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A STUDY OF THE ALBIGENSES
IN THE LIGHT OF
THE PRINCIPLE OF PURITANISM

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

A. The Subject

While the armies of the crusaders were spending themselves in their desperate efforts to expel the infidel and to re-establish the church on the holy hills of Palestine, there was a disturbing movement at home which was spending itself in a desperate effort against the forces of corruption and superstition within the holy precincts of the Church, in order to possess what they believed to be the true religion as taught by the apostles. In the eyes of the Church, this movement was nothing else than the work of Satan himself; it was heresy, and as Sismondi has said of those who participated in the crusades against the Albigenses of Southern France, "Heretics were, in their eyes, outcasts from the human race,....and they congratulated themselves on the horror they felt for the sectaries." (1) This is the situation which is to be the field of our study.

We propose to study this field under the thesis that this reaction, or this heretical depravity, as it was officially called, which centered in southern France found its controlling spirit in what has sometimes been called the principle of puritanism.

By the principle of puritanism we mean that which has often been recognized by thoughtful historians. For instance,

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(1) Sismondi, pp.74, 75.

Hatch, in attempting to analyze that which gave impetus to the movement of the second century, commonly known as Montanism, uses the following figure of speech: "it was a beating of the wings of pietism against the iron bars of organization. It was the first, though not the last, rebellion of the religious sentiment against official religion."(1)

There have been times when the Church for various reasons has lost its spiritual freedom and has become the servant of form, or dogma, or of rule of life. From the midst of such a situation there has often come a reaction. Sometimes such a counter movement from a doctrinal standpoint has not been founded upon what the Church holds to be orthodox faith, but from a practical and moral point of view they have been essentially puritan. There came a time in those first two centuries when the principle of solidarity, "the fusion of the individual into an organic body where the interests of the few are subordinated to the well-being of the whole"(2) assumed a great deal of importance. "Then there came a profound reaction. Against the growing tendency of things which afterwards firmly established itself,....some communities, first of Asia Minor, then of Africa, then of Italy, raised a vigorous, and, for a time, a successful protest. They reasserted the place of spiritual gifts as contrasted with official rule. They maintained that the revelation of Christ through the Spirit was not a temporary phenomenon of Apostolic days, but a constant fact of Christian

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(1) Hatch, p.125
(2) Ibid., p.122

life. They combined with this the preaching of a higher morality than that which was tending to become current."(1) As this movement known as Montanism, regardless of its theological errors, took on the nature of a "reaction of a legal principle within the bosom of Christianity", (2) we have cause to think of it as one of the first expressions of this principle of Puritanism. In the fifteenth century, the revival which was led by the great preacher Savonarola was another expression of the same spirit. (3)

So we believe that there is this essential principle which lies dormant in the bosom of mankind, such that when the forms of religion bring upon mankind a spiritual bondage, and religion is deprived of the reality of spiritual values, retaining only the forms of religion, so polluted and rendered incapable of satisfying the longings of the human soul, this spirit then arises in the human heart which revolts against this bondage and demands a higher and better life, seeking to lay hold on that which does satisfy its inmost needs.

We shall, therefore, in this study of the sect known as the Albigenses, seek to understand it as a reaction to the Medieval Church in the light of this principle.

In our treatment of this subject, we do not propose to include a complete research as to the origin and history of the sect; (4) nor an apologia for their theology. Both

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(1) Op.Cit.p.123; Cf. also Allen, pp.100,101.

(2) Neander, Hist. of Chr. Rel. & Ch., IV,p.523.

(3) Note Cowan, p.156

(4) It is the opinion of many that C. Schmidt's "Hist. et Doctr. de la Secte des Cathares ou Albigenes" remains the standard work on this subject.

of these lines lead out into realms which are so obscure that each one becomes a major problem in itself. Only in so far as it is necessary to our understanding of this movement, shall we enter into a discussion of history and doctrine. Our quest is for that which is more fundamental than either history or doctrine, at least a partial explanation of the one, and not to be lost sight of because of the vagaries of the other -- the longing of the religious nature for "the vision by which each soul may see Christ for himself through direct and immediate communion with the Spirit of God." (1)

B. Plan of Procedure.

Our plan of procedure will lead us along three concurrent lines. First, it is necessary that we know something of the historic conditions out of which the Albigenses originated; secondly, we shall try to set forth the doctrines and practices of the sect; and thirdly, we shall give a resume of the historic conflict with the Roman Church. The common meeting point we hope to show to be this, that after all, whatever may be said about them, there was at the heart of this movement a longing for purity of life, for freedom from the dread superstition of the common religion, and a release from the bondage in which they were held fast by the Church. In a word, that it was the recrudescence of the principle of puritanism.

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(1) Allen, Chr. Institutions, p.103.

C. Sources

For a better understanding of the field which we are to study, a word is in order in regard to the sources concerning the sect of the Albigenses. It is most unfortunate that we are almost without a single authoritative piece of literature which has come down to us from these people themselves. (1) The reason for this lies in the fact that their enemies through the Inquisition exercised the utmost of care in stamping out all traces of them so that all heretical writings were completely destroyed with scarcely a piece remaining that has come to light.(2) "The origin of the sect of the Cathares (3) is surrounded with darkness difficult to dissipate. No historical witness, either of the sect itself or of the writers which fought against it, throws upon this question a sufficient light; no author, either contemporary or later, expresses himself in exact terms on this subject, and one is forcibly reduced to conjectures."(4) Now, therefore, we have practically nothing of

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(1) Schaff in his Hist. of the Chr.Ch., VolV, Pt I, pp463 cites one piece published by Cunitz in Beitrage zu den theol. Wissenschaften 1854, IV. Paul D. Alphandery in his artical in the Ency.Brit.(11ed.) on the Albigenses says, "It is exceedingly difficult...to form any very precise idea of the Albigensian doctrines, as our knowledge of them is derived from their opponents, and the very rare texts emanating from the Albig. which have come down to us (e.g. the Rituel Cathare de Lyon and the Nouveau Testament en provencal, contain very inadequate information concerning their metaphysical principles and moral practice." Conybeare in "The Key of Truth" gives the Albigensian ritual which is cited by Alphandery. However, it is insufficient to make conclusive statements concerning their beliefs. See also Lea, Vol I, p.61.

(2) Holmes, The Albig. or Cath. Heresy, p.11. Also Bompiani, p.20-24.

(3) The general name for this heresy. From katharos, the pure.

(4) Schmidt, p.1, trans.

of their own writings; only that which has been written about them by others. Of the latter, such information as we have has come through two channels: on the one hand, from their enemies of the Roman Church, including some of the inquisitors who were active in their persecution; and on the other hand, from those who might be called their friends, the Waldenses. These latter, whether because of the common enemy or because of actual similarity of doctrine, have received the Albigenses into their fold and appear to have shared a common purpose. Perrin in his history says of them, "The Albigenses, which we are to speake of in this History, differ nothing at all from the waldenses, in their beleefe; but they are only so called of the Countrey of Albi, where they dwelt, and had their first beginning. The Popes have condemned them as Waldenses; the Legates have made warre against them was possessing the beleefe of the Waldenses; the Monkes Inquisitors have formed their Proces andiindictments as against Waldenses; the people have persecuted them, as being such, and themselves have thought themselves honored by that title, upon the assured knowledge that they had of the puritie of the doctrine, being the self-same with the Waldenses; in respect whereof, many Historiographers call them Waldenses."(1)

These two widely different opinions give rise to two widely separated views as to their doctrines and practices: their enemies making them scarcely worthy of the name

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(1) Perrin: Hist. of Albigenses (1619) Book I Ch I, Pp 1-4. Perrin cites here Iaques de Riberia, in Collectanees urbis Tolozae.

Christian, while their friends see them to be the keepers of the true apostolic Christianity and in a sense a foregleam of the faith as possessed by the Reformation churches.

(1) However this question is a problem in itself, and regardless of whether it should be answered one way or the other, our thesis as to their relation to the principle of puritanism still stands (2).

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(1) "I marvel at the very natural conclusion of the chronologist Genebrard: that the theological parents of the Calvinists, or the members of the French Reformed Churches, were the Petrobrusians, and the Henricians, and the Albigenses." See Faber, p.182.

(2) See Perrin, Faber, Jones, Bompiani, and others who find them martyrs to true Christianity. A large part of Faber's book is devoted to a study of the writings of their Roman enemies showing their inconsistencies and the manner in which they wilfully misrepresented these people. On the other hand, Schmidt, Compayre, Dollinger, Mosheim, and many other modern historians are inclined to accept the evidence as it is and to condemn them as followers of the Manichaeian heresy. Nearly all of them, however, admit the uncertainty of their position. Newman in his Introductory Essay on the Manichaeian Heresy in the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series, Vol. IV, p.31, expresses the somewhat typical attitude: "It is not safe to attach too much importance to the mere fact that these parties were stigmatized as Manichaeians by their enemies. Even in the Reformation time and since, individuals and small parties have appeared which in some features strongly resembled the ancient Manichaeians. Manichaeism was a product of the East, and in the East it met with most acceptance. To the spirit of the West it was altogether foreign, and only in a greatly modified form could it ever have flourished there. It might persist for centuries as a secret society, but it could not endure the light." This question awaits further light and in itself would provide an extensive line of research.

APPENDED NOTE: "Forerunners of Saint Francis and Other Studies" Boston and New York, 1927, by Ellen Scott Davison. This book has come from the press since this study was completed and although this thesis itself could not profit from it, the writer desires to give recognition to its great value.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORIC CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH
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A. Their Historical Antecedents

It was while the theocratic program of Gregory VII. and Innocent III. was being so vigorously pressed that this tremendous revolt developed which, before it was put down, drenched the soil of Southern France with the blood of its martyrs. For nearly five centuries heresy had not presented any problem for the western Church (1) but now there arose this rebellion, of which the Albigenses were only one group in a larger movement, a movement which was not confined to Southern France or to the thirteenth century. On the other hand "it over-ran Southern and western Europe from Constantinople to the Pyrenees and from the Mediterranean to the North Sea. And, far from being confined to any one half-century, it lasted from the tenth century, when it first appeared (in Bulgaria), till towards the end of the fifteenth, when it finally died out (in Bosnia)". (2)

1. Manichaeans.

The exact origin of this heresy, of which the more general name is catharism, or the puritans, (3) is unknown. Nor can we be sure of the precise time from which their rise should be dated, (4). It is certain, however, that the

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(1) Schaff, V, Pt 1, p.451.
(3) Cf. Note (1), p.5.

(2) Holmes, p.8.
(4) Holmes, p.43.

origin of the catharist heresy was in Asia and eastern Europe and not in western Europe. Primarily because they were accused by their persecutors of the Manichaeian heresy, many authorities trace their origin to the Manichaeians. Manichaeism had been one of the early foes of the Church and had been everywhere persecuted by the Roman Empire (1). They appear to have become very numerous in eastern Europe and Asia Minor during the tenth and eleventh centuries (2).

2. Paulicians.

Vincent says: "From one of its leaders, Paul of Samosata, it acquired the name of Paulicianism. The Cathari who sprang from the same Manichaeian source originated in eastern Europe, probably in Bulgaria and their first traces in the west are found in France and Flanders" (3).

Holmes, whose opinion is based primarily on the work of Schmidt, would substantially agree with this, for "however Catharism may have originated, it is probable that it owed its success as a proselytizing religion, partly to its having been taught to the Slav peoples in their mother tongues, partly to its being a departure from Latin orthodoxy, partly to its having fallen into line with the dualistic teaching of the Pauline missionaries and with the crude dualism which the Slav pagans had in some sort borrowed from Christianity, partly to the novelty, the simplicity and intelligibility of its teaching, partly to the appeal

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- (1) Vincent, Age of Hildebrand, p.303.
- (2) Newman: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, 1st Series, Vol. 4, p.31.
- (3) Vincent, p.303.

it made to man's higher nature -- to his capacity for self-sacrifice and self-denial. " (1).

Faber points in the same direction: "Of the more modern Albigenses of France, the ancient Paulicians of Armenia were clearly, I think, the theological ancestors." (2) Yet he also declares that "the Paulicians, though perpetually by their enemies charged with the Manichaeian heresy, uniformly denied the justice of the accusation; and always rejected, with strong expressions of abhorrence, both Manes and Manichaeism" (3).

Mosheim in a like manner declares, "These Paulicians are by the Greeks called Manichaeians." But as we later find the Albigenses denying any connection with the Manichaeian doctrines, so do we find the Paulicians denying the same connection. Mosheim goes on to cite a certain one Photius (4) who wrote four books against the Manichaeians and Paulicians which give their history up to the year 870. Photius declares that the Paulicians declared their abhorrence of Manes (5) and of his doctrine. He also cites as further evidence, Peter Siculus, who spent nine months among the Paulicians at Tibrica as the envoy of Basil of Macedonia. Peter Siculus in his history agrees in the main with Photius (6). Peter Siculus and Photius also tell us that the Paulicians "received the whole of the New Testament, except the two Epistles of Peter, which they rejected

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(1) Holmes, pp. 45, 46

(2) Faber, Book II, ch. I, p.32.

(3) Ibid, p.54.

(4) Died 886.

(5) The founder of the Manichaeian sect.

(6) Mosheim, Eccl.Hist., Bk.III, Pt.II, Ch.V, Art.5, Vol.I, p.576.

for reasons unknown: and they received it unaltered, or in its usual form, as received by other Christians." (1) However, Photius and Peter Siculus go on to say that the Paulicians had their own interpretations on certain portions of this scripture which were far from those of the Church (2).

Faber is convinced that "this single circumstance alone (their possession of the New Testament) independently of all other evidence, is amply sufficient to demonstrate the impossibility of their pretended Manichaeism -- they were so fully convinced both of its truth and of its vital importance to salvation, that, rather than abandon it and embrace the unscriptural superstitions of their persecutors, they readily submitted to death under its most appalling aspect and under its most painful nature." (3).

Sophia Bompiani gives us some remarkable details of the faith of these people: "The emperors of the Eastern empire, who were already slughtering Manichaeans, extended their persecutions to these evangelical Christians. Constantine Sylvanus was ordered to be stoned by his own disciples, all of whom but one refused to stone him. Simeon, the imperial officer who directed the persecution, was himself converted, and after struggling with his conscience three years at the Court of Constantinople, returned, became the successor of Sylvanus and was burned, together with the hundreds of Paulicians, on one huge funeral pile." (4).

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- (1) Op.cit., p.577., quoting Photius I c.p.11 and Pet.Sic.p.19
- (2) Mosheim: Bk III, Pt II, Ch V, Art 5, p.577
- (3) Faber, pp. 55, 56
- (4) Bompiani, pp.20-24.

B. Their Spread in Europe.

1. Migration from the East.

"Wearied out with incessant persecution in the East, the suffering Paulicians meditated at length, a retreat into the West." (1) The earliest flight of these people appears to have taken place in the year 755. These were followed by others and "shortly after 870 a considerable body of them passed over, from Asia into Thrace, whence they advanced into Bulgaria. But finding little rest some migrated further westward into Germany, Italy, and France!"(2)

In Western Europe "they were distinguished by a number of names such as Patarins, Publicans, Gazarians, Wurlupins, Runcarians or Hungarians apparently from Hungary, and Bulgarians certainly from Bulgaria; among which, that of the Cathari or Puritans seems chiefly to have predominated, until, at length, from their abounding in the neighborhood of Albi, they received the appellation by which they are now most commonly known of Albigenses or Albinenses or Albigeois."(3) Other names by which they were called by their enemies might be added to this list: "Paulicians, Petrobrusions, Henricians, Manichaeans", (4) "Esperonists, Josephists, Arnoldists,"(5), Concorrezans, Bagnolesians, Bogomiles,(6), and Waldenses (7). In Germany there were people of this description called

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(1) Faber, p.62. (2) Ibid, pp.63, 64; Bompiani pp. 20-24.
(3) Faber, pp.63, 64. (4) Bompiani, pp.20-24. Petrobrusions from Peter Bruis; Henricians from one Henry. See Perrin in next note. (5) Perrin Bk I, Ch I, pp 1-4. These names were given to them as disciples of Esperon, one Joseph, and Arnold Hott.
(6) Moeller pp.386-390. (7) Perrin, Bk I, Ch I, pp 1-4. (8) Mosheim pp.452-453. II, Ch V, pp 73, 74.

"brethren of the free Spirit, and in some other countries, Beghards".(1)

3. Difficulty of Classification.

Various attempts have been made to classify these groups according to their doctrines but, due probably to the limited sources of knowledge concerning them, the results of such efforts differ so widely that they are of little consequence. However most historians do admit various "degrees of heresy" among them (1). Generally they come under the name of cathari. It is important for us to note that in the eyes of the Church, all were heretics and seldom was there "respect of persons". In the words of Pope Lucius III.:

"We declare all Catharists, Paterines, and those who call themselves 'the Poor of Lyons', the Passignes, Josephists, Arnoldists, to lie under a perpetual anathema. And because some, under a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof, as the apostle saith, assume to themselves the authority of preaching; whereas the same apostle saith, 'how shall they preach except they be sent' -- we therefore conclude under the same sentence of a perpetual anathema, all those who either being forbid or not sent do notwithstanding presume to preach publicly or privately, without any authority received either from the Apostolic See, or from the bishops of their respective dioceses: As also all those who are not afraid to hold or teach any opinions concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, baptism, the remission of sins, matrimony, or any sacraments of the Church, differing from what the holy church of Rome doth preach and observe: and generally all those whom the same church of Rome, or the several bishops in their dioceses, with the advice of their clergy, or the clergy themselves, in case of a vacancy of the See, with the advice if need be, of neighboring bishops, shall judge to be heretics. And we likewise declare all entertainers and defenders of the said heretics, and those that have shewed any favour ~~or~~ given countenance to them, thereby strengtenuing them in their heresy, whether they be called comforted, believers, or perfect, or with

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(1) Moeller, pp. 386-390.

whatsoever superstitious name they disguise themselves, to be liable to the same sentence." (1)

So it is that we are dealing with those of the Catharists that centered in southern France about the city of Toulouse and the city of Albi from which the name Albigenses is derived. (2).

4. First appearance in Western Europe.

"The first congregation of this sect in Europe is said to have been discovered at Orleans in France, A.D. 1017 in

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(1) Decree of Pope Lucius III. against Heretics, A.D. 1181. See Wm. Jones' Hist. of Chr. Ch. Vol. II, Ch V, Sect I, pp. 15-18.

(2) Opinions differ as to the time when the name "Albigenses" was first imposed. Faber, p.64, says: "The Benedictine, who wrote the General History of Languedoc, contends, that it was not older than the year 1208, having been given to the religionists of Southern France at the commencement of the crusade against them. He supposes that they were thus denominated from the circumstances of their having been condemned as heretics in the council held in the year 1176 at Lombers in the diocese of Albi." Bompiani accepts 1176 as the time when they were first so called but to our knowledge they were only designated under the name Cathari on that occasion. See Bompiani, pp. 20-24. Alphandery, however, says that the name was used in 1181 by the chronicler Geoffroy de Vigeois. See his article on the Albigenses in the Ency. Britt.

the reign of king Robert." (1) About the same time in the year 1030 Catharism made its first public appearance in Italy. (2) "Its headquarters were at the castle of Monteforte near Turin, and it counted among its supporters many nobles who resented the exactions and injustices of their feudal lord, the archbishop of Milan." (3) For a while Catharism is lost sight of in Italy until about the middle of the twelfth century it was found to have established itself in Lombardy "with a strong organization" which lingered on defying the efforts of the popes to uproot it until the early part of the fourteenth century. (4)

5. Spread in Southern France.

But as one has said, it was in southern France, and particularly that part which has been called Languedoc, that Catharism won its greatest and most enduring triumph against the Church of Rome. "The land of heretics stretched from the Italian Alps to the west of the upper waters of the River Garonne. It was bounded on the south by the Mediterranean Sea and the Pyrenees". (5) Thus the heresy made rapid progress

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(1) Mosheim, BkIII, PtII, Ch V, pp.73, 74. "An Italian woman is stated to have been its founder and teacher. Its head men were ten canons of the church of the Holy Cross at Orleans, all eminent for their learning and piety, but especially two of them, Lisoius and Stephen; the congregation was composed of numerous citizens, not of the lowest rank and condition. The impious doctrines maintained by those canons being made known by Heribert, a priest, and Arefastus, a Norman nobleman, king Robert assembled a council at Orleans, and left no means untried to bring them to a better mind. But nothing could induce them to give up the opinions which they had embraced. They were, therefore, burnt alive."

(2) Holmes, p.48. (3) Ibid, p.48. (4) Ibid, pp. 49, 50.

(5) Ibid, pp. 53, 54. There has never been any one name for that region. Holmes explains that his reason for designating the land of the heretics as being the "languedoc" was spoken in all parts of that land and that the district which was afterward known as the province of Languedoc was, with Toulouse, the

such that Moeller says that in this region "everything seemed to rise in opposition to the church and the hated clergy."(1). Perrin tells us in his account that "there were many that gave ear to their reasons in the diocese of Rhodes, Cahors, Agen, Toulouze, and Narbonne.....They were in such a manner multiplied, that in the yeere 1200 they possessed the cities of Toulouze, Apaines, Montauban, Villemur, Saint Antonin, Puech, Laurence, Gastres, Lombres, Carcassone, Beziers, Narbonne, Beaucaire, Avignon, Tarascon, the Count Venesin; and in Dauphine Crest Arnaud and Monteil-Amar. And which is more, they had many great Lords who tooke part with them, that is to say, the Earle Remonde of Toulouze, Remond Earle of Foix, the Vicount of Beziers, Gaston Lord of Bearne, the Earle of Carmain, the Earle of Bigorre, the Lady of Laisaur, and divers others, of whom we shall make mention in their due place. And besides all these, the Kings of Aragon and of England, have many times defended their case, by reason of that alliance that they had with the Earle Remond of Toulouze."

(2) The Catharists appear to have been of such strength and community of purpose that in 1167 they held a council at St. Felix de Garaman, near Toulouze (3). So rapid was the progress of this heresy that it thus became by the middle of the twelfth century, the dominant religion of Languedoc.

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chief theatre of the Albigensian crusade and the consequent wars."

(1) Moeller, pp.398-403. See also Orton, pp.263, 264.

(2) Perrin, Bk I, Ch I, pp.1-4. Here he cites Jaques de Riberia in his Collections of the Citie of Toulouze and Hologaray in his History of Foix.

(3) See Moeller, pp.386-390 and pp. 398-403. Also Weber's article on the Albigenses in the Cath. Ency.

To sum up this whole matter, the ancestors of the Albigenses and of the other Catharist sects in southern France and of other parts of western Europe, appear to have come from Asia -- at least their ancestors in thought and in purpose. Moreover they came from territory which had been infested with the Manichaeian heresy, and whether or not they were Manichaeians themselves, they were accused of holding those doctrines. In the early part of the eleventh century these sects appear in Europe and spread to such an extent that, according to the Inquisitor Reinerius, in the twelfth century no fewer than sixteen churches appear to have been scattered over Europe from Bulgaria to Gascony with a regularly associated community which amounted to scarcely 4,000 but with so many more "loosely connected proselytes whom they styled believers" that "they were "absolutely innumerable".(1)

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(1) Faber, p.66. "Reinerius is commonly said to have composed his Work about the year 1254."

CHAPTER III

THE DOCTRINES AND PRACTICES OF THE ALBIGENSES
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A. Theological Beliefs

The difficulty of dealing with the Albigenses with respect to their doctrines has already been explained (1). Without doubt, there is much truth in both the "favorable" and the "unfavorable" estimates of them. It is agreed among most historians that the Albigenses have been misrepresented by their enemies, and the more candid and intelligent among the inquisitors have admitted that many stories were circulated about them without any foundation in fact (2). On the other hand, with the evidence before us as we have it at the present time, one cannot maintain the attitude of scholarship and include all the varieties of the Cathari within the same doctrinal fold as the Waldenses with their "purity of religion", as has been given to us by Perrin (3). Belhomme faced this difficulty when he wrote, "The fact is that the name Albigenses should not be limited to the designation of a single heresy having its individual existence; but it should be taken in a general sense, and having served as a common designation for several heresies united and joined against the Roman Church".(4). Therefore in view of our thesis we propose to take that which is not so favorable and if we can find in the movement from that

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(1) See our Introduction. (2) Lea, p.101. (3) See Preface to his Hist. of Wald. and Alb. See also Sheldon, p.233. (4) Belhomme: L'Heresie des Alb. p.7. trans.

point of view the operation of the principles of puritanism, surely then the more favorable representation of them, if it should be proved to be the true one, would only the more completely substantiate our position.

Let us consider their theological beliefs under these five points which distinguish them from the Roman Church; first, their dualistic idea of God; secondly, their doctrine of Christ; thirdly, the consolamentum; fourthly, their doctrine of the Holy Scriptures; and lastly, their doctrine of the church.

1. Their Idea of God.

It is generally accepted among modern historians that the Albigenses held a dualistic idea of God (1). Schmidt goes so far as to say that Catharism "is something other than a heresy; Christianity is monotheistic, Catharism is ditheistic, (and) the two religions do not have a common base between them"(2). Some authorities, Mosheim and Neander, for instance, would distinguish two different classes: The one maintained "two eternal first causes of all things, the God of light, who was the father of Jesus Christ, and the prince of darkness, by whom they suppose the visible world to have been created;" the other class admitted but "the one first cause, the father of Jesus Christ, and the supreme God, by whom, they affirmed, the first matter was produced; but they added to this, that the evil ðemon, after his revolt from God, digested and separated this matter into

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(1) See Schaff p 471; Lea Vol I p 91; Cowan pl16; Sheldon p 255; Vincent p 303; Waterman p 436; Walker p 249; Neander p 566; Flick pp 560-562; and others. (2) Schmidt pp 169-173, trans.

the four elements, so that it could be formed into a world" (1). Yet in the decree of Pope Lucius which we have already quoted (2), they are condemned on various charges but there is no reference to any teaching of their dualistic philosophy.

The only thing that we find in the description of the Albigenses that has been given to us in the Inquisitor's Guide of Bernard of Gui of the early fourteenth century, is a reference to their disbelief in baptism because "they assert that water is material and corruptible, and is therefore the creation of the evil power and cannot sanctify the soul." (3). Faber takes a more positive stand and says that "in all ages have the Paulicians and Albigenses denied themselves to be Manichaeans." (4) He goes on to give an explanation of why they were thus charged, (5). Among his evidence he cites the Actuary of the Synod of Orleans who wrote in 1017 that when examined on sundry doctrinal points the culprits were reported to have answered:

"The doctrine, which you hold, you may tell to those, who savour of earthly things, and who believe the figments of carnal men written upon animal parchment. But, to us, who have the law written in the inner man by the Holy Ghost, and who relish nothing save what we have learned from God the Creator of all things, you vainly propound matters which are superfluous and altogether alien from sound divinity. Put, therefore, an end to your works: and do with us what you list. We clearly behold our King reigning in heavenly places. With his own right hand, he is raising us to an immortal triumph; and he is even now, about to bestow upon us the fulness of joy celestial." (6)

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(1) Mosheim Bk III, Pt II, Ch V, Art 5, Vol II: P.149. See also Neander P.566. (2) See pp. 12, 13. (3) See Robinson: Read. in Euro. Hist., Vol. I, pp.381-383. (4) Faber P.105. (5) Ibid, see pp. 120-123. (6) Faber, pp. 135,138.

We note also that these men "without shrinking went to the most terrible of all deaths"(1). However the general charge is that they held to the "good God who has created spirits, pure beings who have not fallen under the sway of senses; his domain is that of the higher intelligences; his world is the spiritual world where all is perfect and good." Opposed to the good God is the bad God, the Devil, Lucifer, "who created all things which are visible, material, and transitory.....He has not only created all these, but he also governs the world to which they belong....From him come all evils which afflict the world....storms, floods, droughts, famine, plagues, disease....above all he is the author of moral evil."(2)

2. Their Doctrine of Christ.

In like manner opinions vary as to their doctrine of Christ. Christ came to earth to save the souls of men, "not by dying for them, but by unfolding to them their own origin and destiny, and showing them how best to accomplish their work of penitential purgation.....Though the Catharists called Jesus the 'Son of God' they did not think of Him as God. He is a creature...inferior to the Creator. Nor, though he lived and worked on earth, was he ever incarnate as man. The doctrine of the incarnation of God would naturally be abhorrent to the Catharist. Jesus took the form of a man while on earth, but his spirit was never imprisoned in

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(1) Op.cit., p.146. (2) Holmes, p.14.

another. The Holy Ghost was regarded as being, next to Jesus, the chief of all the celestial spirits; but the Catharists also applied the epithet holy to each of the guardian spirits of the celestial world"(1). Rudolphus Glaber in 1017 reports the culprits to have said, "Whatever the Old and New Testaments may say respecting the existence of the Triune Deity, the whole is a system of mere delirious falsehood"(2). Faber also quotes the Actuary of the Synod of Orleans as writing in 1017 that the accused parties summed up their religious system in regard to Christ as follows: "Christ was not born from the Virgin Mary: neither did he suffer death for mankind: neither was he truly buried: neither did he ever rise again from the dead."(3) But Faber goes on to show the inconsistencies of the charges on that occasion. Perrin also finds them holding to the "sacrifice of the Sonne of God" and the "merit of his death and passion".(4) Yet Schmidt charges against them that "the Catharists have only the semblance of the gospel, Jesus Christ being for them only a phantom or a shade; for his history they substitute a mythology, and for his authority that of their thoughts and fancies, which are often rambling." (5)

3. The Consolamentum.

The principal ceremony of the Albigenses was the Consolamentum of baptism of the Holy Spirit. This baptism was

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(1) Holmes, p.19. (2) Faber, p.130. (3) Ibid, p.135.
(4) Perrin, Bk I, Ch I, PP 1-4. (5) Schmidt, pp.169-173, Trans.

not of water, which they believed had been instituted by the Devil, but of the Spirit which was accomplished by the laying on of hands. It caused the Spirit to "descend upon the soul" and thus it was delivered from the power of matter and its creator the evil one. Those who had received the Consolamentum were regarded as Perfect (1). This led to the distinguishing among them of three different classes of believers: the Perfect, the Believers, and the Hearers. The Perfect are those who have been wholly cleansed from the guilt and taint of sin, but it bound the recipients to "strict observance of the demands of asceticism and loosed its powers when they were violated." The Believers were distinguished from the "mere Hearers" by the fact that they had entered into a compact that "in case of dangerous sickness they will have the Consolamentum administered unto them." (2) The Perfect alone could administer the Consolamentum. They were the "authorized leaders" of the community. "In the eyes of the Catholic leaders, who feared and hated them, they were the heretics par excellence".(3) More will be said about their manner of life in the next section. (4).

4. The Holy Scriptures.

It is commonly agreed among both friends and enemies of these people that they possessed and made important use of at least the New Testament. According to the evidence which we have received by way of their enemies they held the Old Testament

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(1) Holmes, pp.24, 25. (2) Koeller, p.389. (3) Holmes, pp.24, 25
(4) A good account of the administration of the Consolamentum is given by Belhomme, pp.108.

to be the work of the evil God. "Satan is the Jehovah of the Old Testament; the prophets and patriarchs are robbers, and, consequently, all Scripture anterior to the Gospels is to be rejected."(1) They had it in their own vernacular and we are told by Faber that it was not "a mutilated or interpolated or corrupted New Testament".(2) It retained the Latin language in its prayers (3). Yet to show the darkness which surrounds even this question we find Peter of Clugny writing of Peter de Bruis and of Henry:

"Let us see, whether these heretics, who yield not to the authority of the great doctors of the Church, will at least acquiesce in the decision of either Christ or the Prophets or the Apostles. I say this, because common report has spread it abroad, that you do not totally believe either the Prophets or even Christ himself; and the same report, if it be true, indicates, moreover, that you detract from the majesty both of the Old Testament and the New Testament. But, because I ought not to give assent to the fallaciousness of mere rumors, more especially when some affirm that you have rejected the whole of the Sacred Canon, while others contend that you receive some portions of it, I am unwilling to censure you for matters uncertain."(4).

Bernard of Gui describes them as invoking "with their own interpretation and according to their abilities, the authority of the Gospels and the Epistles against the condition of the prelates, churchmen, and monks, whom they call Pharisees and false prophets, who say, but do not." (5)

5. Their Doctrine of the Church.

Considering lastly their doctrine of the church, "the Catharists believed that theirs was the only true Christian

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(1) Lea, Vol I, p.91. See also his account of a thirteenth century MS. which gives their objections to the O.T. (2) Faber, pp. 55, 56. (3) Lea, Vol I, p.93. (4) Faber, p.166. Here he is quoting Petr. Cluniac. Tract. cont. Petrobus. p.209. (5) Inquisitors Guide of Bernard of Gui of early 14th century, Robinson, Vol. I, pp. 381-383.

Church".(1). Strictly speaking, only the perfect, those who had received the Holy Spirit through the administration of the consolamentum were members of the church. They made up the ministry of the church and were considered as the soul or inward part of the church, while the great body of believers and hearers were the more visible and outward part of the church (2). The impious, the unbeliever, the evil doer were shut out from it (3). "The Catharan Church, as the Church of Christ, inherited the power to bind and to loose bestowed by Christ on His disciples". (4) However, most of what we have left to us concerning their idea of the church consists of those things which they repudiated in the church of Rome. Since their negations of the Romanists form a most important part of the theological position as well as of their manners of life, we shall summarize them in a separate section.

B. Manner of Life.

We now propose to set forth those customs and rules of conduct that in many respects were the basic criteria by which they were distinguished from their enemies of the Roman Church (5). "The aim of Catharism, as a practical scheme of life, was to detach man by every possible means from the material world. (6).

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(1) Holmes, pp. 29, 30. Perrin also speaks of their "maintaining against the Church of Rome, the Gospel of Christ Jesus in its puritie". Bk. 2, chap. 12, p.141. Schaff, p.475 cites Dollinger II, 322.

(2) Holmes, p. 36. (3) Ibid, 29, 30. (4) Lea, I, p.93.

(5) These were often the marks by which the inquisitors detected heresy. Moëller, pp. 386-390, cites an instance where a woman in travail came under suspicion of heresy because she had never called upon Christ or the Holy Virgin but only on the Holy Spirit.

(6) Holmes, pp. 19-23.

1. False Charges against them.

We might at the very first dispose of the charge that many writers have made against them that at their secret meetings they practised "revolting immoralities and blasphemous rites." (1) Lea says that:-

"Wild stories, moreover, were told of the nightly orgies in which the lights were extinguished and promiscuous intercourse took place; and the stubbornness of heresy was explained by telling how, when a child was born of these foul excesses, it was tossed from hand to hand through a fire until it expired; and that from its body was made an infernal eucharist of such power that whoever partook of it was thereafter incapable of abandoning the sect. There is ample store of such tales, but however useful they might be in exciting a wholesome popular detestation of heresy, the candid and intelligent inquisitors who had the best means of knowing the truth admit that they have no foundation in fact; and in many hundreds of examinations and sentences which I have read there is no allusion to anything of the kind, except in some proceedings of Fra Antonio Secco among the Alpine Valleys in 1387." (2).

Faber has brought together the conflicting testimony of the inquisitor Reinericus on this point. On one occasion he accuses them of these "promiscuous gatherings", then again he gives us this description of these same people:-

"Heretics are known by their manners and their words. In their manners, they are composed and modest. They admit no pride of dress: holding a just mean between the expensive and the squalid. In order they they may the better avoid lies and oaths and trickery, they dislike entering into trade; but, by the labour of their hands they live like ordinary hired workmen. Their very teachers are mere artisans. Riches they seek not to multiply, but they are content with things necessary. They are chaste also: a virtue in which the Leonists particularly excel. In meat and drink they are temperate. They resort neither to taverns nor to dances, nor to any other vanities. From anger they carefully restrain themselves. They are always engaged, either in working, or in learning, or in teaching; and, therefore, they spend but little time in prayer. Under fictitious pretenses, nevertheless, they will attend church and offer and confess and communicate and hear sermons: but this they do merely to cavil at the preacher's discourse. They may likewise be known by their precise and modest words: for they avoid all scurrility, and detraction and lies and oaths and levity of speech." (3)

(1) Holmes, pp.39-43 gives his refutation of this charge.

(2) Lea, vol. I, p.101. (3) Faber, pp. 71, 72. He cites Reiner, de haeret. c.vii. p.307.

Along with this both Faber and Lea cite St. Bernard as saying:-

"If you interrogate them respecting their faith, nothing can be more Christian: if you inquire into their conversation, nothing can be more irreprehensible; and, what they say, they confirm by their deeds. As for what regards life and manners, they attach no one, they circumvent no one, they defraud no one. Their faces are pale with fastings: they eat not the bread of idleness; but they labour with their own hands for the support of life."
(1) (2).

Thus the high character of their morality was generally admitted by their enemies.

2. Their rules of life.

Amongst the ministry of the Albigenses, that is, those who were of the perfecti, the essential qualification was purity of heart and life. Their manner of life from the negative point of view was set forth in the "moral prohibitions" which they were bound to follow. Holmes cites the following:

"Besides the sins which the Catholic Church counts as mortal, such as murder, robbery, adultery, and the rest, the following were counted as mortal sins by the Catharists and strictly forbidden to all who wished to lead a spiritual life:

1. The Possession of property. Absolutely poverty was to be the rule of life.
2. Communication with those who were still attached to the world, except indeed in order to convert them. All ties of friendship and relationship were to be broken.
3. Disloyalty to truth. The truth was always to be told with absolute frankness and at whatever cost. Swearing in the sense of taking an oath was a mortal sin. 'Let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay'.
4. The shedding of human blood for any purpose or on any pretext. The soldier who killed an enemy in battle, the judge who sentenced a criminal to death, and - above all - the priests who delivered a heretic to the secular power, were as culpable as murderers and assassins.

(1) Faber, p.75,76; Bernard, super. cantic. serm. lxxv. Oper. p.761
(2) LEA, I. p.101.

5. The killing of animals other than reptiles and fishes.
6. The eating of flesh of animals.
(5 and 6 were practical deductions from the doctrine of metempsychosis).
7. The last and gravest of all mortal sins was that of sexual intercourse. Even marriage was strictly forbidden. For sexual intercourse, besides involving the gratification of a carnal lust, was the means devised by the Devil for the propagation of the human race and the consequent perpetuation of his own empire." (1).

On the other hand, their work and manner of life viewed positively was to preach the Gospel, teach, administer the consolamentum, preside at religious meetings and to spend many days in "mystical contemplation" and fasting. They were held in the utmost veneration by their people. Their people counted it an honor to supply their needs and every courtesy was shown them when they came into the community. "Their preaching was listened to with the closest attention" and their blessing was sought with much reverence (2).

Amongst the believers and hearers, those who constituted the large majority of the sect, the ideal was to follow after the example of their leaders in the faith - the perfecti. "The believers led active and useful lives" and with their industry, whether in town or country they used it to support the church and provide for the perfecti and to care for the sick and the poor and other places where charity was needed. "The charity of the Catharists to their own sick and poor were often commented upon by their adversaries, and while some of these reproached them with having confined their charities to their own sick and poor, others accused them of having tried by their charities to make converts out of the Catholic poor. (3)

(1) Holmes. pp.19-23; (2) Ibid, p.25-27. (3) Ibid, p.41-43.

3. Manner of Worship.

As a Church their manner of worship was "simplicity itself". They held their services anywhere, "in castles or in hovels, in forests, in meadows, in valleys, in caverns." We are told that before the Albigensian crusade while they were free from molestation and enjoyed the protection of the nobles of Southern France that "they had houses of prayer in which they met for purposes of worship. But those houses had no statues, pictures, or other ornaments. The altar was a table covered with a white cloth, on which rested a New Testament open at the first chapter of the Gospel of John." (1) The Lord's Prayer, the Catharists contended, "was the only prayer which Christians were authorized to use, whether in public or in private. (2) Their ceremony of the Breaking and Blessing of Bread came nearest to the ordinary sacrament of Holy Communion, but they denied any such meaning in it as the doctrine of Transubstantiation as it was later set forth by the Catholic Church. In general they did not follow the plan of setting aside certain days to the worship of God, but we are told that they kept the feasts of the Christian Church at Christmas, Easter and Pentecost. At Christmas they celebrated the descent of Christ into this wicked world. At Easter, his triumph over the Prince of this world. At Pentecost, the foundation of the Catharist Church, the Church of the Holy Spirit. Christmas and Easter were each preceded and Pentecost soon followed, by a fast of about forty days, the last week of which was very rigorous (4). More will be

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(1) Holmes, pp. 30, 31. (2) Ibid, pp. 31. Also see Walker, p.250
(4) Ibid, pp. 35, 36.

said touching these practices in our next sections on their differences with the Roman Church.

4. Religious Zeal and Steadfastness.

There is perhaps no more puzzling problem in connection with this extraordinary movement than that of their religious zeal, and especially their steadfastness in the face of persecution. This is very near the heart of the problem which we have in our thesis. Although the fuller discussion of their persecution and conflict with the church is reserved until our next chapter, we include these few references to it at this point in order that we may set forth the doctrines and practices of these people in the clearer light which their practical aspects shed upon them. We live, said Everwin Steinfeld, "A hard and wandering life. We flee from city to city like sheep in the midst of wolves. We suffer persecution like the Apostles and the martyrs because our life is holy and austere. It is passed amidst prayers, abstinences, and labors, but everything is easy for us because we are not of this world." (1) The Inquisitor Passeau informs us of a Waldensian who on a winter night swam the river Ips in order to gain a chance of converting a Catholic. (2) "It is not easy for us to realize what there was in the faith of the Cathari to inspire men with the enthusiastic zeal of martyrdom, but no religion can show a more unbroken roll of those who unshrinkingly and joyfully sought death in its most abhorrent form in preference to apostasy. In the earliest persecution

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(1) vLea, I, p.104.
(2) Lea, I, p.86.

on record at Orleans about 1017, out of fifteen, thirteen remained steadfast in the face of the fire kindled for their destruction; they refused to recant though pardon was offered, and their constancy was the wonderment of the spectators."(1) Perrin gives us this incident that when the castle of Menerbe finally yielded for want of water "The Abbot of Vaux would needs preach to those that were within the Castle, and to exhort them to acknowledge the Pope, and to stick to the Roman Church, but they not staying till he had ended his Discourse, they all of them cried out saying, 'We will not forsake our faith, we reject the Romish, you labour but in vain, for neither life nor death shall make us abandon our beliefs.' Upon this answer, the Earle Simon and the Lecat, commanded a great fire to be made, and cast into it 140 persons, as well women as men, who went into it with joy, giving thanks unto God for that it pleased him to doe them the honour, to suffer and to dye for His Name's sake".(2). And so we could go on to cite instance after instance of the loyalty of these people to their sect and their faith. We pass on to their differences with the Church of Rome with this example which is given by Lea, "One member of the Holy Office warns his brethren not to begin by asking 'Are you truly a Catharn?' for the answer will simply be 'Yes' and then nothing more can be extracted; but if the Perfect is exhorted by the God in whom he believes to tell all about his life, he will frankly detail it without falsehood. When we consider that this frankness inevitably

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(1) Perrin, Book I, ch. 7, p.42.

(2) Perrin, Book I, cha.7, p.42. Also Sismondi, pp. 85-87.

led to the torture of death by byrning, it is curious to observe that the inquisitor seems utterly unconscious of the emphatic testimony which he renders to the superhuman conscientiousness of his victims."(1)

C. Their Differences with Romanism.

Amidst the uncertainty that surrounds the sect of the Albigenses and their fellow-Cathari, there is one thing about which all historians can agree and that is that they formed an anti-sacerdotal party in permanent opposition to the Catholic Churches, and raised a continued protest (2). Let us take a glimpse of the inner history of the Romanists through the eye of one of her best, and see conditions as he saw them. Then we shall better be able to understand the revolt of the Albigenses. "No more unexceptionable witness as to the Church of the twelfth century can be had than St. Bernard, and he is never weary of denouncing the pride, the wickedness, the ambition, and the lust that reigned everywhere. Then fornication, adultery, incest palled upon the exhausted senses, a zest was sought in deeper depths of degradation. In vain the cities of the plain were destroyed by the avenging fire from heaven; the enemy has scattered their remains everywhere, and the church is infected with their accursed ashes. The Church is left poor and bare and miserable, neglected and bloodless. Her children seek not to bedeck, but to spoil her; not to guard her, but to destroy her; not to defend, but to expose; not to institute, but to

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(1) Lea, I, p.103.

(2) Alphantery in N. Albigenses in Ency. Brit.

prostitute; not to feed the flock, but to slay and devour it. They exact the price of sins and give no thought to sinners. "Whom can you show me among the prelates who does not seek rather to empty the pockets of his flock than to subdue their vices?" (1). St. Bernard wrote to some of the prelates:-

"Did (the apostles) ever keep their gospel hidden?... No, indeed, their words have been heard throughout the whole earth (Psalm 19:5). Where is that apostolical form of life and practice of which you are boasting? They cry aloud and you whisper. They do it in public and you in a corner. They fly up to the clouds (Isa. 68:8) and you take your delight in the darkness and in subterranean dwellings. What can you show in yourselves similar to them? Not surely in taking around with you little women because you are shutting them up with yourselves alone.....Thou art committing a scandal in the church. Thou art the fox destroying the vineyard." (2).

St. Bernard's contemporary, Potho of Pruhum, in 1152, voices the same complaints. The Church is rushing to ruin, and not a hand is raised to stay its downward progress; there is not a single priest fitted to rise up as a mediator between God and man and approach the divine throne with an appeal for mercy." (3). Thus Catharism was a thoroughly anti-sacerdotal form of belief and had no use for the machinery of the Church. They saw it to be the "synagogue of Satan" in which salvation was impossible. "Consequently the sacraments, the sacrifices of the altar, the suffrages and the interposition of the Virgin and saints, purgatory, relics, images, crosses, holy water, indulgences, and the other devices by which the priest procures salvation for the faithful were rejected, as well as the tithes and oblations which rendered the procuring of salvation so profitable." (4)

Perrin has cited from an old MS., the History of the Albigenses by Chaffagnon, that in the year 1206 the Albigenses

(1) Lea I, p.52. (2) Migne, Vol.183, p.1091. (3) Lea, I, p.52.
(4) Lea, I, p.93.

decided to take a stand against the legates of the Pope in a conference at Montreal. He gives the questions that were to be considered as these three:

- "1. That the Masse, with the Transubstantiation, was the invention of men, not the ordinance of Christ, nor His Apostles.
2. That the Romish Church is not the Spouse of Christ, but the Church of tumult and molestation, made drunken with blood of Martyrs.
3. That the policie of the Church of Rome is neither good, nor holy, nor established by Jesus Christ."(1)

In a list previous to this one Perrin has mentioned several other points that they maintained against the Church or Rome:

- "1. That the prayers of the living profit not the dead.
2. That Purgatorie maintained in the Church of Rome, was a humane invention, to glut and satisfie the coveteousness of the Priests.
3. That Saints are not to be praied unto." (2)

Mosheim has listed sixteen points of Roman doctrine and practice which the Albigenses rejected. We shall include here those not already given:-

- "1. They rejected baptism as a rite of no use as regards salvation, and especially the baptism of infants.
2. They denied that churches are any more holy than private houses.
3. Altars were pronounced to be heaps of stones, and therefore worthy of no reverence.
4. They disapproved of the use of incense and of holy oil in religious rites.
5. The ringing of bells, or signals, as bishop Gerhard calls them, they would not tolerate.
6. They denied that ministers of religion, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, were of divine appointment; and maintained that the church could exist without an order of teachers.
7. They contended that funeral rites were invented by priests, to gratify their avarice; and that it was of no consequence whether a person were buried in the church-yard or in some other place.
8. Penance, as then practised - that is, punishments voluntarily endured for sins - they deemed of no use.
9. They held marriage to be pernicious, and condemned it in all cases.

(1) Perrin, bk 1, ch.2. p.10. (2) Perrin, bk.1. ch.1. pp.1-4

10. The custom of chanting in churches and religious assemblies they represented as superstitious and unlawful.
11. They denied a cross to be more holy than other wood, and therefore denied it any honor.
12. They would have the images of Christ and the saints removed from the churches, and receive no kind of adoration.
13. Finally, they were displeased with the difference of rank, and of powers and prerogatives existing among the clergy. (1)

The Catharists reproached the Catholic Church for admitting sinners of all kinds into its fold. They also reproached it for its want of charity, for the cruelty with which it presented dissentient opinion, and in general for the harshness of its rule. They reproached it for the pomp, the wealth and the moral laxity of its prelates, and for the honor which was paid by them to "the world." They reproached it for its avarice, its ambition and its love of power. These, they said, are the fruits which the tree has borne, and by which we may know that it is not what it pretends to be, the true church of Christ. (2).

The description of these people from the Inquisitor's Guide of Bernard of Gui also reveals how they considered themselves "good Christians" holding the "faith of the Lord Jesus Christ and his gospel as Christ and the apostles taught" while they denounced the "evil lives of the clerks and prelates of the Roman Church, pointing out and setting forth their pride, cupidity, avarice and uncleanness of life", attacking the sacraments of the eucharist and baptism, claiming that confession is "useless" and proclaiming "other scandalous things about the sacraments," moreover they read from the Gospels and the Epistles in the vulgar tongue." (3).

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(1) Mosheim, Bk 3, Pt 2, Ch 5, pp 73, 74. (2) Holm, es pp. 29, 30.
(3) Robinson vol. 1 pp. 381-383. Faber pp. 181-182 also cites

With this view before us of the doctrine and practices of this sect we are now ready to proceed to the historic conflict with the papacy. Then with these essential facts before us we trust that these concurrent lines which we have been following shall have arrived at the common meeting point of the relation of the Albigenses to the principle of puritanism. We leave this chapter with this sentence from Lea's "A History of the Inquisition": "IT is a singular feature of the religious sentiment of the time that the most formidable development of hostility to Rome was based on a faith that can scarce be classed as Christian, and that this hybrid doctrine spread so rapidly and resisted so strubbornly the sternest efforts at suppression that at one time it may fairly be said to have threatened the permanent existence of Christianity itself. A profound conviction of the emptiness of sacerdotal Christianity, of its failure and approaching extinction, and of the speedy triumph of their own faith may partially explain the unselfish fervor which it excited among the poor and illiterate." (1)

.

an interesting report of them along these same lines by Peter of Clugny from Peter Cluniac Tract cont. Petrobrus pp. 209-219.

(1) Lea, I, p.89.

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORIC CONFLICT OF THE ALBIGENSES
WITH THE PAPACY

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To conclude at this point without following through one of the most tragic and bloody conflicts of history which is associated with our subject, would be to deprive ourselves of a more complete understanding of our thesis. In our attempt to understand the puritan principles back of this movement - a movement which ended in a struggle in which one of the exhortations among the ranks of the offensive side sounded forth in these words, "Let each of you gird his sword to his thigh and spare not his brother and his nearest kindred"(1) - we cannot well afford to omit a consideration of the conflict together with its political and ecclesiastical background, and its social and psychological accompaniments.

Rufus M. Jones in his book entitled "The Church's Debt to Heretics", has admirably described this "momentous period" in one short page from which we shall quote here in part:-

"It is one of the most appalling chapters in the history of the Christian Church, and it leaves upon the historical student, as it does upon the general reader, a sense of shame and horror. There were mingled a large number of motives in the hearts of the leaders, and the springs of action which pushed on these armies of pitiless destruction, burning cities, spreading havoc, killing indiscriminately men, women, and children, were too complicated to be psychologically analysed either by them then or by us today.....When the bloody crusade finally came to an end many of the best moral lives in France had been wiped out, the civilization or a great, fair region of the country had been wrecked, the method most

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(1) Honorius III. in an Encyclical addressed to all the Prelates of Christendom in the year 1219. See Lea, I, p.54.
(2) Jones, p.209.

incompatible with the spirit of Christ had been tried to the hilt - but heresy was as virile as ever, and the spirit which inquired for truth and which refused to take a stone for bread was still unconquered and unconquerable." (1)

To observe these surrounding conditions of the time will assist in understanding why this sect so flourished and how the struggle was drawn out until at last the Albigenses were completely crushed.

A. The Political and Ecclesiastical
Background of the Conflict.

1. Southern France.

The population and civilization of this region were unlike those of the north.

"The first wave of the Aryan invasion of Europe had driven to the Mediterranean littoral the ancient Ligurian inhabitants, who had left abundant traces of their race in the swarthy skins and black hair of their descendants. Greek and Phoenician colonies had still further crossed the blood. Gothic domination had been long continued, and the Merovingian conquest had scarce given to the Frank a foothold in the soil. Even Saragenic elements were not wanting to make up the strange admixture of races which rendered the citizen of Narbonne or Marseilles so different a being from the inhabitant of Paris." (2)

The contrast of civilization was as great as that of race. Sismondi has described it as follows:

"Languedoc, Provence, Catalonia, and all the surrounding countries which depended on the king of Aragon, were peopled by an industrious and intelligent race of men, addicted to commerce and arts, and still more to poetry. They had formed the provencal language; which, separating itself from the Walloon Roman, or French, was distinguished by more harmonious inflections, by a richer vocabulary, by expressions more picturesque, and by greater flexibility. This language, studied by all the genius of the age, consecrated to the innumerable songs of war and of love, appeared at that moment destined to become the first and the most elegant of the languages of modern Europe. Those who used it had renounced the name of Frenchmen for that of Provencals; they had endeavored, by means of their language, to form themselves into a nation, and to

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(1) Jones, p.209.

(2) Lea, I, p.66.

separate themselves absolutely from the French, to whom they were indeed inferior in the arts of war, but whom they greatly excelled in all the attainments of civilization.

The numerous courts of the small princes amongst whom these countries were divided, aspired to be models of taste and politeness. They lived in festivity; their chief occupation was tournaments, courts of love, and of poesy, in which questions of gallantry were gravely decided. The cities were numerous and flourishing. Their forms of government were all nearly republican; they had consuls chosen by the people, and had long possessed the privilege of forming communes, which rendered them nearly equal to the Italian republics with whom they traded." (1)

Lea adds to this picture in these words:-

"No where in Europe...were the clergy more negligent of their duties or more despised by the people. There was little earnestness of religious conviction among either prelates or nobles or stimulate persecution, so that there was considerable freedom of belief. In no other Christian land did the despised Jew enjoy such privileges. His right to hold land in franc-allevu was similar to that of the Christian; he was admitted to public office, and his administrative ability rendered him a favorite in such capacity with both prelate and noble; his synagogues were undisturbed; and the Hebrew school of Narbonne was renowned in Israel as the home of the Kimchis. Under such influences, those who really possessed religious convictions were but little deterred by prejudice or the fear of persecution from criticising the shortcomings of the Church, or from seeking what might more nearly respond to their aspirations." (2)

2. Political Conditions.

As we survey the political situation in Europe during this period we are reminded that in the latter part of the century previous to the Albigensian crusades, Frederick I., called Barbarossa, was emperor of the Roman Empire. We shall note as we proceed that one of the factors which promised success to the Church in their task of stamping out heresy, was the secular legislation against heresy which took form during this period. However, Frederick Barbarossa was not as

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(1) Sismondi, pp.5-5.

(2) Lea, I, p.67.

diligent in this respect as his papal friends might have desired. The regulations which Lucius III. issued from Verona in 1184, though they were sent forth as having been drawn up with the sanction of the emperor, nevertheless, Frederick took no effective steps to give them validity.(1). Thus his lack of action probably helped to make possible the period in which the heretics were comparatively free from the restraint of armed or organized force and during which they spread rapidly. However, in Frederick II. (1212-1250) we have one who, in order to pursue his own ends, was a pitiless enemy of the heretics.(2)

In France, Philip Augustus held the power, having conquered about 1203-1204, Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou.(3) In the South "there had long been three chief political and intellectual centers of South-French nationality. Two of these, the duchy of Aquitaine and the county of Toulouse were within the French kingdom. The third, the county of Provence, was beyond the Rhone, and, as a part of the ancient Arelate, subject to none save the Emperor."(4) It was at these three courts that the language of Occ and the literature of the Troubadours flourished. The spread of this Romance language with its vernacular literature over southern Gaul had drawn "a deep dividing line between northern and southern France that has not yet been blotted out. It gave the subjects of the southern feudalists, like the counts of Toulouse and the dukes of Aquitaine, a solidarity that made them almost

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(1) See Lee, I, p.319
(2) Ibid, p.321.
(3) See Tout, pp. 395, ff.
(4) Tout, p.397.

separate nations....But the civilization of Languedoc flowered too early to produce mature fruit. We shall see how in the thirteenth century it succumbed to the ruder spirit of the ^{thirtee} north" (1) But Aquitaihe was absorbed under the direct control of the French king leaving the court of Toulouse an even more important center of Languedocian life.(2) This division between northern and southern France was one of the underlying causes of the conflict which we shall consider below.

We have already seen that the district of Toulouse was the stronghold of heresy in southern France. Over this territory was Count Raymond VI., the great-Grandson of Raymond IV., of Saint Gilles, the hero of the first Crusade. Tout says of him:-

"He was a prince of wide connections, extensive dominions, and considerable personal capacity. Through his mother, Constance, daughter of Louis VI., he was the first cousin of Philip Augustus. His marriage with Joan of Anjour, the sister of Richard I. and John, had secured him peace with his hereditary foe. He rule not only over Toulouse and its dependencies; as Duke of Narbonne he was lord of the Rouergue and the great coast region that extended from the frontiers of Roussillon to the right bank of the Rhone; as Marquis of Provence, he ruled over a fertile portion of the Arelate on the left bank of the Rhone, extending farther north than Valence, and including the important town of Avignon".(3)

Even in distant Italy he was known as "the greatest count on earth, with fourteen counts as his vassals".(4) Raymond Roger, Viscount of Beziers, was one of his vassals. The kingdom of Aragon had at one time under Alonso II. been threatening the very extinction of Toulouse, but with his successor, Pedro II., Raymond's relations were most friendly. "Though the distant sovereignty of France troubled him but little, yet the friendliness

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(1) Tout, p.91. (2) Ibid., p.398. (3) Ibid., p.398.
(4) Lea, I, p.132.

manifested to him on his accession by Philip Augustus was a not unimportant element in the prosperity which on every side seemed to give him assurance of a peaceful and fortunate reign.....Toleration had endured for nearly a generation; the land was blessed with peace after almost interminable war, and all the dictates of worldly prudence counselled him to follow in his father's footsteps. Surrounded by one of the gayest and most cultured courts in Christendom, fond of women, a patron of poets, somewhat irresolute of purpose, and enjoying the love of his subjects, nothing could have appeared to him more objectless than a persecution such as Rome held to be the most indispensable of his duties." (1)

Such was the political situation which was to be no small factor in the approaching conflict.

3. The Condition of the Church.

Although in our chapter on the doctrines and practices of the Albigenses above (2), we touched upon something of the condition of the Church, we propose at this point to investigate this matter more fully in order to set before us the central cause of this so-called heretical reaction against the Church.

The Church of Rome may be at least partially described by these four words - corruption, ignorance, immorality, and superstition. The papal theocracy had so grown in its absolutism that "the humble minister at the altar was the instrument by which the decrees of the pope and bishop were enforced among the people; for the destiny of all men lay in the hands

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(1) Lea, I, p.152.

(2) See above, p.34.

which could administer or withhold the sacraments essential to salvation."(1) In the achieving of this supremacy of spiritual power, much of the Christian virtues of humility, and charity, and self-abnegation had disappeared. People had lost their affection for their leaders and were no longer attracted by the holiness and purity of the lives within the Church. We need not be surprised therefore when we find a chronicler telling us that among the many thousands of people in Toulouse, but few were Catholics.(2) "The body (the Church) was divided into two essentially distinct classes, the shepherds and the sheep; and the lambs were often apt to think, not unreasonably, that they were tended only to be shorn." (3)

One of the blots upon its character was the prevalence of simony. Lea tells us that:-

"St. Peter Damiani, in asking of Gregory VI. the confirmation of the bishop-elect of Fossombrone, admits that he is unfit, and that he ought to undergo penance before undertaking the episcopate, but yet there is nothing better to be done, for in the whole diocese there was not a single ecclesiastic worthy of the office; all were selfishly ambitious, too eager for preferment to think of rendering themselves worthy of it, inflamed with desire for power, but utterly careless as to its duties." (4)

Such was the impression made by the men of the episcopate that pious souls believed that no bishop could reach the kingdom of heaven. Again we read:-

"There was a story widely circulated of Geogroi de Pefonne, Prior of Clairvaux, who was elected Bishop of Tournay, and who was urged by St. Bernard and Eugenius III. to accept, but who cast himself on the ground, saying, 'If you turn me out, I may become a vagrant monk, but a bishop never!' On his death-bed he promised a friend to return and report as to his condition

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(1) Lea, I, p.2. (2) Ibid, p.134. (3) Ibid p.5 . (4) Ibid, p.7.

in the other world, and did so as the latter was praying at the altar. He announced that he was among the blessed, but it had been revealed to him by the Trinity that if he had accepted the bishopric he would have been numbered with the damned." (1)

St. Bernard tells us that:-

"...boys were inducted into the episcopate at an age when they rejoiced rather at escaping from the ferule of their teachers than at acquiring rule; but, soon growing insolent, they learn to sell the altar and empty the pouches of their subjects." (2)

We find again that:-

"The general detestation in which these gentry were held is illustrated by the story of an ecclesiastic who, having by an unlucky run of dice lost all his money but five sou^s, exclaimed in blasphemous madness that he would give them to any one who would teach him how most greatly to offend God, and a bystander was adjudged to have won the money when he said 'If you wish to offend God beyond all other sinners, become an episcopal official of collector!'" (3)

"Thus the Roman curia was a terror to all who were brought in contact with it. Hildebert of le Mans pictures its officials as selling justice, delaying decisions on every pretext, and, finally, oblivious when bribes were exhausted. They were **stone** as to understanding, wood as to rendering judgment, fire as to wrath, iron as to forgiveness, foxes in deceit, bulls in pride, and minotaurs in consuming everything. In the next century Robert Grosseteste boldly told Innocent IV. and his cardinals that the curia was the source of all the vileness which rendered the priesthood a hissing and a reproach to Christianity, and, after another century and a half, those who knew it best described it unaltered." (4)

"As early as 1261 the Council of Mainz can hardly find words strong enough to denounce the pestilent sellers of indulgences, whose **knavish** tricks excite the hatred of all men, who spend their filthy gains in vile debauchery, and who so **mislead** the faithful that confession is neglected on the ground that sinners have purchased forgiveness of their sins." (5)

Perhaps one of the points on which the relations of the clergy to the people was most delicate was that of purity of

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(1) Lea, I, p.13. (2) Ibid., p.16. (3) Ibid., p.20.
(4) Ibid., p.20. (5) Ibid., p.46.

life. Their enforced celibacy was a mere mockery and to quote Lea again:-

"...the spectacle of a priesthood professing ascetic purity as an essential prerequisite to its functions, and practising a dissoluteness more cynical than that of the average layman, was not adapted to raise it in popular esteem."(1)

We are told by Gilbert of Gemblours that:-

"The prelates for the most part enter the Church not by election, but by the use of money and the favor of princes; they enter, not to feed, but to be fed; not to minister, but to be ministered to; not to sow, but to reap; not to labor, but to rest; not to guard the sheep from the wolves, but, fiercer than wolves, themselves to tear the sheep." (2)

St. Hildegarda, in her prophecies, espouses the cause of the people against the clergy:-

"The prelates are ravishers of the churches; their avarice consumes all that it can acquire. With their oppressions they make us paupers and contaminate us and themselves...Is it fitting that wearers of the tonsure should have greater store of soldiers and arms than we? Is it becoming that a clerk should be a soldier and a soldier a clerk?.....God did not command that one son should have both coat and cloak and that the other should go naked, but ordered the cloak to be given to one and the coat to another. Let the laity then have the cloak on account of the cares of the world, and let the clergy have the coat that they may not lack that which is necessary." (3)

Walther von der Vogelweide sums up the popular appreciation of the whole ecclesiastical body, from pope downward:-

"St. Peter's chair is filled today as well
As when 'twas fouled by Gerbert's sorcery;
For he consigned himself alone to hell,
While this pope thither drags all Christentie.
Why are the chastisements of Heaven delayed?
How long wilt thou in slumber lie, O Lord?
Thy work is hindered and thy word gainsaid,
Thy treasurer steals the wealth that thou hast stored.
Thy ministers rob here and murder there,
And O're thy sheep a wold has shepherd's care." (4)

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(1) Lea, I, p.31. (2)Ibid., p.53. (3) Ibid., p.53.
(4) Ibid., p.54.

Such is but a sample of the vast amount of evidence which reveals the depraved condition of the Church. "It was inevitable that such a religion should breed dissidence and such a priesthood provoke revolt."(1)

B. Social and Psychological Accompaniments
of the Conflict.

Dr. David S. Schaff in his introductory survey to his volume on the Middle Ages has summarized in a comprehensive manner those great movements and influences which were at work during the period of medieval church history, extending from the rise of Hildebrand in 1049 to the elevation of Boniface VIII. to the papal dignity in 1294. Because it unites and sets into perspective this period let us include it at this point as giving background for further brief remarks on some of these movements, remembering that it was in the midst of this historic situation that one of the bloodiest religious wars in history broke out, which is the field of our thesis.

"In this period the Church and the papacy ascend from the lowest state of weakness and corruption to the highest power and influence over the nations of Europe. It is the classical age of Latin Christianity; the age of the papal theocracy, aiming to control the German Empire and the Kingdoms of France, Spain, and England. It witnessed the rise of the great Mendicant orders and the religious revival which followed. It beheld the full flowers of chivalry and the progress of the crusades, with the heroic conquest and the loss of the Holy Land. It saw the foundations laid of the great universities of Bologna, Paris, Oxford. It was the age of scholastic philosophy and theology, and their gigantic efforts to solve all conceivable problems and by dialectical skill to prove every article of faith. During its progress

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(1) Lea, I, p.56.

Norman and Gothic architecture began to rear the cathedrals. All the arts were made the handmaids of religion; and legendary poetry and romance flourished. Then the Inquisition was established, involving the theory of the persecution of the Jews and heretics as a divine right, and carrying it into execution in awful scenes of torture and blood. It was an age of bright light and deep shadows, of strong faith and stronger superstition, of sublime heroism and wild passions, of ascetic self-denial and sensual indulgence, of Christian devotion and barbarous cruelty."(1)

We shall view briefly four of these movements.

1. The Crusades.

"The Crusades are in many ways the most remarkable of the phenomena of the Middle Ages " says Walker(2). The Crusades are important, however, because of their results and influences. The power of the Pope was increased until he became dictator of Emperors, kings, and nobles. The wealth of the Church was multiplied; the sale of indulgences became a regular traffic; heretics were dealt with by crusades and the Inquisition; and the Crusades did much to brutalize the Church and develop the spirit of intolerance, bigotry and persecution. Superstition and credulity were increased and the traffic in relics was something enormous. "The Western World was deluged by corporeal fragments of departed saints." "Every city had a warehouse of the dead." Politically, the Crusades settled the question of whether Europe or Asia should rule the world. They failed to free the Holy Land, but did free Europe from Islam. Intellectually, the Crusades increased the knowledge and liberalized the minds of Western Europe. Socially, it tended to break down social barriers, to increase wealth, -

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(1) Schaff, Vol V, Pt I, p.3
(2) Walker, p.238.

although it left sorrow and poverty in many a home - and to open up new opportunities for the serfs, together with even debtors and criminals who were freed by assuming the cross. Industrially, the material welfare of stagnant Western Europe was increased by the great impulse given to trade and by the widening of commercial relations. (1). With the varied impulses which caused and accompanied the Crusades, the Cathari rose to great activity. "In the movement, the ascetic spirit of the age found full expression, and criticism of the wealth and power of the church saw satisfaction in complete rejection of its clergy and claims." (2)

2. Monastic Orders.

During the period of the Crusades a great revolution took place in the character of monasticism. "The old form of monasticism, at its best, thought primarily of the salvation of its own members and not of the world." (3). In 1147 St. Bernard said of the region of the Count of Toulouse:-

"The churches are without people, the people without priests, the priests without the reverence due them, and Christians without Christ. The churches are regarded as synagogues, the sanctuary of the Lord is no longer holy; the sacraments are no more held sacred; feast days are without solemnities; men die in their sins, and their souls are hurried to the dread tribunal, neither reconciled by penance nor fortified by the holy communion. The little ones of Christ are debarred from life since baptism is denied them. The voice of a single heretic silences all those apostolic and prophetic voices which have united in calling all the nations into the Church of Christ." (4)

To meet this needy situation there arose the mendicant orders.

(1) See Flick, pp. 500-507; also Walker, pp. 238, 239.
(2) Walker, p. 249. (3) Flick, p. 516. (4) Lea, I, p. 70.

"The Mendicants came upon Christendom like a revelation - men who had abandoned all that was enticing in life to imitate the apostles, to convert the sinner and unbeliever, to arouse the slumbering moral sense of mankind, to instruct the ignorant, to offer salvation to all; in short, to do what the Church was paid so enormously in wealth and privileges and power for neglecting. Wandering on foot over the face of Europe, under burning suns or chilling blasts, rejecting alms in money but receiving thankfully whatever coarse food might be set before the wayfarer, or enduring hunger in silent resignation, taking no thought for the morrow, but busied eternally in the work of snatching souls from Satan, and lifting men up from the sordid cares of daily life, of ministering to their infirmities and of bringing to their darkened souls a glimpse of heavenly light - such was the aspect in which the earliest Dominicans and Franciscans presented themselves to the eyes of men who had been accustomed to see in the ecclesiastic only the sensual worldling intent solely upon the indulgence of his appetities." (1)

These orders were to be the effective instruments in the hands of the pope to persecute the heretics of Southern France.

3. The Schools and Universities.

"The dense ignorance of the tenth century had begun to yield to the first faint pulsations of intellectual movement. Early in the twelfth century that movement already shows in its gathering force the promise of the development which was to render Europe the home of art and science, of learning, culture, and civilization." (2) Men began to ask questions, to criticize, and to speculate on topics that heretofore had been forbidden. "Even the blind reverence which for generations had been felt for the utterances of the Church began to be shaken." (3)

Cathedral and monastic schools were flourishing everywhere in the twelfth century. Great teachers were springing

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(1) Lea, I, p.266. (2) Ibid., p.57. (3) Ibid, p.57.

into prominence and gathering about them groups of students. Anselm, Abelard, William of Champeaux, Hugo of St. Victor, and Peter Lombard, were only some of the more outstanding ones. The Universities of Paris and Oxford were known for theology, Bologna for church and civil law, and Salerno for medicine.(1) One of the products of this revival of intellectual interest and which arose to combat the doubts that were everywhere manifesting themselves, was the line of famous Schoolmen who "sought to fortify the old truth with fresh bulwarks of logic and philosophy.(2). Besides Anselm, Abelard, and Peter Lombard, and others whom we have already mentioned, there were such names as Bernard, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, Roger Bacon, and Duns Scotus.(3). These men belong for the most part to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. "The task they undertook was to confirm what they had inherited....They were purveyors of the dogma they had inherited from the Fathers."(4) Among them were "men of warm piety and, like Augustine, they combined with the metaphysical element a mystical element; with the temper of speculation, the habit of meditation and prayer."(5) It was against many of these men that the heretics were forced to take their stand and they had no small part in justifying the position taken by the Church against heresy.(6)

4. The Cathedrals.

The period of the Medieval Church is remarkable for the

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(1) Walker, p.267. (2) Cowan, p.130. (3) Schaff, V, PtI, p.59
(4) Ibid., p.588. (5) Ibid., p.589. (6) Ibid, p.590.

many great movements that were expressing themselves in such a variety of ways. Perhaps no record of those times has been left to us that is more visible and objective than the many marvelous cathedrals which had their beginning about the eleventh century (1). Schaff has characterized them in these words:-

"The cathedrals of the Middle Ages were the expression of the religious praise and devotion and entirely the product of the Church...They were hymns in stone, and, next to the universities, are the most imposing and beneficent contribution the medieval period made to later generations... The great cathedrals became a daily sermon, bearing testimony to the presence of God and the resurrection of Christ...In the erection of these churches princes and people joined, and to further this object they gave their contributions of material and labor. The women of Ulm gave up all their ornaments to advance the work upon the cathedral of that city." (2)

Yet there is a side to this story which, unfortunately, carries us back again to those turbulent days and reminds us once more of the oppression and corruption that had penetrated and permeated so much of human life. Therefore, we feel that to be true to history, we should set over against the above description of the cathedrals another which should not surprise us, however, as we have met with the same facts many times before. We quote from Lea:-

"While these structures were in some degree the expression of ardent faith, yet more were they the manifestation of the pride of the prelates who erected them, and in our admiration of these sublime relics of the past, in whatever reverential spirit we may view the towering spire, the long-arched nave, and the glorious window, we must not lose sight of the supreme effort which they cost - an effort which inevitably fell upon suffering serf and peasant. Peter Cantor assures us that they were built out of exactions on the poor, out of the unhallowed gains of usury, and out of the lies and deceits of the quaestuarii or pardoners; and the vast sums

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(1) See Foakes-Jackson, p.172. (2) Schaff, V, Pt. I, pp.581-58

lavished upon them, he assures us, would be much better spent in redeeming captives and relieving the necessities of the helpless." (1)

Moreover, the churches were filled with men who were not only incompetent but who cared little or nothing about the spiritual welfare of their people. Preaching in these churches was utterly neglected. Thus "the Church slumbered on until the spread of heresy aroused it to a sense of its unwisdom in neglecting so powerful a source of influence." (2) It is little wonder that the Albigenses and the other kindred sects reacted against the Church with its empty forms, its superstitious beliefs, its ecclesiastical bondage, and its corrupt clergy. (3)

C. The Historic Development of the Conflict.

In that which follows it is our purpose to set forth as briefly as possible the chief movements and stages in that conflict which was to reduce the most powerful house of Toulouse to a position of subjection, which was to nip in the bud the new advance of civilization in Southern France, which was to set into operation the infamous machine of persecution - the Inquisition, which together with the armies of the church was to take a tremendous toll of human life, not only from among the peasant stock but also from among the nobility and the intellectual classes of Europe. (4).

We propose to organize this conflict around the four methods which were used by the Church in opposing the

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(1) Lea, I, p.23. (2) Ibid., p.23. (3) See the chapter above on the doctrines and practices of the Albig. p.34 ff
(4) See Moncrief, pp. 211-212.

dissenters. In certain respects they may be said to mark the different stages in the development of the conflict. However, they somewhat overlap, especially the first two.

First, we shall consider the effort of the Church to deal with them by legislation; secondly, by missionary attempts to convert them; thirdly, by sending crusading armies against them to crush them; and lastly, by the establishment of the Inquisition to exterminate them.

1. Legislation against Heretics.

Beginning with the Council of Toulouse in 1119, the Church began to issue articles against heresy and to call upon the secular powers to punish it.(1) There had been other efforts even a century earlier than this when at Orleans in 1022 thirteen heretics were burned by the people (2); some were hanged at Goslar in Saxony in 1051; others were burned at Monteforte and Milan 1034, at Cambrai and Ravenna in 1076, and at Soissons in 1114.(3) Before the Council of Toulouse in 1119, ecclesiastical legislation had been enforced only by excommunication; now the way was opened by the act of Calixtus II. in calling upon "the secular power to suppress them". This order was repeated by Innocent II. and the Lateran council in 1139; again by Eugenius III. and the council of Rome in 1148; Alexander III. at the council of Tours in 1163 denounced in vehement terms "the detestable heresy of the region of Toulouse" and published this decision: "Those

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(1) Schaff, V, Pt. I, p.508. (2) Lagarde, p.448.
(3) Ibid., p.448. (4) Ibid., p.452. See also Jones, II, p.111.

who may be taken, will be imprisoned by the Catholic princes, and their property will be confiscated;"(4) the same pope in the Lateran council in 1179 formulated a decree anathematizing the heretics of Gascony, of Albi, and of Toulouse, and called upon the Christian Princes to enforce it. In the council of Verona in 1184, Pope Lucius III. set forth a series of decrees of which the following is a brief summary:

- (1) Heretics after their condemnation under the canon law shall be turned over to the secular powers for punishment;
- (2) They are to be sought out and denounced by the faithful;
- (3) The secular powers should lend forcible aid to the bishops, and execute the orders proceeding from the Church relating to heretics. (1).

This decree of Lucius III. marked the crowning of the repressive measures of the papacy after 1119. From 1184 the machine to crush error was ready to be used. Yet it did not work. Heresy was thriving as never before. The secular powers failed to do their part. It awaited the coming of Innocent III. to set the machinery of repression and persecution in motion. The long conflict was fully opened when Innocent called upon Louis VII., as we read in the letter of of Innocent to Louis:-

"In order that it may be seen thou dost not carry in vain the sword which the Lord has given thee, from whom every power emanates, it is necessary that thou should patiently bow thy head and do my bidding so that taking up armor and shield thou dost advance the cause of God among them by the sword. Those I mean, who have tails tied together like little foxes, and have begun to set fire to the harvest in the kingdom of the Franks, while they are fighting as children against their

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(1) See Lagarde, pp.452, 453. Also Jones, p.14 ff. See above pp. 12, 13. Jones gives the date of the decree of Lucius III. as being 1181, but I have been unable to find any decree in that year, and other authorities agree upon the year 1184.

Therefore, we admonish they own royal serenity and we exhort in the Lord thee for the remission of thy sins, that if possible in thy own person, or through our dear child in Christ, Ludwig, thy son, or by some other proper person to gird up in thy might thyself against the aforementioned wild beasts, so that embracing the daughter of the king, isitting on the right hand offer husband, as a true catholic thou shalt prove it by thy deeds, commanding to the counts as well as to the barons, to confiscate the goods of those and to proscribe the persons by the power which heaven has granted thee." (1)

We pass therefore, to the effort of the Church by preaching and missionary work to oppose the enemies of the Church.

2. Missionary Efforts.

In the year 1147 Bernard of Clairvaux, the greatest preacher of his age, traversed the country trying to win back the people from their heretical depravity, but could not get a hearing. Princes and nobles protected the heretics. In 1178 a cardinal legate, Peter, attended by numerous prelates and monks, made a similar attempt with like results. In 1180 Alexander III. sent forth a Cardinal Henry to preach a crusade against the Albigenses. Many were slain, and others forced to abjure, but the heresy remained as powerful as before. (2). In fact the

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(1)"...Ut igitur gladium, quem Dominibus tibi tradidit, a quo est omnis potestas, non videaris sine causa portare; sed patienti capiti compati te demonstres, oportet ut, apprehensis armis et scuto, causam Dei alleges gladiis apud eos, qui, habentes caudas quasi vulpeculae colligatas, messes in regno Francorum comburere incoeperunt, dum pugnant quasi filii contra matrem. Monemus igitur serenitatem regiam et exhortamur in Domino, in remissionem tibi peccaminum injungentes, quatenus, si fieri poterit, per teipsum, vel per charissimum in Christo filium nostrum, Ludovicum, natum tuum, aut etiam alium virum idoneum, contra praetatas belluas potenter assurgas, quatenus filiam regis assistentem ad dexteram sponsi varietate circumamictam, ut Catholicus filius, sinceritatis brachiis amplexeris, per exhibitionem operis manifestans, tam comites quam barones, ut illorum bona confiscent, et proscribant personas, potestate tibi coelitus tradita compellendo." Inn.III. PP VII, 212; Migne, Vol.215, p.527.

(2) Newman, I, p.550. See also Lea, I,p.120 ff.

new church of the heresy bid fair to "supersede the Church of Rome".(1) Lea tells us of the territory of Raymond of Toulouse that:-

"A large portion of his knights and gentlemen were secretly or avowedly protectors of heresy; the common people throughout his dominions despised the clergy and honored the heretics. When a heretic preached they crowded to listen and applaud; when a Catholic assumed the rare function of religious instruction they jeered at him and asked him what he had to do with proclaiming the Word of God." (2)

Sismondi gives us this incident:-

"When the missionaries had embarrassed their adversaries, or had vanquished them according to all the scholastic rules, then they said to the inhabitants of the places where they had found them 'Why do you not drive them out? Why do you not exterminate them?' - 'We cannot', they replied to the bishop of Ozma, 'we have been brought up among them, we have relations amongst them, and we see the godness of their lives.' -- 'Thus', says a contemporary writer, 'does the spirit of falsehood, only by the appearance of a pure and spotless life, lead away these inconsiderate people from the truth.' (3)

In 1198 Innocent III. sent his legates, Arnold of Citeaux and Pierre of Castelnau of the Cistercians, with the most extreme authority against the enemies of the Church in Southern France but with little result. (4) Perrin tells us that:-

"The Monkes who preached throughtout the countrey, found the Princes so obdurate in their malice, that they resolved to stay no longer there, but returned to their court ries, except one good man, who was called Frier Peter of Chasteauneuf, who continued preaching with one of his companions." (5)

Innocent III. sent also two others of whom he tells us in his letter to the Archbishop of Aquensis:-

"We have heard that they (the heretics) are swarming in very many villages, and they are corrupting everybody by the chains of error and the poison of false doctrines. We must, therefore, devise some means in order to take these little foxes which spoil the vineyard of the God of Hosts; such ones

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(1) Lea, I, p.120. (2) Ibid., p.120.(3) Sismondi, p.14.
(4) Moeller, p.390. (5) Perrin, Bk.I, Ch.2.

are, indeed, different in aspect but they are strictly bound together by their tails because they agree in this thing to try to destroy Moses' rod by their evil spells. Therefore, we have sent our beloved son, brother Rainerius, a man of holy life and conduct, powerful in words and in deeds; and along with him our beloved son, brother Guido, a man God-fearing and diligent in works of charity -- we have sent them both in your own part of the country and now we commend your brotherliness by means of our apostolical writings, and we strictly enjoin you to receive them and to treat them with love. Like wise, to give them such assistance against the heretics in order that by means of them they may retract their errors and go back to the true way of God. And if, perhaps, they cannot convert them, drive them away from your province in order that the faithful population may not be seduced...If any one of the heretics, however, will not retract his errors after that the aforesaid brother Rainerius has pronounced against them the sentence of excommunication, let all their goods be confiscated and let them be proscribed from the land. And if any one of them after the interdict will presume to remain in the land, let the law be stronger against such ones....And if any one of the heretics should presume to escape from his new punishment let him be stoned with stones like Achan the brother of Carmi...It is met that whosoever loses his faith should lose his life also because the just must live only because the just must live only because of his faith." (1)

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(1)"...in tantam jam accepimus pullulasse, ut innumeros populos sui erroris laqueis irretierint et fermento corruperint falsitatis. Cum igitur ad capiendas hujusmodi vulpes parvulas, quae demoliuntur vineam Domini Sabaoth, species quidem habentes diversas, sed caudas adinvicem colligatas, quia de vanitate conveniunt in idipsum, ut virga Moysi maleficorum phantasmata deovret, dilectum filium fratrem Rainerium, virum probatae vitae and conversationis honestae potentens idvino munere in opere et sermone, ac cum eo iclectum filium fratrem Guidonem, virum Deum timentem et studentem operibus charitatis, ad partes ipsas duxerimus destinandas, fraternitati vestrae per apostolica scripta mandamus, et districte praecipimus quatenus eos benignos recipientes et tractantes affectu, taliter eis contra haereticos assistatis, ut per ipsos ab errore viae suae revocentur ad Dominum; et si qui forte converti non potverunt, ne pars sincera trahatur, de vestris finibus excludantur...et si qui haereticorum ab errore suo commoniti nolverint resipiscere, postquam per praedictum fratrem Rainerium fuerint excommunicationis sententia innodati, eorum bona confiscerent et de terra sua proscribant, et si post interdictum ejus in terra ipsorum praesumpserint commorari, gravius animadvertant in eos,.... ita quod si quis de illo vel regulam auream furari praesumpserit, cum Achan filio Carmi lapidibus obruatur...Nam, qui fiden adimit, vitam furatur. Justus enim ex fide vivit." INN.III. PP, Lib.I, Epp.94; Migne, Vol.214, pp.81. 1198 A.D.

It should be noted that the Dominican order of Friar Preachers was the result of Dominic de Guzman's resolution to combat the Albigensian heresy with its own weapons. It was in the year 1205 that Dominic and the Bishop of Osma encountered the legates of the Pope, Arnold, Raoul, and Castelnau, who were returning in all their pomp of rich attire, a vast cavalcade of horses and sumpter mules, (1) but defeated, discomfited and almost desperate from their progress in Languedoc. Then it was that Dominic uttered his bold and memorable rebuke:-

"It is not by the display of power and pomp, cavalcades of retainers, and richly housed palfreys, or by gorgeous apparel, that the heretics win proselytes; it is by zealous preaching, by apostolic humility, by austerity, by seeming, it is true, but yet seeming holiness. Zeal must be met by zeal, humility by humility, false sanctity by real sanctity; preaching falsehood by preaching truth." (2)

From that day Dominic and the Bishop "sent back their own horses, stripped themselves to the rudest monkish dress, and led the way on the spiritual campaign." (3) Yet they made little impression. A sense of failure appears in Dominic's last sermon in Languedoc:-

"For many years I have exhorted you in vain, with gentleness, preaching, praying, and weeping. But according to the proverb of my country, 'where blessing can accomplish nothing, blows may avail', We shall rouse against you princes and prelates, who, alas, will arm nations and kingdoms against this land...and thus blows will avail where blessings and gentleness have been powerless." (4)

However this missionary work continued until the year 1208 when a crisis was precipitated by the murder of Peter of Castelnau

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(1) Milman, V, p.410. (2) Ibid., VI, p 13. (3) Ibid., V, p.411.
(4) Article on Dominic in Ency. Brit., by E. C. Butler.

by two unknown assassins.(1) This was the signal for Innocent III. to strike the blow that was to devastate the land and crush the heretics of Southern France. A crusade was preached and the armies of the Pope set in motion.

3. The Wars Against the Heretics.

The wars against the heretics lasted over a period of about twenty years, from the year 1209 when about two hundred thousand men marched on Garonne (2), until the year 1229 when Raymond accepted the conditions proposed by the papal legate (3).

An extended account of this part of the conflict, however, which is so rich in material and also in human interest, is not essential to our thesis. We shall, therefore, give only a summary view of the movements of the struggle.

In the spring of 1207, because Raymond of Toulouse had refused to sign an agreement whereby armed forces from without might enter his territory to exterminate the heretics, he was excommunicated by the legate Peter de Castelnau. In confirmation of the sentence Innocent III. wrote to Raymond on May 29th, in these words:-

"If we could open your heart, we should find, and would point out to you, the detestable abominations that you have committed; but as it is harder than the rock, it is in vain to strike it with the words of salvation; we cannot penetrate it. Pestilential man! What pride has seized your heart, and what

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(1) See Schaff V, Pt. I, p.509. Also Lea, I, p.145; also Flick, p.522. (2) Lagarde, p.455. (3) Schaff, V, Pt. I, p.513.

folly to refuse peace with your neighbors, and to brave the divine laws by protecting the enemies of the faith? If you do not fear eternal flames, ought you not to dread the temporal chastisements, which you have merited by so many crimes?" (1)

ON November 17th, 1207, Innocent III. wrote Philip Augustus of France "exhorting him to declare war against the heretics, the enemies of God and the Church, and promising him, in reward, in this life the confiscation of all their goods, and in the other the same indulgences as were granted to those who combated the infidels in the Holy Land." (2)

The assassination of Peter de Castelnau took place January 16th, 1208. The Pope immediately blamed Raymond of Toulouse. On March 16th, Innocent issued letters to all the prelates in the infected provinces that every Sunday and every holy day (3) Raymond should be "publicly anathematized in all the churches" and:-

"as following the canonical sanctions of the holy fathers, we must not observe faith towards those who keep not faith towards God, or who are separated from the communion of the faithful, we discharge, by apostolic authority, all those who believe themselves bound towards this count, by any oath either of alliance or of fidelity; we permit every catholic man, saving the right of his principal lord, to pursue his person, to occupy and retain his territories, especially for the purpose of exterminating heresy." (4)

In a general epistle to the faithful Innocent wrote:-

"O most mighty soldiers of Christ, most brave warriors; ye oppose the agents of anti-Christ, and ye fight against the servants of the old serpent. Perchance up to this time ye have

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(1) Sismondi, p.43. See Ep. INN. III. Lib. X, Epp.69; Migne, Vol. 215., pp. 1166-1168. (2) Ibid, pp.44-47. See Inn. III. Epistolae, Lib. X, Epp. 149; Migne, Vol. 215, pp. 1246-1248. (3) Milman, V, p. 419. (4) Sismondi, pp. 46-47. Sismondi here refers to Petri Vallis Cern. Cap. vii., p.564.

fought for transitory glory, now fight for the glory which is everlasting. Ye have fought for the body, fight now for the soul. Ye have fought for the world, now do ye fight for God. For we have not exhorted you to the service of God for a worldly prize, but for the heavenly kingdom, which for this reason we promise to you with all confidence." (1)

Innocent had offered, as Sismondi tells us:-

"...to those who should take the cross against the Provençals, the utmost extent of indulgence...As soon as these new crusaders had assumed the sacred sign of the cross...they were instantly placed under the protection of the Holy See, freed from the payment of the interest of their debts, and exempted from the jurisdiction of all the tribunals; whilst the war which they were invited to carry on, at their doors, almost without danger or expense, was to extirpate all the vices and crimes of a whole life...It was then, with transports of joy, that the faithful received the new pardons which were offered them, and so much the more, that far from regarding the return they were called upon to make, as painful or dangerous, they would willingly have undertaken it for the pleasure alone of doing it. War was their passion, and pity for the vanquished had never troubled their pleasure. The discipline of the holy wars was much less severe than that of the political, whilst the fruits of victory were much more alluring. In them, they might, without remorse, as well as without restraint from their officers, pillage all the property, massacre all the men, and violate the women and children. The crusaders to the East knew well that the distance was so great, as to give them little chance of bringing home the booty which they had gained by their swords; but instead of riches, which the faithful were to seek at a distance, and tear from barbarians, of whose language they were ignorant, they were offered the harvest of a neighbouring field, the spoil of a house which they might carry to their own, and captives, abandoned to their desires, who spoke the same language with themselves. Never before had the cross been taken up with a more unanimous consent." (2)

Terror-stricken at the coming storm, Raymond submitted himself to the Pope and endured the utmost of humiliation. On the 18th of June 1209 he suffered himself to be conducted into the Church of St. Silles, with a cord about his neck and his shoulders naked, and there received the discipline around the altar. After all these humiliations, he was allowed to take

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(1) Schaff V, Pt. I, p. 510. See Inn. III., Lib. XI, Epp. 230; Migne, Vol. 215, p. 1546.

(2) Sismondi, pp. 47-49.

the cross against the heretics, and it was by favor that he was permitted to join those who were about to attack his nephew, becoming their guide for that purpose." (1)

In the meantime, Count Raymond Roger had strengthened the fortifications and had prepared his people to make their defense in the cities of Beziers and Carcassonne. In the middle of July 1209 the crusaders arrived under the walls of Beziers. From the reports of the papal legates Arnold and Milo we have the following account of the taking of the city:-

"While they were treating with those barons about the liberation of those who within that city were reputed to be Catholics, ribalds and others mean persons and unarmed persons went forward without awaiting for the command of the leaders and made an incursion against the city. While ours were looking on at the cry, To arms! To arms! hardly in the space of two or three hours they crossed the moat and the walls and they took the city of Bittern, and not listening to any order from ours they put to the edge of the sword nearly 20,000 persons of every age and sex. Thus they utterly destroyed the enemy, they spoiled and burned the entire city, showing very carefully that the divine vengeance was in this thing. The spreading of such a great miracle caused all the others to be terrified so that they ran up to the mountains and by-ways between Bittern and Carcassonne abandoning more than a hundred noble fortresses, and leaving all the food and all the baggage which they did not want to take with them in their rapid flight. Among such fortresses there were several which by the nature of the place, by the human and artificial means of defense it seems that they could have been able to easily withstand for a long time our army which is so insignificant." (2)

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(1) Sismondi, pp.55, 56. See also Lea, I, pp. 149-151.

(2) "...dum tractaretur cum baronibus de liberatione illorum qui in civitate ipsa catholici censebantur, ribaldi et alii viles et inermes personae, non expectato mandato principum, in civitatem fecerunt insultum, et mirantibus nostris, cum clamaretur: Ad arma, ad arma quae sub duarum vel trium horarum spatio, transcensis foassatis ac muro, capta est civitas Bitterrensis, nostrique non parcentes ordini, sexui, vel aetati, fere viginti milia hominum in ore gladii peremerunt; factaque hostium strage permacima, psoliata est tota civitas et succensa, ultione divina in eam mirabiliter saeviente. Disseminato ergo rumore tanti miraculi usque adeo territi sunt universi, ut montana perentes et invia, inter Bitterrensem et Carcassonam reliquerunt castra nobilia plusquam centam, referta tamen cibariis et reliqu

We are told that when the knights learned that they had triumphed without fighting they inquired of the legate Arnold how they should distinguish the Catholics from the heretics, and the legate made this much celebrated reply: "Kill them all: the Lord will know well those who are his".(1) Sismondi goes on to tell us that:-

"The whole multitude, at the moment when the crusaders became masters of the gates, took refuge in the churches; the great cathedral of St. Nicaise contained the greatest numbers; the canons, clothed with their choral habits, surrounded the altar, and sounded the bells as if to express their prayers to the furious assailants; but these supplications of brass were as little heard as those of the human voice. The bells ceased not to sound, till, of that immense multitude, which had taken refuge in the church, the last had been massacred. Neither were those spared who had sought an asylum in the other churches; seven thousand dead bodies were counted in that of the Magdalen alone. When the crusaders had massacred the last living creature in Beziers, and had pillaged the houses of all that they thought worth carrying off, they set fire to the city, in every part at once, and reduced it to a vast funereal pile. Not a house remained standing, not one human being alive." (2)

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supellectili quam fugientes secum nequiverant asportare: inter quae castra erant quamplurima adeo natura loci, viris divitiisque munita ut viderentur insulsum nostri ereratus posse facile longissimo tempore sustinere." Inn. III., Lib. XII, Epp. 108, 109; Migne, Vol. 216, p.139.

(1) Sismondi, pp. 58-61. See footnote of Schaff, V, Pt. I, p.511 from Caesar of Heisterbach V 21, Strage ed., I. 302, "Coedite eos, novit enim dominus qui sunt ejus."

(2) Sismondi, pp. 58-61. Perrin gives these additional details: "The Citie being taken, the Priests, Monkes, and Clerkes came forth of the great Church of Beziers, called St. Nazari, with Banner, the Crosses, their holy-water, bare headed, attired with the ornaments of the Church, and singing Te Deum Laudamus, as a signe of joy that the Towne was taken and purged of the Albigenes. The soldiers who had received command of the Legate to kill all, ranne in upon them, break the order of their procession, made the heads and armes of the Priests to fly about, striving who should doe best, in such manner, that they were all cut in pieces." Perrin, Bk.I, Ch.4, pp. 22, 23.

Carcassonne was the next victim of the armies. Raymond Roger attended by 300 knights had left the city to treat with the legate. But, we read:-

"The legate was profoundly penetrated with the maxim of Innocent III., that 'to keep faith with those who have it not, is an offense against the faith.' He caused the young viscount to be arrested with all the knights who followed him, and confided him to the care of Simon de Montfort. However, all the people of the city escaped during the night through a secret underground passage. But he announced that on the 15th day of August, the day of the occupation of the city, he had signed a capitulation, by which he permitted all the inhabitants to quit it with their lives only. He thought it also proper, for the honour of the holy church, not to let it be supposed that all the heretics had escaped him. His scouts had collected in the fields a certain number of prisoners, and amongst the fugitives from Carcassonne some had been overtaken and brought to the camp. He had in his hands, besides, the three hundred knights who had accompanied the viscount. Out of all these, he made choice, for execution, of 450 men and women, who might be suspected of heresy. Four hundred he caused to be burned alive, and the remaining fifty to be hanged." (1)

The principal object of the crusade was now accomplished. The time of service of the crusaders had expired; the Count of Toulouse had been humiliated; Raymond Roger was a prisoner and soon died in prison, under very suspicious circumstances (2); two cities had been destroyed and the whole country devastated; thousands of victims had perished by the sword; others driven from their burning homes, were wandering in the woods and mountains, and sinking each day under the pressure of want; those who had survived were frozen with terror and were silent - this was the ruin of so fair a country as we saw above in southern France.

Simon de Montfort, the veteran crusader, was the general of the armies. It was said of him that, "he was remarkable

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(1) Sismondi, pp. 65, 68. (2) Ibid., pp. 73-75.

for his regularity in the exercise of religion, daily hearing of masses and the offices of the canonical hours; and he was upheld by a lofty confidence in the protection of heaven." But with these better qualities were combined certain vices, "a vast ambition, a daring unscrupulousness as to the means of pursuing his objects, a ruthless indifference to human sufferings, and an excessive and undisguised rapacity." (1)

Simon de Montfort afterwards in 1210 conducted an army to a siege of the castle of Mirerva, which by deception and treachery he took on July 22nd of that year. Of what took place there we have already made mention above (2). At Minerva we had a most marvelous example of the religious fervor and steadfastness of those people when 140 of them precipitated themselves into the flames "which covered the whole square with a tremendous conflagration,....after having commended their souls to that God in whose cause they suffered martyrdom." (3)

At the fall of Lavaur in May, 1211, "they collected the innumerable heretics which the castle contained and burned them alive with the utmost of joy after they had already massacred eighty of the knights." (4).

In the year 1213 Simon de Montfort won a brilliant victory at the battle of Muret over Peter of Aragon who had joined Count Raymond of Toulouse in the protection of his lands. At the Lateran council in 1215, Raymond was deposed and Simon was

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(1) Smith, p.613. Smith cites Robertson, III, pp. 350, 351.
(2) See above pp. 32, 33. For full account see Sismondi, pp.85-87
(3) Sismondi, p.87. (4) Ibid., p.98. Bernardus Guidonis Vita Innocentii III., p.482. He informs us that 400 heretics were burned at Louvain.

was now the master of Languedoc, even against the desires of Innocent III. In another campaign Simon's forces were not so successful and Simon himself was killed under the walls of the city of Beaucaire which at the time he was besieging. Honorius III. who had succeeded Innocent in 1216, made a call upon Philip Augustus of France in 1218, another in the following year on his son prince Louis, a third in 1222, and again in 1223 after Louis VIII. had just ascended the throne. These calls met with only a small response. But in the year 1226, Louis with fifty thousand men captured Avignon in Provence while his lieutenants did successful work in Languedoc. Although at the time when Louis was suddenly taken by death, they were almost on the point of subduing the Albigenses, yet about the only result achieved was to add to the desolation of Southern France. In 1228 after Languedoc was "every day devastated anew by the French", "the papacy at length decided to extinguish the fire it had kindled". It desired that Raymond VII., the son of Count Raymond, should be head of Toulouse and that the power of the French should be restrained. This was not easy as the French did not wish to leave Languedoc. But through the shrewd diplomacy of the papal legate a compromise was accepted whereby (a) Raymond VII. was head of Toulouse, after having given proof of the purity of his faith; (b) he was to marry his daughter to a brother of the French king; and (c) he was to assure the transmission of the county of Toulouse to the issue of his marriage, and, in case the family became extinct, to the crown of France (1). This was adopted by the Assembly

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(1) See Lagarde, pp. 456-459; Also Lea, I, p.203.

of Paris in 1229. Thus ended the war of the Albigenses.(1).

4. The Establishment of the Inquisition.

What was not accomplished by the crusading armies of the Church was very effectively completed by the Inquisition.

Here again we must limit ourselves.

"By the term Inquisition is meant a tribunal which was devoted to the search for heresy and its suppression." (2) The tribunal was established in 1184 at Verona by Pope Lucius III. (3) The following is the pontifical text:-

"All the archbishops and bishops shall visit once or twice a year in person, or by their archdeacons, or by other honourable persons, the places in their dioceses where the presence of heretics may be indicated by popular rumour. Upon arriving there they shall apply to three or four men of good reputation, or, if it appears necessary, to all the inhabitants of the place and shall command them to engage themselves by oath (si expedire videhir jurare compellat) to denounce after diligent search those whom they know to be heretics, those who frequent secret meetings, those whose manner of life is peculiar. The bishops or their archdeacons shall cause the accused to appear, who shall be punished if they fail to exculpate themselves." (4)

Thus the Inquisition began in the hands of the bishops. This stage might be called that of the "episcopal inquisition". In 1198 Innocent III. sent legates into Languedoc to supplement the bishops, this was the "legatine inquisition". Yet in these forms it had not been able to overcome heresy, and nothing less than an army was needed. However in 1231 it passed into a third stage when it was placed in the hands of the Dominicans and thus became the "monastic inquisition" (5). The

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(1) See Schaff, V, Pt. I, pp. 513, 514. (2) Lagarde, p. 496.

(3) See above, p. 13. (4) Lagarde, p. 496. (5) Ibid., pp., 497, 498

following is an extract from the edict of 1228:-

"We order our barons, bailiffs, and other subjects, both present and future, to purge our dominions of heresy, to search out the heretics, to deliver them over without delay to the ecclesiastical authority, in order that, according to its judgment, they may be dealt with as they ought to be dealt with." (1)

So well did the Inquisition do its work that "after the thirteenth century, heresy in Southern France was almost like a noiseless underground stream" (2). It represented the culmination of all measures for the repression and extermination of the dissenters. "Its history presents what is probably the most revolting spectacle in the annals of civilized Europe." (3) As Lea says, "The battle of toleration against persecution had been fought and lost" (4). "From first to last the popes were its chief promoters" (5). With its excommunications and its interdicts, its bribes and its spy system, its imprisonment and confiscation of property, its torture and death penalty, - it presented a mighty contrast to the discipline of love which we find in St. Paul's precept to the Galatians, "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted. Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfil the law of Christ." (6)

Lea again points out an interesting fact concerning this persecution:-

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(1) Lagarde, p.500. (2) Schaff, V, Pt.I, p.514.
(3) Ibid., p.515. (4) Lea, I, p.208. (5) Schaff, V, Pt.I, p.519. (6) Gal.6.1, 2.

"Man is seldom wholly consistent in the practical application of his principles, and the persecutors of the thirteenth century made one concession to humanity and common-sense which was fatal to the completeness of the theory on which they acted. To carry out fully, they should have proselyted with the sword among all non-Christians whom fate threw in their power; but from this they abstained. Infidels who had never received the faith, such as Jews and Saracens, were not to be compelled to Christianity. Even their children were not to be baptized without parental consent, as this would be contrary to natural justice, as well as dangerous to the purity of the faith. It was necessary that the misbeliever should have been united with the Church by baptism in order to give her jurisdiction over him." (1)

Sismondi summarizes this whole conflict as follows:-

"We have thus traced the total extinction of the first reformation. The slaughter had been so prodigious, the massacres so universal, the terror so profound, and of so long duration, that the church appeared to have completely attained her object. The worship of the reformed Albigenses had everywhere ceased. All teaching was becoming impossible. Almost all the doctors of the new church had perished in a frightful manner; and the very small number of those who had succeeded in escaping the crusaders, had sought an asylum in the most distant regions, and were able to avoid new persecutions only by preserving the most absolute silence respecting their doctrines, and their ancient discipline. The private believers, who had not perished by the fire and the sword, or who had not withdrawn by flight from the scrutiny of the Inquisition knew that they could only save their lives by burying their secret in their own bosoms. For them there were no more sermons, no more prayers, no more Christian communion, no more instruction; even their children were not acquainted with their secret sentiments." (2)

Could not Faber's hymn well be applied to these people?

"Faith of our fathers! living still
In spite of dungeon, fire, and sword."

Were not many of the Albigenses who were chained in "prisons dark - still in heart and conscience free"? This is something of the question we raised at the beginning. We hope that its answer has already made itself manifest. Let us set it before us.

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(1) Lea, I, p.242. (2) Sismondi, pp. 132, 133.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

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At the beginning of our study we made the statement that there is this essential principle, which we call puritanism, which exists in the heart of mankind such that it rises in protest when the forms of religion bring upon men a spiritual bondage, and religion is deprived of spiritual values which are real, becoming corrupted and rendered incapable of satisfying the needs of the human soul. This spirit in its revolt demands a higher life and seeks to lay hold on that which will satisfy the inmost needs of men.

In the Albigenses we have traced them in their origin and development. Whether or not they were the possessors of the true apostolic Christianity, if we undertake to understand their belief with relation to the situation out of which it came, it stands in an entirely different light. Behold the corruption of the Church, the ignorance of the clergy, and the superstition that had become a part of the established religion.

The heart of this problem is expressed in the question of Everwinus of Steinfeld in his question to Bernard. He had just witnessed the burning of several heretics. These are his words :-

"What is very amazing, they came to the stake, and bare the pain, not only with patience, but even with joy. Were I with you, Father, I should be glad to ask you, how these members of Satan could persist in their heresy with such courage and constancy, as is scarcely to be found in the most religious believers of Christianity?" (1)

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(1) Milman, III, p.378.

Lea would answer to the above question that "A profound conviction of the emptiness of sacerdotal Christianity, of its failure and approaching extinction, and of the speedy triumph of their own faith, may partially explain the unselfish fervor which it excited among the poor and illiterate." (1)

On the matter of doctrine we should not to be too critical of the Albigenses. They were not the first people to have found difficulty in regard to the problem of good and evil in the world, neither are they last. They did believe in a God, and had their interpretation of Christ and emphasized greatly the baptism of the Holy Spirit. With respect to the Scriptures, their people on an average were better versed in them than the people of the Church of their day who were forbidden them. Their doctrine of the Church consisted primarily in a rejection of that which was commonly followed within the Church of Rome. It may be that some day documents will be found which will dispel the great uncertainty surrounding this question and which will enable men to draw a line between the true and the false in the representation of them which we have received from their enemies.

But on the question of their manner of life there is little room for dispute. As someone has said, "Their manner of life was more puritan than their doctrine." In this they

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(1) Lea, I, p.89.

have been distinguished from their enemies. Their simplicity of life, their honesty, their thrift, their temperance, their purity, their modesty, their simplicity of worship, and their devotion and steadfastness to their faith all stand in contrast to that which was prevalent in their day and particularly among the religious leadership. As in Steinfeld's question, whence their religious zeal? Whence their utter devotion to their belief? Whence their purity of life? - unless there had been something genuine underlying all and motivating them. Men do not usually choose to die as those died at Orleans, and Minerva, along with thousands of others, unless there is something genuine, something that calls them to rise above all manner of pain and sorrow of this life. Why should they not have yielded to the preaching of the papal missionaries or made their reconciliation with the Church before the crusading armies or the torch and stake brought upon them devastation, death, and utter desolation? In the end they had everything to lose and what had they to gain? Who could withstand the power and the methods of the Inquisition? How could they dare resist the irresistible as those of the Church believed her to be? The essence of the answer to these questions we believe to be in this principle which we have stated.

It should be noted that this principle was not confined solely to those who were denounced as heretics and persecuted as such. This period of the Medieval Church was one that was vibrant with various movements. We beheld the

culture that was taking hold on southern France, we noted efforts within the Church such as those of Bernard for reform, we could fairly agree that in the Crusades there was much of genuine religious zeal and enthusiasm, in the mendicant orders was an effort to carry salvation to mankind and to reclaim the sinner, in the great cathedrals we beheld hymns of stone, and among those whom we named as the great schoolmen were not ~~the~~ only men who were alive to new ideas and thoughts, who were devoted to learning, but also men of deep piety and sincere religious devotion. It is not strange then that the people of southern France and of many other parts of Europe should have partaken of the quickened life of their age. Wherein they met opposition and disaster was that they differed with the dogma of the Church and that was heresy, and heresy was the worst form of sin, worthy of the worst punishment.

We repeat the words of Dr. Schaff, truly "It was an age of bright lights and deep shadows, of strong faith and stronger superstition, of sublime heroism and wild passions, of ascetic self-denial and sensual indulgence, of Christian devotion and barbarous cruelty." (1) Protestant generations that have been since sitting in judgment upon the barbarous measures, conceived and pushed by the papacy, have wondered whether another movement, stirred by the power of the Gospel will not yet arise in the old domain that responded to the religious dissent" - the puritanism if we may so call it - and received the warm blood of the Albigenses." (2)

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(1) Schaff, V, Pt.I, p.4. (2) Ibid., p.514.

Thus we believe that we have shown that in the Albigensian movement, regardless of the orthodoxy or heterodoxy of the formal tenets of their faith, there was a manifestation of that longing of the religious nature for immediate access to God which throughout all the centuries has protested against anything which intrudes between the seeking, aspiring spirit of man and the infinite heart of God.

CHAPTER VI

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