect of MODERN Heretics, as Reinerius styles and describes them, we have abundant historical testimony †.

\* Ultimately, I believe, either directly or indirectly, they did thus carry the Gospel to every quarter of Europe: and, hence, the language of Reinerius, even in the thirteenth century, will scarcely be deemed an exaggeration; *Fere nulla est terra, in qua hæc secta non sit.* But the south of Europe, as we may gather from the obviously far too diminishing allegations of Pilichdorf, was the chief theatre of their missionary labours.

Licet tu, Valdensis hæretice, minimos credentes habes ad æternam damnationem, ostendam tibi tamen gentes, tribus, populos, et linguas, ubi, per Dei gratiam, sunt omnes Catholici, et omnes homines sunt immunes, a tua secta penitus conservati: scilicet, Angliam, Flammiam, Flandriam, Brabantiam, Garlandiam, Westphalam, Daciam, Sueciam, Norwegiam, Prusiam, et regnum Cracoviam, pene nullos habens Valdenses. Pilich. cont. Vald. c. xv. in Bibl. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 315.

† What Reinerius says of the Leonists being spread over the whole world (*Secunda est, quia est generalior: fere enim nulla est terra, in qua hæc secta non sit.* Reiner. de hæret. c. iv. p. 299), must undoubtedly be understood of the Leonists as he viewed them in the middle of the thirteenth century, after the

(1.) Reinerius himself, in his Treatise edited by Marten, gives us some very valuable information respecting the present particular.

*The Sect of the Leonists is composed of members of two different descriptions.*

*Some of them are distinguished by the name of The Perfect: but, of these, the strictly proper designation is, The Poor Valdenses of Lyons\*. Into this form, all are not admitted indiscriminately: but the candidates are first trained in a long course of education, that so they may know how to teach others.*

*These say, that they possess nothing as individual property, neither houses nor lands nor certain mansions: and their wives, if they previously have any, they leave. They call themselves the successors of the Apostles: and, of the others, they are the Masters and the Confessors. Hence they circuit the country, visiting their disciples and confirming them in their error. To these, their disciples minister*

missionary labours of Peter and his Poor Men had been full seventy or eighty years in active operation: for, previous to the time of the holy merchant, the Vallenses, so far from being spread over the whole world like the Paulician Albigenes, were known only in their own immediate neighbourhood. It is very probable, that Peter borrowed from the ever-migratory Albigenes, the idea of a select missionary establishment.

\* Reinerius very justly says, that such is their strictly proper designation. The disciples of Peter the Valdo were called *The Poor Valdenses of Lyons* in evident contradistinction to *The Poor Valdenses of Piedmont.*

*things necessary. Into whatever place they come, their Laity contrive mutually to insinuate among each other the knowledge of their arrival. Then many, for the purpose of secretly hearing and seeing them, congregate to them in some place of safety: and there they send to them the best meat and drink. Here they appoint to the disciples collections of money, to be made for the support of the said Poor Men and their Masters and their students, who are unable to supply their own expences; or indeed, likewise, in order to allure some whom the desire of money draws to their sect\*.*

\* Duo sunt genera sectæ ipsorum. Quidam dicuntur Perfecti eorum: et hi propriè vocantur *Poure Valdenses de Lion.* Nec omnes ad hanc formam assumunt: sed prius diu informantur, ut et alios sciant docere. Hi nihil proprium dicunt se habere, nec domos, nec possessiones, nec certas mansiones: conjuges, si quas ante habuerunt, relinquunt. Hi dicunt se Apostolorum successores; et sunt magistri aliorum et confessores: et circumant per terras, visitando et confirmando discipulos in errore. His ministrant discipuli necessaria. In quocunque loco veniunt, insinuant sibi mutuo adventum illorum. Conveniunt ad eos plures in tuto loco in latibulis audire eos et videre; et mittunt eis illuc optima quæque cibi et potus. Et indicunt collectas nummorum discipulis pro sustentatione eorundem Pauperum et magistrorum suorum et studentium, qui per se sumptos non habent; vel etiam ad alliciendum aliquos, quos cupiditas nummi trahit ad sectam eorum. Auctor. Anon. de her. Pauper. de Lugdun. in Marten. Thesaur. Anecd. vol. v. col. 1781.

The gratuitous slander, that these poor persecuted people tempted proselytes to join them by pecuniary bribery, is so

(2.) Walter Mapes similarly exhibits the Poor Men of Lyons or the Perfect Brethren under the aspect of Preachers or Missionaries, when, in the year 1179, he first mentions their name of Valdesians or Valdenses.

*We saw, in the Council of Rome celebrated under Pope Alexander III. certain illiterate individuals, called from their Primate Valdes who had been a citizen of Lyons upon the Rhone, VALDESIANS. These persons presented, to the Lord Pope, a book written in the French Tongue; wherein were contained the text and gloss of the Psalter and likewise of very many books of both the two Laws: and, with much urgency, they petitioned, that the authority of preaching might be confirmed to them; for though they had lived mere sciolists, they seemed to themselves to be skilful and well-instructed clerks.—*

*I, the least of the many thousands who had been called, derided them; because, in the matter of their petition, there might be doubt or discussion: and, being invited by a certain great Prelate to whom*

palpably absurd upon the very face of it, that it could deserve no notice save as exhibiting the genuine *animus* of a true popish priest and inquisitor. Accordingly, it appears to have been somewhat of a favourite among the romish divines: for, as I find from Usher, it again turns up, *totidem verbis*, in the *Summa* of Ivonet, par. ii. c. 2. The writer whom Marten styles an *anonymous author*, is, I believe, now ascertained to be Reinerius. In the collection of Marten, the Tractate is placed immediately after the *Summa* of that well-known apostate Inquisitor.



that supreme Pope had enjoined the charge of confessions, I shot an arrow at the mark. For, many prudent men and well skilled in the law being called in, two Valdesians, who seemed the chief of their sect, were brought to me, that they might dispute with me concerning the faith: not, however, from any love of inquiring after truth; but purely that I might be confuted, and that my mouth might be stopped as if I spoke absurdities.

Now I sat, I must own, with a considerable feeling of timidity, lest, for my sins, the grace of speech should be denied to me in so great a Council. But the Prelate commanded me to set myself in force against them: and they prepared to answer me.

First, then, I propounded the most trifling questions; such as no person ought to be ignorant of: as knowing, that, when an ass is munching thistles, he is eating the lettuce which best befits him.

Believe ye in God the Father? They answered: We believe. And in God the Son? They answered: We believe. And in the Holy Ghost? Still they answered: We believe. I then reiterated: And in the mother of Christ? Again they gave the same answer: We believe.

Upon this, with a manifold clamour, they were derided by all: and they retired in confusion. And well, indeed, they might do so: for they were ruled by none; and yet, like Phaëthon who did not so much as know the names of his horses, they wished to be rulers themselves.

(3.) The rude treatment experienced by these good men at the Papal Court in the year 1179, which Walter Mapes seems most unaccountably to have mistaken for wit, did not deter their successors from making a second application in the year 1212. A description of it is given by Conrad of Lichtenau, Abbot of Ursperg: and it is marked by the same characteristics of the disciples of Peter, as those which were associated with the former application. The statement of Conrad is yet further important: because, as I have already observed, it distinctly intimates the ultimate Italian or Vallensic origin of the French Community founded by Peter Valdo.

Curial. distinct. i. c. 31. apud Usser. de Eccles. Success. c. viii. § 12.

I am not quite certain as to the intention of Mapes, when he says: *Timidus, fateor, sed; ne, peccatis exigentibus, in Concilio tanto mihi gratia negaretur sermonis.* That is to say, I am not quite certain: whether he means, that he felt some qualms, lest, the grace of eloquence being denied to him, he should thence make but a bad figure in this examination of the Valdenses; or whether he would intimate, that he was afraid lest the permission of speaking and of thus honourably distinguishing himself should be denied on account of his comparative obscurity. The former, perhaps, in the case of any other man, would not be an unlikely sense: for to examine is, in effect, to be examined. But, with the evident comfortable self-conceit of the facetious Presbyter, the latter may peradventure seem better to accord: and thence, probably, is his real meaning. In my translation, I have copied the ambiguity of the original.

Walter seems to have had a shrewd guess, as to the ultimate

These men have no where any fixed domiciles; but they travel about two and two, naked as to their feet, clad in coarse woollen garments, having nothing, holding all things in common like the Apostles, following naked a naked Christ. They begin, at present, with the utmost humility; because they cannot get in a single foot: but, if once we admit them, we shall soon be ourselves expelled\*.

\* Vidimus in Concilio Romano, sub Alexandro Papa III. celebrato (A.D. 1179), Valdesios, homines idiotas illiteratos (a primato ipsorum Valde dictos, qui fuerat civis Lugduni super Rhodanum); qui librum Domino Papæ presentaverunt lingua conscriptum gallica, in quo textus et glossa Psalterii plurimorumque Legis utriusque librorum continebatur. Hi multa petebant instantia, prædicationis auctoritatem sibi confirmari: quia periti sibi videbantur, cum vix essent scoli.—Ego multorum millium, qui vocati fuerunt, micimus, deridebam eos, quod super eorum petitione tractatus fieret vel dubitatio: vocatusque a quodam magno pontifice, cui et ille maximus Papa confessionum curam injunxerat, conieci sagittam ad signum. Multisque legis peritis et prudentibus adscitis, deducti sunt ad me duo Valdesii, qui sua videbantur in secta præcipui, disputari mecum de fide: non amore veritatis inquirendæ, sed ut, me convicto, clauderetur os meum quasi loquentis iniqua. Timidus, fateor, sed; ne, peccatis exigentibus, in Concilia tanto mihi gratia negaretur sermonis. Jussit me pontifex expediri adversus eos, qui respondere parabant. Primo, igitur, proposui levisima, quæ nemini licet ignorare: sciens, quod, asino cardones edente, dignam habent labra lactucam. Creditis in Deum Patrem? Responderunt: Credimus. Et in Filium? Responderunt: Credimus. Et in Spiritum Sanctum? Credimus. Iteravi: In matrem Christi? Et illi item: Credimus. Et ab omnibus multiplici sunt clamore derisi. Gualter. Mapes. de Nugis

Formerly, two sects sprang up in Italy, which still continue to exist. One of these bears the name of the Humiliated: the other, that of the Poor Men of Lyons. Pope Lucius once enrolled them among Heretics: because certain superstitious opinions and practices were found among them. In their secret preachings, moreover, which they commonly made in lurking places, they derogated from the Church of God and the Priesthood.

At that time, in the year 1212 to wit, we saw some of the number of those, who were called Poor Men of Lyons, at the Apostolic See, with a certain master of theirs, as I think, Bernard by name: and these petitioned, that the Apostolic See would confirm and privilege their sect.

tendency of the preaching of these Valdenses. They were bringing the roman craft into danger of being set at naught: so that the temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised and her magnificence should be destroyed, whom all Asia and the world worshipped. The sacred image that fell from heaven was as much jeopardied in one case, as in the other. On the curious subject of the imitative Διοκρητῆς Ἀγαλμα of the Romanists, see Middleton's Letter from Rome, p. 197—200.

This same Walter, the wit of his age, was precentor of Lincoln: and, afterward, for his rare merits, I suppose, was, in the year 1197, made Archdeacon of Oxford.

Walterus Map, de quo multa referuntur jocunda, ex Præcentore Lincolnensi Archidiaconus Oxoniensis efficitur. Nicol. Trivet. Chron. in A.D. 1197.

One of the *jocunda* of this *vir lepidissimus* was, doubtless, his humorous banter of the Valdenses: a good story, often, I dare say, waggishly recited by the Archdeacon himself.



*The account, truly, which they gave of themselves, was: that they led the life of the Apostles; and that, wishing neither to possess any thing nor to have any certain place of residence, they went in a circuit through the villages and to the castles. But the Lord Pope objected to them certain superstitious matters in their conversation: as, for instance, that they preached in shoes which covered only the upper part of the foot, walking as it were with their feet naked; and, moreover, that, while they wore certain caps as if belonging to some Religious Order, they polled the hair of their heads only in the same fashion as the Laity. This also seemed opprobrious in their case: that men and women walked together in the way, and commonly remained together in the same house; so that it was said of them, that they sometimes slept together in the same bed. All which things nevertheless, they asserted to have descended to them from the Apostles\*.*

\* Olim duæ sectæ, in Italia exortæ, adhuc perdurant: quorum alii *Humiliatos*, alii *Pauperes de Lugduno*, se nominabant quos Lucius Papa quondam inter hæreticos scribebat; eo quod superstitiosa dogmata et observationes in eis reperirentur. In occultis quoque prædicationibus, quas faciebant plerumque in latibulis, Ecclesiæ Dei et Sacerdotio derogabatur. Vidimus tunc temporis (anno scilicet 1212) aliquos de numero eorum, qui dicebantur *Pauperes de Lugduno*, apud Sedem Apostolicam, cum magistro suo quodam, ut puto, Bernharo: et hi petebant, sectam suam a Sede Apostolica confirmari et privilegiari. Sanè ipsi, dicentes se gerere vitam Apostolorum, nihil volentes possidere aut certum locum habere, circuibant per vicos et castella.

that the practice of travelling with their lawful wives had descended to them from the Apostles\*.

2. Papal disapprobation was rapidly followed by papal persecution: but, as Archbishop Usher well observes, persecution produced no other effect, than that, which, of old, resulted from the murder of the protomartyr Stephen; a matter, fully attested by the Inquisitor Eymeric in the fourteenth century.

*When the Poor men could not rest at Lyons, fearing the Archbishop and the Church, they fled from that city: and, being dispersed through the parts of France and Italy, they had very many accomplices; and, down even to the present day, they have in various districts abundantly sown their errors†.*

3. Thus, on amply sufficient evidence, the historian Thuanus was induced to write in manner following.

*Peter Valdo, the ringleader of the Valdenses, leaving his own country, went into Belgium: and,*

\* Have we not power to load about a sister, a wife, as well as other Apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas? 1 Corinth. ix. 5.

† Qui enim Lugduni quiescere non poterant, Archiepiscopum et Ecclesiam metuentes, inde fugerunt: atque, per partes Franciæ et Italiæ dispersi, quamplures complices habuerunt; et, usque hodie, errores suos hinc inde seminauerunt. Eymeric. Direct. Inquis. par. ii. quæst. 14. apud Usser. de Eccles. Success. c. viii. § 10.

The women, no doubt, who shocked the concubinary purity of the Romish Priesthood by thus travelling with men that seemed to belong to a sort of Religious Order, were the wives of the missionaries: though, from the inconvenience attendant upon such a practice, they had, shortly afterward (we have seen) when the Inquisitor Reinerius wrote, discontinued it. Yet, as it was justly alleged, the practice itself was apostolical. Conrad, indeed, who most probably was a very inferior scripturist to the well read Valdenses, might, as appears from the turn of his phraseology, be ignorant of the biblically-recorded circumstance\*. But the Poor Men of Lyons had read the question propounded by St. Paul: and thence felt themselves authorised in asserting,

Ast Dominus Papa quædam superstitiosa, in conversatione ipsorum, eisdem objecit: videlicet, quod calceos desuper pedem prædicabant, et quasi nudis pedibus ambulabant. Præterea, cum portarent quasdam cappas, quasi religionis, capillis capitis non attondebant, nisi sicut Laici. Hoc quoque probrosum in eis videbatur, quod viri et mulieres simul ambulabant in via, et plerumque simul manebant in una domo: et de eis dicebatur, quod quandoque simul in lectulis accubabant. Quæ tamen omnia ipsi asserbant ab Apostolis descendisse. Conrad. Abbat. Ursperg. Chron. in A. D. 1212. apud Gretser. Proleg. c. v. in Bibl. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 291.

\* Rarus est doctor inter eos (scil. pontificios), qui tria capitula continuata Novi Testamenti literaliter sciat de corde. Apud nos vero (scil. Valdenses) rarus est vir vel femina, qui textum non sciat vulgariter recitare. Reiner. de hæret. c. viii. p. 307.

*in Picardy, as they now call the province, obtained many followers. Passing thence into Germany, he long sojourned among the Vandalic States, and finally settled in Bohemia: where those, who, at the present day, embrace his doctrine, are, on that account called Picards\*.*

III. Such being the origin of the Poor Men of

\* Petrus Valdis, eorum antesignanus, patria relicta, in Belgium venit: atque, in Picardia quam hodie vocant, multos sectatores nactus, cum inde in Germaniam transisset, per Vandalices civitates diu diversatus est, ac postremo in Boëmia consedit; ubi etiam hodie ii, qui eam doctrinam amplectuntur, *Picardi*, ea de causa, appellantur. Thuan. Hist. lib. vi. § 16. vol. i. p. 221.

The Germans corrupted *Picards* into *Pighards* and *Beghards*: hence some have supposed that the word denotes *Beggars* from the verb *Beggen*. But *Pighard* so evidently forms the transition link between *Picard* and *Beghard*, that there can be little doubt, I think, of the true etymology: though it is not unlikely, that *Pighard* may have passed into *Beghard* with an allusion to the missionaries subsisting by voluntary alms or contributions. We must not, however, confound the Vallensic *Beghards* with the Franciscan *Beguins*. The mendicant Friars of St. Francis Assisi were one of the two Orders set up by Innocent III. in express opposition to the Humiliated and the Poor Men of Lyons. See Conrad. Abbat. Ursperg. Chron. in A. D. 1212, and Luc. Tudens. adv. Alb. lib. ii. c. 11. It was evidently against the Valdenses *Beghards* or *Picards* in Germany, who ridiculed the doctrine of Transubstantiation and who called the Romish Priests, *God-makers*, that Conrad of Magdenberg wrote his Treatise, a part of which was edited by Gretser, at the end of the Work of Pilchdorf. The fragment will be found in Bibl. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 342, 343.



Lyons, we shall probably be not a little surprised at the grave statement put forth by Bossuet.

*When they first separated themselves from the Church, they had only very few dogmas contrary to our own: perhaps, indeed, none totally.—Their system was, in truth, a species of Donatism\*.*

Certainly, if such were the case with the rich Valdencian merchant and his proselytes, at least to the extent specified by the Bishop of Meaux, we cannot view *them*, at the time when their labours commenced, as continuing the perpetuity of the faithful Church, however justly we may claim the Vallenses of Piedmont. The allegation, however, is so remarkable, that it well deserves to be carefully examined.

So far as I can find, the evidence for the allegation, as adduced by Bossuet, resolves itself into three points: *the application, on the part of the Poor Men, to the Pope, for his licence to act as preachers; and the asserted circumstance, that they held the doctrine of Transubstantiation; and the allegation, that their tenets scarcely differed from those of Rome†.*

1. The first of these, Bossuet does not state so strongly as he might have done. For he mentions

\* Lorsqu'ils se sont séparés, ils n'avoient encore que très-peu de dogmes contraires aux nôtres, et peut-être point du tout.—C'étoit une espèce de Donatisme. Boss. Hist. des Variat. livr. xi. § 73, 86.

† Boss. Hist. des Variat. livr. xi. § 83, 93.

only their application to Pope Innocent III. in the year 1212, as recorded by the Abbot of Ursperg: whereas, he might have considerably strengthened his point, by intimating, that this was in truth the *second* application; a *former* one having been made in the year 1179 to Pope Alexander III., as recorded by Walter Mapes.

Of course, the double fact, the particulars of which I have fully stated above, is readily admitted: but we have to inquire, how far it can be made available for the purpose of the learned Prelate.

The individuals, who applied in the year 1179, were not native Piedmontise Subalpines, who had inherited their tenets from the most remote antiquity, and who thence felt no more scruples upon their minds respecting the self-entitled Catholic Church and its Pontifical Head than we Catholics in communion with the English Church feel at present: but they were French Proselytes from Popery, who thence, as we may well suppose, could not, even in the course of several years, shake off the hereditary sense of dutiful subjection in which they had been educated.

This was precisely the case with Luther; who long wished to draw a line, between the imagined abstract holiness of an Ecclesiastical System, and the gross doctrinal corruptions of its managers and adherents\*. Whence, if that wonderfully strong-

\* The state of Luther's mind, during the progress of his dis-

minded man, in the far greater light of the sixteenth century, found such a conscientious difficulty in shaking off early impressions: it is surely small wonder, that the French Proselytes of Lyons should honestly labour under a similar delusion, and should wish, (if it were not absolutely impossible) to act under the sanction of the Pope

pute with the Pope, cannot be better described than in his own words.

*I permit the publication of my propositions against indulgences for this reason: that the greatness of my success may be attributed to God, and that I may not be exalted in mine own eyes. For, by these propositions, it will appear, how weak and contemptible I was, and in how fluctuating a state of mind, when I began this business. I found myself involved in it alone, and, as it were, by surprise. And, when it became impossible for me to retreat, I made many concessions to the Pope: not, however, in many important points; though certainly, at that time, I adored him in earnest. In fact, how despised and wretched a monk was I then; more like a lifeless body, than a human being! Whereas, in regard to the Pope, how great was his Majesty! The potentates of the earth dreaded his nod. How distressed was my heart, in that year 1517, and in the following; how submissive my mind then was to the hierarchy, not feignedly but really; nay, how I was almost driven to despair, through the agitations of care and fear and doubt: those secure spirits little know, who at this day insult the majesty of the Pope with much pride and arrogance. But I, who then alone sustained the danger, was not so certain, not so confident. I was ignorant of many things, which now, by the grace of God, I understand. I disputed: and I was open to conviction. Not finding satisfaction in the books of theologians and canonists, I wished to consult the living members of the Church itself.*

rather than in direct and avowed opposition to his authority.

In the year 1212, when the second application was made, we may well suppose, that the feeling of hereditary prescriptive veneration would be greatly abated, or, in old converts, perhaps altogether extinguished: but there is small difficulty in conceiving, that pious and sober-minded men

*There were indeed some godly souls, who entirely approved my propositions: but I did not consider their authority as of weight with me in spiritual concerns. The Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, and Monks, were the objects of my confidence. I waited for divine instruction with such ardent and continued eagerness and was so overloaded with cares, that I became almost stupid or distracted. I scarcely knew, when I was asleep, or when awake. At length, after I became enabled to answer every objection that could be brought against me from the Scriptures, one difficulty still remained, and only one: namely, that the Church ought to be obeyed. By the grace of Christ, I at last, overcame this difficulty also. Most certainly I had formerly a much greater veneration for the Roman Church, than those have; who, at this day, with a perverse spirit of opposition, extol Popery so exceedingly against me. Pref. in Luther. Oper. vol. i. cited by Milner in Hist. of Church, cent. xvi. chap. 3. vol. iv. p. 330—332.*

So little do I speculate in supposing such to have been the mental operations of Peter's French Converts from Popery, that, in the very nature of things, I am fully satisfied, that something strictly analogous must be the internal process experienced by every serious and devout person who is led honestly to work his painful way from the darkness and bondage of the Roman Church to the glorious light and liberty of the Gospel.



<p>482 THE VALLENCES [BOOK III.]</p> <p>would think it proper to make yet another experiment (perhaps too in deference to the less matured convictions of younger converts), before they finally separated themselves from Rome, as utterly apostatic, and, in system as well as in mere individuals, obstinately incorrigible.</p> <p>Under this impression (an impression, which, we know, long influenced the mighty mind of the Saxon Reformer), the second application, I suppose, was made; and, when the petition was absolutely refused, and when moreover two Orders of Friars were instituted with the direct object of counteraction; the pious and scrupulous French Valdenses would then feel, that, for the preservation of peace and unity, they had done all that they could do conscientiously *.</p> <p>In such a view of the matter, I am the more confirmed, because we find not, that any step of this description was taken in the life-time of Peter himself. The first application was made in the very year of his death: and, after an interval of thirty-three years, it was followed by a second. Thus, in each instance, the applicants were the <i>disciples</i> of the good merchant, when <i>he himself</i> had been called to his reward.</p> <p>Now this is precisely what we might expect. Peter, <i>born</i> and <i>educated</i> a Vaudois, though long possessed of knowledge merely speculative, had</p> <p>* Matt. x. 11. Acts xviii. 6.</p>		<p>CHAP. XII.] AND ALBIGENSES. 483</p> <p>no hereditary scruples to master: <i>he</i>, therefore, went to work, without the least stay or hesitation; and, while he lived, he had sufficient influence with his converts to prevent any act of submission to Rome. But, as soon as he died, the honest fears and doubts of those who were only <i>prose-lytes</i> very naturally prevailed: and, to satisfy weak consciences, an attempt was made to procure the papal sanction. Nor was it, until after the failure of yet a second attempt, that the French Valdenses became fully satisfied, that there can be no religious concord, between light and darkness, between Christ and Belial.</p> <p>Thus valueless is the first effort of Bossuet to shew: that the French Valdenses differed little or nothing from the Romanists at the time of their original separation.</p> <p>2. Nor is his second effort much more cogent and powerful than his first.</p> <p>The Poor Men of Lyons, he contends, on the authority of Reinerius, so far from denying the doctrine of Transubstantiation, actually maintained it.</p> <p>I have great doubts, whether Reinerius says <i>really</i> any such thing, as the Bishop puts into his mouth: for, after a mode not altogether uncommon with the French Prelate, a very important part of his testimony is entirely suppressed *.</p> <p>* Even if Reinerius favoured his opinion, which I venture to deny, he would still have to contend with the decisive testimony</p> <p>2 1 2</p>
<p>484 THE VALLENCES [BOOK III.]</p> <p>According to Reinerius, in his Treatise concerning heretics, the Poor Men of Lyons said, indeed as the Bishop correctly states: that <i>Transubstantiation does not take place in the hand of him who consecrates unworthily, but in the mouth of him who receives worthily</i> *. But then, what the Bishop forgets to state, these same Poor Men, according to the same Reinerius in the same place of the same Treatise, also said: that <i>the Mass is nothing because the Apostles had it not, and because it is celebrated for the sake of lucre</i>; and that, <i>beyond the precise words of Christ himself in the vulgar tongue, they could not receive the canon of the Mass</i>;</p> <p>of Stephen of Borbon, who flourished from the year 1223, to the year 1264. This writer says expressly, that the Valdenses refused to adore that which the Romanists believed to be the body of Christ: a mode of expression, which clearly imports, that the Valdenses did <i>not</i> believe the consecrated elements to be the body and blood of Christ through any material transubstantiation, and that they consistently refused on that precise ground to offer to them any religious worship.</p> <p>Item solum Deum adorandum dicunt omni genere adorationis: et dicunt peccare eos, qui crucem, vel illud quod nos credimus Corpus Christi, adorant; vel Sanctos alios a Deo, vel eorum imagines. Steph. Borbon. de Septem Donis Spiritus Sancti. in Richin. Dissert. de Valdenc. c. iii. § 4. artic. 17.</p> <p>The <i>Nos credimus</i> of necessity imports the <i>Illi non credunt</i>: and the <i>Illi non credunt</i> is the obvious cause of the <i>Illi non adorant</i>.</p> <p>* Item dicunt: quod transubstantiatio non fiat in manu indignè conficientis, sed in ore dignè sumentis. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. in Bibl. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 300.</p>		<p>CHAP. XII.] AND ALBIGENSES. 485</p> <p>and that <i>the oblation, made by Priests in the Mass, is nothing and profits nothing</i> *.</p> <p>This I apprehend, looks somewhat suspicious: and when we recollect that the term <i>Transubstantiation</i> was not brought into authorised ecclesiastical use until the year 1215, while the proselytism of the Poor Men was in active progress from the year 1160 to the year 1179, we are strongly tempted to conjecture, that Reinerius reported them rather in the phraseology of his adopted Church, than in their own proper phraseology; we are strongly tempted to conjecture, that what they <i>really</i> said was, that <i>a beneficial reception of Christ's body and blood depended, not upon the consecrating Priest, but upon the worthiness of the devout recipient</i>.</p> <p>It will be said, that this is conjecture. Be it so. Yet Bossuet, since he cites <i>Reinerius as edited by the Jesuit Gretser</i>, might as well, while his hand was in, have also cited <i>Reinerius as edited by Marten</i>: for there is, I believe, no doubt, that the Treatise, published by Marten as the Work of an anonymous author, and placed by him in his <i>The-saurus</i> immediately after the <i>Summa</i> of Reinerius, is, in truth, the production of Reinerius himself.</p> <p>† Item dicunt: quod Missa nihil sit, quia Apostoli eam non habebant, et fiat propter quæstum. Item Canonem Missæ non recipiunt, nisi tantum verba Christi vulgariter.—Item dicunt: quod oblatio, quæ fit in sacerdotibus in Missa, nihil sit, neque proficit. Reiner. de hæret. c. 5. p. 300.</p>



<p>486 THE VALLENCES [BOOK III.]</p> <p>Now, according to Reinerius, as speaking in <i>this</i> Work, the Poor Men of Lyons viewed the Eucharist in the same manner as all the Reformed Churches except the consubstantialising Church of the Lutherans.</p> <p><i>They believe not, says he, that the body and blood of Christ are truly present, but only blessed bread ; which, in a certain figure, is called The Body of Christ: as it is said, That rock was Christ, and the like*.</i></p> <p>* Corpus Christi et sanguinem non credunt verè esse, sed tantum panem benedictum; qui, in figura quadam, dicitur Corpus Christi: sicut dicitur, Petra autem erat Christus, et similia. Auctor. Anon. (scil. Reiner.) de hæ. Pauper. de Lugdun. in Marten. Thesaur. Anecd. vol. v. col. 1779.</p> <p>Reinerius, even as edited by Gretser, uses an expression, which implies, of necessity, that the Valdenses rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation.</p> <p>Siscidenses concordant cum Valdenses fere in omnibus, nisi quod recipiunt Eucharistiæ Sacramentum. Reiner. de hæret. c. vi. p. 301.</p> <p>The Siscidenses, it appears, <i>received</i> the Sacrament of the Eucharist. In this, they <i>differed</i> from the Valdenses. Therefore, by the very turn of the expression, the Valdenses did not receive it.</p> <p>Now the Valdenses, so far as I am aware, are never charged with rejecting <i>altogether</i> the supper of the Lord: and Bossuet himself, even on the professed authority of Reinerius, contends, that they went so far as to hold the doctrine of Transubstantiation</p> <p>What, then, can the passage mean: and what was it that the Valdenses did reject?</p> <p>The only reasonable answer, which can be given to this</p>	<p>CHAP. XII.] AND ALBIGENSES. 487</p> <p>3. We shall now, perhaps hear no more of the French Valdenses being stout Transubstantialists: but still, if we may believe the Bishop of Meaux, when they first separated themselves, they maintained very few dogmas, perhaps indeed not a single one, contrary to those of Rome.</p> <p>He builds, I suppose, upon the statement of</p> <p>question, is: that <i>They rejected the Sacrament of the Eucharist according to its definition in the Roman Church; while the Siscidenses, agreeing with them in almost all points save this, received that sacrament according to its popish definition.</i> In other words the Valdenses denied the doctrine of Transubstantiation.</p> <p>Bossuet felt the difficulty of this passage: and thence attempted to get over it, by asserting its import to be simply: that <i>The Siscidenses readily received the Eucharist from the hands of a Romish Priest, while the Valdenses, on the plea of that Priest's unworthiness, would not receive it from him.</i> Hist. des variat. livr. xi. § iii.</p> <p>The gloss bears the impress of Bossuet's ingenuity: but it is not, therefore, the less inadmissible.</p> <p>When Reinerius, as in the present passage, uses the word <i>recipio</i> nakedly and absolutely; he uses it only in the sense of <i>receiving or admitting or acquiescing</i> in some book or doctrine or ordinance.</p> <p>Thus, in the very same chapter as that wherein the present passage occurs, he says: <i>Scripta Patrum non recipiunt; and Istos (scil. Matthæum, Marcum, Lucam, et Joannem) dicunt recipiendos, et ipsi eos recipiunt; and Idem Joannes recipit totam Bibliam.</i> Reiner. de hæret. c. vi. p. 302, 303.</p> <p>The several expressions all convey one and the same idea. Consequently, the sense, which Bossuet would here gratuitously affix to the word, must be rejected.</p>
<p>488 THE VALLENCES [BOOK III.]</p> <p>Reinerius, as edited by Marten: a supposition, which, if correct, involves the point, that he <i>knew</i> Reinerius to have mentioned the rejection of Transubstantiation by the Poor Men of Lyons, though he has thought it expedient to <i>suppress</i> such knowledge. Be this, however, as it may, Reinerius says only, that <i>The contempt of ecclesiastical power was their first heresy, which, under the influence of Satan, precipitated them into innumerable errors:</i> and those errors, or pretended errors, he afterward gives at full length*. But, in neither of his Treatises, nor yet in his <i>Summa</i>, does he give the slightest hint: that, at their first separation under the teaching of Peter Valdo, they differed little, if at all, from the Church of Rome; and that their sentiments, as stated by him, were of a much later growth†.</p> <p>* Hæc fuit prima hæresis eorum, contemptus ecclesiasticæ potestatis. Ex hoc, traditi Satane, præcipitati sunt ab ipso in errores innumeros. Auctor. Anon. (scil. Reiner.) de hæ. Pauper. de Lugdun. in Marten. Thesaur. Anecd. vol. v. col. 1779.</p> <p>Thuanus seems never once to have suspected, that they scarcely differed from the Roman Church at the time of their first separation from it. See Thuan. Hist. lib. vi. § 16. vol. i. p. 221.</p> <p>† If Bossuet means only, that the French Proselytes of Peter the Vaudois did not instantaneously renounce <i>all</i> the errors and heresies of the Roman Church, but that they were <i>gradually</i> brought to the truth by their fully enlightened teacher: he very <i>probably</i> at least may speak correctly, though I am ignorant of the existence of any precise evidence for the direct</p>	<p>CHAP. XII.] AND ALBIGENSES. 489</p> <p>Let us, then, inquire, what dogmas these asserted papalising Valdenses are recorded to have held: and, that the inquiry may be quite unexceptionable, I shall resort to the Reinerius of Gretser.</p> <p><i>The Valdenses say: that the Roman Church is not the Church of Jesus Christ: but that it is a Church of Malignants, and that it fell away under Sylvester when the venom of temporal possessions was infused into the Church*.</i></p> <p><i>They say: that they themselves are the Church of Christ, because they observe the doctrine of Christ, agreeably to the words and examples of the Gospel and the Apostles†.</i></p> <p><i>They erroneously contend: that all vices and sins are in the Church; and that they themselves alone live justly‡.</i></p> <p>establishment of such an opinion. In that case, their progress would only resemble the progress of Luther. Yet it would, I suppose, be far more rapid: because Luther had painfully to search out the scriptural way by himself; whereas the French Proselytes had the advantage of an instructor, who being born and bred a Vaudois, had known in speculation the sincere Gospel from his very childhood.</p> <p>* Dicunt: quod Romana Ecclesia non sit Ecclesia Jesu Christi, sed sit Ecclesia Malignantium; et quod defecerit sub Sylvestro, quando venenum temporalium infusum est in Ecclesiam. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. in Bibl. Patr. vol. xiii. p. 300.</p> <p>† Dicunt: quod ipsi sint Ecclesia Christi; quia Christi doctrinam, Evangelii et Apostolorum verbis et exemplis, observant. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 300.</p> <p>‡ Secundus error est: quod omnia vitia et peccata in Eccle-</p>



*They falsely say: that, except themselves, almost no one preserves evangelical doctrine in the Church\*.*

*They say: that they are the truly poor in spirit; and that, on account of righteousness and faith, they suffer persecution†.*

*They say: that they are the Church of Jesus Christ‡.*

*They say: that the Roman Church, on account of her superfluous ornaments, is the Harlot in the Apocalypse§.*

*They say: that they despise all the statutes of the Church, because they are burdensome and too numerous||.*

*They say: that the Pope is the head of all errors¶.*

sia sint, et quod ipsi soli justè vivant. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 300.

\* Tertius est: quod doctrinam evangelicam pæne nullus servet in Ecclesia, præter eos. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 300.

† Quartus: quod ipsi sint verè pauperes spiritu, et persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam et fidem. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 300.

‡ Quintus: quod ipsi sint Ecclesia Jesu Christi. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 300.

§ Sextus: quod Romana Ecclesia sit meretrix in Apocalypsi propter superfluum ornatum. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 300.

|| Septimus: quod omnia statuta Ecclesiæ contemnunt, quia sunt gravia et plurima. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 300.

¶ Octavus: quod Papa sit caput omnium errorum. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 300.

*They can repeat by heart, in the vulgar tongue, the whole text of the New Testament and great part of the Old: and, adhering to the text alone, they reject decretals and decrees with the sayings and expositions of the Saints\*.*

*They despise excommunication: and they disregard absolution†.*

*They reject the indulgences of the Church: and deride dispensations: and believe not, that a breach of Monastic Rule is sinful‡.*

*They esteem none to be Saints, except the Apostles alone§.*

*They invoke no Saint: but pray to God exclusively||.*

probatur, pro fabulis habent. Item dicunt, quod Sacra Scriptura eundem effectum habeat in vulgari, quam in latino. Unde etiam conficiunt in vulgari, et dant sacramenta. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 300.

\* Item, Testamenti Novi textum, et magnam partem Veteris, vulgariter sciunt corde. Item, decretales et decreta et dicta et expositiones sanctorum respuunt, et tantum inhaerent textui. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 300.

† Item, excommunicationem contemnunt; et absolutionem non curant. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 300.

‡ Item, indulgentias Ecclesiæ respuunt: et dispensationes derident. Irregularitatem non credunt. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 300.

§ Item, nullum sanctum credunt, nisi Apostolos. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 300.

|| Nullum sanctum invocant, nisi Deum solum. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 300.

*They say: that the Prelates are the Scribes; and the Religious Orders, the Pharisees\*.*

*They say: that the Pope and all the Bishops are homicides on account of the wars which they stir up†.*

*They say: that we are not to obey the Prelates, but God alone‡.*

*They condemn all the sacraments of the Church§.*

*They say: that the Church has erred in forbidding the Clergy to marry||.*

*If any thing be preached which cannot be proved by the text of the Bible, they deem it a mere fable: and they say, that Holy Scripture in the vulgar tongue has quite as beneficial an effect, as it has in the Latin language; whence they consecrate and give the sacraments in the vulgar tongue¶.*

\* Nonus: quod Prælati sint Scribæ; et Religiosi, Pharisei. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 300.

† Decimus: quod Papa et omnes Episcopi sunt homicidæ propter bella. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 300.

‡ Undecimus, quod non sit obediendum Prælati, sed tantum Deo. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 300.

§ Omnia sacramenta Ecclesiæ damnant. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 300. This only means, that they condemn the sacraments as administered and defined by the Romish Priesthood. Accordingly, they themselves administered Baptism and the Lord's Supper; though it was truly said of them, *Omaes exorcismos et benedictiones baptismi reprobant*; and, *Quod Missa nihil sit, quia Apostoli eam non habebant*. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 300.

|| Item, quod Ecclesia erraverit, dicunt matrimonium Clericis prohibendo. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 300.

¶ Item, quicquid prædicatur, quod per textum Bibliæ non

*They despise canonisations, translations, and vigils, of the Saints\*.*

*They laugh at the superstition of the Laity, in choosing tutelar Saints by lot at the altar†.*

*They never read the Litany: and they disbelieve the legends of the Saints‡.*

*As for the miracles of the Saints, they make a mock at them: and their relics they despise§.*

*The holy cross they deem no better than a log of common wood||.*

*They abhor the sign of the cross on account of Christ's punishment: nor do they ever sign themselves with it¶.*

*They say: that the doctrine of Christ and the Apostles, without the statutes of the Church, is quite sufficient for salvation; and that the tradition of the Church is the tradition of the Pharisees\*\*.*

\* Item, canonizationes, translationes, et vigillas, sanctorum, contemnunt. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 300.

† Item, Laicos, qui sorte sanctos eligunt in altari, derident. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 301.

‡ Item, Letaniam nunquam legunt: legendas sanctorum non credunt. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 301. They objected not to Litanies in the abstract, but to such blasphemous trumpery, I suppose, as the Litany of the Virgin and the like.

§ Item miracula sanctorum subsannant. Item, reliquias sanctorum contemnunt. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 301.

|| Item, sanctam crucem reputant, ut simplex lignum. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 301.

¶ Item, signum sanctæ crucis horrent, propter supplicium Christi: nec unquam signant se. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 301.

\*\* Item dicunt, quod doctrina Christi et Apostolorum, sine



*They despise all ecclesiastical customs, which are not read in the Gospel: such as Candlemas, Palm-Sunday, the Reconciliation of Penitents, the adoration of the Cross on Good-Friday, the Feast of Easter, and the Festivals of Christmas and the Saints\*.*

*They despise, likewise, all dedications and benedictions and consecrations of candles, flesh, palms, chrism, fire, wax, and the like†.*

*Holy water they reckon no better than simple water‡.*

*Images and pictures they pronounce to be idolatrous§.*

*Processions, whether festive or mournful, they reject||.*

statutis Ecclesiæ, sufficiat ad salutem; quod traditio Ecclesiæ sit traditio Phariseorum. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 301.

\* Omnes consuetudines Ecclesiæ approbatas, quas in Evangelio non legunt, contemnunt: sicut Festum Luminum, Palmarum, Reconciliationem Penitentium, Adorationem Crucis in Parascene, Festum Paschæ, Christi et Sanctorum Festa, spernunt. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 301.

† Item, omnes dedicationes, benedictiones, et consecrationes, candelarum, carniū, palmarum, chrismatis, ignis, cerei, Agni Paschalis, mulieris post partum, peregrinorum, sacrorum locorum, sacrarum personarum, vestium, salis, et aquæ. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 301.

‡ Aquam benedictam dicunt esse, ut simplicem. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 301.

§ Imagines et picturas dicunt esse idolatricas. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 301.

|| Item, processiones festivas ut Paschæ, et lugubres ut dies

*They despise the sepulchre of the Lord and the sepulchres of the Saints\*.*

*They say: that services for the dead, masses for the defunct, oblations at funerals, visitations of tombs, and suffrages for the departed, are no way profitable to souls†.*

*All these errors they hold, because they deny Purgatory: saying, that there are only two ways; one, of the elect to heaven; another, of the damned, to hell‡.*

*They say: that one Pater Noster is worth more, than the jingling of ten bells and the Oblation of one Mass§.*

Rogationum et funerum, respuunt. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 301.

\* Item, sepulchrum Domini, et sepulchra sanctorum, contemnunt. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 301.

† Item dicunt, quod exequiæ mortuorum, Missæ defunctorum, oblationes funerum, testamenta, legata, visitatio sepulchrorum, vigiliæ lectæ, anniversarius, tricesimus, septimus, suffragia, non prosint animabus. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 301.

‡ Hos omnes errores habent, quia negant Purgatorium: dicentes, tantum duas vias esse; scilicet, unam, electorum, ad cælum; aliam, damnatorum, ad infernum. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 301.

§ Item dicunt, quod unum Pater Noster plus valeat, quam sonus decem campanarum, et plus quam Missa. Reiner. de hæret. c. v. p. 301.

It may not be useless to subjoin the summary of their doctrines, which has been given by Thuanus.

Eorum hæc dogmata ferebantur: Ecclesiam Romanam, quoniam veræ Christi fidei renunciaverit Babylonicam Meretricem esse, et arborem illam sterilem quam ipse Christus diris

*These are the dutiful and conforming sons of the Church, with whom Bossuet is so delighted, that I must needs, in conclusion, repeat his well-merited eulogium.*

*When the Poor men of Lyons, says the Bishop of Meaux, separated themselves from the Church, they had only very few dogmas contrary to our own: perhaps, indeed, none totally.—Their system was, in truth, a species of Donatism.*

*Certainly, a contented mind is one of the greatest of earthly blessings.*

devovit at revellendam esse præcepit; proinde minimè parendum Pontifici et Episcopis, qui ejus errores fovent; monasticam vitam Ecclesiæ sentinam ac plutonium esse; vana illius vota, nec nisi fœdis puerorum amoribus servientia; Presbyterii Ordines magnæ bestię, quæ in Apocalypsi commemoratur, notas esse; ignem purgatorium, solemne sacrum, templorum encœnia, cultum sanctorum, ac pro mortuis propitiatorium, Satanae commenta esse. His præcipuis ac certis eorum doctrinæ capitibus alia afficta, de conjugio, resurrectione, animæ statu post mortem, et de cibis. Thuan. Hist. lib. vi. § 16. vol. i. p. 221.