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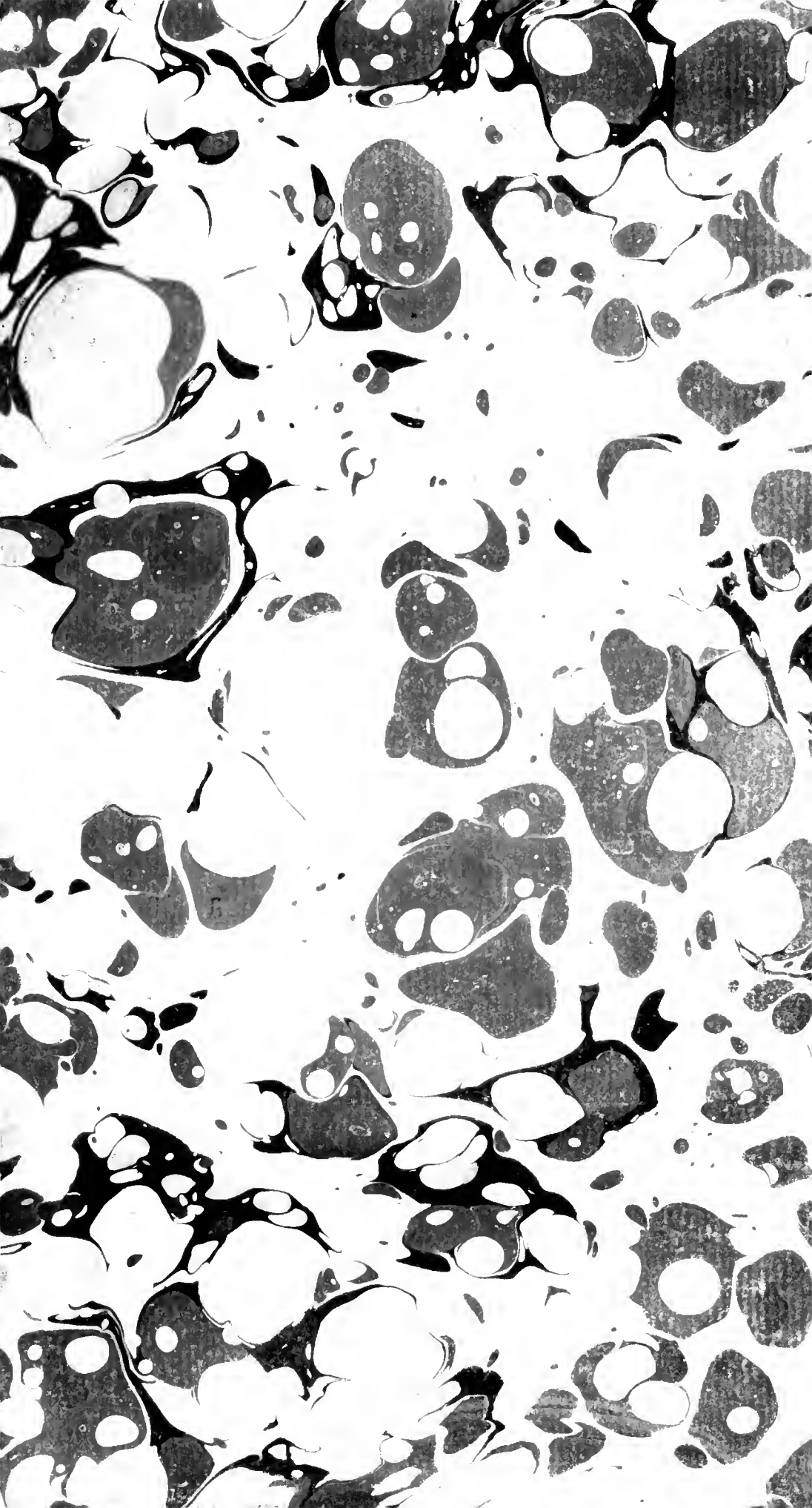


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AN
Ecclesiastical History,
ANCIENT AND MODERN,
FROM
THE BIRTH OF CHRIST,
TO THE
BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY.

VOLUME III.



AN
Ecclesiastical History,

ANCIENT AND MODERN,

FROM

THE BIRTH OF CHRIST,

TO THE

BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY:

IN WHICH

The Rise, Progress, and Variations of CHURCH POWER

ARE CONSIDERED

In their Connexion with the State of LEARNING and PHILOSOPHY, and
the POLITICAL HISTORY OF EUROPE during that Period.

==

By the late learned

JOHN LAWRENCE MOSHEIM, D. D.

And Chancellor of the University of GOTTINGEN.

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*Translated from the ORIGINAL LATIN, and accompanied with NOTES and
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES,*

By ARCHIBALD MACLAINE, D. D.

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IN SIX VOLUMES.

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To the whole is added AN ACCURATE INDEX.

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THE
TWELFTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

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CHAPTER I.

Concerning the prosperous events that happened to the church during this century.

I. **A** CONSIDERABLE part of *Europe* CENT. lay yet involved in Pagan darkness, which reigned XII. more especially in the northern provinces. It was, PART I. therefore, in these regions of gloomy superstition, that the zeal of the missionaries was principally exerted in this century; though their efforts were not all equally successful, nor the methods they employed for the propagation of the gospel equally prudent. BOLESLAUS, duke of *Poland*, having conquered the Pomeranians, offered them peace upon condition that they would receive the Christian doctors, and permit them to exercise their ministry in that vanquished province. This condition was accepted, and OTHO, bishop of *Bamberg*, a man of eminent piety and zeal, was sent, in the year 1124, to inculcate and explain the doctrines of Christianity among that superstitious and barbarous people. Many were converted to the faith by his ministry, while great numbers stood firm against his most vigorous efforts, and persisted with an invincible obstinacy in the religion of their idolatrous ancestors. Nor was this the only mortification which that illustrious prelate received in the execution of his pious

Several of the northern provinces received the light of the gospel.

CENT. enterprise; for, upon his return into *Germany*,
 XII. many of those, whom he had engaged in the pro-
 PART I. fession of Christianity, apostatised in his absence,
 and relapsed into their ancient prejudices; this obliged OTHO to undertake a second voyage into *Pomerania*, A. D. 1126, in which, after much opposition and difficulty, his labours were crowned with a happier issue, and contributed much to enlarge the bounds of the rising church, and to establish it upon solid foundations [a]. From this period, the Christian religion seemed to acquire daily new degrees of stability among the Pomeranians; who could not be persuaded hitherto to permit the settlement of a bishop among them. They now received ADALBERT, or ALBERT, in that character, who was accordingly the first bishop of *Pomerania*.

The Sclavonians and inhabitants of the isle of *Rügen*.

II. Of all the northern princes in this century, none appeared with a more distinguished lustre than WALDEMAR I. king of *Denmark*, who acquired an immortal name by the glorious battles he fought against the Pagan nations, such as the Sclavonians, Venedi, Vandals, and others, who, either by their incursions or this revolt, drew upon them the weight of his victorious arm. He unsheathed his sword not only for the defence and happiness of his people, but also for the propagation and advancement of Christianity; and wherever his arms were successful, there he pulled down the temples and images of the gods, destroyed their altars, laid waste their sacred groves, and substituted in their place the Christian

[a]. See HENR. CANISI *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iii. part II. p. 34. where we find the life of OTHO, who, A. D. 1189, was canonised by CLEMENT III. See the *Acta Sanctor. mensis Julii*, tom. i. p. 349.—DAN. CRAMFRI *Chronicon Eccles. Pomeranie*, lib. i. as also a learned *Dissertation* concerning the conversion of the Pomeranians by the ministry of OTHO, written in the German language by CHRISTOPHER SCHOTGEN, and published at *Stargard* in the year 1724. Add to these, MABILLON, *Annal. Benedic.* tom. vi. p. 123. 146. 323.

worship, which deserved to be propagated by better CENT.
 means than the sword, by the authority of reason XII.
 rather than by the despotic voice of power. The PART I.
 island of *Rugen*, which lies in the neighbourhood of
Pomerania, submitted to the victorious arms of
 WALDEMAR, A. D. 1168; and its fierce and
 savage inhabitants, who were, in reality, no more
 than a band of robbers and pirates, were obliged,
 by that prince, to hear the instructions of the pious
 and learned doctors that followed his army, and to
 receive the Christian worship. This salutary work
 was brought to perfection by ABSALOM, archbishop
 of *Lunden*, a man of a superior genius, and of a
 most excellent character in every respect, whose
 eminent merit raised him to the summit of power,
 and engaged WALDEMAR to place him at the head
 of affairs [b].

III. The Finlanders received the gospel in the The Fin-
 same manner in which it had been propagated among landers.
 the inhabitants of the isle of *Rugen*. They were
 also a fierce and savage people, who lived by plunder,
 and infested *Sweden* in a terrible manner by their
 perpetual incursions, until, after many bloody bat-
 tles, they were totally defeated by ERIC IX. and
 were, in consequence thereof, reduced under the

[b] SAXO-GRAMMATICUS, *Histor. Danic.* lib. xiv. p. 239.
 HELMOLDUS, *Chron. Sclavorum*, lib. ii. cap. xii. p. 234. &
 HENR. BANGERTUS, *ad h. l.*—PONTOPPIDANI *Annales Eccle-*
sia Danica, tom. i. p. 404.

☞ Besides the historians here mentioned by Dr. MOSHEIM,
 we refer the curious reader to an excellent history of *Denmark*,
 written in French by M. MALLET, professor at *Copenhagen*. In
 the first volume of this history, the ingenious and learned author
 has given a very interesting account of the progress of Christianity
 in the northern parts of *Europe*, and a particular relation of the
 exploits of ABSALOM, who was, at the same time, archbishop,
 general, admiral, and prime minister; and who led the victorious
 Danes to battle by sea and land, without neglecting the cure of
 souls, or diminishing, in the least, his pious labours in the propa-
 gation of the gospel abroad, and its maintenance and support at
 home.

CENT. Swedish yoke. Historians differ about the precise
 XII. time when this conquest was completed [*c*]; but
 PART I. they are all unanimous in their accounts of its
 effects. The Finlanders were commanded to embrace
 the religion of the conqueror, which the greatest
 part of them did, though with the utmost reluctance
 [*d*]. The founder and ruler of this new church
 was HENRY, archbishop of *Upsal*, who accompanied
 the victorious monarch in that bloody campaign.
 This prelate, whose zeal was not sufficiently tem-
 pered with the mild and gentle spirit of the religion
 he taught, treated the new converts with great
 severity, and was assassinated at last in a cruel
 manner on account of the heavy penance he imposed
 upon a person of great authority, who had been
 guilty of manslaughter. This melancholy event
 procured HENRY the honours of sainthood and mar-
 tyrdom, which were solemnly conferred on him
 by pope ADRIAN IV. [*e*].

The Livo-
nians.

IV. The propagation of the gospel among the
 Livonians was attended with much difficulty, and
 also with horrible scenes of cruelty and bloodshed.
 The first missionary, who attempted the conversion
 of that savage people, was MAINARD, a regular
 canon of *St. Augustin*, in the monastery of *Sigeberg*,
 who, towards the conclusion of this century [*f*],
 travelled to *Livonia*, with a company of merchants
 of *Bremen*, who traded thither, and improved this

[*c*] Most writers, with BARONIUS, place this event in the
 year 1151. Different, however, from this is the chronology of
 VASTOVIUS and OERNHIELMIUS, the former placing it A. D.
 1150, and the latter A. D. 1157.

[*d*] OERNHIELMII *Histor. Eccles. gentis Suecorum*, lib. iv.
 cap. iv. § 13.—JO. LOCENII *Histor. Suecica*, lib. iii. p. 76. ed.
Francof.—ERLANDI *Vita Erici Sancti*, cap. vii.—VASTOVII
Vitis Aquilonia, p. 65.

[*e*] VASTOVII *Vitis Aquilon. seu Vita Sanctorum regni Suego-
 thici*, p. 62. ERIC. BENEZLI *Monumenta Ecclesia Suegothica*,
 part I. p. 33.

[*f*] In the year 1186.

opportunity of spreading the light of the gospel in CENT. that barbarous region of superstition and darkness. XII. The instructions and exhortations of this zealous PART I. apostle were little attended to, and produced little or no effect upon that uncivilized nation: whereupon he addressed himself to the Roman pontiff URBAN III. who consecrated him bishop of the Livonians, and, at the same time, declared a *holy* war against that obstinate people. This war, which was at first carried on against the inhabitants of the province of *Esthonia*, was continued with still greater vigour and rendered more universal by BERTHOLD, abbot of *Lucca*, who left his monastery to share the labours and laurels of MAINARD, whom he, accordingly, succeeded in the see of *Livonia*. The new bishop marched into that province at the head of a powerful army which he had raised in *Saxony*, preached the gospel sword in hand, and proved its truth by blows instead of arguments. ALBERT, canon of *Bremen*, became the third bishop of *Livonia*, and followed, with a barbarous enthusiasm, the same military methods of conversion that had been practised by his predecessor. He entered *Livonia*, A. D. 1198, with a fresh body of troops, drawn out of *Saxony*, and encamping at *Riga*, instituted there, by the direction of the Roman pontiff INNOCENT III. the *military order of the knights sword-bearers* [g], who were commissioned to dragoon the Livonians into the profession of Christianity, and to oblige them, by force of arms, to receive the benefits of baptism [b]. New legions were sent from *Germany* to second the efforts, and add efficacy to the mission, of these booted apostles; and they, together with the knights sword-bearers, so cruelly oppressed, slaughtered, and tormented this wretched people, that exhausted, at

[g] *Equestris Ordo Militum Eniferorum.*

[b] See HENR. LEONH. SCHURZFLEISCHII *Historia Ordinis Eniferorum Equitum, Witteberg, 1701, 8vo.*

CENT. length, and unable to stand any longer firm against
 XII. the arm of persecution, strengthened still by new
 PART I. accessions of power, they abandoned the statues of
 their pagan deities, and substituted in their place the
 images of the saints. But while they received the
 blessings of the gospel, they were, at the same time,
 deprived of all earthly comforts; for their lands and
 possessions were taken from them with the most odious
 circumstances of cruelty and violence, and the knights
 and bishops divided the spoil [i].

The Scla-
 vonians.

V. None of the northern nations had a more
 rooted aversion to the Christians, and a more obsti-
 nate antipathy to their religion, than the Sclavonians,
 a rough and barbarous people, who inhabited the
 coast of the Baltic sea. This excited the zeal of
 several neighbouring princes, and of a multitude of
 pious missionaries, who united their efforts in order
 to conquer the prejudices of this people, and to open
 their eyes upon the light of the gospel. HENRY
 duke of Saxony, surnamed the *Lion*, distinguished
 himself, in a particular manner, by the ardour which
 he discovered in the execution of this pious design,
 as well as by the wise methods he employed to
 render it successful. Among other measures that
 were proper for this purpose, he restored from their
 ruins, and endowed richly, three bishoprics [k] that

[i] See the *Origines Livoniae seu Chronicon vetus Livonicum*,
 published in folio, at *Francfort*, in the year 1740, by JO. DANIEL
 GRUBERUS, and enriched with ample and learned observations
 and notes, in which the laborious author enumerates all the writers
 of the Livonian history, and corrects their mistakes.

[k] Dr. MOSHEIM's account of this matter is very different
 from that which is given by FLEURY, who asserts, that it was
 HARTWICK, archbishop of *Bremen*, who restored the three ruined
 sees, and consecrated VICELINUS, bishop of *Oldenbourg*; and
 that, having done this without addressing himself to HENRY,
 that prince seized the tithes of VICELINUS, until a reconciliation
 was afterwards brought about between the offended prince and
 the worthy bishop. See FLEURY, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. lxxix. p. 665.
 668. edit. *Bruxelle*. FLEURY, in this and other parts of his

had been ravaged and destroyed by these Barbarians; CENT.
to wit, the bishoprics of *Ratzebourg* and *Schwerin*, XII.
 and that of *Oldenbourg*, which was afterwards trans- PART I.
 planted to *Lubec*. The most eminent of the Christian
 doctors, who attempted the conversion of the Scla-
 vonians, was VICELINUS, a native of *Hamelén*, a
 man of extraordinary merit, who surpassed almost all
 his cotemporaries in genuine piety and solid learning,
 and who, after having presided many years in the
 society of the regular canons of *St. Augustin* at
Falderen, was at length consecrated bishop of *Olden-
 bourg*. This excellent man had employed the last
 thirty years of his life [*l*], amidst numberless
 vexations, dangers, and difficulties, in instructing the
 Slavonians, and exhorting them to comply with the
 invitations of the gospel of CHRIST; and as his pious
 labours were directed by true wisdom, and carried
 on with the most indefatigable industry and zeal, so
 were they attended with much fruit, even among
 that fierce and untractable people. Nor was his
 ministry among the Slavonians the only circumstance
 that redounds to the honour of his memory; the
 history of his life and actions in general furnishes
 proofs of his piety and zeal, sufficient to transmit his
 name to the latest generations [*m*].

history, shews, that he is but indifferently acquainted with the
 history of *Germany*, and has not drawn from the best sources.
 The authorities which Dr. MOSHEIM produces for his account
 of the matter, are, the *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. iii. p. 16. 19. 34.
 55. 61. 63. 72. 82. with the celebrated *Preface* of SCHEIDIUS,
 § xiv. p. 41.—LUDEWIG'S *Reliquie Manuscriptorum*, tom. vi.
 p. 230.—JO. ERN DE WESTPHALEN, *Monumenta inedita rerum
 Cimbricarum et Megapolens.* tom. ii. p. 1998.

[*l*] That is, from the year 1124 to the year 1154, in which
 he died.

[*m*] There is a particular and ample account of VICELINUS
 in the *Cimbria Literata* of MOLLERUS, tom. ii. p. 910. and in
 the *Hamburg.* of LAMBECIUS, lib. ii. p. 12. See also upon this
 subject the *Origines Neomonastr. et Bordejsbolmens.* of the most
 learned and industrious JOH. ERN. DE WESTPHALEN, which are

CENT.

VI. It is needless to repeat here the observation

XII.

we have had so often occasion to make upon such conversions as these we have been now relating, or

PART I.

The judgment we ought to form of these conversions.

to advertise the reader that the savage nations, who were thus dragooned into the church, became the disciples of CHRIST, not so much in reality, as in outward appearance. [They professed, with an inward reluctance, a religion which was inculcated by violence and bloodshed, which recalled to their remembrance nothing but scenes of desolation and misery, and which, indeed, when considered in the representations that were given of it by the greatest part of the missionaries, was but a few degrees removed from the absurdities of paganism.] The pure and rational religion of the gospel was never presented to these unhappy nations in its native simplicity; they were only taught to appease the Deity, and to render him propitious, by a senseless round of trifling ceremonies and bodily exercises, which, in many circumstances, resembled the superstitions they were obliged to renounce, and might have been easily reconciled with them, had it not been that the name and history of CHRIST, the sign of the cross, and some diversity between certain rites and ceremonies of the two religions, opposed this coalition: Besides, the missionaries, whose zeal for imposing the name of Christians upon this people was so vehement and even furious, were extremely indulgent in all other respects, and opposed their prejudices and vices with much gentleness and forbearance. They permitted them to retain several rites and observances that were in direct opposition to the spirit of Christianity, and to the nature of true piety. The truth of the matter seems to have been this, that the leading views of these Christian heralds,

published in the second *tome* of the *Monumenta inedita Cimbrica*, p. 2344, and the *Preface* to this *tome*, p. 33. There is in this work a print of VICELINUS well engraven.

and propagators of the faith, a small number excepted, were rather turned towards the advancement of their own interests, and the confirming and extending the dominion of the Roman pontiffs, than towards the true conversion of these savage Pagans, that conversion which consists in the removal of ignorance, the correction of error, and the reformation of vice.

VII. A great revolution in *Asiatic Tartary*, which borders upon *Cathay*, changed the face of things in that distant region about the commencement of this century, and proved, by its effects, extremely beneficial to the Christian cause. Towards the conclusion of the preceding century, died KOIREMCHAN, otherwise called KENCHAN, the most powerful monarch that was known in the eastern regions of *Asia*; and while that mighty kingdom was deprived of its chief, it was invaded, with such uncommon valour and success, by a Nestorian priest, whose name was JOHN, that it fell before his victorious arms, and acknowledged this warlike and enterprising *presbyter* as its monarch. This was the famous PRESTER JOHN, whose territory was, for a long time, considered by the Europeans as a second paradise, as the seat of opulence and complete felicity. As he was a *presbyter* before his elevation to the royal dignity, many continued to call him *presbyter John*, even when he was seated on the throne [n];

The state of affairs in Tartary changes in favour of the Christians.

[n] The account I have here given of this famous *presbyter*, commonly called PRESTER JOHN, who was, for a long time, considered as the greatest and happiest of all earthly monarchs, is what appeared to me the most probable among the various relations that have been given of the life and adventures of that extraordinary man. This account is moreover confirmed by the testimonies of cotemporary writers, whose knowledge and impartiality render them worthy of credit: such as WILLIAM of Tripoli (see DUFRESNE'S *Adnot. ad vitam Ludovici Sti. à Joinvillio scriptam*, p. 89.) as also a certain bishop of *Gabala*, mentioned by OTTO Frisug, *Chronic.* lib. vii. cap. xxxiii. See also GUILLAUME RUBRUQUIS, *Voyage*, cap. xviii. p. 36. in the *Antiqua*

CENT. but his kingly name was UNGCHAN. The high
 XII. notions the Greeks and Latins generally entertained
 PART I. of the grandeur and magnificence of this royal
 presbyter, were principally owing to the letters he
 wrote to the Roman emperor FREDERIC I. and to
 EMANUEL emperor of the Greeks, in which, puffed

in Afiam Itinera, collected by father BERGERON, and ALBERIC
in Chronico. ad A. 1165 and 1170, in LEIBNITII *Accessionibus*
Historicis, tom. ii. p. 345. 355. It is indeed surprizing, that
 such authentic records as these should have escaped the observation
 of the learned, and that so many different opinions should have
 been advanced concerning PRESTER JOHN, and the place of his
 residence. But it is too generally the fate of learned men, to
 overlook those accounts that carry the plainest marks of evidence,
 and, from a passion for the *marvellous*, to plunge into the regions
 of uncertainty and doubt. In the fifteenth century, JOHN II.
 king of *Portugal*, employed PEDRO COUVILLIANO in a laborious
 inquiry into the real situation of the kingdom of PRESTER JOHN.
 The curious voyager undertook this task, and, for information in
 the matter, travelled with a few companions into *Abyssinia*; and,
 observing in the emperor of the Abyssinians; or Ethiopians, many
 circumstances that resembled the accounts which, at that time,
 prevailed in *Europe* concerning PRESTER JOHN, he persuaded
 himself that he had fulfilled his commission, and found out the
 residence of that extraordinary monarch, who was the object of
 his researches. His opinion gained easily credit in *Europe*,
 which had not as yet emerged out of its ignorance and barbarism.
 See MORINUS, *De sacris Eccles. Ordinationibus*, part II. p. 367.
 But a new light was cast upon this matter in the seventeenth
 century, by the publication of several pieces, which the industry
 of the curious drew forth from their obscurity, and by which a
 great number of learned men were engaged to abandon the
 Portuguese opinion, and were convinced that PRESTER JOHN
 reigned in *Asia*, though they still continued to dispute about the
 situation of his kingdom, and other particular circumstances.
 There are, notwithstanding all this, some men of the most eminent
 learning in our times, who maintain, that JOHN was emperor of
 the Abyssinians, and thus prefer the Portuguese opinion, though
 destitute of authentic proofs and testimonies, to the other above
 mentioned, though supported by the strongest evidence, and the
 most unquestionable authorities. See EUSEB. RENAUDOT, *Hist.*
Patriarch. Alexandr. p. 223. 337.—JOS. FRANC. LAFITAU,
Hist. des Decouvertes des Portugais. tom. i. p. 58. and tom. iii.
 p. 57.—HENR. LE GRAND, *Diff. de Johanne Presbytero in*
LOBE'S Voyage de Abyssinie, tom. i. p. 295.

up with prosperity and flushed with success, he vaunts his victories over the neighbouring nations that disputed his passage to the throne, describes, in the most pompous and extravagant terms, the splendor of his riches, and the grandeur of his state, and the extent of his dominions, and exalts himself far above all other earthly monarchs. All this was easily believed, and the Nestorians were extremely zealous in confirming the boasts of their vain-glorious prince. He was succeeded by his son, or, as others think, his brother, whose name was DAVID, though, in common discourse, he was also called PRESTER JOHN, as his predecessor had been. The reign of DAVID was far from being happy, nor did he end his days in peace; GENGHIZ KAN, the great and warlike emperor of the Tartars, invaded his territories towards the conclusion of this century, and deprived him both of his life and his dominions.

VIII. The new kingdom of *Jerusalem*, which had been erected by the *holy warriors of France* towards the conclusion of the preceding century, seemed to flourish considerably at the beginning of this, and to rest upon firm and solid foundations. This prosperous scene was, however, but transitory, and was soon succeeded by the most terrible calamities and desolations. For when the Mahometans saw vast numbers of those that had engaged in this holy war returning into *Europe*, and the Christian chiefs that remained in *Palestine* divided into factions, and advancing, every one, his private interest, without any regard to the public good, they resumed their courage, recovered from the terror and consternation into which they had been thrown by the amazing valour and rapid success of the European legions, and gathering troops and soliciting succours from all quarters, they harrassed and exhausted the Christians by invasions and wars without interruption. The Christians, on the other hand, sustained their efforts with their usual fortitude, and maintained their

CENT.

XII.

PART I.

The affairs
of the
Christians
in *Palestine*
in a declin-
ing state.

CENT. ground during many years; but when ATABECK
 XII. ZENGI [o], after a long siege, made himself master
 PART I. of the city of *Edeffa*, and threatened *Antioch* with
 the same fate, their courage began to fail, and a
 diffidence in their own strength obliged them to
 turn their eyes once more towards *Europe*. They
 accordingly implored, in the most lamentable strain,
 the assistance of the European princes; and requested
 that a new army of cross-bearing champions might
 be sent to support their tottering empire in the Holy
 land. Their entreaties were favourably received by
 the Roman pontiffs, who left no method of persuasion
 unemployed, that might engage the emperor and
 other Christian princes to execute a new expedition
 into *Palestine*.

The crusade
 renewed.

IX. This new expedition was not, however,
 resolved upon with such unanimity and precipitation
 as the former had been; it was the subject of long
 deliberation, and its expediency was keenly debated
 both in the cabinets of princes, and in the assemblies
 of the clergy and the people. BERNARD, the famous
 abbot of *Clairval*, a man of the boldest resolution
 and of the greatest authority, put an end to those
 disputes under the pontificate of EUGENIUS III. who
 had been his disciple, and who was wholly governed
 by his counsels. This eloquent and zealous ecclesi-
 astic preached the cross, i. e. the *crusade*, in *France*
 and *Germany*, with great ardour and success; and
 in the grand parliament assembled at *Vezelai*, A. D.
 1146, at which LEWIS VII. king of *France*, with
 his queen, and a prodigious concourse of the prin-
 cipal nobility were present, BERNARD recommended
 this holy expedition with such a persuasive power,

[o] *Atabek* was a title of honour given by the *Sultans* to the
 viceroys or lieutenants, whom they intrusted with the government
 of their provinces. The Latin Authors, who have wrote the
 history of this holy war, and of whom BONGARSIIUS has given
 us a complete list, call this *Atabek Zengi*, SANGUINUS. See
 HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Orient.* at the word ATABECK, p. 142.

and declared with such assurance that he had a CENT. divine commission to foretel its glorious success, that XII. the king, the queen, and all the nobles, immediately put on the military cross, and prepared themselves for the voyage into *Palestine*. PART I. CONRAD III. emperor of *Germany*, was, for some time, unmoved by the exhortations of BERNARD; but he was soon gained over by the urgent solicitations of the fervent abbot, and followed, accordingly, the example of the French monarch. The two princes, each at the head of a numerous army, set out for *Palestine*, to which they were to march by different roads. But, before their arrival in the Holy land, the greatest part of their forces were melted away, and perished miserably, some by famine, some by the sword of the Mahometans, some by shipwreck, and a considerable number by the perfidious cruelty of the Greeks, who looked upon the western nations as more to be feared than the Mahometans themselves. LEWIS VII. left his kingdom A. D. 1147, and, in the month of *March* of the following year, he arrived at *Antioch*, with the wretched remains of his army, exhausted and dejected by the hardships they had endured. CONRAD set out also in the year 1147, in the month of *May*; and, in *November* following, he arrived at *Nice*, where he joined the French army, after having lost the greatest part of his own by calamities of various kinds. From *Nice* the two princes proceeded to *Jerusalem* A. D. 1148, from whence they led back into *Europe*, the year following, the miserable handful of troops, which had survived the disasters they met with in this expedition. Such was the unhappy issue of this second *crusade*, which was rendered ineffectual by a variety of causes, but more particularly by the jealousies and divisions that reigned among the Christian chiefs in *Palestine*. Nor was it more ineffectual in *Palestine* than it was detrimental to *Europe*, by draining the wealth of its fairest provinces, and

CENT. destroying such a prodigious number of its inhabitants [p].

XII. PART I.

The kingdom of Jerusalem overturned.

X. The unhappy issue of this second expedition was not however sufficient, when considered alone, to render the affairs of the Christians in *Palestine* entirely desperate. Had their chiefs and princes laid aside their animosities and contentions, and attacked the common enemy with their united force, they would have soon repaired their losses, and recovered their glory. But this was far from being the case. A fatal corruption of sentiments and manners reigned among all ranks and orders. Both the people and their leaders, and more especially the latter, abandoned themselves without reluctance to all the excesses of ambition, avarice, and injustice; they indulged themselves in the practice of all sorts of vices; and by their intestine quarrels, jealousies, and discords, they weakened their efforts against the enemies that surrounded them on all sides, and consumed their strength by thus unhappily dividing it. SALADIN, viceroy, or rather sultan of *Egypt* and *Syria* [q], and the most valiant chief of whom the Mahometan annals boast, took advantage of these lamentable divisions. He waged war against the Christians with the utmost valour and success; took prisoner GUY of LUSIGNAN, king of *Jerusalem*,

[p] Besides the historians enumerated by BONGARSIIUS, see MABILLON, *Annal. Benedic.* tom. vi. p. 399. 404. 407. 417. 451. JAC. GERVAŠII *Histoire de l'Abbé Suger*, tom. iii. p. 104. 128. 173. 190. 239. This was the famous SUGER, abbot of *St. Dennis*, who had seconded the exhortations of BERNARD in favour of the *crusade*, and whom LEWIS appointed regent of *France* during his absence. VERTOT, *Histoire des Chevaliers de Malta*, tom. i. p. 86. JOH. JAC. MASCOVIUS, *De rebus imperii sub Conrado III.*

[q] SALADIN, so called by the western writers, SALAH'ADDIN by the Orientals, was no longer vizir or viceroy of *Egypt*, when he undertook the siege of *Jerusalem*, but had usurped the sovereign power in that country, and had also added to his dominions, by right of conquest, several provinces of *Syria*.

in a fatal battle fought near *Tiberias*, A. D. 1187; CENT. and, in the course of the same year, reduced *Jerusalem* itself under his dominion [r]. The carnage and desolations that accompanied this dreadful campaign, threw the affairs of the Christians in the east into the most desperate condition, and left them no glimpse of hope, but what arose from the expected succours of the European princes. The succours were obtained for them by the Roman pontiffs with much difficulty, and in consequence of repeated solicitations and entreaties. But the event, as we shall now see, was by no means answerable to the deep schemes that were concerted, and the pains that were employed, for the support of the tottering kingdom of *Jerusalem*.

XI. The third expedition was undertaken, A. D. 1189, by FREDERIC I. surnamed BARBAROSSA, emperor of *Germany*, who, with a prodigious army, marched through several Grecian provinces, where he had innumerable difficulties and obstacles to overcome, into the *Lesser Asia*, from whence, after having defeated the sultan of *Iconium*, he penetrated into *Syria*. His valour and conduct promised successful and glorious campaigns to the army he commanded, when, by an unhappy accident, he lost his life in the river *Saleph* [s], which runs through

XII.
PART I.
A third
crusade un-
dertaken.

[r] See the *Life of Saladin*, by BOHAR'EDIN EBN SHEDDAD, an Arabian writer, whose history of that warlike sultan was published at *Leyden* in the year 1732, by the late celebrated professor ALBERT SCHULTENS, and accompanied with an excellent Latin translation. See also HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Orient.* at the article SALAH'ADDIN, p. 742. and MARIIGNY'S *Histoire des Arabes*, tom. iv. p. 289. ☞ But above all, see the learned *History of the Arabians* in the *Modern Part of the Universal History*.

☞ [s] MAIMBOURG, in his *Histoire des Crusades*, and MARIIGNY, in his *Hist. du XII Siecle*, say, that FREDERIC perished in the *Cydnus*, a river in *Cilicia*. But they are easily to be reconciled with our author, since, according to the descriptions, given of the river *Saleph* by several learned geographers, and among others by ROGER the Annalist, it appears that the *Saleph* and the *Cydnus* were the same river under different names.

CENT. *Selucia*. The manner of his death is not known
 XII. with any degree of certainty; the loss however of
 PART I. such an able chief dejected the spirits of his troops,
 so that considerable numbers of them returned into
Europe. Those that remained continued the war
 under the command of FREDERIC, son of the deceased
 emperor; but the greatest part of them perished
 miserably by a pestilential disorder, which raged
 with prodigious violence in the camp, and swept off
 vast numbers every day. The new general died of
 this terrible disease, A. D. 1191; those that escaped
 its fury were dispersed, and few returned to their
 own country [t].

Its issue.

XII. The example of FREDERIC BARBAROSSA
 was followed, in the year 1190, by PHILIP AU-
 GUSTUS king of *France*, and lion-hearted RICHARD,
 king of *England*. These two monarchs set out from
 their respective dominions with a considerable num-
 ber of ships of war, and transports [u], arrived in
Palestine in the year 1191, each at the head of a
 separate army, and were pretty successful in their
 first encounters with the infidels. After the reduc-
 tion of the strong city of *Accá*, or *Ptolemais*, which
 had been defended by the Moslems with the most
 obstinate valour, the French monarch returned into
Europe, in the month of *July*, 1191, leaving,
 however, behind him a considerable part of the army
 which he had conducted into *Palestine*. After his
 departure, the king of *England* pushed the war
 with the greatest vigour, gave daily marks of his
 heroic intrepidity and military skill, and not only

[t] See an ample and satisfactory account of this unhappy
 campaign in the *Life of Frederic I.* written in German by
 HENRY Count BUNAU, p. 278. 293. 309.

[u] The learned authors of the *Modern Universal History*
 tell us, that PHILIP arrived in *Palestine* with a supply of men,
 money, &c. on board six ships, whereas RENAUDOT mentions
 100 sail as employed in this expedition. The fleet of RICHARD
 consisted of 150 large ships, besides galleys, &c.

defeated SALADIN in several engagements, but also made himself master of *Y'assa* [w] and *Cæsarea*. Deferted, however, by the French and Italians, and influenced by other motives and considerations of the greatest weight, he concluded, A. D. 1192, with SALADIN, a truce of three years, three months, and as many days, and soon evacuated *Palestine* with his whole army [x]. Such was the issue of the third expedition against the infidels, which exhausted *England*, *France*, and *Germany*, both of men and money, without bringing any solid advantage, or giving even a favourable turn, to the affairs of the Christians in the Holy land.

XIII. These bloody wars between the Christians and the Mahometans gave rise to *three famous military orders*, whose office it was to destroy the robbers that infested the public roads, to harrass the Moslems by perpetual inroads and warlike atchievements, to assist the poor and sick pilgrims, whom the devotion of the times conducted to the holy sepulchre, and to perform several other services that tended to the general good [y]. The first of these orders was that of the *knights of St. John of Jerusalem*, who derived their name, and particularly that of *Hospitallers*, from an hospital dedicated, in that city, to St. JOHN the *Baptist*, in which certain pious and charitable brethren were constantly employed in relieving and refreshing with necessary supplies the indigent and diseased pilgrims, who were daily arriving at *Jerusalem*. When this city became the metropolis of a new kingdom, the revenues of the hospital were

[w] More commonly known by the name of *Joppa*.

[x] DANIEL, *Histoire de France*, tom. iii. p. 426.—RAPIN THOYRAS, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, tom. ii. See there the reign of RICHARD *Cœur de Lion*.—MARIGNY, *Histoire des Arabes*, tom. iv. p. 285.

[y] The writers, who have given the history of these three orders, are enumerated by JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, *Bibliograph. Antiquar.* p. 465. but his enumeration is not complete.

CENT. so prodigiously increased by the liberality of several
 XII. princes, and the pious donations of such opulent
 PART I. persons as frequented the *holy places*, that they far
 surpassed the wants of those whom they were
 designed to cherish and relieve. Hence it was that
 RAYMOND DU PUY, who was the ruler of this
 charitable house, offered to the king of *Jerusalem*
 to make war upon the Mahometans at his own
 expence, seconded by his brethren, who served
 under him in this famous hospital. BALDUIN II.
 to whom this proposal was made, accepted it readily,
 and the enterprize was solemnly approved of and
 confirmed by the authority of the Roman pontiff.
 Thus, all of a sudden, the world was surpris'd with
 the strange transformation of a devout fraternity,
 who had lived remote from the noise and tumult of
 arms in the performance of works of charity and
 mercy, into a valiant and hardy band of warriors.
 The whole order was upon this occasion divided
 into three classes; the first contained the *knights*,
 or soldiers of illustrious birth, who were to unsheath
 their swords in the Christian cause; in the second
 were comprehended the *priests*, who were to officiate
 in the churches that belonged to the order; and in
 the third, the *serv'ing brethren*, or the soldiers of
 low condition. This celebrated order gave, upon
 many occasions, eminent proofs of their resolution
 and valour, and acquired immense opulence by their
 heroic atchievements. When *Palestine* was irre-
 coverably lost, the *knights* pass'd into the isle of
Cyprus; they afterwards made themselves masters of
 the isle of *Rhodes*, where they maintained themselves
 for a long time; but being, at length, driven thence by
 the Turks, they received from the emperor CHARLES
 V. a grant of the island of *Malta*, where their chief,
 or grand commander, still resides [z].

[z] The best and the most recent history of this order is that
 which was compos'd by VERTOT at the request of the knights
 of *Malta*; it was first published at *Paris*, and afterwards at

XIV. Another order, which was entirely of a CENT. military nature, was that of the *knights templars*, so XII. called from a palace, adjoining to the temple of PART I. *Jerusalem*, which was appropriated to their use for a certain time by BALDUIN II. The foundations of this order were laid at *Jerusalem*, in the year 1118, by HUGUES DES PAYENS, GEOFFRY of St. ALDEMAR, of St. OMER, as some will have it, and seven other persons whose names are unknown; but it was not before the year 1228, that it acquired a proper degree of stability, by being confirmed solemnly in the council of *Troyes*, and subjected to a rule of discipline drawn up by St. BERNARD [a]. These warlike templars were to defend and support the cause of Christianity by force of arms, to have inspection over the public roads, and to protect the pilgrims, who came to visit *Jerusalem*, against the insults and barbarity of the Mahometans. The order flourished for some time, and acquired, by the valour of its knights, immense riches and an eminent degree of military renown; but, as their prosperity increased, their vices were multiplied, and their arrogance, luxury, and inhuman cruelty rose at last to such a monstrous height, that their privileges were revoked, and their order suppressed with the most terrible circumstances of infamy and severity, by a decree of the pope and of the council of *Vienne* in *Dauphiny*, as we shall see in the history of the fourteenth century [b].

The knights
templars.

Amsterdam, in five volumes, 8vo. in the year 1732. See also HELYOT's *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. iii. p. 72.

[a] See MABILLON, *Annal. Benedic.* tom. vi. p. 159.

[b] See MATTHEW PARIS, *Histor. Major.* p. 56. for an account of the commencement of this order. See also PUTEAN, *Histoire de l'Ordre Militaire des Templiers*, which was republished, with considerable additions, at *Brussels*, in 4to. in the year 1751. NIC. GURTLERI *Historia Templariorum Militum*, *Amstelodam.* 1691. in 8vo.

CENT.

XII.

PART I.

The Teuto-
nic order.

XV. The third order resembled the first in this respect, that, though it was a military institution, the care of the poor and the relief of the sick were not excluded from the services it prescribed. Its members were distinguished by the title of *Teutonic knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem*; and as to its first rise, we cannot, with any degree of certainty, trace it farther back than the year 1190, during the siege of *Accá*, or *Ptolemais*, though there are Historians adventurous enough to seek its origin (which they place at *Jerusalem*) in a more remote period. During the long and tedious siege of *Accá*, several pious and charitable merchants of *Bremen* and *Lubec*, touched with compassion at a sight of the miseries that the besiegers suffered in the midst of their success, devoted themselves entirely to the service of the sick and wounded soldiers, and erected a kind of hospital or tent, where they gave constant attendance to all such unhappy objects as had recourse to their charity. This pious undertaking was so agreeable to the German princes, who were present at this terrible siege, that they thought proper to form a fraternity of German knights to bring it to a greater degree of perfection. Their resolution was highly approved of by the Roman pontiff CELESTINE III. who confirmed the new order by a bull issued out the twenty-third of February, A. D. 1192. This order was entirely appropriated to the Germans, and even of them none were admitted as members of it, but such as were of an illustrious birth. The support of Christianity, the defence of the Holy land, and the relief of the poor and needy, were the important duties and service to which the Teutonic knights devoted themselves by a solemn vow. Austerity and frugality were the first characteristics of this rising order, and the equestrian garment [c], with bread and water, were the only rewards which the

[c] This garment was a white mantle with a black cross.

knights derived from their generous labours. But as, according to the fate of human things, prosperity engenders corruption, so it happened that this austerity was of a short duration, and diminished in proportion as the revenues and possessions of the order augmented. The Teutonic knights, after their retreat from *Palestine*, made themselves masters of *Prussia*, *Livonia*, *Courland*, and *Semigallen*; but, in process of time, their victorious arms received several checks, and when the light of the reformation arose upon *Germany*, they were deprived of the richest provinces which they possessed in that country; though they still retain there a certain portion of their ancient territories [d].

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the church during this century.

I. THE progress of Christianity in the west had disarmed its most inveterate enemies, and deprived them of the power of doing much mischief, though they still entertained the same aversion to the disciples of JESUS. The Jews and Pagans were no longer able to oppose the propagation of the

The state of the church in the western and northern provinces.

[d] See RAYMUNDI DUELLII *Histor. Ord. Teutonici*, published in folio at Vienna in 1727.—PETRI DUSBURG, *Chronicon Prussiae*, published in 4to. at Jena, in the year 1679, by CHRISTOPH. HARTKNOCHIUS.—HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. iii. p. 140.—*Chronicon Ordinis Teutonici* in ANTON. MATTHÆI *Analectis veteris ævi*, tom. v. p. 621. 658. ed. nov.—*Privilegia Ordinis Teutonici* in PETR. à LUDEWIG *Reliquiis Manuscriptorum*, tom. vi. p. 43.

CENT. gospel, or to oppress its ministers. Their malignity remained, but their credit and authority were gone.

XII.
PART I. The Jews were accused by the Christians of various crimes, whether real or fictitious we shall not determine; but, instead of attacking their accusers, they were satisfied to defend their own lives, and to secure their persons, without daring to give vent to their resentment. The state of things was somewhat different in the Northern provinces. The Pagans were yet numerous there in several districts, and wherever they were the majority, they persecuted the Christians with the utmost barbarity, the most unrelenting and merciless fury [e]. It is true, the Christian kings and princes, who lived in the neighbourhood of these persecuting Barbarians, checked by degrees their impetuous rage, and never ceased to harass and weaken them by perpetual wars and incursions, until, at length, they subdued them entirely, and deprived them, by force, both of their independency and their superstitions.

Its sufferings
in the east. II. The writers of this century complain grievously of the inhuman rage with which the Saracens persecuted the Christians in the east, nor can we question the truth of what they relate concerning this terrible persecution. But they pass over in silence the principal reasons that inflamed the resentment of this fierce people, and voluntarily forget that the Christians were the first aggressors in this dreadful war. If we consider the matter with impartiality and candour, the conduct of the Saracens, however barbarous it may have been, will not appear so surprising, particularly when we reflect on the provocations they received. In the first place, they had a right, by the laws of war, to repel, by force, the violent invasion of their country, and the

[e] HELMOLD, *Chronic. Sclavor.* lib. i. cap. xxxiv. p. 88; cap. xxxv. p. 89. cap. xl. p. 99.—LINDENBROGH *Scriptor. Septentrional.* p. 195, 196. 201.—PETRI LAMBECCII *Res Hamburg.* lib. 1. p. 23.

Christians could not expect, without being chargeable CENT. with the most frontless impudence, that a people XII. whom they attacked with a formidable army, and PART I. whom, in the fury of their misguided zeal, they massacred without mercy, should receive their insults with a tame submission, and give up their lives and possessions without resistance. It must also be confessed, though with sorrow, that the Christians did not content themselves with making war upon the Mahometans in order to deliver *Jerusalem* and the holy sepulchre out of their hands, but carried their brutal fury to the greatest length, disgraced their cause by the most detestable crimes, filled the eastern provinces, through which they passed, with scenes of horror, and made the Saracens feel the terrible effects of their violence and barbarity wherever their arms were successful. Is it then so surprising to see the infidel Saracens committing, by way of reprisal, the same barbarities that the holy warriors had perpetrated without the least provocation? Is there any thing so new and so extraordinary in this, that a people naturally fierce, and exasperated, moreover, by the calamities of a religious war, carried on against them in contradiction to all the dictates of justice and humanity, should avenge themselves upon the Christians who resided in *Palestine*, as professing the religion which gave occasion to the war, and attached, of consequence, to the cause of their enemies and invaders?

III. The rapid and amazing victories of the great Prefter John **GENGHIZKAN**, emperor of the Tartars, gave an departs this unhappy turn to the affairs of the Christians in the life. northern parts of *Asia*, towards the conclusion of this century. This heroic prince, who was by birth a Mogul, and whose military exploits raise him in the list of fame above almost all the commanders either of ancient or modern times, rendered his name formidable throughout all *Asia*, whose most flourishing dynasties fell successively before his victorious arms.

CENT. DAVID, or UNGCHAN, who, according to some,
 XII. was the son, or, as others will have it, the brother,
 PART I. but who was certainly the successor, of the famous
 ——— PRESTER JOHN, and was himself so called in common
 discourse, was the first victim that GENGHIZKAN
 sacrificed to his boundless ambition. He invaded
 his territory, and put to flight his troops in a bloody
 battle, where DAVID lost, at the same time, his
 kingdom and his life [*f*]. The princes, who
 governed the Turks, Indians, and the province of
Cathay, fell, in their turn, before the victorious
 Tartar, and were all either put to death, or rendered
 tributary; nor did GENGHIZKAN stop here, but
 proceeding into *Persia*, *India*, and *Arabia*, he over-
 turned the Saracen dominion in those regions, and
 substituted that of the Tartars in its place [*g*].
 From this period the Christian cause lost much of
 its authority and credit in the provinces that had
 been ruled by PRESTER JOHN and his *successor*
 DAVID, and continued to decline and lose ground
 from day to day, until, at length, it sunk entirely

[*f*] The Greek, Latin, and Oriental writers are far from
 being agreed concerning the year in which the emperor of the
 Tartars attacked and defeated PRESTER JOHN. The most of the
 Latin writers place this event in the year 1202, and consequently
 in the xiiith century. But MARCUS PAULUS VENETUS (in
 his book *De Regionibus Orientalibus*, lib. i. cap. li, lii, liii.) and
 other historians, whose accounts I have followed as the most
 probable, place the defeat of this second PRESTER JOHN in the
 year 1187. The learned and illustrious DEMETRIUS CANTEMIR
 (in his *Præf. ad Histor. imperii Ottomanici*, p. 45. tom. i. of the
 French edition) gives an account of this matter different from the
 two now mentioned, and affirms, upon the authority of the
 Arabian writers, that GENGHIZKAN did not invade the territories
 of his neighbours before the year 1214.

[*g*] See PETIT DE LA CROIX, *Histoire de Genghizkan*, p.
 120, 121. published in 12mo. at Paris in the year 1711.—
 HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Oriental.* at the article GENGHIZKAN, p.
 378.—ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. iii. part I.
 p. 101, and 295.—JEAN DU PLAN CARPIN, *Voyage en Tartarie*,
 ch. v. in the *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, tom. vii. p. 350.

under the weight of oppression, and was succeeded in some places by the errors of MAHOMET, and in others by the superstitions of paganism. We must except, however, in this general account, the kingdom of *Tangut*, the chief residence of PRESTER JOHN, in which his posterity, who persevered in the profession of Christianity, maintained, for a long time, a certain sort of tributary dominion, which exhibited, indeed, but a faint shadow of their former grandeur [b].

[b] ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. iii. part II, p. 500.

P A R T H.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.

CENT. XII. PART II. I. NOTWITHSTANDING the decline of the Grecian empire, the calamities in which it was frequently involved, and the perpetual revolutions and civil wars that consumed its strength and were precipitating its ruin, the arts and sciences still flourished in *Greece*, and covered with glory such as cultivated them with assiduity and success. This was owing, not only to the liberality of the emperors, and to the extraordinary zeal which the family of the COMNENI discovered for the advancement of learning, but also to the provident vigilance of the patriarchs of *Constantinople*, who took all possible measures to prevent the clergy from falling into ignorance and sloth, lest the Greek church should thus be deprived of able champions to defend its cause against the Latins. The learned and ingenious commentaries of EUSTATHIUS, bishop of *Theffalonica*, upon *Homer*, and DIONYSIUS the *Geographer*, are sufficient to shew the diligence and labour that were employed by men of the first genius in the improvement of classical erudition and in the study of antiquity. And if we turn our view towards the various writers who composed in this century the history of their own times, such as CINNAMUS,

The state of learning among the Greeks.

GLYCAS, ZONARAS, NICEPHORUS, BRYENNIUS, CENT. XII. and others, we shall find in their productions undoubted marks of learning and genius, as well as of a laudable ambition to obtain the esteem and approbation of future ages. PART II.

II. Nothing could equal the zeal and enthusiasm with which MICHAEL ANCHIALUS, patriarch of *Constantinople*, encouraged the study of philosophy by his munificence, and still more by the extraordinary influence of his illustrious example [a]. It seems, however, to have been the Aristotelian philosophy that was favoured in such a distinguished manner by this eminent prelate; and it was in the illustration and improvement of this profound and intricate system that such of the Greeks, as had a philosophical turn, were principally employed, as appears evident from several remains of ancient erudition, and particularly from the commentaries of EUSTATIUS upon the ethics and other treatises of the Grecian sage. We are not, however, to imagine that the sublime wisdom of PLATO was neglected in this century, or that his doctrines were fallen into disrepute. It appears, on the contrary, that they were adopted by many. Such, more especially, as had imbibed the precepts and spirit of the Mystics, preferred them infinitely before the Peripatetic philosophy, which they considered as an endless source of sophistry and presumption, while they looked upon the Platonic system as the philosophy of reason and piety, of candour and virtue. This diversity of sentiments produced the famous controversy, which was managed with such vehemence and erudition among the Greeks, concerning the respective merit and excellence of the Peripatetic and Platonic doctrines.

[a] THEODORUS BALSAMON, *Pref. ad Photii Nomocanonem* in HENR. JUSTELLI *Bibliotheca juris canonici veteris*, tom. ii. p. 814.

CENT.

XII.
PART II.The state of
learning
among the
Latins.

III. In the western world, the pursuit of knowledge was now carried on with incredible emulation and ardour, and all the various branches of science were studied with the greatest application and industry. This literary enthusiasm was encouraged and supported by the influence and liberality of certain of the European monarchs, and Roman pontiffs, who perceived the happy tendency of the sciences to soften the savage manners of uncivilized nations, and thereby to administer an additional support to civil government, as well as an ornament to human society. Hence learned societies were formed, and colleges established in several places, in which the liberal arts and sciences were publicly taught. The prodigious concourse of students, who resorted thither for instruction, occasioned, in process of time, the enlargement of these schools, which had arisen from small beginnings, and their erection into *universities*, as they were called, in the succeeding age. The principal cities of *Europe* were adorned with establishments of this kind; but *Paris* surpassed them all in the number and variety of its schools, the merit and reputation of its public teachers, and the immense multitude of the studious youth that frequented their colleges. And thus was exhibited in that famous city the model of our present schools of learning; a model indeed defective in several respects, but which, in after-times, was corrected and improved, and brought gradually to higher degrees of perfection [b]. About the same time the famous school of *Angers*, in which the youth were instructed in various sciences, and particularly and principally in the civil law, was founded by the zeal and industry of *ULGERIUS*, bishop of that

[b] DE BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 463.—PASQUIER, *Recherches de la France*, livr. iii. ch. xxix.—PETRI LAMBECH *Histor. Biblioth. Vindebon.* lib. ii. cap. v. p. 260.—*Histoire Litter. de la France*, tom. ix. p. 60—80.

city [c], and the college of *Montpelier*, where law and physic were taught with great success, had already acquired a considerable reputation [d]. The same literary spirit reigned also in *Italy*. The academy of *Bolonia*, whose origin may certainly be traced higher than this century, was now in the highest renown, and was frequented by great numbers of students, and of such more especially as were desirous of being instructed in the civil and canon laws. The fame of this academy was, in a great measure, owing to the munificence of the emperor *LOTHARIUS II.* who took it under his protection, and enriched it with new privileges and immunities [e]. In the same province flourished also the celebrated school of *Salernum*, where great numbers resorted, and which was wholly set apart for the study of physic. While this zealous emulation, in advancing the cause of learning and philosophy, animated so many princes and prelates, and discovered itself in the erection of so many academies and schools of learning,

[c] BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 215.—PASQUET DE LA LIVONIERE *Dissert. sur l'Antiquité de l'Université d'Angers*, p. 21. published in 4to. at Angers, 1736.

[d] *Histoire Gen. de Languedoc, par les Benedictins*, tom. ii. p. 517.

[e] The inhabitants of *Bolonia* pretend, that their academy was founded in the fifth century by *THEODOSIUS II.* and they shew the *diploma* by which that emperor enriched their city with this valuable establishment. But the greatest part of those writers, who have studied with attention and impartiality the records of ancient times, maintain, that this diploma is a spurious production, and allege many weighty arguments to prove that the academy of *Bolonia* is of no older date than the eleventh century, and that in the succeeding age, particularly from the time of *LOTHARIUS II.* it received those improvements that rendered it so famous throughout all *Europe*. See *CAR. SIGONII Historia Bononiensis*, as it is published, with learned observations, in the works of that excellent author. *MURATORI Antiq. Italic. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 23. 884. 898.—*JUST. HEN. BOHNERI Præf. ad Corpus juris ad Canon.* p. 9. as also the elegant *History of the Academy of Bolonia*, written in the German language by the learned *KEUFELIUS*, and published at *Helmstadt* in 8vo in the year 1750.

CENT. the Roman pontiff, ALEXANDER III. was seized
 XII. also with this noble enthusiasm. In a council held
 PAR II. at *Rome*, A. D. 1179, he caused a solemn law to
 be published, for the erecting new schools in the
 monasteries and cathedrals, and restoring to their
 primitive lustre those which, through the sloth and
 ignorance of the monks and bishops, had fallen into
 ruin [*f*]. But the effect which this law was intended
 to produce was prevented by the growing fame of
 the new erected academies, to which the youth
 resorted from all parts, and left the *episcopal* and
monastic schools entirely empty; so that they gra-
 dually declined, and sunk, at last, into a total
 oblivion.

A new di-
 vision of
 sciences.

IV. Many were the signal advantages that attended
 these literary establishments; and what is particu-
 larly worthy of notice, they not only rendered know-
 ledge more universal by facilitating the means of
 instruction, but were also the occasion of forming
 a new circle of sciences, better digested, and much
 more comprehensive than that which had been
 hitherto studied by the greatest adepts in learning.
 The whole extent of learning and philosophy, before
 this period, was confined to the *seven liberal arts*,
 as they were commonly called, of which three were
 known by the name of the *trivium*, which compre-
 hended *grammar*, *rhétoric*, and *logic*; and the other
 four by the title of *quadrivium*, which included
arithmetic, *music*, *geometry*, and *astronomy*. The
 greatest part of the learned, as we have formerly
 observed, were satisfied with their literary acqui-
 sitions, when they had made themselves masters of
 the *trivium*, while such as, with an adventurous
 flight, aspired after the *quadrivium*, were considered
 as stars of the first magnitude, as the great lumina-
 ries of the learned world. But in this century the
 aspect of letters underwent a considerable and an

[*f*] See B. BOHMERI *Jus Eccles. Protestant.* tom. iv. p. 705.

advantageous change. The number of the *liberal* CENT. arts and sciences was augmented, and new and XII. unfrequented paths of knowledge were opened to PART II. the emulation of the studious youth. *Theology* was placed in the number of the sciences; not that ancient theology which had no merit but its simplicity, and which was drawn, without the least order or connexion, from divers passages of the holy scriptures, and from the opinions and inventions of the primitive doctors, but that *philosophical* or *scholastic theology*, that with the deepest abstraction traced divine truth to its first principles, and followed it from thence into its various connexions and branches. Nor was theology alone added to the ancient circle of sciences; the study of the learned languages, of the civil and canon law, and of physic [g], were now brought into high repute. Particular academies were consecrated to the culture of each of these sciences in various places; and thus it was natural to consider them as important branches of erudition, and an acquaintance with them as a qualification necessary to such as aimed at universal learning. All this required a considerable change in the division of the sciences hitherto received; and this change was accordingly brought about. The seven *liberal arts* were, by degrees, reduced to one general title, and were comprehended under the name of philosophy, to which *theology*, *jurisprudence*, and *physic*, were added. And hence the origin of the four classes of science, or, to use the academical phrase, of the four faculties, which took place in the *universities* in the following century.

V. A happy and unexpected event restored in *Italy* the lustre and authority of the ancient Roman law, The study of Roman law revived.

☞ [g] The word *physica*, though, according to its etymology, it denotes the study of natural philosophy in general, was, in the twelfth century, applied particularly to medical studies, and it has also preserved that limited sense in the English language.

CENT. and, at the same time, lessened the credit of all the
 XII. other systems of legislation that had been received
 PART II. for several ages past. This event was the discovery
 of the original manuscript of the famous *Pandect* of
 JUSTINIAN, which was found in the ruins of
Amalphi, or *Melfi*, when that city was taken by
 LOTHARIUS II. in the year 1137, and of which
 that emperor made a present to the inhabitants of
Pisa, whose fleet had contributed, in a particular
 manner, to the success of the siege. This admirable
 collection, which had been almost buried in oblivion;
 was no sooner recovered, than the Roman law
 became the grand object of the studies and labours
 of the learned. In the academy of *Bolonia*, there
 were particular colleges erected expressly for the
 study of the Roman jurisprudence; and these excel-
 lent institutions were multiplied in several parts of
Italy in process of time, and animated other European
 nations to imitate so wise an example. Hence arose
 a great revolution in the public tribunals, and an
 entire change in their judicial proceedings. Hitherto
 different systems of law were followed in different
 courts, and every person of distinction, particularly
 among the Franks, had the liberty of choosing the
 body of laws that was to be the rule of his conduct.
 But the Roman law acquired such credit and
 authority, that it superseded, by degrees, all other
 laws in the greatest part of *Europe*, and was sub-
 stituted in the place of the Salic, Lombard, and
 Burgundian codes, which before this period were in
 the highest reputation. It is an ancient opinion,
 that LOTHARIUS II. pursuant to the counsels and
 solicitations of IRNERIUS [*b*], principal professor of
 the Roman law in the academy of *Bolonia*, published
 an edict enjoining the abrogation of all the statutes
 then in force, and substituting in their place the
 Roman law, by which, for the future, all without

[*b*] Otherwise called WERNER.

exception were to modify their contracts, terminate their differences, and to regulate their actions. But this opinion, as many learned men have abundantly proved [i], is far from being supported by sufficient evidence.

VI. No sooner was the civil law placed in the number of the sciences, and considered as an important branch of academical learning, than the Roman pontiffs, and their zealous adherents, judged it not only expedient, but also highly necessary, that the *canon* law should have the same privilege. There were not wanting before this time certain collections of the *canons* or laws of the church; but these collections were so destitute of order and method, and were so defective both in respect to matter and form, that they could not be conveniently explained in the schools, or be made use of as systems of ecclesiastical polity. Hence it was, that GRATIAN, a Benedictine monk, belonging to the convent of St. FELIX and NABOR at *Bolonia*, and by birth a Tuscan, composed about the year 1130, for the use of the schools, an abridgment, or *Epitome of canon law*, drawn from the letters of the pontiffs, the decrees of councils, and the writings of the ancient doctors. Pope EUGENIUS III. was extremely satisfied with this work, which was also received with the highest applause by the doctors and professors of *Bolonia*, and was unanimously adopted, as the

[i] See HERM. CONRINGIUS, *De origine juris Germanici*, cap. xxii.—GUIDO GRAGDUS, *Epist. de Pandectis*, p. 21. 69. published at *Florence*, in 4to, in 1737.—HENRY BRENCMANN, *Historia Pandectar.* p. 41.—LUD. ANT. MURATORI *Pref. ad Leges Langobardicas, scriptor. rerum Italicar.* tom. i. part II. p. 4. & *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 285. There was a warm controversy carried on concerning this matter between GEORGE CALLIXTUS and BARTHOL. NIHUSIUS, the latter of whom embraced the vulgar opinion concerning the edict of LOTHARIUS, obtained by the sollicitations of IRNERIUS; of this controversy there is a circumstantial account in the *Cimbria Literata* of MOLERIUS, tom. iii. p. 142.

CENT. text they were to follow in their public lectures;
 XII. The professors at *Paris* were the first that followed
 PART I. the example of those of *Bolonia*, which, in process
 of time, was imitated by the greatest part of the
 European colleges. But, notwithstanding the
 encomiums bestowed upon this performance, which
 was commonly called the *decretal of GRATIAN* [k],
 and was entitled by the author himself, the *re-union
 or coalition of the jarring canons* [l]; several most
 learned and eminent writers of the Romish commu-
 nion acknowledge, that it is full of errors and defects
 of various kinds [m]. As, however, the main design
 of this abridgment of the canons was to support the
 despotism, and to extend the authority of the Roman
 pontiffs, its innumerable defects were overlooked;
 its merits were exaggerated; and, what is still more
 surprising, it enjoys at this day, in an age of light
 and liberty, that high degree of veneration and
 authority, which was inconsiderately, though more
 excusably, lavished upon it in an age of tyranny,
 superstition, and darkness [n].

[k] *Decretum GRATIANI.*

[l] *Concordia Discordantium Canonum.*

[m] See, among others, ANTON. AUGUSTINUS, *De Emenda-
 tione GRATIANI*, published in 8vo. at *Arnhem*, A. D. 1678,
 with the learned observations of STEPH. BALUZIUS and GER. a
 MASTRICHT.

[n] See GERHARD. a MASTRICHT, *Historia juris Ecclesiastici*,
 § 293. p. 325.—B. JUST. HEN. BOHMERI *Jus. Eccles. Protef-
 tant*, tom. i. p. 100. and more particularly the learned *Preface*,
 with which this last-mentioned author enriched the new edition
 of the *Canon Law*, published at *Hal*, in 4to, in the year 1747.
 See also ALEX. MACHIAVELLI *Observationes ad Sigonii Histor.
 Bononicensem*, tom. iii. *Oper. Sigonii*, p. 128. This writer has
 drawn from the *Kalendarium Archigymnasii Bononiensis*, several
 particularities concerning GRATIAN and his work, which were
 generally unknown, but whose truth is also much disputed. What
 increases the suspicion of their being fabulous is, that this famous
Kalendar, of which the *Bolonians* boast so much, and which
 they have so often promised to publish in order to dispel the
 doubts of the learned, has never as yet seen the light. Besides,
 in the fragments that have appeared, there are manifest marks of
 unfair dealing.

VII. Such among the Latins as were ambitious of making a figure in the republic of letters, applied themselves, with the utmost zeal and diligence, to the study of philosophy. Philosophy, taken in its most extensive and general meaning, comprehended, according to the method which was the most universally received towards the middle of this century, four classes; it was divided into *theoretical*, *practical*, *mechanical*, and *logical*. The first class comprehended *natural theology*, *mathematics*, and *natural philosophy*. In the second class were ranked *ethics*, *economics*, and *politics*. The third contained the seven arts that are more immediately subservient to the purposes of life, such as *navigation*, *agriculture*, *hunting*, &c. The fourth was divided into *grammar* and *composition*, the latter of which was farther subdivided into *rhetoric*, *dialectic*, and *sophistry*; and under the term *dialectic* was comprehended that part of *metaphysic* which treats of *general notions*. This division was almost universally adopted. Some, indeed, were for separating *grammar* and *mechanics* from *philosophy*; a separation highly condemned by others, who, under the general term *philosophy*, comprehended the whole circle of the sciences [o].

XII.
PART II.
The state of
philosophy
among the
Latins.

VIII. The learned, who treated these different branches of science, were divided into various factions, which attacked each other with the utmost animosity and bitterness [p]. There were, at this time, *three* methods of teaching philosophy that were practised by the different doctors. The *first* was, the *ancient* and *plain* method, which confined

Differences
among the
philosophers.

[o] These literary anecdotes I have taken from several writers, particularly from HUGO a St. VICTOR, *Didascalii Libro* ii. cap. ii. p. 7. tom. i. opp. and from the *Metalogicum* of JOHN of Salisbury.

[p] See GODOF. de St. VICTOR *Carmen de Sectis Philosoph.* published by LE BOEUF, in his *Diss. sur l' Histoire Ecclesiast. et Civile de Paris*. tom. ii. p. 254.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 562.—ANT. WOOD, *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 51.—JO. SARISBURIENSIS *Metalog. et Policrat.* passim.

CENT. its researches to the philosophical notions of POR-
 XII. PHYRY, and the *dialectic* system, commonly attributed
 PART II. to St. AUGUSTINE, and in which was laid down
 this general rule, that philosophical inquiries were
 to be limited to a small number of subjects, lest, by
 their becoming too extensive, religion might suffer
 by a profane mixture of human subtilty with its
 divine wisdom. The *second* method was called the
Aristotelian, because it consisted in explications of
 the works of that philosopher [q], several of whose
 books, being translated into Latin, were now almost
 every where in the hands of the learned. These
 translations were, indeed, extremely obscure and
 incorrect, and led those who made use of them in
 their academical lectures, into various blunders, and
 often into notions, which were not more absurd than
 whimsical and singular. The *third* was termed the
free method, employed by such as were bold enough
 to search after truth, in the manner they thought
 the most adapted to render their inquiries successful,
 and who followed the bent of their own genius,
 without rejecting, however, the succours of
 ARISTOTLE and PLATO. Laudable as this method
 was, it became an abundant source of sophistry and
 chicane, by the imprudent management of those that
 employed it; for these subtle doctors, through a
 wanton indulgence of their metaphysical fancies, did
 little more than puzzle their disciples with vain

[q] ROB. DE MONTE, *Append. ad Sigebertum Gemblacens.*
 published by LUC. DACHERIUS, among the works of GUIBERT,
 abbot of Nogent, ad A. 1128, p. 753. *Jacobus Clericus de*
Venecia transfudit de Græco in Latinum quosdam libros Aristotelis
et comentatus est, scilicet Topica, Annal. priores et posteriores et
elenchos. Quamvis antiquior translatio sæpe eosdem libros haberetur.
 THOM. BECKET, *Epistolar.* lib. ii. ep. xciii. p. 454. edit. Bruxell.
 1682, in 4to. *Itero preces, quatenus libros Aristotelis, quos habetis,*
mibi faciatis exscribi . . . Precor etiam iterata supplicatione quatenus
in operibus Aristotelis, ubi difficiliora fuerint, notulas faciatis, eo quod
interpretem aliquatenus suspectum habeo, quia licet eloquens fuerit
alias, ut sæpe audivi, minus tamen fuit in grammatica institutus:

questions, and fatigue them with endless distinctions and divisions [r]. These different systems, and vehement contests that divided the philosophers, gave many persons a disgust against philosophy in general, and made them desire, with impatience, its banishment from the public schools.

IX. Of all the controversies that divided the philosophers in this century, there were none carried on with greater animosity, and treated with greater subtilty and refinement, than the contests of the *Dialectics* concerning *universals*. These sophistical doctors were wholly occupied about the intricate questions relating to *genus* and *species*, to the solution of which they directed all their philosophical efforts; and the whole course of their metaphysical studies; but not all in the same method, nor upon the same principles [s]. The two leading sects into which they had been divided long before this period, and which were distinguished by the titles of *Realists* and *Nominalists*, not only subsisted still, but were

The con-
tests of the
Dialectici-
ans, Realists,
and Nomi-
nalists
described.

[r] See JO. SARISEBURIENSIS *Policrat.* p. 434. et *Metalog.* p. 814, &c.

[s] JOHN of *Salisbury*, a very elegant and ingenious writer of this age, censures, with a good deal of wit, the crude and unintelligible speculations of these sophists, in his book entitled, *Policraticon seu de Nugis Curialium*, lib. vii. p. 451. He observes, that there had been more time consumed in resolving the question relating to *genus* and *species*, than the *Cæsars* had employed in making themselves masters of the whole world; that the riches of *CROESUS* were inferior to the treasures that had been exhausted in this controversy; and that the contending parties, after having spent their whole lives upon this single point, had neither been so happy as to determine it to their satisfaction, nor to make, in the labyrinths of science where they had been groping, any discovery that was worth the pains they had taken. His words are: *Veterem paratus est solvere questionem de generibus et speciebus* (he speaks here of a certain philosopher) *in qua laborans mundus jam senuit, in qua plus temporis consumptum est, quam in acquirendo et regendo orbis imperio consumpserit Cæsarea domus: plus effusum pecuniæ, quam in omnibus divitiis suis possederit Cræsus. Hæc enim tam diu multos tenuit, ut cum hoc unum tota vita quærerent, tandem nec istud, nec aliud invenirent.*

CENT. moreover subdivided, each into smaller parties and
 XII. factions, according as the two opposite and leading
 PART II. schemes were modified by new fancies and inventions.

The *Nominalists*, though they had their followers, were nevertheless much inferior to the *Realists* both with respect to the number of their disciples, and to the credit and reputation of their doctrine. A third sect arose under the name of *Formalists*, who pretended to terminate the controversy, by steering a middle course between the two jarring systems now mentioned; but, as the hypothesis of these new doctors was most obscure and unintelligible, they only perplexed matters more than they had hitherto been, and furnished new subjects of contention and dispute [t].

[t] See the above-cited author's *Policrat.* lib. vii. p. 451. where he gives a succinct account of the *Formalists*, *Realists*, and *Nominalists* in the following words: *Sunt qui more mathematicorum FORMAS abstrahunt, et ad illas quicquid de universalibus dicitur referunt.* Such were the *Formalists*, who applied the doctrine of universal ideas to what the mathematicians call *abstract forms*. *Alii discutiunt INTELLECTUS et eos universalium nominibus censeri confirmant.* Here we find the *Realists* pointed out, who, under the name of *universals*, comprehended all intellectual powers, qualities, and ideas. *Fuerunt et qui VOCES ipsas genera dicerent et species: sed eorum jam explosa sententia est et facile cum autore suo evanuit. Sunt tamen adhuc, qui deprehenduntur in vestigiis eorum, licet erubescant vel auctorem vel scientiam profiteri, SOLIS NOMINIBUS, inhaerentes, quod rebus et intellectibus subtrahunt, SERMONIBUS ascribunt.* This was a sect of the *Nominalists*, who, ashamed (as this author alleges) to profess the exploded doctrine of ROSCELLINUS, which placed *genus* and *species* in the class of *mere words* or *simple denominations*, modified that system by a slight change of expression only, which did not essentially distinguish their doctrine from that of the ordinary *Nominalists*. It appears from all this, that the sect of the *Formalists* is of more ancient date than JOHN DUNS SCOTUS, whom many learned men consider as its founder. See JO. SARISBUR. *Metalogic.* lib. ii. cap. xvii. p. 814. where that eminent author describes at large the various contests of these three sects, and sums up their differences in the following words: *Alius consilii in vocibus, licet hac opinio cum Roscellino suo fere jam evanuerit: alius sermones intuetur: alius versatur in intellectibus, &c.*

Those among the learned, who turned their pursuits to more interesting and beneficial branches of science, than the intricate and puzzling doctrine of *universals*, travelled into the different countries, where the kinds of knowledge they were bent upon cultivating, flourished most. The students of physic, astronomy, and mathematics, continued to frequent the schools of the Saracens in *Spain*. Many of the learned productions of the Arabians were also translated into Latin [u]; for the high esteem in which the erudition of that people was held, together with a desire of converting the Spanish Saracens to Christianity, had excited many to study their language, and to acquire a considerable knowledge of their doctrine.

[u] GERHARD of *Cremona*, who was so famous among the Italians for his eminent skill in astronomy and physic, undertook a voyage to *Toledo*, where he translated into Latin several Arabian treatises; see MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 936, 937.—MIRMET, a French monk, travelled into *Spain* and *Africa*, to learn geography among the Saracens. See LUC. DACHERII *Spicilegium vet. scriptor.* tom. ix. p. 443. ed. *Antiq.*—DANIEL MORLACH, an Englishman, who was extremely fond of mathematical learning, went a journey to *Toledo*, from whence he brought into his own country a considerable number of Arabian books; ANT. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 55.—PETER, abbot of *Clugni*, surnamed the *Venerable*, after having sojourned for some time among the Spaniards, in order to make himself master of the Arabian language, translated into Latin, the *Alcoran*, and the *Life of Mahomet*; see MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. lib. lxxvii. p. 345. This eminent ecclesiastic, as appears from the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, p. 1169. found, upon his arrival in *Spain*, persons of learning from *England* and other nations, who applied themselves with extraordinary assiduity and ardour to the study of astrology. We might multiply the examples of those who travelled in quest of science during this century; but those now alleged are sufficient for our purpose.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church, and its form of government, during this century.

CENT.

XII.

PART II.

The lives
and man-
ners of the
clergy.

I. **W**HEREVER we turn our eyes among the various ranks and orders of the clergy, we perceive, in this century, the most flagrant marks of licentiousness and fraud, ignorance and luxury, and other vices, whose pernicious effects were deeply felt both in church and state. If we except a very small number, who retained a sense of the sanctity of their vocation, and lamented the corruption and degeneracy of their order, it may be said, with respect to the rest, that their whole business was to satisfy their lusts, to multiply their privileges by grasping perpetually at new honours and distinctions, to increase their opulence, to diminish the authority, and to encroach upon the privileges of princes and magistrates, and, neglecting entirely the interests of religion and the cure of souls, to live in ease and pleasure, and draw out their days in an unmanly and luxurious indolence. This appears manifestly from two remarkable treatises of St. BERNARD, in one of which he exposes the corruption of the pontiffs and bishops [*w*], while he describes in the other the enormous crimes of the monastic orders, whose licentiousness he chastises with a just severity [*x*].

[*w*] In the work entitled, *Considerationum Libri v. ad Eugenium Pontificem*.

[*x*] See his defence of the crusades, under the title of *Apologia ad Gulielmum Abbatem*; as also GERHONUS, *De corrupto Ecclesie Statu*, in BALUZII *Miscell.* tom. v. p. 63.—*Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 6. *App.* tom. ii. p. 265. 273, &c. BOULAY, *Histor. Academ. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 490. 690.

II. The Roman pontiffs, who were placed successively at the head of the church, governed that spiritual and mystical body by the maxims of worldly ambition, and thereby fomented the warm contest that had already arisen between the imperial and sacerdotal powers. On the one hand, the popes not only maintained the opulence and authority they had already acquired, but extended their views farther, and laboured strenuously to enlarge both, though they had not all equal success in this ambitious attempt. The European emperors and princes, on the other hand, alarmed at the strides which the pontiffs were making to universal dominion, used their utmost efforts to disconcert their measures, and to check their growing opulence and power. These violent dissensions between the *empire* and the *priesthood* (for so the contending parties were styled in this century) were most unhappy in their effects, which were felt throughout all the European provinces. PASCAL II. who had been raised to the pontificate about the conclusion of the preceding age, seemed now to sit firm and secure in the apostolic chair, without the least apprehension from the imperial faction, whose affairs had taken an unfavourable turn, and who had not the courage to elect a new pope of their party in the place of GUIBERT, who died in the year 1100 [y].

CENT.
XII.
PART II.
The pontiffs ambitious to extend their authority.

PASCAL, therefore, unwilling to let pass unimproved the present success of the papal faction, renewed, in a council assembled at *Rome*, A. D. 1102, the decrees of his predecessors against *investiture*.

The dispute concerning investitures is fomented anew.

[y] Dr. MOSHEIM's affirmation here must be somewhat modified in order to be true: it is certain, that, after the death of GUIBERT, the imperial party chose in his place a person named ALBERT, who, indeed, was seized the day of his election, and cast into prison. THEODORIC and MAGNULF were successively chosen after ALBERT, but could not support for any time their claim to the pontificate. See FLEURY, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. lxxv. vol. xiv. p. 10. *Brussels* edition in 8vo.

CENT. *fitures*, and the excommunications they had thundered out against HENRY IV. and used his most vigorous endeavours to raise up on all sides new enemies to that unfortunate emperor. HENRY, however, opposed, with great constancy and resolution, the efforts of this violent pontiff, and eluded with much dexterity and vigilance his perfidious stratagems. But his heart, wounded in the tenderest part, lost all its firmness and courage, when, in the year 1106, an unnatural son, under the impious pretext of religion, took up arms against his person and his cause. HENRY V. so was this monster afterwards named, seized his father in a most treacherous manner, and obliged him to abdicate the empire; after which the unhappy prince retired to *Liege*, where, deserted by all his adherents, he departed this life, and so got rid of his misery, in the year 1106. It has been a matter of dispute, whether it was the instigation of the pontiff, or the ambitious and impatient thirst after dominion, that engaged HENRY V. to declare war against his father; nor is it, perhaps, easy to decide this question with a perfect degree of evidence. One thing, however, is unquestionably certain, and that is, that PASCAL II. dissolved, or rather impiously pretended to dissolve, the oath of fidelity and obedience that HENRY had taken to his father; and not only so, but adopted the cause and supported the interests of this unnatural rebel with the utmost zeal, assiduity, and fervour [z].

The progress of this debate.

III. The revolution that this odious rebellion caused in the empire, was, however, much less favourable to the views of PASCAL than that lordly pontiff expected. HENRY V. could by no means be persuaded to renounce his right of *investing* the

[z] These accounts are drawn from the most authentic sources, and also from the eminent writers, whose authority I made use of, and whose names I mentioned, in that part of the preceding century that corresponds with the subject here treated.

bishops and abbots, though he was willing to grant the right of election to the *canons* and *monks*, as was usual before his time. Upon this the exasperated pontiff renewed, in the councils of *Guastalla* and *Troyers*, the decrees that had so often been issued out against *investitures*, and the flame broke out with new force. It was, indeed, suspended during a few years, by the wars in which HENRY V. was engaged, and which prevented his bringing the matter to an issue. But no sooner had he made peace with his enemies, and composed the tumults that troubled the tranquillity of the empire, than he set out for *Italy* with a formidable army, A. D. 1110, in order to put an end to this long and unhappy contest. He advanced towards *Rome* by slow marches, while the trembling pontiff, seeing himself destitute of all succour, and reduced to the lowest and most defenceless condition, proposed to him the following conditions of peace: That he, on the one hand, should renounce the right of *investing* with the *ring* and *crozier*; and that the bishops and abbots should, on the other hand, resign and give over to the emperor all the grants they had received from CHARLEMAGNE, of those rights and privileges that belong to royalty, such as the power of raising tribute, coining money, and possessing independent lands and territories, with other immunities of a like nature. These conditions were agreeable to HENRY, who accordingly gave a formal consent to them in the year 1111; but they were extremely displeasing to the Italian and German bishops, who expressed their dissent in the strongest terms. Hence a terrible tumult arose in the church of St. PETER, where the contending parties were assembled with their respective followers; upon which HENRY ordered the pope to be seized, and to be confined in the castle of *Viterbo*. After having lain there for some time, the captive pontiff was engaged, by the unhappy circumstances of his present condition, to

CENT. enter into a new convention, by which he solemnly
 XII. receded from the article of the former treaty that
 PART II. regarded *investitures*, and confirmed to the emperor
 the privilege of inaugurating the bishops and abbots
 with the *ring* and *crozier*. Thus was the peace
 concluded, in consequence of which the vanquished
 pontiff arrayed HENRY with the imperial diadem
 [a].

Pascal
 breaks this
 convention,
 and dies. IV. This transitory peace, which was the fruit of
 violence and necessity, was followed by greater
 tumults and more dreadful wars, than had yet
 afflicted the church. Immediately after the con-
 clusion of this treaty, *Rome* was filled with the most
 vehement commotions, and a universal cry was
 raised against the pontiff, who was accused of having
 violated, in a scandalous manner, the duties and
 dignity of his station, and of having prostituted the
 majesty of the church by his ignominious compliance
 with the demands of the emperor. To appease
 these commotions, PASCAL assembled, in the year
 1112, a council in the church of *Lateran*, and there
 not only confessed, with the deepest contrition and
 humility, the fault he had committed in concluding
 such a convention with the emperor, but submitted
 moreover the decision of that matter to the deter-
 mination of the council, who accordingly took that
 treaty into consideration, and solemnly annulled it
 [b]. This step was followed by many events that
 gave, for a long time, an unfavourable turn to the
 affairs of the emperor. He was excommunicated in

[a] Besides the writers already mentioned, see MABILLON, *Annal. Benedi.* tom. v. p. 681. and tom. vi. p. 1. at the particular years to which the events here taken notice of belong.

[b] PASCAL, upon this occasion, as GREGORY VII. had formerly done in the case of BERENGER, submitted his proceedings and his authority to the judgment of a council, to which, of consequence, he acknowledged his subordination. Nay, still more, that council condemned his measures, and declared them scandalous.

many synods and councils both in *France* and *Ger-* CENT.
many; nay, he was placed in the black list of *heretics*, XII.
 a denomination, which exposed him to the greatest PART II.
 dangers in these superstitious and barbarous times
 [c]; and, to complete his anxiety, he saw the Ger-
 man princes revolting from his authority in several
 places, and taking up arms in the cause of the
 church. To put an end to the calamities that thus
 afflicted the empire on all sides, HENRY set out a second
 time for *Italy*, with a numerous army, in the year
 1116, and arrived the year following at *Rome*, where
 he assembled the consuls, senators, and nobles, while
 the fugitive pontiff retired to *Benevento*. PASCAL,
 however, during this forced absence, engaged the
 Normans to come to his assistance, and, encouraged by
 the prospect of immediate succour, prepared every
 thing for a vigorous war against the emperor, and
 attempted to make himself master of *Rome*. But in the
 midst of these warlike preparations, which drew the
 attention of *Europe*, and portended great and remark-
 able events, the military pontiff yielded to fate, and
 concluded his days, A. D. 1118.

V. A few days after the death of PASCAL, JOHN
 of *Gaieta*, a Benedictine monk of *Montcassin*, and
 chancellor of the Roman church, was raised to the
 pontificate under the title of GELASIUS II. In
 opposition to this choice, HENRY elected to the same
 dignity MAURICE BURDIN, archbishop of *Braga* in
Spain [d], who assumed the denomination of
 GREGORY VIII. [e]. Upon this, GELASIUS, not

[c] See GERVAISE, *Diff. sur l'Hereſie des inveſtitures*, which
 is the fourth of the *Differtations* which he has prefixed to his
Hiſtory of the Abbot Suger.

[d] *Braga* was the metropolis of ancient *Galicia*, but at
 preſent is one of the three archbiſhoprics of *Portugal*, in the
 province of *Entre Duero e Migno*. The archbiſhop of that ſee
 claims the title of primate of *Spain*, which is annexed in *Spain* to
 the ſee of *Toledo*.

[e] See STEPHANI BALUZII *Vita Mauricii Burdini Miſcel-
 laneor.* tom. iii. p. 471.

CENT. XII. thinking himself safe at *Rome*, nor indeed in *Italy*, set out for *France*, and in a little time after died at *Clugni*.
 PART II. The *Cardinals*, who accompanied him in his journey, elected to the papacy, immediately after his departure, *GUY* archbishop of *Vienne*, count of *Burgundy*, who was nearly related to the emperor, and is distinguished in the list of the Roman pontiffs by the name of *CALLIXTUS II.* The elevation of this eminent ecclesiastic was, in the issue, extremely happy both for church and state. Remarkably distinguished by his illustrious birth, and still more by his noble and heroic qualities, this magnanimous pontiff continued to oppose the emperor with courage and success, and to carry on the war both with the sword of the spirit, and with the arm of flesh. He made himself master of *Rome*, threw into prison the pontiff that had been chosen by the emperor, and fomented the civil commotions in *Germany*. But his fortitude and resolution were tempered with moderation, and accompanied with a spirit of generosity and compliance, which differed much from the obstinate arrogance of his lordly predecessors. Accordingly he lent an ear to pacific councils, and was willing to relinquish a part of the demands upon which the former pontiffs had so vehemently insisted, that he might restore the public tranquillity, and satisfy the ardent desires of so many nations, who groaned under the dismal effects of these deplorable divisions [f].

It will appear unquestionably evident to every attentive and impartial observer of things, that the illiberal and brutish manners of those who ruled the church were the only reason that rendered the dispute concerning *investitures* so violent and cruel, so tedious in its duration, and so unhappy in its effects. During the space of five-and-fifty years,

☞ [f] The paragraph following is the note [t], of the original placed in the text.

the church was governed by monks, who, to the obscurity of their birth, the asperity of their natural temper, and the unbounded rapacity of their ambition and avarice, joined that inflexible obstinacy which is one of the essential characteristics of the monastic order. Hence those bitter feuds, those furious efforts of ambition and vengeance, that dishonoured the church and afflicted the state during the course of this controversy. But as soon as the papal chair was filled by a man of an ingenuous turn, and of a liberal education, the face of things changed entirely, and a prospect of peace arose to the desires and hopes of ruined and desolate countries.

VI. These hopes were not disappointed; for, after much contestation, peace was, at length, concluded between the emperor and the pope's legates, at a general diet held at *Worms*, A. D. 1122. The conditions were as follow:

Peace is concluded between the pope and the emperor upon certain conditions.

“ That for the future the bishops and abbots shall be chosen by those to whom the right of election belongs [g]; but that this election shall be made in presence of the emperor, or of an ambassador appointed by him for that purpose [b]:

“ That, in case a dispute arise among the electors, the decision of it shall be left to the emperor, who is to consult with the bishops upon that occasion:

“ That the bishop or abbot elect shall take an oath of allegiance to the emperor, receive from his hand the *regalia*, and do homage for them:

“ That the emperor shall no more confer the *regalia* by the ceremony of the *ring* and *crozier*, which are the ensigns of a ghostly dignity, but

☞ [g] The expression is ambiguous; but it signifies that the election of bishops and abbots was to be made by monks and canons as in former times.

[b] From this period the people in *Germany* were excluded from the right of voting in the election of bishops. See *Petrus de Marca, De concordia sacerdotii et imperii*, lib. vi. cap. ii. § 9. p. 783. edit. *Bohmeri*.

CENT. “ by that of the *sceptre*, which is more proper to
 XII. “ invest the person elected in the possession of rights
 PART II. “ and privileges merely temporal [i].”

— This convention was solemnly confirmed the year following in the general council of Lateran, and remains still in force in our times; though the true sense of some of its articles has occasioned disputes between the emperors and pontiffs [k].

Two popes
 raised at the
 same time to
 the pontifi-
 cate.

VII. CALLIXTUS did not long enjoy the fruits of this peace, to which he had so much contributed by his prudence and moderation. He departed this life in the year 1124, and was succeeded by LAMBERT, bishop of *Ostia*, who assumed the title of HONORIUS II. and under whose pontificate nothing worthy of mention was transacted. His death, which happened A. D. 1130, gave rise to a considerable schism in the church of *Rome*, or rather in the college of cardinals, of whom one party elected to the papal chair, GREGORY, a cardinal deacon of *St. Angelo*, who was distinguished by the name of INNOCENT II. while the other chose for successor to HONORIUS, PETER, the son of LEO, a Roman prince, under the title of ANACLETUS II. The party of INNOCENT was far from being numerous in *Rome*, or throughout *Italy* in general, for which reason he judged it expedient to retire into *France*, where he had many adherents, and where he sojourned during the space of two years. His credit was very great out of *Italy*; for, besides the emperor LOTHARIUS, the kings of *England*, *France*, and *Spain*, with other princes, espoused warmly the cause of INNOCENT,

[i] See MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. vi. p. 76.—SCHILTERUS, *De Libertate Eccl. Germanicæ*, lib. iv. cap. iv. p. 545.—CÆSAR RASPONUS, *De Basilica Lateranensi*, lib. iv. p. 295.

[k] It was disputed among other things, whether the consecration of the bishop elect was to precede or follow the collation of the regalia? See JO. WILH. HOFFMAN, *ad concordatum Henrici V. et Callisti II. Vitemberg.* 1739, in 4to.

and that principally by the influence of St. BERNARD, CENT. XII. PART II. who was his intimate friend, and whose counsels had the force and authority of laws in almost all the countries of *Europe*. The patrons of ANACLETUS were fewer in number, and were confined to the kings of *Sicily* and *Scotland*; his death, however, which happened A. D. 1138, terminated the contest, and left INNOCENT in the entire and undisputed possession of the apostolic chair. The surviving pontiff presided, in the year 1139, at the second council of Lateran, and about four years after ended his days in peace [1].

VIII. After the death of INNOCENT, the Roman Succession of the pontiffs, from the death of Innocent to the end of this century see was filled by GUY, cardinal of *St. Mark*, who ruled the church about five months, under the title of CELESTINE II. If his reign was short, it was however peaceable, and not like that of his successor LUCIUS II. whose pontificate was disturbed by various tumults and seditions, and who, about eleven months after his elevation to the papacy, was killed in a riot which he was endeavouring to suppress by his presence and authority. He was succeeded by BERNARD a Cistercian monk, and an eminent disciple of the famous St. BERNARD, abbot of *Clairval*. This worthy ecclesiastic, who is distinguished among the popes by the title of EUGENIUS III. was raised to that high dignity in the year 1145, and, during the space of nine years, was involved in the same perils and perplexities that had embittered the ghostly reign of his predecessor. He was often obliged to leave *Rome*, and to save himself by flight from the fury of the people [m]; and the

[1] Besides the ordinary writers of the papal history, see JEAN DE LANNES, *Histoire du pontificat du Pape Innocent II.* Paris. 1741, in 8vo.

☞ [m] There was a party formed in *Rome* at this time, whose design was to restore the Roman senate to its former privileges and to its ancient splendor and glory; and, for this purpose, to reduce the papal revenues and prerogatives to a narrower

CENT. same reason engaged him to retire into *France*, where
 XII. he sojourned for a considerable time. At length,
 PART II. exhausted by the opposition he met with in sup-
 porting what he looked upon as the prerogatives of
 the papacy, he departed this life in the year 1153.
 The pontificate of his successor CONRAD, bishop of *Sabino*,
 who, after his elevation to the see of *Rome*,
 assumed the title of ANASTASIUS IV. was less
 disturbed by civil commotions, but it was also of a
 very short duration; for ANASTASIUS died about a
 year and four months after his election.

The contest
 between
 the empe-
 rors and
 popes is re-
 newed un-
 der Frederic
 Barbarossa
 and Adrian
 IV.

IX. The warm contest between the emperors and
 the popes, which was considered as at an end ever
 since the time of CALLIXTUS II. was unhappily
 renewed under the pontificate of ADRIAN IV. who
 was a native of *England*, and whose original name
 was NICOLAS BREAKSPEAR. FREDERIC I. fur-
 named *Barbarossa*, was no sooner seated on the
 imperial throne, than he publicly declared his reso-
 lution to maintain the dignity and privileges of the
 Roman empire in general, and more particularly to
 render it respectable in *Italy*; nor was he at all
 studious to conceal the design he had formed of
 reducing the overgrown power and opulence of the
 pontiffs and clergy within narrower limits. ADRIAN
 perceived the danger that threatened the majesty of
 the church, and the authority of the clergy, and
 prepared himself for defending both with vigour and
 constancy. The first occasion of trying their strength
 was offered at the coronation of the emperor at *Rome*,
 in the year 1155, when the pontiff insisted upon
 FREDERIC's performing the office of equerry, and
 holding the stirrup to his holiness. This humbling

compass, even to the tithes and oblations that were offered to the
 primitive bishops, and to the spiritual government of the church,
 attended with an utter exclusion from all civil jurisdiction over the
 city of *Rome*. It was this party that produced the feuds and
 seditions to which Dr. MOSHEIM has an eye in this eighth
 section.

propofal was at firft rejected with difdain by the emperor, and was followed by other contefts of a more momentous nature relating to the interests of the empire. Thefe differences were no fooner reconciled than new difputes equally important arofe in the year 1158, when the emperor, in order to put a flop to the enormous opulence of the pontiffs, bifhops, and monks, which increafed from day to day, enacted a law to prevent the transferring of *fiefs*, without the knowledge or confent of the fuperior or lord in whole name they were held [n], and turned the whole force of his arms to reduce the little republics of *Italy* under his dominion. An open rupture between the emperor and the pontiff was expected as the inevitable confequence of fuch vigorous meafures, when the death of ADRIAN, which happened on the firft of *September*, A. D. 1159, fufpended the ftorm [o].

X. In the election of a new pontiff, the cardinals were divided into two factions. The moft numerous and powerful of the two raifed to the pontificate ROLAND, bifhop of *Sienna*, who affumed the name of ALEXANDER III. while the oppofite party elected to that high dignity OCTAVIAN, cardinal of *St. Cecilia*, known by the title of VICTOR IV. The latter was patronifed by the emperor, to whom ALEXANDER was extremely difagreeable on feveral accounts. The council of *Parvia*, which was affembled by the emperor in the year 1160, adopted his

A difpute
arifes in the
election of
a new pon-
tiff.

[n] This prohibition of transferring the poffeffion of *fiefs*, from one to another, without the confent of the fupreme lord, or fovereign, under whom they were held, together with other laws of a like nature, was the firft effectual barrier that was oppofed to the enormous and growing opulence and authority of the clergy. See MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom vi. p. 239.

[o] See the accurate and circumftantial account of this whole affair that is given by the illuftrious and learned Count BUNAU, in his *History of Frederic I.* wrote in German, p. 45. 49. 73. 99. 105, &c.

CENT. sentiments, and pronounced in favour of VICTOR,
 XII. who became thereby triumphant in *Germany* and *Italy*;
 PART II. so that *France* alone was left open to ALEXANDER,
 who accordingly left *Rome*, and fled thither for safety
 and protection. Amidst the tumults and commotions
 which this schism occasioned, VICTOR died at *Lucca*
 in the year 1164, but his place was immediately
 filled by the emperor, at whose desire GUY, cardinal
 of *St. Calixtus*, was elected pontiff under the title of
 PASCHAL III. and acknowledged in that character
 by the German princes assembled in the year 1167,
 at the diet of *Wurtzburg*. In the mean time ALEX-
 ANDER recovered his spirits, and returning into *Italy*
 maintained his cause with uncommon resolution and
 vigour, and not without some promising hopes of
 success. He held at *Rome*, in the year 1167, the
 council of Lateran, in which he solemnly deposed
 the emperor (whom he had, upon several occasions
 before this period, loaded publicly with anathemas
 and execrations), dissolved the oath of allegi-
 ance which his subjects had taken to him as their
 lawful sovereign, and encouraged and exhorted them
 to rebel against his authority, and to shake off his
 yoke. But, soon after this audacious proceeding,
 the emperor made himself master of *Rome*, upon
 which the insolent pontiff fled to *Benevento*, and left
 the apostolic chair to PASCHAL, his competitor.

XI. The affairs of ALEXANDER seemed to take
 soon after a more prosperous turn, when the greatest
 part of the imperial army being consumed by a
 pestilential disorder, the emperor was forced to
 abandon *Italy*, and when the death of PASCHAL,
 which happened in the year 1168, delivered him
 from such a powerful and formidable rival. But
 this fair prospect soon vanished. For the imperial
 faction elected to the pontificate JOHN, abbot of
Strum, under the title of CALLIXTUS III. whom
 FREDERIC, notwithstanding his absence in *Germany*,
 and the various wars and disputes in which he was

involved, supported to the utmost of his power. CENT. When peace was, in a good measure, restored to XII. the empire, FREDERIC marched into *Italy*, A. D. PART II. 1174, with a design to chastise the perfidy of the states and cities that had revolted during his absence, and seized the first favourable opportunity of throwing off his yoke. Had this expedition been crowned with the expected success, ALEXANDER would, undoubtedly, have been obliged to desist from his pretensions, and to yield the papal chair to CALIXTUS. But the event came far short of the hopes which this grand expedition had excited, and the emperor, after having, during the space of three years, been alternately defeated and victorious, was, at length, so fatigued with the hardships he had suffered, and so dejected at a view of the difficulties he had yet to overcome, that, in the year 1177, he concluded a treaty of peace at *Venice* with ALEXANDER III. and a truce with the rest of his enemies [p]. Certain writers affirm, that, upon this occasion, the haughty pontiff trod upon the neck of the suppliant emperor, while he kissed his foot, repeating at the same time those words of the royal Psalmist: *Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet* [q]. The greatest part, however, of modern authors have called this event in question,

[p] All the circumstances of these conventions are accurately related by the above-mentioned Count BUNAU, in his *History of Frederic I.* p. 115—242.—See also FORTUNATI OLMI *Istoria della Venuta à Venetia occultamente nel A. 1177. di Papa Alessandro III. Venet.* 1629, in 4to.—MURATORI *Antiq. Italicae medii ævi*, tom. iv. p. 2. 9.—*Origines Guelpbicae*, tom. ii. p. 379.—*Ad Sanctorum*, tom i. April. p. 46. in *Vita Hugonis, abbatis Bonæ vallis*, & tom ii. April. in *Vita Galdini Mediolanensis*, p. 596. two famous ecclesiastics, who were employed as ambassadors and arbiters in the treaty of peace here mentioned.

[q] Psalm xci. 13.

CENT. and consider it as utterly destitute of authority and unworthy of credit [r].

PART II.

A misunderstanding arises between Alexander III. and Henry II. king of England.

XII. ALEXANDER III. who was rendered so famous by his long and successful contest with FREDERIC I. was also engaged in a warm dispute with HENRY II. king of *England*, which was occasioned by the arrogance of THOMAS BECKET, archbishop of *Canterbury*. In the council of *Clarendon*, which was held in the year 1164, several laws were enacted, by which the king's power and jurisdiction over the clergy were accurately explained, and the rights and privileges of the bishops and priests reduced within narrower bounds [s]. BECKET refused obedience to

[r] See BUNAU's *Life of Frederic I.* p. 242.—HEUMANNI *Pœciles*, tom. iii. lib. i. p. 145.—*Bibliothèque Italique*, tom. vi. p. 5. as also the authors mentioned by CASPAR. SAGITTARIUS, in his *Introduç. in Histor. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 630. tom. ii. p. 600.

[s] See MATTH. PARIS, *Histor. Major.* p. 82, 83. 101. 114.—DAV. WILKINS, *Concilia Magnæ Britannia*, tom. i. p. 434.

☞ HENRY II. had formed the wise project of bringing the clergy under the jurisdiction of the civil courts, on account of the scandalous abuse they had made of their immunities, and the crimes which the ecclesiastical tribunals let pass with impunity. The *Constitutions of Clarendon*, which consisted of sixteen articles, were drawn up for this purpose: and as they are proper to give the reader a just idea of the prerogatives and privileges that were claimed equally by the king and the clergy, and that occasioned of consequence such warm debates between state and church, it will not be altogether useless to transcribe them here at length.

I. When any difference relating to the right of patronage arises between the laity, or between the *clergy* and *laity*, the controversy is to be tried and ended in the *King's Court*.

II. Those churches which are *fees* of the crown cannot be granted away in perpetuity without the king's consent.

III. When the *clergy* are charged with any misdemeanor, and summoned by the justiciary, they shall be obliged to make their appearance in his court, and plead to such parts of the indictment as shall be put to them; and likewise to answer such articles in the Ecclesiastical Court as they shall be prosecuted for by that jurisdiction: always provided, that the king's justiciary shall send an officer to inspect the proceedings of the Court Christian. And in case any *clerk* is convicted, or pleads guilty, he is to forfeit the the privilege of his character, and to be protected by the church, no longer.

these laws, which he looked upon as prejudicial to the *divine* rights of the church in general, and to

CENT.
XII.
PART II.

IV. No archbishops, bishops, or parsons, are allowed to depart the kingdom, without a licence from the crown; and, provided they have leave to travel, they shall give security, not to act or solicit any thing during their passage, stay, or return, to the prejudice of the king, or kingdom.

V. When any of the laity are prosecuted, in the Ecclesiastical Courts, the charge ought to be proved before the bishop by legal and reputable witnesses: and the course of the process is to be so managed, that the archdeacon may not lose any part of his right, or the profits accruing to his office: and, if any offenders appear screened from prosecution upon the score either of favour or quality, the sheriff, at the bishops's instance, shall order twelve sufficient men of the neighbourhood to make oath before the bishop, that they will discover the truth according to the best of their knowledge.

VI. Excommunicated persons shall not be obliged to make oath, or give security to continue upon the place where they live; but only to abide by the judgment of the church in order to their absolution.

VII. No person that *holds in chief of the king*, or any of his barons, shall be excommunicated, or any of their estates put under an *interdict*, before application made to the king, provided he is in the kingdom; and, in case his highness be out of *England*, then the justiciary must be acquainted with the dispute, in order to make satisfaction: and thus what belongs to the cognizance of the King's Court, must be tried there; and that which belongs to the Court Christian, must be remitted to that jurisdiction.

VIII. In case of appeals in ecclesiastical causes, the first step is to be made from the archdeacon to the bishop: and from the bishop to the archbishop: and, if the archbishop fails to do justice, a farther recourse may be had to the king, by whose order the controversy is to be finally decided in the archbishop's Court. Neither shall it be lawful for either of the parties to move for any farther remedy without leave from the crown.

IX. If a difference happens to arise between any clergyman and layman concerning any tenement; and that the clerk pretends it held by *frank-almoine**, and the layman pleads it a *lay-fee*; in this case, the tenure shall be tried by the inquiry and verdict of twelve sufficient men of the neighbourhood, summoned according to the custom of the realm. And, if the tenement or thing in controversy shall be found *frank-almoine*, the dispute concerning it shall be tried in the Ecclesiastical Court. But, if

* *i. e.* A tenure by divine service, as *Britton* explains it.

CENT. the prerogatives of the Roman pontiffs in particular.

XII. Upon this there arose a violent debate between the

PART II.

it is brought in a *lay-fee*, the suit shall be followed in the King's Courts, unless both the plaintiff and defendant hold the tenement in question of the same bishop; in which case, the cause shall be tried in the court of such bishop or baron, with this farther proviso, that he who is seized of the thing in controversy, shall not be disseized, hanging the suit (i. e. *during the suit, pendente lite*) upon the score of the verdict above mentioned.

X. He who holds of the king in any city, castle, or borough, or resides upon any of the demesne-lands of the crown, in case he is cited by the archdeacon or bishop to answer any misbehaviour belonging to their cognizance; if he refuses to obey their summons, and stand to the sentence of the court, it shall be lawful for the ordinary to put him under an interdict, but not to excommunicate him, till the king's principal officer of the town shall be pre-acquainted with the case, in order to enjoin him to make satisfaction to the church. And if such officer or magistrate shall fail in his duty, he shall be fined by the king's judges. And then the bishop may exert his discipline on the refractory person as he thinks fit.

XI. All archbishops, bishops, and ecclesiastical persons, who hold of the king in chief, and the tenure of a barony, are for that reason obliged to appear before the king's justices and ministers, to answer the duties of their tenure, and to observe all the usages and customs of the realm; and, like other barons, are bound to be present at trials in the King's Court, till sentence is to be pronounced for the losing of life or limbs.

XII. When any archbishoprick, bishoprick, abbey, or priory or royal foundation, becomes vacant, the king is to make seizure: from which time all the profits and issues are to be paid into the Exchequer, as if they were the demesne-lands of the crown. And when it is determined the vacancy shall be filled up, the king is to summon the most considerable persons of the chapter to Court, and the election is to be made in the chapel royal, with the consent of our sovereign lord the king, and by the advice of such persons of the government, as his highness shall think fit to make use of. At which time, the person elected, before his consecration, shall be obliged to do homage and fealty to the king, as his liege lord; which homage shall be performed in the usual form, with a clause for the saving the privilege of his order.

XIII. If any of the temporal barons, or great men shall encroach upon the rights or property of any archbishop, bishop, or archdeacon, and refuse to make satisfaction for wrong done by themselves, or their tenants, the king shall do justice to the party

resolute monarch and the rebellious prelate, which CENT. obliged the latter to retire into *France*, where XII. ALEXANDER III. was at that time in a kind of exile. PART II.
 This pontiff and the king of *France* interposed their good offices in order to compose these differences, in which they succeeded so far, after much trouble and difficulty, as to encourage BECKET to return into *England*, where he was re-instated in his forfeited dignity. But the generous and indulgent proceedings of his sovereign towards him, were not sufficient to conquer his arrogant and rebellious obstinacy in maintaining, what he called, the privileges of the church, nor could he be induced by

aggrieved. And, if any person shall disseize the king of any part of his lands, or trespass upon his prerogative, the archbishops, bishops, and deacons shall call him to an account, and oblige him to make the crown restitution; i. e. *They were to excommunicate such disseizers and injurious persons in case they proved refractory and incorrigible.*

XIV. The goods and chattels of those who lie under forfeitures of felony or treason are not to be detained in any church or church-yard, to secure them against seizure and justice; because such goods are the king's property, whether they are lodged within the precincts of a church or without it.

XV. All actions, and pleas of debts, though never so solemn in the circumstances of the contract, shall be tried in the King's Courts.

XVI. The sons of copy-holders are not to be ordained without the consent of the lord of the manor where they were born.

Such were the articles of the constitutions of *Clarendon*, against the greatest part of which the pope protested. They were signed by the English clergy and also by BECKET. The latter, however, repented of what he had done, and, retiring from court, suspended himself from his office in the church for about forty days, till he received absolution from ALEXANDER III. who was then at *Sens*. His aversion to these articles manifested itself by an open rebellion against his sovereign, in which he discovered his true character, as a most daring, turbulent, vindictive, and arrogant priest, whose ministry was solely employed in extending the despotic dominion of *Rome*, and whose fixed purpose was to aggrandize the church upon the ruins of the state. See COLLIER'S Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. XII century. RAPIN THOYRAS, in the reign of HENRY II.

CENT. any means to comply with the views and measures
 XII. of HENRY. The consequences of this inflexible
 PART II. resistance were fatal to the haughty prelate, for he
 was, soon after his return into *England*, assassinated
 before the altar, while he was at vespers in his
 cathedral, by four persons, who certainly did not
 commit this act of violence without the king's know-
 ledge and connivance [1]. This event produced

☞ [1] This assertion is, in our opinion, by much too strong. It can only be founded upon certain indiscreet and passionate expressions, which the intolerable insolence and frenetic obstinacy of BECKET drew from HENRY in an unguarded moment, when, after having received new affronts, notwithstanding the reconciliation he had effected with so much trouble and condescension, he expressed himself to this purpose: *Am I not unhappy, that, among the numbers, who are attached to my interests, and employed in my service, there is none possessed of spirit enough to resent the affronts which I am constantly receiving from a miserable priest?* These words, indeed, were not pronounced in vain. Four gentlemen of the court, whose names were *Fitz-Urse*, *Tracy*, *Britton*, and *Morville*, murdered BECKET in his chapel, and thus performed, in a licentious and criminal manner, an action which the laws might have commanded with justice. But it is extremely remarkable, that, after the murder, the assassins were afraid they had gone too far, and durst not return to the king's court, which was then in *Normandy*; but retired, at first, to *Knaresborough* in *Yorkshire*, which belonged to *Morville*, from whence they repaired to *Rome* for absolution, and being admitted to penance by ALEXANDER III. were sent, by the orders of that pontiff, to *Jerusalem*, and passed the remainder of their lives upon the *Black Mountain* in the severest acts of austeritv and mortification. All this does not look as if the king had been deliberately concerned in this murder, or had expressly consented to it. On the contrary, various circumstances concur to prove that HENRY was entirely innocent of this murder. Mr. HUME mentions particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting the design of the four gentlemen above mentioned, by some menacing expressions they had dropt, “dispatched” (says Mr. HUME) a messenger after them, charging them to “attempt nothing against the person of the primate. But these orders came too late.” See his *History of England*, vol. i. p. 294. RAPIN THOYRAS, *History of England*; COLLIER'S *Ecclesiastical History of England*, vol. i. p. 370. The authors which Dr. MOSHEIM refers to for an account of this matter are as follow :

warm debates between the king of *England* and the Roman pontiff, who gained his point so far as to make the suppliant monarch undergo a severe course of penance, in order to expiate a crime of which he was considered as the principal promoter, while the murdered prelate was solemnly enrolled in the highest rank of saints and martyrs in the year 1173 [u].

XIII. It was not only by force of arms, but also by uninterrupted efforts of dexterity and artifice, by wise councils and prudent laws, that ALEXANDER III. maintained the pretended rights of the church, and extended the authority of the Roman pontiffs. For, in the third council of the Lateran, held at *Rome*, A. D. 1179, the following decrees, among many others upon different subjects, were passed by his advice and authority: 1st, That in order to put an end to the confusion and dissensions which so often accompanied the election of the Roman pontiffs, the right of election should not only be vested in the *cardinals* alone, but also that the person, in whose favour two-thirds of the college of cardinals voted, should be considered as the lawful and duly elected pontiff. This law is still in force; it was therefore from the time of ALEXANDER that the election of the pope acquired that form which it still retains, and by which not only the people, but also the Roman clergy, are excluded entirely from all share in the honour of conferring that important dignity.

Alexander III. contributes by prudent counsels to confirm the privileges of the church, and to extend the papal authority.

GUILIEL. STEPHANIDÆ, *Historia Thomæ Cantuariensis* in SPARKE *Scriptores rerum Anglicarum*, published in folio at *London* in the year 1723.—CHRISP. LUPI *Epistolæ et vita Thomæ Cantuar.*—*Epistolæ Alexandri III. Ludovici VII. Henrici II. in hac causa ex MSS. Vaticanæ, Bruxelles* 1682, 2 vols. 4to.—NATALIS ALEXANDER, *Select. Histor. Eccles. Capitib. Sæc. xii. Diff. x.* p. 833.—THOMÆ STAPLETONI *Tres Thomæ, seu res gestæ Thomæ Apostoli, S. Thomæ Cantuariensis, et Thomæ Mori, Colon* 1612, in 8vo.

[u] BOULAY, *Histor. Academ. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 328. et *De Die Feste ejus*, p. 397. DOM. COLONIA, *Histoire Litteraire de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 249.

CENT. 2dly, A spiritual war was declared against Heretics, whose numbers increasing considerably about this time, created much disturbance in the church in general, and infested, in a more particular manner, several provinces in *France*, which groaned under the fatal dissensions that accompanied the propagation of their errors [w]. 3dly, The right of recommending and nominating to the faintly order was also taken away from councils and bishops, and *canonization* was ranked among the *greater and more important causes*, the cognizance of which belonged to the pontiff alone [x]. To all this we must not forget to add, that the power of erecting new kingdoms, which had been claimed by the pontiffs from the time of GREGORY VII. was not only assumed, but also exercised by ALEXANDER in a remarkable instance; for, in the year 1179, he conferred the title of king, with the ensigns of royalty, upon ALPHONSO I. duke of *Portugal*, who, under the pontificate of LUCIUS II. had rendered his province tributary to the Roman see [y].

[w] See NATALIS ALEXANDER, *Sele&. Histor. Eccles. Capit. Sec. xii. Diff. ix.* p. 819. where he treats particularly concerning this council.—See also tom. vi. part II. *Conciliorum HARDUINI*, p. 1671.

✠ Dr. MOSHEIM, as also SPANHEIM and FLEURY, call this the 3d council of Lateran, whereas other historians mention eight preceding councils held in the Lateran, *viz.* Those of the years 649, 864, 1105, 1112, 1116, 1123, 1139, 1167. Our author has also attributed to this council of 1179, decrees that probably belong to a later period.

[x] See what has been observed already, under the xth century, concerning the election of the popes, and the *canonization* of saints.

[y] BARONIUS, *Annal. ad A. 1179.*—INNOCENTII III. *Epistola Lib. ep. xlix.* p. 54. tom. i. ed. *Baluzian.*

✠ ALPHONSO had been declared, by his victorious army, king of *Portugal*, in the year 1136, in the midst of the glorious exploits he had performed in the war against the *Moors*; so that ALEXANDER III. did no more than confirm this title by an arrogant bull, in which he treats that excellent prince as his vassal.

XIV. Upon the death of ALEXANDER, UBALD, CEN'T. XII. bishop of *Ostia*, otherwise known by the name of LUCIUS III. was raised to the pontificate, A. D. 1181, by the suffrages of the cardinals alone, in consequence of the law mentioned in the preceding section. The administration of this new pontiff was embittered by violent tumults and seditions; for he was twice driven out of the city by the Romans, who could not bear a pope that was elected in opposition to the ancient custom, without the knowledge and consent of the clergy and the people. In the midst of these troubles he died at *Verona* in the year 1185, and was succeeded by HUBERT CRIVELLI, bishop of *Milan*, who assumed the title of URBAN III. and without having transacted any thing worthy of mention during his short pontificate, died of grief in the year 1187, upon hearing that SALADIN had made himself master of *Jerusalem*. The pontificate of his successor ALBERT [z], whose papal denomination was GREGORY VIII. exhibited still a more striking instance of the fragility of human grandeur; for this pontiff yielded to fate about two months after his elevation. He was succeeded by PAUL, bishop of *Preneste*, who filled the papal chair above three years under the title of CLEMENT III. and departed this life, A. D. 1191, without having distinguished his ghostly reign by any memorable atchievement, if we except his zeal for draining *Europe* of its treasures and inhabitants by the publication of new *crusades*. CELESTINE III. [a] makes a more shining figure in history than the pontiffs we have been now mentioning; for he thundered his excommunications against the emperor HENRY VI. and LEOPOLD, duke of *Austria*, on account of their having seized and imprisoned RICHARD I. king of *England*, as he

PART II.
His successors.

[z] This prelate, before his elevation to the papacy, was bishop of *Benevento*, and chancellor of the Roman church.

[a] Whose name was HYACINTH, a native of *Rome*, and a cardinal deacon.

CENT. was returning from the Holy Land ; he also subjected
 XII. to the same malediction ALPHONSO X. king of
 PART II. *Gallicia* and *Leon*, on account of an incestuous
 marriage into which that prince had entered, and
 commanded PHILIP AUGUSTUS, king of *France*,
 to re-admit to the conjugal state and honours INGEL-
 BURG his queen, whom he had divorced for reasons
 unknown ; though this order, indeed, produced
 but little effect [*b*]. But the most illustrious and
 resolute pontiff, that filled the papal chair during
 this century, and whose exploits made the greatest
 noise in *Europe*, was LOTHARIUS, count of *Segni*,
 cardinal deacon, otherwise known by the name of
 INNOCENT III. The arduous undertakings and
 bold atchievements of this eminent pontiff, who
 was placed at the head of the church in the year
 1198, belong to the history of the following century.

A view of
 the other
 ecclesiastical
 orders, and
 their vices.

XV. If, from the series of pontiffs that ruled the
 church in this century, we descend to the other
 ecclesiastical orders, such as the bishops, priests, and
 deacons, the most disagreeable objects will be exhi-
 bited to our view. The unanimous voice of the
 historians of this age, as well as the laws and decrees
 of synods and councils, declare loudly the gross
 ignorance, the odious frauds, and the flagitious
 crimes, that reigned among the different ranks and
 orders of the clergy now mentioned. It is not
 therefore at all surprizing, that the monks, whose
 rules of discipline obliged them to a regular method
 of living, and placed them out of the way of many
 temptations to licentiousness, and occasions of sinning
 to which the episcopal and sacerdotial orders were
 exposed, were held in higher esteem than they were.

§ [*b*] It was in consequence of the vigorous and terrible
 proceedings of INNOCENT III. that the re-union between PHILIP
 and INGELBURG was accomplished. See *L'Histoire de France*,
 par l'Abbé VELLY, tom. iii. p. 367, 368, 369.

The reign of corruption became, however, so general, CENT. that it reached at last even the convents; and the XII. monks, who were gaining with the most ardent PAR II. efforts the summit of ecclesiastical power and authority, and who beheld both the *secular clerks* and the *regular canons* with aversion and contempt [*c*], began, in many places, to degenerate from that sanctity of manners, and that exact obedience to their rules of discipline, by which they had been formerly distinguished, and to exhibit to the people scandalous examples of immorality and vice [*d*]. The Benedictines of *Clugni*, who undoubtedly surpassed, in regularity of conduct and purity of manners, all the monastic orders who lived under their rule, maintained their integrity for a long time, amidst the general decay of piety and virtue. They were, however, at length carried away with the torrent; seduced by the example of their abbot PONTIUS, and corrupted by the treasures that were poured daily into their convent by the liberality of the opulent and pious, they fell from their primitive austerity, and, following the dissolute examples of the other Benedictines, they *gave themselves up to pleasure, and dwelt carelessly* [*e*]. Several of the succeeding abbots endeavoured to remedy this disorder, and to recover the declining reputation of their convent; but their efforts were much less successful than they expected, nor could the monks

[*c*] See RUPERTI *Epistola* in MARTENE *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. i. p. 285. This writer prefers the monks before the apostles.

[*d*] See BERNARD. *Consideration. ad Eugenium*, lib. iii. cap. iv.—See also the *Speculum Stultorum*, or *Brunellus*, a Poem, composed by NIGEL WIREKER, an English bard of no mean reputation, who lived about the middle of the XIIth century. In this Poem, of which several editions have been published, the different orders of monks are severely censured; the Carthusians alone have escaped the keen and virulent satire of this witty writer.

[*e*] ISAIAH, xlvi. 8.

CENT. of *Clugni* ever be brought back to their primitive
XII. sanctity and virtue [*f*].

PART II. XVI. The *Cistercian Order*, which was much
inferior to the monks of *Clugni*, both with respect to
the antiquity of their institution, and the possessions
and revenues of their convent, surpassed them far in
the external regularity of their lives and manners,
and in a certain striking air of innocence and sanctity,
which they still retained, and which the others had
almost entirely lost. Hence they acquired that high
degree of reputation and authority, which the order
of *Clugni* had formerly enjoyed, and increased daily
in number, credit, and opulence. The famous
St. BERNARD, abbot of *Clairval*, whose influence
throughout all *Europe* was incredible, whose word
was a law, and whose counsels were regarded by
kings and princes as so many orders to which the
most respectful obedience was due; this eminent
ecclesiastic was the person who contributed most to
enrich and aggrandize the *Cistercian Order*. Hence
he is justly considered as the second parent and
founder of that Order; and hence the *Cistercians*,
not only in *France*, but also in *Germany* and other
countries, were distinguished by the title of *Bernardin
monks* [*g*]. A hundred and sixty religious commu-
nities derive their origin, or their rules of discipline,
from this illustrious abbot, and he left, at his death,
seven hundred monks in the monastery of *Clairval*.
The church abounded with bishops and archbishops
that had been formed and prepared for the ministry
by his instructions, and he counted also, among the
number of his disciples, EUGENIUS III. one of the
best and wisest of the Roman pontiffs.

[*f*] See MARTENE, *Amplissima Collectio Monumentorum Veter.* tom. ix. p. 1119.

[*g*] See JO. MABILLON, *Annal. Ordin. Benedict.* tom. vi. passim, in *vita Sti. Bernardi*, which he has prefixed to his edition of the works of that saint.—See also ANGELI MANRIQUEZ *Annales Cistercienses*, tom. ii. and iii.

XVII. The growing prosperity of the *Cistercian* Order excited the envy and jealousy of the monks of *Clugni*, and, after several dissentions of less consequence, produced at length an open rupture, a declared war between these two opulent and powerful monasteries. They both followed the rule of St. BENEDICT, though they differed in their habit, and in certain laws, which the Cistercians more especially, had added to that rule. The monks of *Clugni* accused the *Cistercians* of affecting an extravagant austerity in their manners and discipline; while the *Cistercians*, on the other hand, charged them, and that upon very good grounds, with having degenerated from their former sanctity, and regularity of conduct. St. BERNARD, who was the oracle and protector of the Cistercians, wrote, in the year 1127, an *Apology* for his own conduct in relation to the division that subsisted between the two convents, and inveighed with a just, though decent, severity against the vices that corrupted the monks of *Clugni* [b]. This charge was answered, though with uncommon moderation and candour, by PETER MAURICIUS, abbot of *Clugni*; and hence it occasioned

CENT.
XII.
PART II.
Jealousies
arise be-
tween the
Cistercians
and the
monks of
Clugni.

[b] This apology, as it is called, of St. BERNARD is well worth the attention of the curious reader, as it exhibits a true and lively picture of monastic opulence and luxury, and shews how the religious orders in general lived in this century. The famous abbot, in this performance, accuses the monks of *Clugni* of luxury and intemperance at their table, of superfluity and magnificence in their dress, their bed-chambers, their furniture, equipage, and buildings. He points out the pride and vanity of the abbots, who looked much more like the governors of provinces, than the spiritual fathers of humble and holy communities, whose original profession it was, to be crucified and dead to the interests and pleasures, the pomps and vanities of a present world: He declares, with a pious concern, that he knew several abbots, each of whom had more than sixty horses in his stable, and such a prodigious variety of wines in his cellar, that it was scarcely possible to taste the half of them at a single entertainment. See FLEURY, *Hist. Ecclesiastique*, liv. lxxvii. tom. xiv. p. 351. edita *Bruxelles*.

CENT. a controversy in form, which spread from day to day its baneful influence, and excited disturbances in several provinces of *Europe* [i]. It was, however, followed with a much more vehement and bitter contest concerning an exemption from the payment of tythes, granted among other privileges and immunities to the Cisterians, A. D. 1132, by INNOCENT II. A considerable part of the lands which the Cisterians possessed, and to which the pontiff granted this exemption, were subject to the monks of *Clugni*, who suffered consequently by this act of liberality, and disputed the matter, not only with the Cisterians, but with the pope himself. This keen dispute was, in some measure, terminated in the year 1155, but in what manner, or upon what conditions, is more than is come to our knowledge [k].

Lives and
manners of
the canons.

XVIII. The *regular canons*, who were erected into a fixed and permanent order in the preceding century, employed their time in a much more useful and exemplary manner than the monastic drones, who passed their days in luxury and sloth. They kept public schools for the instruction of youth, and exercised a variety of ecclesiastical functions, which rendered them extremely useful to the church [l]. Hence they rose daily in credit and reputation, received many rich and noble donations from several persons, whose opulence and piety rendered them

[i] See S. BERNARDI *Apologia* in *Oper.* tom. i. p. 523—533.—The *Apology* of PETER, abbot of *Clugni*, surnamed the *Venerable*, which is published among his *Epistles*. lib. i. ep. 28. in the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, tom. i. p. 657—695.—See also the *Dialogus inter Cluniacensem et Cisterciensem*, published by MARTENE, in his *Thezaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 1573—1613.—Compare with all these MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 80. and MARRIQUEZ, *Annal. Cisterc.* tom. i. p. 28.

[k] See ANGELI MARRIQUEZ, *Annal. Cistercienses*, tom. i. p. 232.—MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 212. 479. & *Præfat. ad Opera S. Bernardi*. JO. DE LANNES, *Histoire des Pontificat. d'Innocent II.* p. 68—79.—JO. NIC. HERTII *Diss. de exemptione Cisterc. à decimis*.

[l] See the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ix. p. 112.

able and willing to distinguish merit, and were also often put in possession of the revenues of the monks, whose dissolute lives occasioned, from time to time, the suppression of their convents. This, as might well be expected, inflamed the rage of the monastic orders against the regular canons, whom they attacked with the greatest fury, and loaded with the bitterest invectives. The canons, in their turn, were far from being backward in making reprisals; they exclaimed, on the contrary, against the monks with the utmost vehemence; enumerated their vices both in their discourses and in their writings, and insisted upon their being confined to their monasteries, sequestered from human society, and excluded from all ecclesiastical honours and functions. Hence arose a long and warm contest between the monks and canons concerning pre-eminence, in which both parties carried their pretensions too high, and exceeded the bounds of decency and moderation [m]. The champions, who espoused the interest of the monks, were the famous PETER ABELARD, HUGH of *Amiens*, RUPERT of *Duyts*; while the cause of the canons was defended by PHILIP HARVENGIUS, a learned abbot, and several other men of genius and abilities [n]. The effects and remains of this ancient controversy are yet visible in our times.

XIX. A new society of religious Benedictines arose about the commencement of this century, whose principal monastery was erected in a barren and solitary place, called *Fontevraud*, between *Angers* and *Tours*, from whence the order derived its name. ROBERT of *Arbrifelles*, its founder, who had been first an hermit, and afterwards a monk, prescribed

[m] See LAMBERTI *Epistola* in MARTENE, *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. i. p. 329.

[n] ABELARDI *Opera*, p. 228, *Paris*. 1616, in 4to.—MARTENE, *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 970—975. 1614. et *Amplissima ejusdem Collectio*, tom. ix. p. 971, 972.—PHIL. HARVENGIUS *Opera*, p. 385. *Duaci* 1621, in folio.

CENT.
XII.
PART II.

CENT. to his *religious* of both sexes, the rule of St. BENE-
 XII. DICT, amplified, however, by the addition of several
 PART II. new laws, which were extremely singular and ex-
 cessively severe. Among other singularities that distinguished this institution, one was, that the several monasteries which ROBERT had built, within one and the same inclosure, for his monks and nuns, were all subjected to the authority and government of one abbes; in justification of which measure, the example of CHRIST was alleged, who recommended St. JOHN to the Virgin MARY, and imposed it as an order upon that beloved disciple, to be obedient to her as to his own mother [o]. This new order, like all other novelties of that kind, gained immediately a high degree of credit; the singularity of its discipline, its form, and its laws, engaged multitudes to embrace it, and thus the labours of its founder were crowned with remarkable success. [But the association of vigorous monks and tender virgins, in the same community, was an imprudent measure, and could not but be attended with many inconveniencies. However that be, ROBERT continued his pious labours, and the odour of his sanctity perfumed all the places where he exercised his ministry.] He was, indeed, suspected by some, of too great an intimacy with his female disciples; and it was rumoured about, that, in order to try his virtue, by opposing it to the strongest temptations,

[o] See the *Works* of ABELARD, p. 48. whose testimony in this matter is confirmed by the present state and constitution of this famous order; though MABILLON, from an excessive partiality in favour of the Benedictines, has endeavoured to diminish its credit in his *Annal. Benedict.* tom. v. p. 423. For an account of ROBERT and his order, see the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. iii. *Februar.* p. 593.—DION. SAMMARTHANI *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 1311.—BAYLE'S *Dictionary*, at the article FONTEVRAUD.—HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vi. p. 83.—The present state of this monastery is described by MOLEON, in his *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 108. and by MARTENE, in his *Voyages Litteraire de deux Benedictins*, part II. p. 1.

he exposed it to an inevitable defeat by the manner CENT. in which he conversed with these holy virgins. It XII. was even said, that their commerce was softened by PART II. something more tender than divine love; against which charge, his disciples have used their most zealous endeavours to defend their master [p].

XX. NORBERT, a German nobleman, who went The Order of Premon- into holy orders, and was afterwards archbishop of tré. *Magdebourg*, employed his most zealous efforts to restore to its primitive severity the discipline of the *regular canons*, which was extremely relaxed in some places, and almost totally abolished in others. This eminent reformer founded, in the year 1121, the *Order of Premontré* in *Picardy*, whose fame spread throughout *Europe* with an amazing rapidity, and whose opulence, in a short space of time, became excessive and enormous [q], in consequence of the

[p] See the letters of GEOFFRY, abbot of *Vendôme*, and of MARBOD, bishop of *Rennes*, in which ROBERT is accused of lying in the same bed with the nuns. How the grave abbot was defended against this accusation by the members of his order, may be seen in MAINFERME'S *Cyprus Nascentis Ordinis Fontebaldensis*, published in 8vo at *Paris*, in the year 1684; and also by another production of the same author, entitled *Dissertationes in Epistola contra Robertum de Arbriffello, Salmurii*, 1682, in 8vo. BAYLE'S account of this famous abbot, in which there is such an admirable mixture of wit, sense, and malice, has been also attacked by several writers: see, among others, the *Dissertation Apologetique pour le bienheureux Robert d'Arbriffelles sur ce qu'en a dit M. Bayle, Anvers 1701*, in 8vo.—MABILLON, *Annal.* tom. v. et vi. p. 9, 10.

§ In the year 1177, some nuns of this order were brought into *England*, at the desire of HENRY III. who gave them the monastery of *Ambresbury* in *Wiltshire*. They had two other houses here; the one at *Eton*, the other at *Westwood* in *Worcestershire*.

☞ [q] The *religious* of this order were at first so poor, that they had nothing they could call their own, but a single ass, which served to carry the wood they cut down every morning, and sent to *Laon* in order to purchase bread. But in a short time they received so many donations, and built so many monasteries, that thirty years after the foundation of this Order, they had above

CENT. high esteem which the monks of this community
 XII. had acquired by the gravity of their manners, and
 PART II. their assiduous application to the liberal arts and
 sciences. But their overgrown prosperity was the
 source of their ruin; it soon diminished their zeal
 for the exercises of devotion, extinguished their thirst
 after useful knowledge, and thus, step by step,
 plunged them, at length, into all sorts of vices.
 The rule which they followed was that of St. AU-
 GUSTIN, with some slight alterations, and an addition
 of certain severe laws, whose authority, however,
 did not long survive their austere founder [r].

XXI. About the middle of this century, a certain
 Calabrian, whose name was BERTHOLD, set out
 with a few companions for mount *Carmel*, and, upon
 the very spot where the prophet ELIAS is said to
 have disappeared, built an humble cottage, with an
 adjoining chapel, in which he led a life of solitude,
 austerly, and labour. This little colony subsisted,
 and the places of those that died were more than

an hundred abbies in *France* and *Germany*. In process of time,
 the Order increased so prodigiously, that it had monasteries in
 all parts of *Christendom*, amounting to 1000 abbies, 300 provost-
 ships, a vast number of priories, and 500 nunneries. But this
 number is now greatly diminished. Besides what they lost in
 protestant countries, of sixty-five abbeys, that they had in *Italy*,
 there is not one now remaining.

[r] See HELYOT. *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. ii. p. 156.—CHRY-
 SOST. VAN DER STERIE, *Vita S. Norberti Præmonstratensium*
Patriarchæ, published in 8vo. at *Antwerp* in 1656.—LOUIS
 HUGHES, *Vie de S. Norbert*, *Luxemb.* 1704, in 4to.—Add to
 these, notwithstanding his partiality, JO. LAUNOIS, *Inquisit. in*
Privilegia Ordin. Præmonstrat. cap. i, ii. *Oper.* tom. iii. part I. p.
 448. For an account of the present state of the Order of *Pre-*
montré see MARTENE'S *Voyage Littéraire de deux Benedictins*,
 tom. ii. p. 59.

¶ The *Præmonstratenses* or monks of *Premontzé*, vulgarly
 called *White canons*, came first into *England*, A. D. 1146. Their
 first monastery, called *New House*, was built in *Lincolnshire*, by
Peter de Saulia, and dedicated to St. *Martial*. In the reign
 of EDWARD I. the Order in question had twenty-seven monas-
 teries in *England*.

filled by new-comers; so that it was, at length [s],^{CENT.} erected into a monastic community by ALBERT, ^{XII.} patriarch of *Jerusalem*. This austere prelate drew ^{PART II.} up a rule of discipline for the new monks, which was afterwards confirmed by the authority of the Roman pontiffs, who modified and altered it in several respects, and, among other corrections, mitigated its excessive rigour and severity [t]. Such was the origin of the famous *Order of Carmelites*, or, as they are commonly called, of the *Order of our Lady of mount Carmel*, which was afterwards transplanted from *Syria* into *Europe*, and obtained the principal rank among the mendicant or begging orders. It is true, the Carmelites reject, with the highest indignation, an origin so recent and obscure, and affirm to this very day, that the prophet ELIAS was the parent and founder of their ancient community [u]. Very few, however, have been engaged to adopt this fabulous and chimerical account of their establishment, except the members of the order, and many Roman catholic writers have treated their pretensions to such a remote antiquity with the utmost

[s] In the year 1205.

[t] I have here principally followed DAN. PAPEBROCH, an accurate writer, and one who is always careful to produce sufficient testimonies of the truth of his narrations, see the *Acta Sanctor. Antwerp. Mense April.* tom. iii. p. 774—802. It is well known, that an accusation was brought against this learned jesuit, before the tribunal of the Roman pontiff, by the Carmelites, on account of his having called in question the dignity and high antiquity of their Order. We have in HELYOT'S *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. i. p. 282. an account of this long and tedious contest, which was so far determined, or at least suspended, in the year 1698, by INNOCENT XII. that silence was imposed upon the contending parties.

[u] The most concise and accurate of all the Carmelite writers, who have treated this matter, is THOMAS AQUINAS, a French monk, in his *Dissertatio Hist. Theol. in qua Patriarchus Ordinis Carmelitarum Prophecie Elie vindicatur*, published in 8vo, at Paris in the year 1632. The modern writers, who have maintained the cause of the Carmelites against PAPEBROCH, are extremely prolix and tiresome.

CENT. contempt [w]. [w] And scarcely, indeed, can any
 XII. thing be more ridiculous than the circumstantial
 PART II. narrations of the occasion, origin, founder, and
 revolutions of this famous order, which we find in
 several ecclesiastical authors, whose zeal for this
 fraternity has rendered them capable of adopting,
 without reluctance, or, at least, of reciting without
 shame, the most puerile and glaring absurdities.
 They tell us, that ELIAS was introduced into the
 state of monachism by the ministry of angels; that
 his first disciples were JONAH, MICAH, and also
 OBADIAH, whose wife, in order to get rid of an
 importunate crowd of lovers, who fluttered about
 her at the court of AHAB, after the departure of
 her husband, bound herself by a vow of chastity,
 received the veil from the hands of *father* ELIAS,
 and thus became the first abbess of the Carmelite
 Order. They enter into a vast detail of all the
 circumstances that relate to the rules of discipline
 which were drawn up for this community, the habit
 which distinguished its members, and the various
 alterations which were introduced into their rule of
 discipline in process of time. They observe, that,
 among other marks which were used to distinguish
 the Carmelites from the seculars, the *tonsure* was
 one; that this mark of distinction exposed them,
 indeed, to the mockeries of a profane multitude;
 and that this furnishes the true explication of the
 terms *bald head*, which the children addressed, by
 way of reproach, to ELISHAH as he was on his way
 to *Carmel* [x]. They tell us, moreover, that,
 PYTHAGORAS was a member of this ancient order;
 that he drew all his wisdom from mount *Carmel*,
 and had several conversations with the prophet
 DANIEL at *Babylon*, upon the subject of the Trinity.

[w] See HARDUINI *Opera posthum.* p. 642.—LABAT, *Voyage en Espagne et Italie*, tom. iii. p. 87.—COURAYER, *Examen des défauts Théologiques*, tom. i. p. 455.

[x] See 2 KINGS, ii. 23.

Nay, they go still farther into the region of fable, and assert, that the Virgin MARY, and JESUS himself, assumed the habit and profession of Carmelites; and they load this fiction with a heap of absurd circumstances, which it is impossible to read without the highest astonishment [y].

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XXII. To this brief account of the religious orders, it will not be amiss to add a list of the principal Greek and Latin writers that flourished in this century. The most eminent among the Greeks were those that follow:

Greek
writer.

PHILIPPUS SOLITARIUS, whose *Dioptra*, or controversy between the soul and the body, is sufficiently known;

EUSRATIUS, who maintained the cause of the Greek church against the Latins with great learning

[y] For an ample account of all the absurd inventions here hinted at, see a very remarkable work, entitled, *ORDRES MONASTIQUES, Histoire extraite de tous les Auteurs qui ont conservé à la Postérité ce qu'il y a de plus curieux dans chaque ordre, enrichie d'un tres grand nombre de passages des mêmes Auteurs; pour servir de demonstration que ce qu'on y avance est également veritable et curieux.* This work, which was first printed at Paris in 1751, under the title of *Berlin*, and which was suppressed almost as soon as it appeared, is written with great wit, eloquence, and learning; and all the narrations it contains are confirmed by citations from the most eminent authors who have given accounts of the religious orders. The author's design seems to have been to expose the monks of every denomination to the laughter of his readers; and it is very remarkable, that, in the execution of his purpose, he has drawn his materials from the gravest authors, and from the most zealous defenders of monachism. If he has embellished his subject, it is by the vivacity of his manner, and the witty elegance of his style, and not by laying to the charge of the monastic communities any practices which their most serious historians omit or disavow. The authors of the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et de Beaux Arts*, at the Hague, have given several interesting extracts of this work in the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes of that Literary Journal.

The Carmelites came into *England* in the year 1240, and erected there a vast number of monasteries almost through the whole kingdom. See BROUGHTON'S *Historical Library*, vol. i. p. 208.

CENT. and spirit, and who wrote commentaries on certain
XII. books of ARISTOTLE ;

PART II. EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS, who, by his *Antihere-*
tical Panoply, together with his commentaries upon
several parts of the sacred writings, has acquired a
place among the principal authors of this century
[z] ;

JOHANNES ZONARAS, whose *Annals*, together
with several other productions of his learned pen,
are still extant ;

MICHAEL GLYCAS, who also applied himself to
historical composition, as well as to other branches
of learning [a] ;

CONSTANTIUS HARMENOPULUS, whose com-
mentaries on the civil and canon laws are deservedly
esteemed ;

ANDRONICUS CAMATERUS, who wrote with
great warmth and vehemence against the Latins and
Armenians ;

EUSTATHIUS, bishop of *Thessalonica*, the most
learned of the Greeks in this century, and the
celebrated commentator of the *Iliad* ;

THEODORUS BALSAMON, who employed great
diligence, erudition, and labour, in explaining and
digesting the civil and ecclesiastical laws of the
Greeks [b].

Latin
writers.

XXIII. The most eminent among the Latin writers
were,

BERNARD, abbot of *Clairval*, from whom the Cis-
tertian monks, as has been already observed, derived
the title of *Bernardins* ; a man who was not destitute
of genius and taste, and whose judgment, in many
respects, was just and penetrating ; but who, on

[z] See RICH. SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs
Eccles. par M. DU PIN*, tom. i. p. 318. 324.

[a] Other historians place GLYCAS in the fifteenth century.
See LAMI *Dissertatio de Glyca*, which is prefixed to the first
volume of his *Delicia vivorum eruditorum*.

[b] See the *Bibliotheca Græca* of FABRICIUS.

the other hand, discovered in his conduct, many marks of superstition and weakness, and, what is still worse, concealed the lust of dominion under the mask of piety, and made no scruple of loading with false accusations, such as had the misfortune to incur his displeasure [c];

INNOCENT III. bishop of *Rome*, whose epistles and other productions contribute to illustrate the religious sentiments, as also the discipline and morals, that prevailed in this century [d];

ANSELM of *Laon*, a man of a subtle genius, and deeply versed in logical disquisition;

ABELARD, the disciple of ANSELM, and most famous in this century, on account of the elegance of his wit, the extent of his erudition, the power of his rhetoric, and the bitterness of his unhappy fate [e];

GEOFFRY of *Vendôme*, whose *Epistles* and *Dissertations* are yet extant;

RUPERT of *Duytz*, and the most eminent, perhaps, of all the expositors of the holy scriptures, who flourished among the Latins during this century, a man of a sound judgment and an elegant taste [f];

[c] The learned MABILLON has given a splendid edition of the works of St. BERNARD, and has not only in his Preface made many excellent observations upon the life and history of this famous abbot, but has also subjoined to his *Works*, the accounts that have been given, by the ancient writers, of his life and actions.

[d] The Epistles of INNOCENT III. were published at *Paris*, in two large volumes in folio, by BALUZIUS, in the year 1682.

[e] See BAYLE'S *Dictionary*, at the articles ABELARD and PARACLET.—GERVAIS, *Vie de Pierre Abeillard, Abbe de Ruys, et de Heloise*, published at *Paris* in two volumes 8vo, in the year 1728. The works of this famous and unfortunate monk were published at *Paris* in 1616, in one volume 4to. by FRANC AMBOISE. Another edition, much more ample, might be given, since there are a great number of the productions of ABELARD that have never yet seen the light.

[f] See MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 19, 20. 42. 144. 168. 261. 282. 296. who gives an ample account of RUPERT, and of the disputes in which he was involved.

CENT. HUGH of *St. Victor*, a man distinguished by the
 XII. fecundity of his genius, who treated in his writings
 PART II. of all the branches of sacred and prophane erudition
 that were known in his time, and who composed
 several dissertations that are not destitute of merit [g];

RICHARD of *St. Victor*, who was at the head of
 the Mystics in this century, and whose treatise,
 entitled, *The Mystical Ark*, which contains, as it
 were, the marrow of that kind of theology, was
 received with the greatest avidity, and applauded
 by the fanatics of the times [b];

HONORIUS of *Autun* [i], no mean philosopher,
 and tolerably versed in theological learning;

GRATIAN, a learned monk, who reduced the
 canon law into a new and regular form, in his vast
 compilation of the decisions of the ancient and modern
 councils, the decretals of the pontiffs, the capitularies
 of the kings of *France*, &c.;

WILLIAM of *Rheims*, the author of several pro-
 ductions, every way adapted to excite pious senti-
 ments, and to contribute to the progress of practical
 religion;

PETER LOMBARD, who was commonly called,
 in *France*, *Master of the Sentences*, because he had
 composed a work so entitled, which was a collection
 of opinions and sentences relative to the various
 branches of theology, extracted from the Latin
 doctors, and reduced into a sort of system [k];

[g] See *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 661. The works of
 this learned man were published at *Rouen*, in three volumes in
 folio, in the year 1648. See for a farther account of him,
 DERLANGII *Dissert. de Hugoni a S. Victore*, *Helmstadt*, 1746, in
 4to, and MARTENE'S *Voyage Litteraire*, tom. ii. p. 91, 92.

[b] *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 669.

[i] Such is the place to which HONORIUS is said to have be-
 longed. But LE BOEUF proves him to have been a German,
 in his *Dissert. sur l'Hist. Françoise*, tom. i. p. 254.

[k] *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 68.

GILBERTUS PORRETANUS [1], a subtle dialectician, and a learned divine, who is, however, said to have adopted several erroneous sentiments concerning *The Divine Essence; The Incarnation; and The Trinity* [m];

WILLIAM of *Auxerre*, who acquired a considerable reputation by his *Theological System* [n];

PETER of *Blois* [o], whose epistles and other productions may yet be read with profit;

JOHN of *Salisbury*, a man of great learning and true genius, whose philosophical and theological knowledge was adorned with a lively wit and a flowing eloquence, as appears in his *Metalogicus*, and his book *De nugis Curialium*;

PETRUS COMESTOR, author of *An Abridgment of the Old and New Testament*, which was used in the schools for the instruction of the youth, and called probably from thence, *Historia Scholastica*.

A more ample account of the names and characters of the Latin writers may be found in those authors who have professedly treated that branch of literature.

[1] GILBERT, *De la Poirée*.

[m] He held, among other things, this trifling and sophistical proposition, that the *divine essence and attributes are not God*; a proposition that was every way proper to exercise the quibbling spirit of the scholastic writers.

[n] LE BOEUF, *Dissert. sur la Somme Theologique de Guillaume d'Auxerre*, in MOLAT's *Continuation des Memoires d'Histoire et de Litterature*, tom. iii. part II. p. 317.

[o] PETRUS BLESENSIS.

CHAPTER III.

Concerning the doctrine of the Christian church in this century.

CENT. XII. PART II. **CHRISTIANITY** corrupted more and more.

I. **W**HEN we consider the multitude of causes which united their influence in obscuring the lustre of genuine Christianity, and corrupting it by a prophane mixture of the inventions of superstitious and designing men with its pure and sublime doctrines, it will appear surprizing, that the religion of JESUS was not totally extinguished. All orders contributed, though in different ways, to corrupt the native purity of true religion. The Roman pontiffs led the way; they would not suffer any doctrines that had the smallest tendency to diminish their despotic authority; but obliged the public teachers to interpret the precepts of Christianity in such a manner, as to render them subservient to the support of papal dominion and tyranny. This order was so much the more terrible, in that such as refused to comply with it, and to force the words of scripture into significations totally opposite to the intention of its divine author, such, in a word, as had the courage to place the authority of the gospel above that of the Roman pontiffs, and to consider it as the supreme rule of their conduct, were answered with the formidable arguments of fire and sword, and received death in the most cruel forms, as the fruit of their sincerity and resolution. The priests and monks contributed, in their way, to disfigure the beautiful simplicity of religion; and, finding it their interest to keep the people in the grossest ignorance and darkness, dazzled their feeble eyes with the ludicrous pomp of a gaudy worship, and led them to place the whole of religion in vain ceremonies,

bodily austerities and exercises, and particularly in a blind and stupid veneration for the clergy. The scholastic doctors, who considered the decisions of the ancients and the precepts of the Dialecticians as the great rule and criterion of truth, instead of explaining the doctrines of the gospel, mined them by degrees, and sunk divine truth under the ruins of a captious philosophy; while the Mystics, running into the opposite extreme, maintained, that the souls of the truly pious were incapable of any spontaneous motions, and could only be moved by a *divine impulse*; and thus, not only set limits to the pretensions of reason, but excluded it entirely from religion and morality; nay, in some measure, denied its very existence.

II. The consequences of all this were superstition and ignorance, which were substituted in the place of true religion, and reigned over the multitude with an universal sway. Relics, which were for the most part fictitious, or at least uncertain, attracted more powerfully the confidence of the people, than the merits of CHRIST, and were supposed by many to be more effectual, than the prayers offered to heaven through the mediation and intercession of that divine Redeemer [p]. The opulent, whose circumstances enabled them either to erect new temples, or to repair and embellish the old, were looked upon as the happiest of all mortals, and were considered as the most intimate friends of the Most High. While they, whom poverty rendered incapable of such pompous acts of liberality, contributed to the multiplication of religious edifices by their bodily labours, cheerfully performed the services that beasts of burden are usually employed in, such as carrying stones and drawing waggons, and expected to obtain

Superstition reigns among the multitude.

[p] See GUIBERT DE NOVIGENTO, *De pignoribus* (so were relics called) *sanctorum*, in his *Works* published by DACHERIUS, p. 327. where he attacks, with judgment and dexterity, the superstition of these miserable times.

CENT. eternal salvation by these voluntary and painful
 XII. efforts of misguided zeal [q]. The saints had a
 PART II. greater number of worshippers, than the Supreme
 Being and the Saviour of mankind; nor did these
 superstitious worshippers trouble their heads about
 that knotty question, which occasioned much debate
 and many laborious disquisitions in succeeding times,
*viz. How the inhabitants of heaven came to the know-
 ledge of the prayers and supplications that were addressed
 to them from the earth?* This question was prevented
 in this century by an opinion, which the Christians
 had received from their Pagan ancestors, that the
 inhabitants of heaven descended often from above,
 and frequented the places in which they had formerly
 taken pleasure during their residence upon earth [r].
 To finish the horrid portrait of superstition, we shall
 only observe, that the stupid credulity of the people
 in this century went so far, that when any person,
 either through the frenzy of a disordered imagination,
 or with a design to deceive, published the dreams or
 visions, which they *fancied*, or *pretended*, they had
 from above, the multitude resorted to the new oracle,
 and respected its decisions as the commands of God,
 who, in this way, was pleased, as they imagined, to
 communicate counsel, instruction, and the knowledge
 of his will to men. This appears, to mention no
 other examples, from the extraordinary reputation
 which the two famous prophetesses HILDEGARD

[q] See HAYMON'S Treatise concerning this custom, published by MABILLON, at the end of the sixth tome of his *Annal. Benedict.* See also these *Annals*, p. 392.

[r] As a proof that this assertion is not without foundation, we shall transcribe the following remarkable passage of the *Life of St. ALTMAN, bishop of PADUA*, as it stands in SEB. TENGNAGL'S *Collect. Vet. Monumentor.* p. 41. *Vos licet, sancti Domini, somno vestro requiescatis . . . haud tamen crediderim, spiritus vestros deesse locis que viventes tanta devotione construxistis, et dilexistis. Credo vos adesse cunctis illic degentibus, astare videlicet orantibus, succurrere laborantibus, et vota singulorum in conspectu divinæ majestatis promoveri.*

abbots of *Bingen*; and ELIZABETH of *Schonaue*,
obtained in *Germany* [s].

III. This universal reign of ignorance and super-
stition was dexterously, yet basely improved, by the
rulers of the church, to fill their coffers, and to drain
the purses of the deluded multitude: And, indeed,
all the various ranks and orders of the clergy had
each their peculiar method of fleecing the people.
The *bishops*, when they wanted money for their
private pleasures, or for the exigencies of the church,
granted to their flock the power of purchasing the
remission of the penalties imposed upon transgressors,
by a sum of money; which was to be applied to
certain religious purposes; or, in other words, they
published *indulgences*, which became an inexhaustible
source of opulence to the episcopal orders, and
enabled them, as is well known, to form and execute
the most difficult schemes for the enlargement of
their authority, and to erect a multitude of sacred
edifices, which augmented considerably the external
pomp and splendour of the church [t]. The *abbots*
and *monks*, who were not qualified to grant *indulgences*,
had recourse to other methods of enriching their
convents. They carried about the country the
carcasses and relics of the saints in solemn procession,
and permitted the multitude to behold, touch, and
embrace these sacred and lucrative remains at certain
fixed prices. The monastic orders gained often as
much by this raree-show, as the bishops did by their
indulgences [u].

[s] See MABILLON, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 431. 529.
554.

[t] STEPHANUS, *Obazinensis* in BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. iv.
p. 130.—MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 535, &c.

[u] We find in the records of this century innumerable
examples of this method of extorting contributions from the
multitude. See the *Chronicon Centulense* in DACHERII *Spicilegio*
Veter. Scriptor. tom. ii. p. 354.—*Vita Stæ. Romana*, ibid. p. 137.
—MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 342. 644.—*Acta*
Sancior. Mensis Maii, tom. vii. p. 533. where we have an account

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And afterwards monopolized by the Roman pontiffs.

IV. When the Roman pontiffs cast an eye upon the immense treasures that the inferior rulers of the church were accumulating by the sale of *indulgences*, they thought proper to limit the power of the bishops in remitting the penalties imposed upon transgressors, and assumed, almost entirely, this profitable traffic to themselves. In consequence of this new measure, the court of *Rome* became the general magazine of indulgences; and the pontiffs, when either the wants of the church, the emptiness of their coffers, or the demon of avarice, prompted them to look out for new subsidies, published, not only an universal, but also a complete, or what they called a *plenary* remission of all the *temporal* pains and penalties, which the church had annexed to certain transgressions. They went still farther; and not only remitted the penalties, which the civil and ecclesiastical laws had enacted against transgressors, but audaciously usurped the authority which belongs to God alone, and impiously pretended to abolish even the punishments which are reserved in a future state for the workers of iniquity; a step this, which the bishops, with all their avarice and presumption, had never once ventured to take [τω].

The pontiffs first employed this pretended prerogative in promoting the holy war, and shed abroad their *indulgences*, though with a certain degree of moderation, in order to encourage the European princes to form new expeditions for the conquest of *Palestine*; but, in process of time, the charm of indulgences was practised upon various occasions of

of a long journey made by the relics of *St. Mauculus*.—MABILLON, *Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 519, 520. & tom. ii. p. 732.

[τω] MORINUS, *De administratione sacramenti penitentiae*, lib. x. cap. xx, xxi, xxii. p. 768.—RICH. SIMON, *Biblioth. Critique*, tom. iii. cap. xxxiii. p. 371.—MABILLON, *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor. Sæc. v. Acta Sanctor. Benedict.* p. 54. not to speak of the protestant writers, whom I designedly pass over.

much less consequence, and merely with a view CENT.
to filthy lucre [*x*]. Their introduction, among XII.
other things, destroyed the credit and authority PART II.
of the ancient *canonical and ecclesiastical discipline of*
penance, and occasioned the removal and suppression
of the *penitentials* [*y*], by which the reins were let
loose to every kind of vice. Such proceedings stood
much in need of a plausible defence, but this was
impossible. To justify therefore these scandalous
measures of the pontiffs, a most monstrous and absurd
doctrine was now invented, which was modified
and embellished by St. THOMAS in the following
century, and which contained among others the
following enormities; “ That there actually existed
“ an immense treasure of *merit*, composed of the
“ pious deeds, and virtuous actions, which the saints
“ had performed *beyond what was necessary* for their
“ own salvation [*z*], and which were therefore
“ applicable to the benefit of others; that the guar-
“ dian and dispenser of this precious treasure was the
“ Roman pontiff; and that of consequence he was
“ empowered to *assign* to such as he thought proper,
“ a *portion* of this inexhaustible source of *merit*,
“ suitable to their respective guilt, and sufficient to
“ deliver them from the punishment due to their
“ crimes.” It is a most deplorable mark of the
power of superstition, that a doctrine, so absurd in
its nature, and so pernicious in its effects, should yet
be retained and defended in the church of *Rome* [*a*].

[*x*] MURATORI *Antiq. Italic. mediæ ævi*, tom. v. p. 761.—
FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Rom. Pontif.* tom. ii. p. 60.—THEOD.
RUINARTI *Vita Urbani II.* p. 231. tom. iii. Opp. Posthum.

☞ [*y*] The *Penitential* was a book, in which the degree and
kind of penance that were annexed to each crime, were registered.

☞ [*z*] These works are known by the name of *Works of*
Supererogation.

☞ [*a*] For a satisfactory and ample account of the enormous
doctrine of indulgences, see a very learned and judicious work,
entitled, *Lettres sur les Jubilés*, published in the year 1751, in
three volumes 8vo, by the Reverend Mr. CHAIS, minister of

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The expositors and commentators of this century.

V. Nothing was more common in this century than expositors and interpreters of the sacred writings; but nothing was so rare, as to find, in that class of authors, the qualifications that are essentially required in a good commentator. Few of these expositors were attentive to search after the true signification of the words employed by the sacred writers, or to investigate the precise sense in which they were used; and these few were destitute of the succours which such researches demand. The Greek and Latin commentators, blinded by their enthusiastic love of antiquity, and their implicit veneration for the doctors of the early ages of the church, drew from their writings, without discernment or choice, a heap of passages, which they were pleased to consider as illustrations of the holy scriptures. Such were the commentaries of EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS, an eminent expositor among the Greeks, upon the *Psalms*, *Gospels*, and *Epistles*; though it must, at the same time, be acknowledged, that this writer follows, in some places, the dictates of his own judgment, and gives, upon certain occasions, proofs of penetration and genius. Among the Latins, we might give several examples of the injudicious manner of expounding the divine word that prevailed in this century, such as the *Lucubrations* of PETER LOMBARD, GILBERT DE LA POREE, and the famous ABELARD, upon the *Psalms of DAVID*, and the *Epistles of St. PAUL*. Nor do those commentators among the Latins, who expounded the whole of the sacred writings, and who are placed at the head of the expositors of this age, such as

the French Church in the *Hague*, on occasion of the universal *Jubilee* celebrated at *Rome* the preceding year, by the order of BENEDICT XIV. In the 2d volume of this excellent work, which we shall have frequent occasion to consult in the course of this history, there is a clear account and a satisfactory refutation of the doctrine in question, as also the history of that monstrous practice from its origin to the present times.

GILBERT, bishop of *London*, surnamed the *Universal*,^{CENT.} on account of the vast extent of his erudition [*b*],^{XII.} and HERVEY, a most studious Benedictine monk^{PART II.} [*c*], deserve a higher place in our esteem, than the authors already mentioned. The writers that merit the preference among the Latins are RUPERT of *Duytz*, and ANSELM of *Laon*; the former of whom expounded several books of scripture, and the latter composed, or rather compiled, a *glossary upon the sacred writings*. As to those doctors who were not carried away by an enthusiastical veneration for the ancients, who had courage enough to try their own talents, and to follow the dictates of their own sagacity, they were chargeable with defects of another kind; for, disregarding and overlooking the beautiful simplicity of divine truth, they were perpetually bent on the search of all sorts of mysteries in the sacred writings, and were constantly on the scent after some hidden meaning in the plainest expressions of scripture. The people called *Mystics* excelled peculiarly in this manner of expounding; and forced, by their violent explications, the word of God into a conformity with their visionary doctrines, their enthusiastick feelings, and the system of discipline which they had drawn from the excursions of their irregular fancies. Nor were the commentators, who pretended to logic and philosophy, and who, in effect, had applied themselves to these profound sciences, free from the contagion of *mysticism* in their explications of scripture. They followed, on the contrary, the example of these fanatics, as may be seen by HUGH of St. VICTOR's *Allegorical Exposition of the Old and New Testament*,

[*b*] For an account of this prelate, see LE BOEUF, *Memoires concernant l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. p. 486.

[*c*] An ample account of this learned Benedictine is to be found in GABR. LIRON, *Singularites Historique et Litteraires*, tom. iii. p. 29.—See also MABILLON, *Annales Benedicte*, tom. vi. p. 477. 719.

CENT. by the *Mystical Ark* of RICHARD of St. VICTOR,
 XII. and by the *Mystical Commentaries* of GUIBERT,
 PART II. abbot of *Nogent*, on *Obadiah*, *Hosea*, and *Amos* [d];
 not to mention several other writers, who seem to
 have been animated by the same spirit.

The man-
 ner of
 teaching
 theology
 that now
 prevailed.

VI. The most eminent teachers of theology resided at *Paris*, which city was, from this time forward, frequented by students of divinity from all parts of *Europe*, who resorted thither in crowds, to receive instruction from these celebrated masters. The French divines were divided into different sects. The first of these sects, who were distinguished by the title of *The Ancient Theologists*, explained the doctrines of religion, in a plain and simple manner, by passages drawn from the holy scriptures, from the decrees of councils, and the writings of the ancient doctors, and very rarely made use of the succours of reason or philosophy in their theological lectures. In this class we place St. BERNARD, PETER, surnamed the *Chanter*, WALTER of St. VICTOR, and other doctors, who declared an open and bitter war against the *philosophical divines*. The doctors, which were afterwards known by the name of *Positivi* and *Sententiarii*, were not, in all respects, different from these now mentioned. Imitating the examples of ANSELM, archbishop of *Canterbury*, LANFRANC, HILDEBERT, and other doctors of the preceding century, they taught and confirmed their system of theology, principally by collecting the decisions of the inspired writers, and the opinions of the ancients. At the same time they were far from rejecting the succours of reason, and the discussions of philosophy, to which they more especially had recourse, when difficulties were to be solved, and adversaries to be refuted, but in the application of which, all did not discover the same degree of moderation and prudence.

[d] The *Prologus in Abdiam* has been published by MABILLON, in his *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 637.

HUGH of St. Victor is supposed to have been the first writer of this century, who taught in this manner the doctrines of Christianity, digested into a regular system. His example, however, was followed by many; but none acquired such a shining reputation by his labours, in this branch of sacred erudition, as PETER, bishop of *Paris*, surnamed LOMBARD, from the country which gave him birth. The *Four books of Sentences* of this eminent prelate, which appeared in the year 1172 [e], were not only received with universal applause, but acquired also such a high degree of authority, as induced the most learned doctors in all places to employ their labours in illustrating and expounding them. Scarcely was there any divine of note that did not undertake this popular task, except HENRY of *Gendt*, and a few others [f]; so that LOMBARD, who was commonly called *Master of the sentences*, on account of the famous work now mentioned, became truly a classic author in divinity [g].

CENT.
XII.
PART II.

[e] ERPOLDI LINDENBROGII *Scriptores Septentrionales*, p. 250.

[f] A list of the commentators who laboured in explaining the *Sentences* of PETER LOMBARD, is given by ANTON. POSSEVINUS, in his *Biblioth. Selecta*, tom. i. lib. iii. cap. xiv. p. 242.

[g] The *Book of Sentences*, which rendered the name of PETER LOMBARD so illustrious, was a compilation of sentences and passages drawn from the fathers, whose manifold contradictions this eminent prelate endeavoured to reconcile. His work may be considered as a complete body of divinity. It consists of FOUR BOOKS, each of which is subdivided into various chapters and sections. In the FIRST he treats of the *Trinity*, and the *Divine Attributes*; in the SECOND, of the *Creation* in general, of the *Origin of Angels*, the *Formation and Fall of Man*, of *Grace* and *Free Will*, of *Original Sin* and *Actual Transgression*; in the THIRD, of the *Incarnation*, and *Perfections of Jesus Christ*; of *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Charity*, of the *Gifts of the Spirit*, and the *Commandments of God*. The *Sacraments*, the *Resurrection*, the *Last Judgment*, and the *State of the Righteous in Heaven*, are the subjects treated in the FOURTH and last book of this famous work, which was the wonder of the twelfth century, and is little more than an object of contempt in ours.

CENT. VII. The followers of LOMBARD, who were
 XII. called *Sententiarii*, though their manner of teaching
 PART II. was defective in some respects, and not altogether
 exempt from vain and trivial questions, were always
 attentive to avoid entering too far into the subtilties
 of the Dialecticians, nor did they presumptuously
 attempt submitting the divine truths of the gospel
 to the uncertain and obscure principles of a
 refined and intricate logic, which was rather
 founded on the excursions of fancy than on the
 nature of things. They had for contemporaries
 another set of theologians, who were far from
 imitating their moderation and prudence in this
 respect; a set of subtle doctors, who taught the plain
 and simple truths of Christianity, in the obscure
 terms and with the perplexing distinctions used by
 the Dialecticians, and explained, or rather darkened,
 with their unintelligible jargon, the sublime precepts
 of the wisdom that is from above. This method of
 teaching theology, which was afterwards called the
scholastic system, because it was in general use in the
 schools, had for its author, PETER ABELARD, a man
 of the most subtle genius, whose public lectures in
 philosophy and divinity had raised him to the highest
 summit of literary renown, and who was successively
 canon of *Paris*, and monk and abbot of *Ruys* [h].
 The fame he acquired by this new method engaged
 many ambitious divines to adopt it; and, in a short
 space of time, the followers of ABELARD multiplied
 prodigiously, not only in *France*, but also in *England*
 and *Italy*. Thus was the *pure* and *peaceable* wisdom
 of the gospel perverted into a science of mere sophis-
 try and chicane; for these subtle doctors never
 explained or illustrated any subject, but, on the
 contrary, darkened and disfigured the plainest

The scho-
 lastics,
 properly so
 called.

[h] ABELARD acknowledges this himself, *Epist.* i. cap. ix. p. 20. *Oper.*—See also LAUENOIS, *De Scholis Caroli M.* p. 67. cap. lix. tom. iv. opp. part I.

expressions, and the most evident truths, by their laboured and useless distinctions, fatigued both themselves and others with unintelligible solutions of abstruse and frivolous questions, and through a rage for disputing, maintained with equal vehemence and ardour the opposite sides of the most serious and momentous questions [i].

VIII. From this period therefore, an important distinction was made between the Christian doctors, who were divided into two classes. In the first class were placed those, who were called by the various names of *biblici*, *i. e.* bible-doctors, *dogmatici*, and *positivi*, *i. e.* didactic divines, and also *veteres*, or ancients; and in the second were ranged the *scholastics*, who were also distinguished by the titles of *Sententiarii*, after the *Master of the sentences*, and *Novi*, to express their recent origin. The former expounded, though in a wretched manner, the sacred writings in their public schools, illustrated the doctrines of Christianity, without deriving any succour from reason or philosophy, and confirmed their opinions by the united testimonies of *Scripture* and *Tradition*. The latter expounded, instead of the Bible, the famous *Book of Sentences*; reduced, under the province of their subtile philosophy, whatever the gospel proposed as an object of faith, or a rule of practice; and perplexed and obscured its divine doctrines and precepts by a multitude of vain questions and idle speculations [k]. The method of the *scholastics* exhibited a pompous aspect of learning, and these subtile doctors seemed to surpass their adversaries in sagacity and genius; hence they excited the admiration of the studious youth, who flocked to their schools in multitudes, while the *biblici*, or

[i] CÆS. EGASSE DE BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 201. 583.—ANTON. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 58.—LAUNOÏUS, *De varia Aristotelis fortuna in Acad. Paris.* cap. iii. p. 187. *Edit. Elfwichii Vitem.* 1720. in 8vo.

[k] See BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 657.

CENT. *doctors of the sacred page*, as they were also called, had
 XII. the mortification to see their auditories unfrequented,
 PART II. and almost deserted [1]. The scholastic theology
 continued in high repute in all the European colleges
 until the time of LUTHER.

The scholastic
 divines
 opposed
 from
 different
 quarters.

IX. It must, however, be observed, that these metaphysical divines had many difficulties to encounter, and much opposition to overcome, before they could obtain that boundless authority in the European schools, which they enjoyed so long. They were attacked from different quarters; on the one hand, by the *ancient divines* or bible-doctors; on the other, by the *mystics*, who considered true wisdom and knowledge as unattainable by study or reasoning, and as the fruit of mere contemplation, inward feeling, and a passive acquiescence in divine influences. Thus that ancient conflict between *faith* and *reason*, that had formerly divided the Latin doctors, and had been for many years hushed in silence, was now unhappily revived, and produced every where new tumults and dissensions. The patrons and defenders of the ancient theology, who attacked the schoolmen,

[1] The *Book of Sentences* seemed to be at this time in much greater repute than the Holy Scriptures, and the compilations of PETER LOMBARD were preferred to the doctrines and precepts of JESUS CHRIST. This appears evident from the following remarkable passage in ROGER BACON's *Op. Maj. ad Clementem IV. Pontif. Rom.* published in 1733 at London, by SAM. JEBB, from the original MSS. *Baccalaureus qui legit textum (scripturæ) succumbit lectori sententiarum, et ubique in omnibus honoratur et presertur: nam ille, qui legit sententias habet, principalem horam legendi secundum suam voluntatem, habet et socium et cameram apud religiosos: sed qui legit Bibliam, caret his, et mendicat horam legendi secundum quod placet lectori sententiarum: et qui legit summas, disputat ubique et pro magistro habetur, reliquus qui textum legit, non potest disputare, sicut fuit hoc anno Bononia, et in multis aliis locis, quod est absurdum: manifestum est igitur, quod textus illius facultatis (sc. Theologicæ) subjicitur uni summæ magistrati.* Such was now the authority of the scholastic theology, as appears from the words of BACON, who lived in the following age, and in whose writings there are many things highly worthy of the attention of the curious.

were GUIBERT abbot of *Nogent* [*m*], PETER abbot of *Cent*. of *Moustier-la-Celle* [*n*], PETER the Chanter [*o*], and principally WALTER of St. VICTOR [*p*]. The mystics also sent forth into the field of controversy upon this occasion, their ablest and most violent champions, such as JOACHIM abbot of *Flori*, RICHARD of St. VICTOR, who loaded with invectives the scholastic divines, and more especially LOMBARD, though he was, undoubtedly, the most candid and modest doctor of that subtle tribe. These dissensions and contests, whose deplorable effects augmented from day to day, engaged ALEXANDER III. who was pontiff at this time, to interpose his authority, in order to restore tranquillity and concord in the church. For this purpose he convoked a solemn and numerous assembly of the clergy in the year 1164 [*q*], in which the licentious rage of disputing about religious matters was condemned; and another in the year 1179, in which some particular errors of PETER LOMBARD were pointed out and censured [*r*].

X. But of all the adversaries that assailed the scholastic divines in this century, none was so formidable as the famous St. BERNARD, whose zeal was ardent beyond all expression, and whose influence and authority were equal to his zeal. And, accordingly, we find this illustrious abbot combating the

And principally by St Bernard.

[*m*] In his *Tropologia in Oseam*, p. 203. Opp.

[*n*] *Opuscul.* p. 277. 396. edit. *Benedict.*

[*o*] In his *Verbum Abbreviat.* cap. iii. p. 6, 7. published at *Mons* in the year 1639, in 4to, by GEORGE GALOPIN.

[*p*] In his *Libri iv. contra Quatuor Francie Labyrinthos et novos hæreticos.* He called *Abelard*, *Gilbert de la Porée*, *Lombard*, and *Peter of Poitiers*, who were the principal scholastic divines of this century, the four *Labyrinths of France.* For an account of this work, which is yet in manuscript, see BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 619. 659.

[*q*] ANT. PAGI *Critic. in Baronium*, tom. iv. ad A. 1164. p. 614, 615.

[*r*] MATTH. PARIS, *Histor. Major*, p. 115.—BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 402.

CENT. XII. Dialecticians, not only in his writings and his conversation, but also by his deeds; arming against them
 PART II. synods and councils, the decrees of the church, and the laws of the state. The renowned ABELARD, who was as much superior to St. BERNARD in sagacity and erudition, as he was his inferior in credit and authority, was one of the first, who felt, by a bitter experience, the aversion of the lordly abbot to the scholastic doctors: for, in the year 1121, he was called before the council of *Soissons*, and before that of *Sens* in the year 1140, in both of which assemblies he was accused by St. BERNARD of the most pernicious errors, and was finally condemned as an egregious heretic [s]. The charge brought against this subtle and learned monk was, that he had notoriously corrupted the doctrine of the Trinity, blasphemed against the majesty of the Holy Ghost, entertained unworthy and false conceptions of the person and offices of CHRIST, and the union of the two natures in him, denied the necessity of the divine grace to render us virtuous, and in a word, that his doctrines struck at the fundamental principles of all religion. It must be confessed by those who are acquainted with the writings of ABELARD, that he expressed himself in a very singular and incongruous manner upon several points of theology [t]; and this indeed is one of the inconveniencies to which subtle refinements upon mysterious doctrines frequently lead. But it is certain, on the other hand,

[s] See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the Article ABELARD.—GERVAIS, *Vie d'Abelard et d'Heloise*.—MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 63. 84. 324. 395.—MARTENE, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1139.

[t] He affirmed, for example, among other things equally unintelligible and extravagant, that the names *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, were improper terms, and were only used to express the *fullness of the sovereign good*; that the *Father* was the *plenitude of power*, the *Son* a *certain power*, and the *Holy Ghost* no power at all; that the *Holy Ghost* was the *soul of the world*, with other crude fancies of a like nature, mingled, however, with bold truths.

that St. BERNARD, who had much more genius than logic, misunderstood some of the opinions of ABELARD, and wilfully perverted others. For the zeal of this good abbot too rarely permitted him to consult in his decisions the dictates of impartial equity; and hence it was, that he almost always applauded beyond measure, and censured without mercy [u].

XI. ABELARD was not the only scholastic divine who paid dear for his metaphysical refinement upon the doctrines of the gospel, and whose logic exposed him to the unrelenting fury of persecution; GILBERT DE LA POREE, bishop of *Poitiers*, who had taught theology and philosophy at *Paris*, and in other places, with the highest applause, met with the same fate. Unfortunately for him, ARNOLD and CALO, two of his archdeacons, who had been educated in the principles of the ancient theology, heard him one day disputing, with more subtilty than was meet, concerning the divine nature. Alarmed at the novelty of his doctrine, they brought a charge of blasphemy against him before pope EUGENIUS III. who was at that time in *France*; and, to give weight to their accusation, they gained over St. BERNARD, and engaged him in their cause. The zealous abbot treated the matter with his usual vehemence, and opposed GILBERT with the utmost severity and bitterness, first in the council of *Paris*, A. D. 1147, and afterwards in that which was

[u] See GERVAIS, *Vie d'Abelard*, tom. ii. p. 162.—LE CLERC, *Biblioth. Ancienne et Moderne*, tom. ix. p. 352.—DIONYS. PETAV. *Dogmata Theolog.* tom. i. lib. v. cap. vi. p. 217. as also the works of BERNARD, *passim*. ABELARD, who, notwithstanding all his crude notions, was a man of true genius, was undoubtedly worthy of a better fate than that which fell to his lot, and of a more enlightened age than that in which he lived. After passing through the furnace of persecution, and having suffered afflictions of various kinds, of which he has transmitted the history to posterity, he retired to the monastery of *Clugni*, where he ended his days in the year 1142.

CENT. assembled at *Rheims* the year following. In this
 XII. latter council the accused bishop, in order to put an
 PART II. end to the dispute, offered to submit his opinions to
 the judgment of the assembly, and of the Roman pontiff, by whom they were condemned. The errors attributed to GILBERT were the fruits of an excessive subtilty, and of an extravagant passion for reducing the doctrines of Christianity under the empire of metaphysic and dialectic. He distinguished the divine *essence* from the *Deity*, the *properties* of the three divine persons from the *persons* themselves, not in reality, but by abstraction, in *statu rationis*, as the metaphysicians speak; and, in consequence of these distinctions, he denied the incarnation of the divine nature. To these he added other opinions, derived from the same source, which were rather vain, fanciful, and adapted to excite surprize by their novelty, than glaringly false, or really pernicious. These refined notions were far above the comprehension of good St. BERNARD, who was by no means accustomed to such profound disquisitions, to such intricate researches [w].

The state of
 moral and
 practical
 theology.

XII. The important science of morals was not now in a very flourishing state, as may be easily imagined when we consider the genius and spirit of that philosophy, which, in this century, reduced all the other sciences under its dominion, and of which we have given some account in the preceding sections. The only moral writer among the Greeks, who is worthy of mention, is PHILIP, surnamed the *Solitary*, whose book intitled *Dioptra*, which consists in a dialogue between the body and the soul, is composed with judgment and elegance, and con-

[w] See DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 223. 232.—MABILLON, *Annal. Benediclin.* tom. vi. p. 343. 415. 433.—*Gallia Christiana Benediclin.* tom. ii. p. 1175.—MATTH. PARIS, *Histor. Major*, p. 56.—PETAVII *Dogmata Theologica*, tom. i. lib. i. cap. viii.—LONGUEVAL, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. ix. p. 147.

tains many things proper to nourish pious and virtuous sentiments.

The Latin Moralists of this age may be divided into two classes, the *scholastics* and *mystics*. The former discoursed about virtue, as they did about truth, in the most unfeeling jargon, and generally subjoined their arid system of morals to what they called their *didactic theology*. The latter treated the duties of morality in a quite different manner; their language was tender, persuasive, and affecting, and their sentiments often beautiful and sublime; but they taught in a confused and irregular manner, without method or precision, and frequently mixed the dross of Platonism with the pure treasures of celestial truth.

We might also place in the class of moral writers the greatest part of the commentators and expositors of this century, who, laying aside all attention to the signification of the words used by the sacred writers, and scarcely ever attempting to illustrate the truths they reveal, or the events which they relate, turned, by forced and allegorical explications, every passage of scripture to practical uses, and drew lessons of morality from every quarter. We could produce many instances of this way of commenting besides GUIBERT'S *Moral Observations on the book of Job, the Prophecy of Amos, and the Lamentations of Jeremias*.

XIII. Both Greeks and Latins were seized with that enthusiastic passion for dialectical researches, that raged in this century, and were thereby rendered extremely fond of captious questions and theological contests, while, at the same time, the love of controversy seduced them from the paths that lead to truth, and involved them in labyrinths of uncertainty and error. The discovery of truth was not, indeed, the great object they had in view; their principal design was to puzzle and embarrass their adversaries, and overwhelm them with an

CENT.

XII.

PART II.

CENT. enormous heap of fine-spun distinctions, an impetuous
 XII. torrent of words without meaning, a long list of
 PART II. formidable authorities, and a specious train of fallacious consequences embellished with railings and invectives. The principal polemic writers among the Greeks were CONSTANTINUS HARMENOPULUS, and EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS. The former published a short treatise *De Sectis Hæreticorum, i. e.* concerning the *Heretical Sects*. The latter, in a long and laboured work, entitled *Panoplia*, attacked all the various heresies and errors that troubled the church; but, not to mention the extreme levity and credulity of this writer, his manner of disputing was highly defective, and all his arguments, according to the wretched method that now prevailed, were drawn from the writings of the ancient doctors, whose authority supplied the place of evidence. Both these authors were sharply censured in a satirical poem composed by ZONARAS. The Latin writers were also employed in various branches of religious controversy. HONORIUS of *Autun* wrote against certain heresies; and ABELARD combated them all. The Jews, whose credit was now entirely sunk, and whose circumstances were miserable in every respect, were refuted by GILBERT DE CASTILIONE, ODO, PETRUS ALFONSUS, RUPERT of *Duytz*, PETRUS MAURITIUS, RICHARDUS A STO. VICTORE, and PETRUS BLESENSIS, according to the logic of the times, and EUTHYMIUS, with several other divines, directed their polemic force against the Saracens.

The contest
 between the
 Greeks and
 Latins con-
 tinued.

XIV. The contest between the Greeks and Latins, the subject of which has been already mentioned, was still carried on by both parties with the greatest obstinacy and vehemence. The Grecian champions were EUTHYMIUS, NICETAS, and others of less renown, while the cause of the Latins was vigorously maintained by ANSELM, bishop of *Havelberg*, and HUGO ETHERIANUS, who distinguished

themselves eminently by their erudition in this famous C E N T.
 controversy [x]. Many attempts were made both X I I.
 at *Rome* and *Constantinople*, to reconcile these differ- P A R T II.
 ences, and to heal these fatal divisions; and this
 union was solicited, in a particular manner, by the
 emperors in the Comnene family, who expected to
 draw much advantage from the friendship and
 alliance of the Latins, towards the support of the
 Grecian empire, which was at this time in a declin-
 ing, nay, almost in a desperate condition. But as
 the Latins aimed at nothing less than a despotic
 supremacy over the Greek church, and as, on the
 other hand, the Grecian bishops could by no means
 be induced to yield an implicit obedience to the
 Roman pontiff, or to condemn the measures and
 proceedings of their ancestors, the negotiations,
 undertaken for the restoration of peace, widened
 the breach instead of healing it, and the terms pro-
 posed on both sides, but especially by the Latins,
 exasperated, instead of calming, the resentments
 and animosities of the contending parties.

XV. Many controversies of inferior moment were Matters of
 less moment
 controvert-
 ed among
 the Greeks.
 carried on among the Greeks, who were extremely
 fond of disputing, and were scarcely ever without
 debates upon religious matters. We shall not enter
 into a circumstantial narration of these theological
 contests, which are more proper to fatigue than to
 amuse or instruct, but shall confine ourselves to a
 brief mention of those which made the greatest noise
 in the empire. Under the reign of EMANUEL
 COMNENUS, whose extensive learning was accom-
 panied with an excessive curiosity, several theological
 controversies were carried on, in which he himself
 bore a principal part, and which fomented such
 discords and animosities among a people already
 exhausted and dejected by intestine tumults, as

[x] See LEO ALLATIUS *De perpetua consensione Ecclesie Ori-
 ental. et Occident.* lib. ii. cap. xi. p. 644.

CENT. threatened their destruction. The first question that
 XII. exercised the metaphysical talent of this over-curious
 PART II. emperor and his subtle doctors was this: *In what
 ——— sense it was or might be affirmed, that an incarnate
 God was at the same time the OFFERER and the OBLA-
 TION?* When this knotty question had been long
 debated, and the emperor had maintained, for a
 considerable time, the solution of it that was con-
 trary to the opinion generally received, he yielded
 at length, and embraced the popular notion of that
 unintelligible subject. The consequence of this step
 was, that many men of eminent abilities and great
 credit, who had differed from the doctrine of the
 church upon this article, were deprived of their
 honours and employments [y]. What the empe-
 ror's opinion of this matter was, we find no where
 related in a satisfactory manner, and we are equally
 ignorant of the sentiments adopted by the church
 in relation to this question. It is highly probable
 that the emperor, followed by certain learned doc-
 tors, differed from the opinions generally received
 among the Greeks concerning the Lord's supper,
 and the *oblation* or sacrifice of CHRIST in that holy
 ordinance.

The Greeks XVI. Some years after this, a still more warm
 dispute con- contest arose concerning the sense of those words of
 cerning the CHRIST, *John* xiv. 28. *For my Father is greater
 words of than I,* and divided the Greeks into the most bitter
 Christ, *John* and deplorable factions. To the ancient explications
 xiv. 28. of that important passage new illustrations were now
 added; and the emperor himself, who, from an
 indifferent prince, was become a wretched divine,
 published an exposition of that remarkable text,
 which he obtruded, as the only true sense of the
 words, upon a council assembled for that purpose,
 and was desirous of having received as a rule of

[y] NICETAS CHONIATES, *Annal. Lib. vii. § 5. p. 112. ed. Venet.*

faith by all the Grecian clergy. He maintained, CENT. XII. PART II. that the words in question related to the *flesh that was hid in Christ, and that was passible, i. e.* subject to suffering [z], and not only ordered this decision to be engraven on tables of stone in the principal church of *Constantinople*, but also published an edict, in which capital punishments were denounced against all such as should presume to oppose this explication, or teach any doctrine repugnant to it [a]. This edict, however, expired with the emperor by whom it was issued out, and ANDRONICUS, upon his accession to the imperial throne, prohibited all those contests concerning speculative points of theology, that arose from an irregular and wanton curiosity, and suppressed, in a more particular manner, all inquiry into the subject now mentioned, by enacting the severest penalties against such as should in any way contribute to revive this dispute [b].

XVII. The same theological emperor troubled the church with another controversy concerning the God of MAHOMET. The Greek Catechisms pronounced *anathema* against the Deity worshipped by that false prophet, whom they represented as a *solid and spherical Being* [c]; for so they translated the Arabian word *elsemed*, which is applied in the *koran* to the Supreme Being, and which indeed is susceptible of that sense, though it also signifies *eternal* [d]. The emperor ordered this *anathema* to be effaced in the Catechism of the Greek church, on account of the high offence it gave to the Mahometans, who had either been already converted to Christianity, or were disposed to embrace that divine religion, and who were extremely shocked at such an insult offered

[z] Κατὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ κλίτην καὶ πάθησιν σάρκα.

[a] NICETAS CHONIATES *Annal.* lib. vii. § 6. p. 113.

[b] NICETAS in *Andronico*, lib. ii. § 5. p. 175.

[c] Ὀλόσφαιρος.

[d] RELAND. *De Religione Mohammedica*, lib. ii. § 3. p. 142.

CENT. to the name of God, with whatever restrictions
 XII. and conditions it might be attended. The Christian
 PART II. doctors, on the other hand, opposed with much
 resolution and vehemence this imperial order. They
 observed that the *anathema*, pronounced in the
 Catechism, had no relation to the nature of God in
 general, nor to the true God in particular; and that,
 on the contrary, it was solely directed against the
 error of MAHOMET, against that phantom of a
 divinity which he had imagined. For that impostor
 pretended that the Deity could neither be *engendered*
 nor *engender*; whereas the Christians adore God the
Father. After the bitterest disputes concerning this
 abstruse subject, and various efforts to reconcile the
 contending parties, the bishops assembled in council,
 consented, though with the utmost difficulty, to
 transfer the *imprecation* of the Catechism from the
 God of MAHOMET, to MAHOMET himself, his
 doctrine, and his sect [*e*].

The contro-
 versy con-
 cerning the
 Lord's sup-
 per is car-
 ried on
 among the
 Latins.

XVIII. The spirit of controversy raged among
 the Latins, as well as among the Greeks, and
 various sentiments concerning the sacrament of the
 Lord's supper were propagated, not only in the
 schools, but also in the writings of the learned. For
 though all the doctors of the church were now
 extremely desirous of being looked upon as enemies
 to the system of BERENGER, yet many of them,
 and among others [*f*] RUPERT of *Duytz*, differed
 very little from the sentiments of that great man;
 at least, it is certain, that notwithstanding the famous
 controversy which had arisen in the church con-
 cerning the opinions of BERENGER, nothing was,
 as yet, precisely determined with respect to the
 manner of CHRIST'S presence in the eucharist.

RUPERT had also religious contests of another
 nature with ANSELM, bishop of *Laon*, WILLIAM

[*e*] NICETÆ CHON. *Annales*, lib. vii. p. 113—116.

[*f*] BOULAY, *Histor. Academ. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 30.

of *Champeaux*, and their disciples and followers, who maintained their doctrine when they were no more. The *divine will* and the *divine omnipotence* were the subjects of this controversy, and the question debated was, “Whether God *really willed*, “and *actually produced* all things that exist, or whether there are certain things whose existence he *merely permits*, and whose production, instead of “being the *effect of his will*, was contrary to it?” The affirmative of the latter part of this question was maintained by *RUPERT*, while his adversaries held that all things were the effects not only of the *divine power*, but also of the *divine will*. This learned abbot was also accused of having taught that the *angels were formed out of darkness*; that *CHRIST did not administer his body to JUDAS in the last supper*; and several other doctrines [g], contrary to the received opinions of the church.

XIX. These and other controversies of a more private kind, which made little noise in the world, were succeeded, about the year 1140, by one of a more public nature, concerning, what was called, the *Immaculate conception of the Virgin MARY* [h]. Certain churches in *France* began, about that time, to celebrate the festival consecrated to this pretended *conception*, which the English had observed before this period in consequence of the exhortations of *ANSELM* archbishop of *Canterbury*, as some authors report. The church of *Lions* was one of the first that adopted this new festival, which no sooner came to the knowledge of *St. BERNARD*, than he severely censured the *Canons of Lions* on account of this

As also that concerning the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary.

[g] See *MENGOZ*, *Epistola*, published by *MARTENE*, in his *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 290.—*JG. MABILLON*, *Annal. Benedic.* tom. vi. p. 19, 20. 42. 168. 261.

[h] The defenders of this *Immaculate Conception* maintained, that the *Virgin MARY* was *conceived* in the womb of her mother with the same *purity* that is attributed to *CHRIST's* conception in her womb.

CENT. innovation, and opposed the *Immaculate conception of*
 XII. *the Virgin* with the greatest vigour, as it supposed
 PART II. her being honoured with a privilege which belonged
 ————— to CHRIST alone. Upon this a warm contest arose; some siding with the Canons of *Lions*, and adopting the new festival, while others adhered to the sentiments of St. BERNARD [*i*]. The controversy, however, notwithstanding the zeal of the contending parties, was carried on, during this century, with a certain degree of decency and moderation. But, in after-times, when the Dominicans were established in the academy of *Paris*, the contest was renewed with the greatest vehemence, and the same subject was debated, on both sides, with the utmost animosity and contention of mind. The Dominicans declared for St. BERNARD, while the academy patronized the Canons of *Lions*, and adopted the new festival.

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.

Rites used
 in the
 Greek
 church.

I. **T**HE rites and ceremonies used in divine worship, both public and private, were now greatly augmented among the Greeks, and the same superstitious passion for the introduction of new observances, discovered itself in all the eastern churches. The Grecian, Nestorian, and Jacobite pontiffs, that were any way remarkable for their

[*i*] STI. BERNARDI *Epistola* 174. tom. i. p. 170.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 135.—MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 327.—DOM. COLONIA, *Hist. Litt. de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 233.

credit or ambition, were desirous of transmitting their names to posterity by the invention of some new rite, or by some striking change introduced into the method of worship that had hitherto prevailed. This was, indeed, almost the only way left to distinguish themselves in an age, where all sense of the excellence of genuine religion and substantial piety being almost totally lost, the whole care and attention of an ostentatious clergy, and a superstitious multitude, were employed upon that round of external ceremonies and observances that were substituted in their place. Thus some attempted, though in vain, to render their names immortal, by introducing a new method of reading or reciting the prayers of the church; others changed the church music; others again tortured their inventions to find out some new mark of veneration, that might be offered to the relics and images of the saints; while several ecclesiastics did not disdain to employ their time, with the most serious assiduity, in embellishing the garments of the clergy, and in forming the motions and postures they were to observe, and the looks they were to assume, in the celebration of divine worship.

II. We may learn from the book *De divinis officiis*, composed by the famous RUPERT, or ROBERT, of *Duytz*, what were the rights in use among the Latins during this century, as also the reasons on which they were founded. According to the plan we follow, we cannot here enlarge upon the additions that were made to the doctrinal part of religion. We shall therefore only observe, that the enthusiastic veneration for the Virgin MARY, which had been hitherto carried to such an excessive height, increased now instead of diminishing, since her dignity was at this time considerably augmented by the new fiction or invention relating to her *immaculate conception*. For though, as we observed in the preceding chapter, St. BERNARD and others opposed

CENT. with vigour this chimerical notion, yet their efforts
 XII. were counteracted by the superstitious fury of the
 PART II. deluded multitude, whose judgment prevailed over
 the counsels of the wise. So that, about the year
 1138, there was a solemn festival instituted in honour
 of this pretended *conception*, though we know not,
 with any degree of certainty, by whose authority it
 was first established, nor in what place it was first
 celebrated [k].

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the divisions and heresies that troubled the
 church during this century.

Fanatics of
 different
 kinds infest
 the Greek
 church.

I. **T**HE Greek and eastern churches were
 infested with fanatics of different kinds, who gave
 them much trouble, and engaged them in the most
 warm and violent contests. Certain of these fanatics
 professed to believe in a double trinity, rejected
 wedlock, abstained from flesh, treated with the
 utmost contempt the sacraments of baptism and the
 Lord's supper, as also all the various branches of
 external worship, placed the essence of religion in
 internal prayer alone, and maintained, as it is said,
 that an evil being, or genius, dwelt in the breast of
 every mortal, and could be expelled from thence by
 no other method, than by perpetual supplications to
 the Supreme Being. The founder of this eucha-
 listical sect is said to have been a person called LU-
 COPETRUS. His chief disciple was named TYCHICUS

[k] MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 327. 412.—*Gallia
 Christiana*, tom. i. p. 1198.

who corrupted, by false and fanatical interpretations, several books of the sacred writings, and particularly the *Gospel according to St. Matthew* [1]. It is well known, that enthusiasts of this kind, who were rather wrong-headed than vicious, lived among the Greeks and Syrians, and more especially among the monks, for many ages before this period, and also in this century. The accounts, indeed, that have been given of them, are not in all respects to be depended upon; and there are several circumstances which render it extremely probable, that many persons of eminent piety, and zeal for genuine Christianity, were confounded by the Greeks with these enthusiasts, and ranked in the list of heretics, merely on account of their opposing the vicious practices and the insolent tyranny of the priesthood, and their treating with derision that motley spectacle of superstition that was supported by public authority. In Greece, and in all the eastern provinces, this sort of men were distinguished by the general and invidious appellation of *Massalians*, or *Euchites*, [m], as the Latins comprehended all the adversaries of the Roman pontiff under the general terms of *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*. It is, however, necessary to

[1] See EUTHYMI *Triumphus de Secta Massalianorum* in JAC. TOLLII *Insignibus Itineris Italici*, p. 106—125.

[m] *Massalians* and *Euchites* are denominations that signify the same thing, and denote, the one in the Hebrew, and the other in the Greek language, *persons that pray*. A sect, under this denomination, arose during the reign of the emperor CONSTANTIUS, about the year 361, founded by certain monks of *Mesopotamia*, who dedicated themselves wholly to prayer, and held many of the doctrines attributed by Dr. MOSHEIM to the *Massalians* of the twelfth century. See AUGUST. *De Heres.* cap. lvii. and THEOD. *Hæret. Fab.* lib. iv. EPIPHANIUS speaks of another sort of *Massalians* still more ancient, who were mere Gentiles, acknowledged several gods, yet adored only one whom they called *Almighty*, and had oratories in which they assembled to pray and sing hymns. This resemblance between the *Massalians* and *Essenes*, induced SCALIGER to think that EPIPHANIUS confounded the former with the latter.

CENT. observe, that the names above mentioned were very
 XII. vague and ambiguous in the way they were applied
 PART II. by the Greeks and the Orientals, who made use of
 them to characterize, without distinction, all such as
 complained of the multitude of uselefs ceremonies,
 and of the vices of the clergy, without any regard
 to the difference that there was between such persons
 in point of principles and morals. In short, the
 righteous and the profligate, the wise and the foolish,
 were equally comprehended under the name of Massa-
 lians, whenever they opposed the raging superstition
 of the times, or looked upon true and genuine piety
 as the essence of the Christian character.

The Bogo-
 miles.

II. From the sect now mentioned, that of the
Bogomiles is said to have proceeded, whose founder
 BASILIUS, a monk by profession, was burnt at *Con-*
stantinople, under the reign of ALEXIUS COMNENUS,
 after all attempts to make him renounce his errors
 had proved ineffectual. By the accounts we have
 of this unhappy man, and of the errors he taught,
 it appears sufficiently evident, that his doctrine
 resembled, in a striking manner, the religious system
 of the ancient Gnostics and Manichæans; though,
 at the same time, it is possible that the Greeks may
 have falsified his tenets in some respects. BASILIUS
 maintained, that the world and all animal bodies
 were formed not by the Deity, but by an evil demon,
 who had been cast down from heaven by the Supreme
 Being; from whence he concluded, that the body
 was no more than the prison of the immortal spirit,
 and that it was, therefore, to be enervated by fasting,
 contemplation, and other exercises, that so the soul
 might be gradually restored to its primitive liberty;
 for this purpose also wedlock was to be avoided,
 with many other circumstances which we have often
 had occasion to explain and repeat in the course of
 this history. It was in consequence of the same
 principles, that this unfortunate enthusiast denied
 the *reality* of CHRIST'S body, which, like the Gnostics

and Manichæans, he considered only as a phan-
 tom, rejected the law of MOSES, and maintained
 that the body, upon its separation by death, returned
 to the malignant mass of matter, without either the
 prospect or possibility of a future resurrection to life
 and felicity. We have so many examples of fanatics
 of this kind in the records of ancient times, and
 also in the history of this century, that it is by no
 means to be wondered, that some one of them more
 enterprising than the rest should found a sect among
 the Greeks. The name of this sect was taken from
 the *divine mercy*, which its members are said to have
 incessantly implored; for the word *bogomilus*, in the
 Mysian language, signifies *calling out for mercy from
 above* [n].

III. The Latin sects were yet more numerous
 than those of the Greeks, and this will not appear at
 all surprising to such as consider the state of religion
 in the greatest part of the European provinces.
 The reign of superstition, the vices of the clergy,
 the luxury and indolence of the pontiffs and bishops,
 the encouragement of impiety by the traffic of
indulgences, increasing from day to day, several
 pious, though weak men, who had the cause of
 CHRIST and of his religion at heart, easily perceived
 that both were in a most declining and miserable
 state, and therefore attempted a reformation in the
 church, in order to restore Christianity to its primi-
 tive purity and lustre. But the knowledge of these
 good men was not equal to their zeal, nor were
 their abilities in any proportion to the grandeur of
 their undertakings. The greatest part of them
 were destitute both of learning and judgment, and,

The Latin
 sects, and
 the abuses
 from whence
 they sprung.

[n] See ANNA COMNENA *Alexiados*, lib. xv. p. 384. edit.
Venetæ.—ZONARAS *Annalium*, lib. xviii. p. 336.—JO. CHRIST.
 WOLF, *Historia Bogomilorum*, published at Witteberg, in 4to,
 1712.—SAM. ANDREÆ *Diff. Bogomilis* in JO. VOIGTII *Bib-*
liotheca Historia Hæresiologicalæ, tom. i. part. II. p. 121. CHR. AUG.
 HEUMANNI *Dissertat. de Bogomilis*.

CENT. involved in the general ignorance of the times,
 XII. understood but very imperfectly the holy scriptures,
 PART II. from whence Christianity was derived, and by which
 the abuses that had been mingled with it could only
 be reformed. In a word, few of these well-meaning
 Christians were equal to an attempt so difficult and
 arduous as an universal reformation; and the conse-
 quence of this was, that while they avoided the
 reigning abuses, they fell into others that were as
 little consistent with the genius of true religion, and
 carried the spirit of censure and reformation to such
 an excessive length, that it degenerated often into
 the various extravagancies of enthusiasm, and engen-
 dered a number of new sects, that became a new
 dishonour to the Christian cause.

The Ca-
 thari.

IV. Among the sects that troubled the Latin
 church during this century, the principal place is
 due to the *Catharists*, whom we have had already
 occasion to mention [o]. This numerous faction,
 leaving their first residence, which was in *Bulgaria*,
 spread themselves throughout almost all the Euro-
 pean provinces, where they occasioned much tumult
 and disorder; but their fate was unhappy; for,
 wherever they were caught, they were put to death
 with the most unrelenting cruelty [p]. Their religion
 resembled the doctrine of the Manichæans and Gnos-
 tics, on which account they commonly received the
 denomination of the former, though they differed
 from the genuine and primitive Manichæans in many
 respects. They all indeed agreed in the following
 points of doctrine: *viz.* That matter was the source
 of all evil; that the Creator of this world was a

[o] See CENT. III. PART II. CH. V. § XVIII. but prin-
 cipally for that sort of *Catharists* here mentioned, see above
 CENT. XI. PART II. CH. V. § II.

[p] See the accounts given of this unhappy and persecuted
 sect by CHARLES PLESSIS D'ARGENTRE in his *Colleção judici-
 orum de novis erroribus*, tom. i. in which, however, several circum-
 stances are omitted.

being distinct from the Supreme Deity; that CHRIST CENT. was not clothed with a real body, neither could be XII. properly said to have been born, or to have seen PART II. death; that human bodies were the production of the evil principle; and that baptism and the Lord's supper were useless institutions destitute of all efficacy and power. They exhorted all who embraced their doctrine to a rigorous abstinence from animal food, wine, and wedlock, and recommended to them in the most pathetic terms the most severe acts of austerity and mortification. They moreover treated with the utmost contempt all the books of the *Old Testament*, but expressed a high degree of veneration for the *New*, particularly for the *Four Gospels*; and, to pass over many other peculiarities in their doctrine, they maintained, that human souls, endued with reason, were shut up by an unhappy fate in the dungeons of mortal bodies, from whence they could only be delivered by fasting, mortification, and continence of every kind [q].

V. These principles and tenets, though they were adopted and professed by the whole sect, yet were differently interpreted and modified by different doctors. Hence the *Catharists* were divided into various sects, which, however, on account of the general persecution in which they were all involved, treated each other with candour and forbearance, disputed with moderation, and were thus careful not to augment their common calamity by intestine feuds and animosities. Out of these different factions arose two leading and principal sects of the *Catharists*, which were distinguished from the rest by the number of their respective followers, and the importance of their differences. The one approached pretty

The Catharists divided into two sects.

[q] Besides the writers which shall be mentioned presently, see the *Disputatio inter Catholicum et Paterinum*, published by MARTENE, in his *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1703. as also BONACURSI *Manifestatio Heresys Catharorum* in LUC. DACHERII *Spicilegio*, tom. i. p. 208.

CENT. nearly to the Manichæan system, held the doctrine
 XII. of *two eternal Beings*, from whom all things are
 PART II. derived, the *God of light*, who was also the father of
 JESUS CHRIST, and the *principle of darkness*, whom
 they considered as the author of the material world. The other believed in *one eternal principle*, the FATHER of CHRIST, and the supreme God, by whom also they held that the *first matter* was created; but they added to this, that the *evil being*, after his rebellion against God and his fall from heaven, arranged this original matter according to his fancy, and divided it into four elements, in order to the production of this visible world. The former maintained, that CHRIST being clothed with a celestial body descended thus into the womb of the Virgin, and derived no part of his substance from her; while the latter taught, that he first assumed a real body in the womb of MARY, though not *from her* [*r*]. The sect, which held the doctrine of *two principles*, were called *Albanenses*, from the name of the place where their spiritual ruler resided; and this sect was subdivided into two, of which one took the name of BALAZINANSA, bishop of *Verona*, and the other that of JOHN DE LUGIO, bishop of *Bergamo*. The sect which adhered to the doctrine of *one eternal principle* was also subdivided into the congregation of *Baioli*, the capital town of the province, and that of *Concoregio*, or *Concorezzo*. The *Albigenses*, who were settled in *France*, belonged to the church or congregation of *Baioli* [*s*].

[*r*] See BERN. MONETA, in *summa adversus Catharos et Waldenses*, published at *Rome*, in the year 1743, by THOM. AUGUST. RICHINI, who prefixed to it a dissertation concerning the *Cathari*, that is by no means worthy of the highest encomiums. MONETA was no mean writer for the time in which he lived. See *Lib. i. p. 2. & 5. Lib. ii. p. 247, &c.*

[*s*] RAINERI SACHONI *summa de Catharis et Leonistis* in MARTENE *Theaur. Anecdot.* tom. v. p. 1761. 1768.—PEREGRINUS PRESCIANUS in MURATORII *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 93. who exhibits, in a sort of table, these different

VI. In the internal constitution of the church that CENT.
 was founded by this sect, there were many rules and XII.
 principles of a singular nature, which we pass over PART II.
 in silence, as they would oblige us to enter into a
 detail inconsistent with the brevity we propose to
 observe in this work. The government of this
 church was administered by *bishops*, and each bishop
 had two vicars, of whom one was called the *eldest*
son, and the other the *younger*; while the rest of the
 clergy and doctors were comprehended under the
 general denomination of *deacons* [*t*]. The veneration,
 which the people had for the clergy in general,
 and more especially for the bishops and their spiritual
 sons, was carried to a length that almost exceeds
 credibility. The discipline observed by this sect
 was so excessively rigid and austere, that it was
 practicable only by a certain number of robust and
 determined fanatics. But that such as were not
 able to undergo this discipline might not, on that
 account, be lost to the cause, it was thought necessary,
 in imitation of the ancient Manichæans, to divide
 this sect into two classes, one of which was distin-
 guished by the title of the *consolati*, *i. e.* *comforted*,
 while the other received only the denomination of
confederates. The former gave themselves out for
 persons of consummate wisdom and extraordinary
 piety, lived in perpetual celibacy, and led a life of
 the severest mortification and abstinence, without

sects, but by a mistake places the *Albigenses*, who were a branch
 of the *Baiolenses*, in the place of the *Albanenses*; this, perhaps,
 may be an error of the press. The opinions of these *Baiolenses*,
 or *Bagnolenses*, may be seen in the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosane*
 which LIMBORCH published with his *History of the Inquisition*.
 The account, however, which we have in that history (*Book I.*
Ch. VIII.) of the opinions of the *Albigenses* is by no means
 accurate. A great variety of causes has contributed to involve
 in darkness and perplexity the distinctive characters of these
 different sects, whose respective systems we cannot enlarge upon
 at present.

[*t*] See SACHONI *summa de Catharis*, p. 1766.

CENT. ever allowing themselves the enjoyment of any
 XII. worldly comfort. The latter, if we except a few
 PART II. particular rules which they observed, lived like the
 ————— rest of mankind, but at the same time were obliged
 by a solemn agreement they had made with the
 church, and which, in Italian, they called *la conven-*
nenza, to enter before their death, in their last
 moments, if not sooner, into the class of the *comforted*;
 and to receive the *consolamentum*, which was the
 form of inauguration by which they were introduced
 into that fanatical order [u].

The Petro-
bruffians.

VII. A much more rational sect was that which
 was founded about the year 1110 in *Languedoc* and
Provence by PETER DE BRUYS, who made the most
 laudable attempts to reform the abuses and to
 remove the superstitions that disfigured the beautiful
 simplicity of the gospel, and after having engaged in
 his cause a great number of followers, during a
 laborious ministry of twenty years continuance, was
 burnt at *St. Giles's*, in the year 1130, by an
 enraged populace, set on by the clergy, whose traffic
 was in danger from the enterprising spirit of this
 new reformer. The whole system of doctrine, which
 this unhappy martyr, whose zeal was not without a
 considerable mixture of fanaticism, taught to the
Petrobruffians his disciples, is not known; it is how-
 ever certain, that the five following tenets made a
 part of his system; 1. That no persons whatever,
 were to be baptized before they were come to the
 full use of their reason. 2. That it was an idle
 superstition to build churches for the service of God,
 who will accept of a sincere worship wherever it is
 offered; and that therefore such churches as had
 already been erected were to be pulled down and
 destroyed. 3. That the crucifixes, as instruments
 of superstition, deserved the same fate. 4. That

[u] For a further account of this sect, see the writers
 mentioned above, and particularly the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosane*.

the real body and blood of Christ were not exhibited CENT.
 in the eucharist, but were merely represented, in XII.
 that holy ordinance, by their figures and symbols. PART II:
 5. and lastly, That the oblations, prayers, and good
 works of the living, could be in no respect advan-
 tageous to the dead [*w*].

VIII. This Innovator was succeeded by another, The Henricians.
 who was an Italian by birth, and whose name was
 HENRY, the founder and parent of the sect called
Henricians. It was, no doubt, a rare thing to see
 a person, who was at the same time monk and hermit,
 undertaking to reform the superstitions of the times;
 yet such was the case with HENRY, who leaving
Lausanne, a city in *Switzerland*, travelled to *Mans*,
 and being banished thence, removed successively to
Poitiers, *Bordeaux*, and the countries adjacent,
 and at length to *Thoulouse* in the year 1147, exer-
 cising his ministerial function in all these places with
 the utmost applause from the people, and declaiming,
 with the greatest vehemence and fervour, against the
 vices of the clergy, and the superstitions they had
 introduced into the Christian church. At *Thoulouse*
 he was warmly opposed by St. BERNARD, by whose
 influence he was overpowered, notwithstanding his
 popularity, and obliged to save himself by flight.
 But being seized, in his retreat, by a certain bishop,
 he was carried before pope EUGENIUS III. who
 presided in person at a council then assembled at
Rheims, and who, in consequence of the accusations
 brought against HENRY, committed him, in the year
 1148, to a close prison, where, in a little time after
 this, he ended his days [*x*]. We have no accurate

[*w*] See PETRI *Venerab. Lib. contra Petrobruffianos in Bibliotheca Cluniensi*, p. 1117.—MABILLON, *Annal. Benedi.* tom. vi. p. 346.—BASNAGE, *Histoire des Eglises Reformées* period iv. p. 140.

[*x*] *Gesta Episcoporum Cenomanens.* in MABILLON, *Analect. veter. ævi*, p. 315. ed. Nov.—GAUFRIDI *Epistola in Lib. vi. Vita Sti. Bernardi.* tom. ii. Opp. *Berubard.* p. 1207.—MATTH.

CENT. account of the doctrines of this reformer transmitted
 XII. to our times. All we know of that matter is, that
 PART II. he rejected the baptism of infants; censured with
 severity the corrupt and licentious manners of the
 clergy; treated the festivals and ceremonies of the
 church with the utmost contempt; and held clandestine
 assemblies, in which he explained and inculcated the
 novelties he taught. Several writers affirm, that he was
 the disciple of PETER DE BRUYS; but I cannot see upon
 what evidence or authority this assertion is grounded [y].

The horrid blasphemy of Tanquelinus. IX. While the Henricians were propagating their
 doctrines in *France*, a certain illiterate man, called
 TANQUELINUS, or TANQUELMUS, arose in *Brabant*
 about the year 1115, excited the most deplorable
 commotions at *Antwerp*, and drew after him a most
 numerous sect. If the accounts that are given us of
 this heresiarch by his adversaries may be at all
 depended upon, he must either have been a monstrous
 impostor, or an outrageous madman. For he walked
 in public with the greatest solemnity, pretended to
 be God, or, at least, the son of God, ordered daughters
 to be ravished in presence of their mothers, and
 committed himself the greatest disorders. Such are the
 enormities that are attributed to TANQUELMUS, but
 they are absolutely incredible, and therefore cannot
 be true [z]. What seems most

Histor. Major, p. 71.—MABILLON, *Pref. ad Opera Bernardi*.
 § vi. & *Annal. Benedic.* tom. vi. p. 346. 420. 434.

[y] That HENRY was the disciple of PETER DE BRUYS is
 not at all probable; since, not to insist upon other reasons,
 the latter could not bear the sight of a cross, and in all
 likelihood owed his death to the multitude of crucifixes
 which he had committed to the flames: whereas the former,
 when he entered into any city, appeared with a cross
 in his hand, which he bore as a standard, to attract
 the veneration of the people. See MABILLON, *Analec-
 ta*, p. 316.

[z] *Epistola Trajectens. Ecclesie ad Tridericum Episcopum de
 Tanchelmo*, in SEL. TENGNAGELII *Collezione Veterum Monu-
 mentor.* p. 368.—BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 98.
 —ARGENTRE, *Collectio Judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 10.

worthy of credit in this matter is, that this new CENT. teacher had imbibed the opinions and spirit of the XII. Mystics; that he treated with contempt the external P A R T II. worship of God, the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and the rite of baptism; and held clandestine assemblies to propagate more effectually his visionary notions. But as, besides all this, he inveighed against the clergy, like the other heretics already mentioned, and declaimed against their vices with vehemence and intrepidity, it is probable that these blasphemies were falsely charged upon him by a vindictive priesthood. Be that as it may, the fate of TANQUELMUS was unhappy, for he was assassinated by an ecclesiastic in a cruel manner. His sect, however, did not perish with him, but acquired strength and vigour under the ministry of his disciples, until it was, at length, extinguished by the famous St. NORBERT, the founder of the order of *Præmonstratenses*, or *Premontrés* [a].

X. In *Italy* ARNOLD of *Brescia*, a disciple of ABELARD, and a man of extensive erudition and remarkable austerity, but also of a turbulent and impetuous spirit, excited new troubles and commotions both in church and state. He was, indeed, condemned in the council of the Lateran, A. D. 1139, by INNOCENT II, and thereby obliged to retire into *Switzerland*; but, upon the death of that pontiff, he returned into *Italy*, and raised at *Rome*, during the pontificate of EUGENIUS III. several tumults and seditions among the people, who changed, by his instigation, the government of the city, and insulted the persons of the clergy in the most disorderly manner. He fell however at last a victim to the vengeance of his enemies; for, after various turns of fortune, he was seized, in the year

Seditions
excited in
Italy by
Arnold of
Brescia.

[a] LEWIS HUGO, *Vie de S. Norbert. livr. II. p. 126.*—
CHRYSS. vander STERRE *Vita S. Norberti, cap xxxvi. p. 164.*
& POLYC. de HERTOGHE, *ad illam Annotationes, p. 387.*

CENT. 1155, by a præfect of the city, by whom he was
 XII. crucified, and afterwards burned to ashes. This
 PART II. unhappy man seems not to have adopted any doc-
 trines inconsistent with the spirit of true religion ;
 and the principles upon which he acted were chiefly
 reprehensible from their being carried too far,
 applied without discernment and discretion, and
 executed with a degree of vehemence which was as
 criminal as it was imprudent. Having perceived the
 discords and animosities, the calamities and disorders,
 that sprung from the overgrown opulence of the
 pontiffs and bishops, he was persuaded that the
 interests of the church, and the happiness of nations
 in general required, that the clergy should be divested
 of all their worldly possessions, of all their temporal
 rights and prerogatives. He, therefore, maintained
 publicly, that the treasures and revenues of popes,
 bishops, and monasteries, ought to be solemnly
 resigned and transferred to the supreme rulers of
 each state, and that nothing was to be left to the
 ministers of the gospel but a spiritual authority and
 a subsistence drawn from tythes, and from the
 voluntary oblations and contributions of the people
 [b]. This violent reformer, in whose character
 and manners there were several things worthy of
 esteem, drew after him a great number of disciples,
 who derived from him the denomination of *Arnoldists*,
 and, in succeeding times, discovered the spirit and
 intrepidity of their leader, as often as any favourable
 opportunities of reforming the church were offered
 to their zeal.

The origin
 and history
 of the Wal-
 denfes.

XI. Of all the sects that arose in this century
 none was more distinguished by the reputation it

[b] See OTTO *Frising. de gestis Frederici I.* lib. ii. cap. xx.—
 S. BERNHARDUS *Epist.* 195, 196. tom. i. p. 187.—BOULAY
Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. ii. p. 157.—MURATORII *Droits de*
l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclesiastique, p. 137.—HENR. DE BUNAU
Vita Frederici I. p. 41.—CHAUFFEPED *Nouveau Diction. Hist.*
Crit. tom. ii. p. 482.

acquired, by the multitude of its votaries, and the CENT. testimony which its bitterest enemies bore to the XII. probity and innocence of its members, than that PART II. of the Waldenses, so called from their parent and founder PETER WALDUS. This sect was known by different denominations. From the place where it first appeared, its members were called *The poor men of Lions* [c], or *Leonists*, and, from the wooden shoes which its doctors wore, and a certain mark that was imprinted upon these shoes, they were called *Insabbatati*, or *Sabbatati* [d]. The origin of this famous sect was as follows: PETER, an opulent merchant of *Lions*, surnamed *Valdensis*, or *Falidifius*, from *Vaux*, or *Waldum*, a town in the marquise of *Lions*, being extremely zealous for the advancement of true piety and Christian knowledge, employed a certain priest [e], about the year 1160, in translating from Latin into French the *Four Gospels*, with other books of Holy Scripture and the most remarkable sentences of the ancient doctors, which were so highly esteemed in this century. But no sooner had he perused these sacred books with a proper degree of attention, than he perceived that the religion, which was now taught in the Roman church, differed totally from that

[c] They were called *Leonists* from *Leona*, the ancient name of *Lions*, where their sect took its rise. The more eminent persons of that sect manifested their progress toward perfection by the simplicity and meanness of their external appearance. Hence, among other things, they wore wooden shoes, which in the French language are termed *sabots*, and had imprinted upon these shoes the sign of the cross, to distinguish themselves from other Christians; and it was on these accounts that they acquired the denominations of *sabbatati* and *insabbatati*. See *Du Fresne Glossarium Latin. medii ævi*, vi. voce *Sabbatati*, p. 4.—NICOL. EUMERICI *Directorium Inquisitorum*, part III. N. 112. &c.

[d] See STEPH. de BORBONE *De septem donis spiritus sancti*, in ECHARD & QUETIF *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Dominicanorum*. tom. i. p. 192.—ANNONYM. *Traclatio de Hæresi Pauperum de Lugduno*, in MARTENE *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*. tom. v. p. 1777.

[e] This priest was called STEPHANUS DE Evisa.

CENT. which was originally inculcated by CHRIST and his
 XII. apostles. Struck with this glaring contradiction
 PART II. between the doctrines of the pontiffs and the truths
 of the gospel, and animated with a pious zeal for
 promoting his own salvation and that of others, he
 abandoned his mercantile vocation, distributed his
 riches among the poor [*f*], and forming an affoci-
 ation with other pious men, who had adopted his
 sentiments and his turn of devotion, he began, in
 the year 1180, to assume the quality of a public
 teacher, and to instruct the multitude in the doc-
 trines and precepts of Christianity. The archbishop
 of *Lions*, and the other rulers of the church in that
 province, opposed, with vigour, this new doctor in
 the exercise of his ministry. But their opposition
 was unsuccessful; for the purity and simplicity of
 that religion which these good men taught, the
 spotless innocence that shone forth in their lives and
 actions, and the noble contempt of riches and honours
 which was conspicuous in the whole of their conduct
 and conversation, appeared so engaging to all such as
 had any sense of true piety, that the number of
 their disciples and followers increased from day to
 day [*g*]. They accordingly formed religious

[*f*] It was on this account that the Waldenses were called
Pauvres de Lyons, or *Poor men of Lyons*.

[*g*] Certain writers give different accounts of the origin of the
Waldenses, and suppose that they were so called from the *Vallies* in
 which they had resided for many ages before the birth of PETER
 WALDUS. But these writers have no authority to support this
 assertion, and, besides this, they are refuted amply by the best
 historians. I do not mean to deny, that there were in the *Vallies*
 of *Piedmont*, long before this period, a set of men, who differed
 widely from the opinions adopted and inculcated by the church
 of *Rome*, and whose doctrine resembled, in many respects, that of
 the Waldenses; all that I maintain is, that these inhabitants of
 the *Vallies* abovementioned are to be carefully distinguished from
 the Waldenses, who, according to the unanimous voice of history,
 were originally inhabitants of *Lyons*, and derived their name from
 PETER WALDUS, their founder and chief. ☞ We may venture
 to affirm the contrary, with the learned BEZA and other

assemblies, first in *France*, and afterwards in *Lombardy*, from whence they propagated their sect throughout the other provinces of *Europe* with incredible rapidity, and with such invincible fortitude, that neither fire nor sword, nor the most cruel inventions of merciless persecution, could damp their zeal, or entirely ruin their cause [b].

writers of note; for it seems evident from the best records, that *VALDUS* derived his name from the true *Valdenses* of *Piedmont*, whose doctrine he adopted, and who were known by the names of *Vaudois* and *Valdenses*, before he or his immediate followers existed. If the *Valdenses* or *Waldenses* had derived their name from any eminent teacher, it would probably have been from *VALDO* who was remarkable for the purity of his doctrine in the *IXth* century, and was the cotemporary and chief counsellor of *BERENGARIUS*. But the truth is, that they derive their name from their *Vallies* in *Piedmont*, which in their language are called *Vaux*, hence *Voidois*, their true name; hence *PETER* or (as others call him) *John of Lyons*, was called in Latin, *Valdus*, because he had adopted their doctrine; and hence the term *Valdenses* and *Waldenses* used by those, who write in English or Latin, in the place of *Vaudois*. The bloody Inquisitor *REINERUS SACCO*, who exerted such a furious zeal for the destruction of the *Waldenses*, lived but about 80 years after *Valdus* of *Lyons*, and must therefore be supposed to know whether or not he was the real founder of the *Valdenses* or *Leonists*; and yet it is remarkable that he speaks of the *Leonists* (mentioned by *Dr. MOSHEIM* in the preceding page, as synonymous with *Waldenses*) as a sect that had flourished above 500 years; nay mentions authors of note, who make their antiquity remount to the Apostolic age. See the account given of *SACCO's* book by the Jesuit *GRETSER*, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. I know not upon what principle *Dr. MOSHEIM* maintains, that the inhabitants of the *Vallies of Piedmont* are to be carefully distinguished from the *Waldenses*; and I am persuaded, that whoever will be at the pains to read attentively the 2d, 25th, 26th, and 27th chapters of the first book of *LEGER's Histoire Generale des Eglises Vaudaises*, will find this distinction entirely groundless.—When the Papists ask us *where our religion was before LUTHER?* we generally answer, *in the Bible*; and we answer well. But to gratify their taste for *Tradition* and *human authority*, we may add to this answer, *and in the Vallies of Piedmont*.

[b] See the following ancient writers, who have given accounts of the sect in question, *to wit*, *SACHONI summa contra Valdenses*.—*MONETÆ Summa contra Catharos et Valdenses*.—published by

CENT. XII. The attempts of PETER WALDUS and his
 XII. followers were neither employed nor designed to
 PART II. introduce new doctrines into the church, nor to
 propose new articles of faith to Christians. All they
 aimed at was, to reduce the form of ecclesiastical
 government, and the lives and manners both of the
 clergy and people, to that amiable simplicity, and
 that primitive sanctity, that characterised the apostolic
 ages, and which appear so strongly recommended
 in the precepts and injunctions of the divine author
 of our holy religion. In consequence of this design;
 they complained that the Roman church had dege-
 nerated, under CONSTANTINE the Great, from its
 primitive purity and sanctity. They denied the
 supremacy of the Roman pontiff, and maintained
 that the rulers and ministers of the church were
 obliged, by their vocation, to imitate the poverty
 of the apostles, and to procure for themselves a
 subsistence by the work of their hands. They
 considered every Christian, as in a certain measure
 qualified and authorised to instruct, exhort, and
 confirm the brethren in their christian course, and
 demanded the restoration of the ancient penitential
 discipline of the church, *i. e.* the expiation of trans-
 gressions by prayer, fasting and alms, which the
 new-invented doctrine of *indulgences* had almost
 totally abolished. They, at the same time, affirmed,
 that every pious Christian was qualified and entitled
 to prescribe to the penitent the kind and degree of

The doc-
 trine, disci-
 pline, and
 views of the
 Waldenses.

RICHINI.—*Tr. de Heresi Pauperum de Lugduno*, published by
 MARTENE, in his *Tresaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 1777.—PILICH-
 DORFIUS *contra Valdenses*, t. xxv. *B. B. Max. Patr.*—Add
 to these authors, JO. PAUL PERRIN *Histoire de Vaudois*, published
 at Geneva in 1619.—JO. LEGER *Histoire Generale, des Eglises,
 Vaudoises*, livr. i. ch. xiv. p. 136.—USSERI *De Successione
 Ecclesiarum Occidentis*, cap. viii. p. 209.—JAC. BASNAGE *Histoire
 des Eglises Reformees*, tom. i. period iv. p. 329.—THOM. AU-
 GUST. RICHINI *Dissertat. de Valdensesibus*, prefixed to his edition
 of the *Summa MONETÆ*, p. 36.—BOULAY *Histor. Acad. Paris.*
 tom. ii. p. 292.

satisfaction or expiation that their transgressions required; that confession made to priests was by no means necessary, since the humble offender might acknowledge his sins and testify his repentance to any true believer, and might expect from such the counsels and admonitions that his case and circumstances demanded. They maintained, that the power of delivering sinners from the guilt and punishment of their offences belonged to God alone; and that *indulgences*, of consequence, were the criminal inventions of fordid avarice. They looked upon the prayers, and other ceremonies that were instituted in behalf of the dead, as vain, useless, and absurd, and denied the existence of departed souls in an intermediate state of purification, affirming, that they were immediately, upon the separation from the body, received into heaven, or thrust down to hell. These and other tenets of a like nature composed the system of doctrine propagated by the Waldenses. Their rules of practice were extremely austere; for they adopted, as the model of their moral discipline, the Sermon of CHRIST on the mount, which they interpreted and explained in the most rigorous and literal manner, and, of consequence, prohibited, and condemned in their society all wars, and suits of law, all attempts towards the acquisition of wealth, the inflicting of capital punishments, self-defence against unjust violence, and oaths of all kinds [*i*].

[*i*] See the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanae*, published by LIMBORCH, as also the *Summa MONETÆ contra Waldenses*, and the other writers of the Waldensian history. Though these writers are not all equally accurate, nor perfectly agreed about the number of doctrines that entered into the system of this sect, yet they are almost all unanimous in acknowledging the sincere piety and exemplary conduct of the Waldenses, and shew plainly enough that their intention was not to oppose the doctrines that were universally received among Christians, but only to revive the piety and manners of the primitive times, and to combat the vices of the clergy, and the abuses that had been introduced into the worship and discipline of the church.

CENT. XIII. The government of the church was committed, by the Waldenses, to *bishops* [k], *presbyters*,
 XII. and deacons; for they acknowledged that these three
 PART II. ecclesiastical orders were instituted by CHRIST
 himself. But they looked upon it as absolutely
 necessary, that all these orders should resemble
 exactly the apostles of the divine Saviour, and be,
 like them, illiterate, poor, destitute of all worldly
 possessions; and furnished with some laborious trade
 or vocation, in order to gain by constant industry
 their daily subsistence [l]. The laity were divided
 into two classes; one of which contained the *perfect*,
 and the other the *imperfect* Christians. The former
 spontaneously divested themselves of all worldly
 possessions, manifested, in the wretchedness of their
 apparel, their excessive poverty, and emaciated their
 bodies by frequent fasting. The latter were less
 austere, and approached nearer to the method of
 living generally received, though they abstained,
 like the graver sort of anabaptists in later times, from
 all appearance of pomp and luxury. It is, however,
 to be observed, that the Waldenses were not without
 their intestine divisions. Such of them as lived in
Italy differed considerably in their opinions from those
 who dwelt in *France* and the other European nations.
 The former considered the church of *Rome* as the
 church of CHRIST, though much corrupted and
 and sadly disfigured; they acknowledged moreover
 the validity of its seven sacraments, and solemnly
 declared that they would continue always in com-
 munion with it, provided they might be allowed to
 live as they thought proper, without molestation or
 restraint. The latter affirmed, on the contrary, that
 the church of *Rome* had apostatized from CHRIST,
 was deprived of the holy spirit, and was, in reality,

[k] The bishops were also called, *majorales*, or *elders*.

[l] The greatest part of the *Waldenses* gained their livelihood by weaving; hence the whole sect in certain places were called the *sect of weavers*.

that *whore of Babylon* mentioned in the *Revelations* of St. JOHN [m].

CENT.
XII.
PART II.
Sects of a
less eminent
kind. The
Pafagini.

XIV. Besides these famous sects, which made a great noise in the world, and drew after them multitudes from the bosom of a corrupt and superstitious church, there were other religious *factions* of lesser importance, which arose in *Italy*, and more especially in *France*, though they seem to have expired soon after their birth [n]. In *Lombardy*, which was the principal residence of the Italian heretics, there sprung up a very singular sect, known by the denomination of *Pasaginians* [o], and also by that of the *circumcised*. Like the other sects already mentioned, they had the utmost aversion to the dominion and discipline of the church of *Rome*; but they were, at the same time, distinguished by two religious tenets that were peculiar to themselves. The first was a notion, that the observation of the law of MOSES, in every thing except the offering of sacrifices, was obligatory upon Christians, in consequence of which they circumcised their followers, abstained from those meats, the use of which was prohibited under the Mosaic œconomy, and celebrated the Jewish Sabbath. The second tenet that distinguished this sect was advanced in opposition to the doctrine of three persons in the divine nature;

[m] MONETÆ *Summa contra Catharos et Valdenses*, p. 406. 416, &c. They seem to have been also divided in their sentiments concerning the possession of worldly goods, as appears from the accounts of STEPHANUS DE BORBONE, in ECHARDI *Scriptoribus Dominicanis*, tom. i. p. 191. This writer divides the *Waldenses* into two classes; *The poor men of Lions*, and *The poor men of Lombardy*. The former rejected and prohibited all sorts of possessions; the latter looked upon worldly possessions as lawful. This distinction may be also confirmed by several passages of other ancient authors.

[n] For an account of these obscurer sects, see STEPHANUS DE BORBONE, in ECHARDI *Scriptoribus Dominicanis*, tom. i. p. 191.

[o] The origin of the name *Pasagini*, or *Pasagii*, is not known.

CENT. for the *Pasaginians* maintained that CHRIST was no
 XII. more than the *first and purest creature of God*; nor
 PART II. will their adopting this opinion seem so surprising, if
 we consider the prodigious number of Arians that
 were scattered throughout *Italy* long before this
 period of time [*p*].

The Capu-
 tiati.

XV. A set of fanatics, called *Caputiati*, from a
 singular kind of cap that was the badge of their
 faction, infested the province of *Burgundy*, the diocese
 of *Auxerre*, and several other parts of *France*, in all
 which places they excited much disturbance among
 the people. They wore upon their caps a leaden
 image of the Virgin MARY, and they declared
 publicly, that their purpose was to level all distinc-
 tions, to abrogate magistracy, to remove all subor-
 dination among mankind, and to restore that primitive
 liberty, that natural equality that were the inesti-
 mable privileges of the first mortals. HUGO, bishop
 of *Auxerre*, attacked these disturbers of human
 society in the proper manner, employing against
 them the force of arms, instead of arguments [*q*].

The sect of the *apostolics*, whom St. BERNARD
 opposed with such bitterness and fury, and who
 were so called, as that zealous abbot himself acknow-
 ledged, because they professed to exhibit in their
 lives and manners the piety and virtues of the holy
 apostles, were very different from the audacious
 heretics now mentioned. They were a clownish
 set of men, of the lowest birth, who gained their
 subsistence by bodily labour; and yet no sooner did
 they form themselves into a sect, than they drew
 after them a multitude of adherents of all ranks and

[*p*] See F. BONACURSI *Manifestatio heresis Catharorum*, in
 LUC. DACHERII SPICILEGIO, *Veter. Scriptor.* tom. i. p. 211.
 edit. nov.—GERHARD. BERGAMENSIS *contra Catharos et*
Pasagios, in LUD. ANTON. MURATORII *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*,
 tom. v. p. 151.

[*q*] JAC. LE BOEUF, *Memoires sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom.
 i. p. 317.

orders. Their religious doctrine, as St. BERNARD CENT. confesses, was free from error, and their lives and XII. manners were irreproachable and exemplary. Yet PART II. they were reprehensible, on account of the following peculiarities: 1. They held it unlawful to take an oath. 2. They suffered their hair and their beards to grow to an enormous length, so that their aspect was inexpressibly extravagant and savage. 3. They preferred celibacy before wedlock, and called themselves the *chaste brethren and sisters*. Notwithstanding which, 4. Each man had a spiritual sister with him, after the manner of the apostles, with whom he lived in a domestic relation, lying in the same chamber with her, though not in the same bed [r].

XVI. In the council, which was assembled at Eon, a Rheims in the year 1148, and at which pope EU- wrong-headed fanatic. GENIUS III. presided, a certain gentleman of the province of *Bretagne*, whose name was EON, and whose brain was, undoubtedly, disordered, was condemned for pretending to be the son of God. Having heard, in the form that was used for exorcising malignant spirits, these words pronounced: *per EUM, qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos*, he concluded, from the resemblance that there was between the word EUM and his name, that he was the person who was to come and judge both quick and dead. This poor man should rather have been delivered over to the physicians, than placed in the list of heretics. He ended his days in a miserable prison, and left a considerable number of followers and adherents, whom persecution and death in the most dreadful forms could not persuade to abandon his cause, or to renounce an absurdity, which one would think could never have gained credit, but in such a

[r] St. BERNARDUS, *Sermo LXV, in Canticum*, tom. iv. Opp. p. 1495. edit. *Mabillon*.

CENT. place as Bedlam [s]. This remarkable example is
 XII. sufficient to shew, not only the astonishing credulity
 PART II. of the stupid multitude, but also how far even the
 ————— rulers of the church were destitute of judgment,
 and strangers to the knowledge of true and genuine
 religion.

[s] MATTH. PARIS, *Historia Major*. p. 68.—GUIL. NEU-
 BRIGENSIS, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, lib. i. p. 50.—BOULAY,
Historia Acad. Paris. tom. ii. p. 241.

THE
THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The EXTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

=

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the prosperous events that happened to the church during this century.

I. **T**HOUGH the successors of GENGISKAN, CENT. XIII. the mighty emperor of the Tartars, or rather of the Mogols, had carried their victorious arms through a great part of *Asia*, and having reduced *China*, *India*, and *Persia*, under their yoke, involved in many calamities and sufferings the Christian assemblies which were established in these vanquished lands [a]; yet we learn from the best accounts, and the most respectable authorities, that both in *China* and in the Northern parts of *Asia*, the Nestorians continued to have a flourishing church, and a great number of adherents. The emperors of the Tartars and Mogols had no great aversion to the Christian religion; nay, it appears from authentic records, that several kings and grandees of these nations had either been instructed in the doctrines of the gospel by their ancestors, or were converted to Christianity by the ministry and exhortations of the Nestorians [b]. But the religion of MAHOMET,

PART I.

The state of Christianity in the northern parts of *Asia* and in *China*.

[a] GREGOR. ABULPHARAIUS, *Historia Dynastiar.* p. 281.

[b] See MARC. PAUL. VENETUS, *De Regionibus Oriental.* lib. i. c. iv. lib. ii. c. vi.—HAYTHO the Armenian's *Histor. Oriental.*

CENT. which was so adapted to flatter the passions of men,
 XIII. infected, by degrees, these noble converts, opposed
 PART I. with success the progress of the gospel, and,
 ————— in process of time, triumphed over it so far, that
 not the least glimpse or remains of Christianity
 were to be perceived in the courts of these eastern
 princes.

A papal em-
 bassy is sent
 to the Tar-
 tars.

II. The Tartars having made an incursion into
Europe in the year 1241, and having laid waste,
 with the most unrelenting and savage barbarity,
Hungary, Poland, Silesia, and the adjacent countries,
 the Roman pontiffs thought it incumbent upon them
 to endeavour to calm the fury, and soften the fero-
 city, of these new and formidable enemies. For
 this purpose, INNOCENT IV. sent an embassy to the
 Tartars, which consisted in a certain number of Do-
 minican and Franciscan friars [c]. In the year 1274,
 ABAKA, the emperor of that fierce nation, sent
 ambassadors to the council of *Lyons*, which was held
 under the pontificate of GREGORY X. [d]. About
 four years after this, pope NICOLAS III. paid the
 same compliment to COBLAI, emperor of the whole
 Tartar nation, to whom he sent a solemn embassy
 of Franciscan monks, with a view to render that
 prince propitious to the Christian cause. The last
 expedition of this kind that we shall mention at
 present, was that of JOHANNES à MONTE COR-
 VINO, who was sent in company with other eccle-
 siastics to the same emperor, by NICOLAS IV. and
 who carried letters to the Nestorians from that
 zealous pontiff. This mission was far from being

cap. xix. p. 35. cap. xxiii. p. 39. cap. xxiv. p. 41.—JOS. SIM.
 ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. iii. part. II. p. 526.
 See particularly the *Ecclesiastical History of the Tartars*, published
 in Latin at *Helmstadt*, in the year 1741, in 4to.

[c] See LUC. WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 116.
 149. 175. 256.

[d] WADDING, *loc. cit.* tom. iv. p. 35. tom. v. p. 128. See
 particularly an accurate and ample account of the negotiations that
 passed between the pontiffs and the Tartars, in the *Historia Eccle-
 siastica Tartarorum*, already mentioned.

useless, since these spiritual ambassadors converted many of the Tartars to Christianity, engaged considerable numbers of the Nestorians to adopt the doctrine and discipline of the church of *Rome*, and erected churches in different parts of *Tartary* and *China*. In order to accelerate the propagation of the gospel among these darkened nations, JOHANNES à MONTE CORVINO translated the *New Testament* and the *Psalms* of DAVID into the language of the Tartars [e.]

III. The Roman pontiffs employed their most zealous and assiduous efforts in the support of the Christian cause in *Palestine*, which was now in a most declining, or rather in a desperate state. They had learnt, by a delicious experience, how much these Asiatic wars, undertaken from a principle, or at least carried on under a pretext of religion, had contributed to fill their coffers, augment their authority, and cover them with glory; and therefore they had nothing more at heart than the renewal and prolongation of these sacred expeditions [f]. INNOCENT III. therefore, sounded the charge; but the greatest part of the European princes and nations were deaf to the voice of the holy trumpet. At length, however, after many unsuccessful attempts in different countries, a certain number of French nobles entered into an alliance with the republic of *Venice*, and set sail for the east with an army that was far from being formidable. Besides; the event of this new expedition was by no means answerable to the expectations of the pontiff. The French and

[e] ODOR. RAYNALDUS, *Annal. Ecclesiastic.* tom. xiv. ad A. 1278. § 17. p. 282. & ad A. 1289. § 59. p. 419. edit. Colon.—PIERRE BERGERON. *Traté des Tartares*, chap. xi. p. 61. See also the writers mentioned in the *Historia Ecclesiastica Tartarorum*.

[f] This is remarked by the writers of the twelfth century, who had soon perceived the avaricious and despotic views of the pontiffs, in the encouragement they gave to the crusades. See MATTH. PARIS, *Hist. Major*, p. 174. 364. et passim.

CENT. Venetians, instead of steering their course towards
 XIII. *Palestine*, failed directly for *Constantinople*, and, in the
 PART I. year 1203, took that imperial city by storm, with a
 design to restore to the throne ISAAC ANGELUS, who implored their succour against the violence of his brother ALEXIUS, who had usurped the empire. The year following a dreadful sedition was raised at *Constantinople*, in which the emperor ISAAC was put to death, and his son, the young ALEXIUS, was strangled by ALEXIUS DUCAS, the ringleader of this furious faction [g]. The account of this parricide no sooner came to the ears of the chiefs of the crusade, than they made themselves masters of *Constantinople* for the second time, dethroned and drove from the city the tyrant DUCAS, and elected BALDWIN, count of *Flanders*, emperor of the Greeks. This proceeding was a source of new divisions; for about two years after this the Greeks resolved to set up, in opposition to this Latin emperor, one of their own nation, and elected for that purpose THEODORE LASCARIS, who chose *Nice* in *Bithynia* for the place of his imperial residence. From this period until the year 1261, two emperors reigned over the Greeks; the one of their own nation, who resided at *Nice*; and the other of Latin or French extraction, who lived at *Constantinople*, the ancient metropolis of the empire. But, in the year 1261, the face of things was changed by the Grecian emperor, MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS, who, by the valour and stratagems of his general, CÆSAR ALEXIUS, became master of *Constantinople*, and forced the Latin emperor BALDWIN II. to abandon that city, and save himself by flight in *Italy*. Thus fell the empire of the Franks at *Constantinople*, after a duration of fifty-seven years [h].

☞ [g] The learned authors of the *Universal History* call this ringleader, by mistake, JOHN DUCAS.

[h] See, for a full account of this empire, DU FRESNE, *Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople sous les Empereurs François*;

IV. Another sacred expedition was undertaken in CENT. the year 1217, under the pontificate of HONORIUS XIII. III. by the confederate arms of *Italy* and *Germany*.^{PART I.} The allied army was commanded in chief by ANDREW, king of *Hungary*, who was joined by LEOPOLD, duke of *Austria*, LEWIS of *Bavaria*, and several other princes. After a few months absence, ANDREW returned into *Europe*. The remaining chiefs carried on the war with vigour, and in the year 1220, made themselves masters of *Damietta*, the strongest city in *Egypt*; but their prosperity was of a short duration, for the year following, their fleet was totally ruined by that of the Saracens, their provisions cut off, and their army reduced to the greatest straits and difficulties. This irreparable loss was followed by that of *Damietta*, which blasted all their hopes, and removed the flattering prospects which their successful beginnings had presented to their expectations [*i*].

Another crusade undertaken.

V. The legates and missionaries of the court of *Rome* still continued to animate the languishing zeal of the European princes in behalf of the Christian cause in *Palestine*, and to revive the spirit of crusading, which so many calamities and disasters had almost totally extinguished. At length, in consequence of their lively remonstrances, a new army was raised, and a new expedition undertaken, which excited great expectations, and drew the attention of *Europe*,

An historical view of the other crusades, each in their order.

in the former part of which we find the *Histoire de la Conquête de la Ville de Constantinople par les François*, written by GODFREY DE VILLE HARQUIN, one of the French chiefs concerned in the expedition. This work makes a part of the Byzantine history. See also CLAUDE FONTENAY, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. x. p. 216.—GUNTHERI Monachi *Histor. capte à Latinis Constantinopoleos*, in HENR. CANISII *Editiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 1.—INNOCENTII III. *Epistol. à Baluzio editas*, passim.

[*i*] See JAC. DE VITRIACO, *Histor. Oriental.* & MARTIN SANCTUS, *Secret. fidel. crucis inter Bangarsianos de sacris bellis scriptores, seu gesta Dei per Francos*.

CENT. and that fo much the more, as it was generally
 XIII. believed, that this army was to be commanded by
 PART I. the emperor FREDERIC II. That prince had, indeed,
 obliged himself by a solemn promise, made to the
 Roman pontiff, to take upon him the direction of
 this expedition; and what added a new degree of
 force to this engagement, and seemed to render the
 violation of it impossible, was the marriage that
 FREDERIC had contracted, in the year 1223, with
 JOLANDA, daughter of JOHN, count of *Brienne*, and
 king of *Jerusalem*, by which alliance that kingdom
 was to be added to his European dominions. Yet,
 notwithstanding all this, the emperor put off his
 voyage from time to time under various pretexts,
 and did not set out until the year 1228, when, after
 having been excommunicated on account of his delay,
 by the incensed pontiff GREGORY IX. [k], he fol-
 lowed with a small train of attendants the troops, who
 expected, with the most anxious impatience, his
 arrival in *Palestine*. No sooner did he land in that
 disputed kingdom, than, instead of carrying on the
 war with vigour, he turned all his thoughts towards
 peace, and, without consulting the other princes and
 chiefs of the crusade, concluded, in the year 1229,
 a treaty of peace, or rather a truce of ten years,
 with MELIC-CAMEL, sultan of *Egypt*. The prin-
 cipal thing stipulated in this treaty was, that FRE-
 DERIC should be put in possession of the city and

☞ [k] This papal excommunication, which was drawn up
 in the most outrageous and indecent language, was so far from
 exciting FREDERIC to accelerate his departure for *Palestine*, that
 it produced no effect upon him at all, and was, on the contrary,
 received with the utmost contempt. He defended himself by his
 ambassador at *Rome*, and shewed that the reasons of his delay
 were solid and just, and not mere pretexts, as the pope had
 pretended. At the same time, he wrote a remarkable letter
 to HENRY III. king of *England*, in which he complains of the
 insatiable avarice, the boundless ambition, the perfidious and
 hypocritical proceedings of the Roman pontiffs. See FLEURY,
Histoire Ecclesiastique, livr. lxxix. tom. xvi. p. 601. edit. *Bruxelles*.

kingdom of *Jerusalem*: this condition was immediately executed; and the emperor, entering into the city with great pomp, and accompanied by a numerous train, placed the crown upon his head with his own hands; and, having thus settled matters in *Palestine*, he returned without delay into *Italy*, to appease the discords and commotions which the vindictive and ambitious pontiff had excited there in his absence. So that, in reality, notwithstanding all the reproaches that were cast upon the emperor by the pope and his creatures, this expedition was by far the most successful of any that had been yet undertaken against the infidels [1].

VI. The expeditions that followed this were less important and also less successful. In the year 1239, THEOBALD VI. [m], count of *Champagne* and king of *Navarre*, set out from *Marseilles* for the Holy Land, accompanied by several French and German princes, as did also, the year following, RICHARD, earl of *Cornwal*, brother to HENRY III. king of *England*. The issue of these two expeditions was by no means answerable to the preparations which were made to render them successful. The former failed through the influence of the emperor's [n] ambassadors in *Palestine*, who renewed the truce with the Mahometans; while, on the other hand, a considerable body of Christians were defeated at *Gaza*, and such as escaped the carnage returned into *Europe*. This fatal event was principally owing to the discords that reigned between the templars and the knights of

[1] See the writers that have composed the History of the Holy Wars, and of the Life and Exploits of FREDERIC II. See also MURATORI *Annales Italiae*, and the various authors of the Germanic History.

☞ [m] Dr. MOSHEIM calls him, by a mistake, THEOBALD V. unless we are to attribute this fault to an error of the press.

☞ [n] FREDERIC II. who had still a great party in *Palestine*, and did not act in concert with the clergy and the creatures of his bitter enemy, GREGORY IX. from which division the Christian cause suffered much.

CENT. St. JOHN of *Jerusalem*. Hence it came to pass,
 XIII. that the arrival of RICHARD, which had been
 PART I. industriously retarded by GREGORY IX. and which
 had revived, in some degree, the hopes of the
 vanquished, was ineffectual to repair their loss; and
 all that this prince could do, was to enter, with the
 consent of the allies, into a truce upon as good
 conditions as the declining state of their affairs would
 admit of. This truce was accordingly concluded
 with the sultan of *Egypt* in the year 1241, after
 which RICHARD immediately set sail for *Europe* [o].

The expedi-
 tion of
 Lewis IX.

VII. The affairs of the Christians in the east
 declined from day to day. Intestine discords and ill-
 conducted expeditions had reduced them almost to
 the last extremity, when LEWIS IX. king of *France*,
 who was canonised after his death, and is still wor-
 shipped with the utmost devotion, attempted their
 restoration. It was in consequence of a vow, which
 this prince had made in the year 1248, when he was
 seized with a painful and dangerous illness, that he
 undertook this arduous task, and, in the execution
 of it, he set sail for *Egypt* with a formidable army
 and a numerous fleet, from a notion that the conquest
 of this province would enable him to carry on the
 war in *Syria* and *Palestine* with more facility and
 success. The first attempts of the zealous monarch
 were crowned with victory; for *Damietta*, that
 famous Egyptian city, yielded to his arms; but the
 smiling prospect was soon changed, and the progress
 of the war presented one uniform scene of calamity
 and desolation. The united horrors of famine and
 pestilence overwhelmed the royal army, whose pro-
 visions were cut off by the Mahometans, in the

[o] All these circumstances are accurately related and illus-
 trated by the learned GEORGE CHRIST. GEBAYERUS, in his
Historia Richardi Imperatoris, lib. i. p. 34.—It appears however
 by the *Epistole Petri de Vineis*, that RICHARD was created by
 FREDERIC II. his lord-licutenant of the kingdom of *Jerusalem*,
 and this furnishes a probable reason why GREGORY IX. used all
 possible means to retard RICHARD'S VOYAGS.

year 1250; ROBERT earl of *Artois*, the king's own brother, having surpris'd the Saracen army, and through an excess of valour, pursued them too far, was slain in the engagement; and, a few days after, the king himself, with two more of his brothers [*p*], and the greatest part of his army, were taken prisoners, in a bloody action, after a bold and obstinate resistance. This valiant monarch, who was endowed with true greatness of mind, and who was extremely pious, though after the manner that prevailed in this age of superstition and darkness, was ransomed at an immense price [*q*], and after having spent about four years in *Palestine*, returned into *France*, in the year 1254, with a handful of men [*r*], the miserable remains of his formidable army.

VIII. No calamities could deject the courage nor damp the invincible spirit of LEWIS; nor did he look upon his vow as fulfilled by what he had already done in *Palestine*. He therefore resolv'd upon a new expedition, fitted out a formidable fleet with which he set sail for *Africa*, accompanied by a splendid train of princes and nobles, and propos'd to begin in that part of the world his operations against the infidels, that he might either convert them to the Christian faith, or draw from their treasures the means of carrying on more effectually

A second
crusade un-
dertaken by
the same
monarch.

☞ [*p*] ALPHONSUS earl of *Poitiers*, and CHARLES earl of *Arjou*.

☞ [*q*] The ransom, which, together with the restoration of *Damietta*, the king was obliged to pay for his liberty, was eight hundred thousand gold bezants, and not eighty thousand as COLLIER erroneously reckons *. This sum, which was equal then to 500,000 livres of French money, would, in our days, amount to the value of four millions of livres, that is, to about 190,000 pounds sterling.

[*r*] Of 2800 illustrious knights, who set out with LEWIS from *France*, there remained about an hundred when he failed from *Palestine*. See JOINVILLE'S *Hist. de S. Louis IX.* p. 81.

* See COLLIER'S *Eccles. History*, Cent. XIII. vol. i. p. 456.

CENT. the war in *Asia*. Immediately after his arrival upon
 XIII. the *African* coast, he made himself master of the
 PART I. fort of *Carthage*; but this first success was soon
 followed by a fatal change in his affairs. A pesti-
 lential disease broke out in the fleet, in the harbour
 of *Tunis*, carried off the greatest part of the army,
 and seized, at length, the monarch himself, who fell
 a victim to its rage, on the 25th of August, in the
 year 1270 [s]. LEWIS was the last of the Euro-
 pean princes that embarked in the holy war; the
 dangers and difficulties, the calamities and disorders,
 and the enormous expences that accompanied each
 crusade, disgusted the most zealous, and discouraged the
 most intrepid promoters of these fanatical expeditions.
 In consequence of this, the Latin empire in the east
 declined apace, notwithstanding the efforts of the
 Roman pontiffs to maintain and support it; and in
 the year 1291, after the taking of *Ptolomais*, or
Acra, by the Mahometans, it was entirely over-
 thrown [t]. It is natural to inquire into the true
 causes that contributed to this unhappy revolution
 in *Palestine*; and these causes are evident. We must
 not seek for them either in the councils or in the
 valour of the infidels, but in the dissensions that
 reigned in the Christian armies, in the profligate

[s] Among the various histories that deserve to be consulted for an ampler account of this last crusade, the principal place is due to the *Histoire de S. Louis IX. du nom, Roy de France, écrite par Jean Sr. de Joinville, enrichie de nouvelles Dissertations et Observations Historiques, par Charles du Fresne, Paris 1688, Fol.* See also FILLEAU DE LA CHAIZE, *Histoire de S. Louis, Paris 1688, 2 vol. in 8vo.*—MENCONIS *Chronicon*, in ANT. MATTHÆI *Analectis veteris ævi*, tom. iii. p. 172. 179.—LUC. WADDINGI *Annales Minorum*, tom. iv. p. 294. 307, & passim.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 212. 392, &c. PIERRE CLAUDE FONTENAY, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xi. p. 337. 405. 575.

[t] ANT. MATTHÆI *Analecta veteris ævi*, tom. v. p. 748.—JAC. ECHARDI *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 422.—IMOLA in *Dantem*, in MURATORII *Antiq. Italicae mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p. 1111, 1112.

lives of those, who called themselves the champions of the cross, and in the ignorance and obstinacy, the avarice and insolence of the pope's legates.

IX. Christianity as yet had not tamed the ferocity, nor conquered the Pagan superstitions and prejudices, that still prevailed in some of the western provinces. Among others, the Prussians, a fierce and savage nation, retained still the idolatrous worship of their ancestors with the most obstinate perseverance; nor did the arguments and exhortations employed by the missionaries that were sent among them, from time to time, produce the least effect upon their stubborn and intractable spirits. The brutish firmness of these Pagans induced CONRAD, duke of *Massovia*, to have recourse to more forcible methods than reason and argument, in order to bring about their conversion. For this purpose, he addressed himself, in the year 1230, to the knights of the Teutonic order of St. MARY, who, after their expulsion from *Palestine*, had settled at *Venice*, and engaged them, by pompous promises, to undertake the conquest and conversion of the Prussians. The knights accordingly arrived in *Prussia*, under the command of HERMAN DE SALTZA, and after a most cruel and obstinate war, of fifty years standing, with that resolute people, obliged them, with difficulty, to acknowledge the Teutonic order for their sovereigns, and to embrace the Christian faith [u]. After having established Christianity, and fixed their own dominion in *Prussia*, these booted

CENT.
XIII.
PART I.
Conversion
of the
Prussians.

[u] See MATTHÆI *Analec̄ta vet. ævi*, tom. iii. p. 18. tom. v. p. 684—689.—PETRI DE DUISBURGH, *Chronicon. Prussiz*, published by HARTKNOCHIUS at *Jena*, in the year 1679.—CHRISTOPH. HARTKNOCHIUS, his *History of the Prussian Church*, written in the German language, book I. ch. i. p. 33. and *Antiquitates Prussiz*, Diff. xiv. p. 201.—BALUSII *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 427. 478.—WADDINGI *Annales Minor.* tom. iv. p. 40. 63.—SOLIGNAC, *Histoire de Pologne*, tom. ii. p. 238.

CENT. apostles made several excursions into the neighbouring
 XIII. countries, and particularly into *Lituania*, where
 PART I. they pillaged, burned, massacred, and ruined all
 before them, until they forced the inhabitants of
 that miserable province to profess a feigned submission
 to the gospel, or rather to the furious and unrelenting
 missionaries, by whom it was propagated in a manner
 so contrary to its divine maxims, and to the benevolent
 spirit of its celestial author [w].

Of the Ara-
 bians in
 Spain. X. In *Spain* the cause of the gospel gained ground
 from day to day. The kings of *Castile*, *Leon*, *Navarre*,
 and *Arragon*, waged perpetual war with the Saracen
 princes, who held still under their dominion the kingdoms
 of *Valentia*, *Granada*, and *Murcia*, together with the
 province of *Andalusia*; and this war was carried on with
 such success, that the Saracen dominion declined apace,
 and was daily reduced within narrower bounds, while the
 limits of the church were extended on every side. The
 princes that contributed principally to this happy revolution
 were FERDINAND, king of *Leon* and *Castile*, who, after
 his death, obtained a place in the Kalendar, his father
 ALPHONSUS IX. king of *Leon*, and JAMES I. king of
Arragon [x]. The latter, more especially, distinguished
 himself eminently by his fervent zeal for the advancement
 of Christianity; for no sooner had he made himself master
 of *Valentia* in the year 1236, than he employed, with the
 greatest pains and assiduity, every possible method of
 converting to the faith his Arabian subjects, whose
 expulsion would have been an irreparable loss to his
 kingdom. For this purpose he ordered the Dominicans,
 whose ministry he made use of principally in this salu-
 tary work, to learn the Arabic tongue; and he founded
 public schools at *Majorca* and *Barcelona*,

[w] Besides the authors mentioned in the preceding note, see
 LUDWIGII *Reliquie Manuscriptorum omnis ævi*, tom. i. p. 336.

[x] See JOH. FERRERAS, *History of Spain*, vol. iv.

in which a considerable number of youth were educated in a manner that might enable them to preach the gospel in that language. When these pious efforts were found to be ineffectual, the Roman pontiff CLEMENT IV. exhorted the king to drive the Mahometans out of *Spain*. The obsequious prince followed the counsel of the inconsiderate pontiff; in the execution of which, however, he met with much difficulty, both from the opposition which the Spanish nobles made to it on the one hand, and from the obstinacy of the Moors on the other [y].

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the church during this century.

I. THE accounts we have already given of the conquests of the Tartars, and of the unhappy issue of the crusades, will be sufficient to give us a lively idea of the melancholy condition to which the Christians were reduced in *Asia*; and had the Saracens been infected with the same odious spirit of persecution that possessed the crusaders, there would not perhaps have remained a single Christian in that part of the world. But though these infidels were chargeable with various crimes, and had frequently treated the Christians in a rigorous and injurious manner, yet they looked with horror upon those scenes of persecution, which the Latins exhibited as the exploits of heroic piety, and considered it as the

The unhappy state of the affairs of the Christians in the east.

[y] See GEDDES, his *History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 26.

CENT. highest and most atrocious mark of cruelty and
 XIII. injustice to force unhappy men, by fire and sword,
 PART I. to abandon their religious principles, or to put them
 to death merely because they refused to change their
 opinions. After the destruction of the kingdom of
Jerusalem, many of the Latins remained still in
Syria, and retiring into the dark and solitary recesses
 of mount *Liban*, lived there in a savage manner,
 and lost, by degrees, all sense both of religion and
 humanity, as appears in the conduct and characters
 of their descendants, who still inhabit the same
 uncultivated wilds, and who seem almost entirely
 destitute of all knowledge of God and religion [z].

Complaints
 of infidelity
 and atheism
 among the
 Latins.

II. The Latin writers of this age complain in
 many places of the growth of infidelity, of daring
 and licentious writers, some of whom attacked pub-
 licly the doctrines of Christianity, while others went
 so far as atheistically to call in question the perfec-
 tions and government of the Supreme Being. These
 complaints, however they might have been exag-
 gerated in some respects, were yet far from being
 entirely destitute of foundation; and the superstition
 of the times was too naturally adapted to create a
 number of infidels and libertines, among men who
 had more capacity than judgment, more wit than
 solidity. Persons of this character, when they fixed
 their attention only upon that absurd system of
 religion, which the Roman pontiffs and their depen-
 dents exhibited as the true religion of CHRIST, and
 maintained by the odious influence of bloody perse-
 cution, were, for want of the means of being better

[z] A certain tribe, called DERUSI, or DRUSI, who inhabit
 the recesses of the mounts *Liban* and *Antiliban*, pretend to de-
 scend from the ancient Franks, who were once masters of *Palestine*.
 This derivation is, indeed, doubtful. It is however certain, that
 there still remain in these countries, descendants of those, whom
 the Holy war brought from *Europe* into *Palestine*; though they
 do very little honour to their ancestors, and have nothing of
 Christians but the name.

instructed, unhappily led to consider the Christian religion as a fable invented and propagated by a greedy and ambitious priesthood, in order to fill their coffers and to render their authority respectable. The philosophy of ARISTOTLE, which flourished in all the European schools, and was looked upon as the very essence of right reason, contributed much to support this delusion, and to nourish a proud and presumptuous spirit of infidelity. This quibbling and intricate philosophy led many to reject some of the most evident and important doctrines both of natural and revealed religion, such as the doctrine of a divine providence governing the universe, the immortality of the soul, the scripture account of the origin of the world, and other points of less moment. These doctrines were not only rejected, but the most pernicious errors were industriously propagated in opposition to them, by a set of Aristotelians, who were extremely active in gaining proselytes to their impious jargon [a].

[a] See STI. THOMÆ *Summa contra gentes*, and BERNHARDI MONETÆ *Summa contra Catharos et Waldenses*. This latter writer, in the work now mentioned, combats, with great spirit, the enemies of Christianity which appeared in his time. In the fourth chapter of the fifth book, p. 416. he disputes, in an ample and copious manner, against those who affirmed, *that the soul perished with the body*; refutes, in the eleventh chapter, p. 477. those Aristotelian philosophers, who held, that the world had existed from all eternity, and would never have an end; and, in the fifteenth chapter, p. 554. he attacks those, who, despising the authority of the sacred writings, deny the existence of *human liberty*, and maintain, that all things and even the crimes of the wicked, are the effects of an *absolute and irresistible necessity*. Add to these authors, STEPHANI TEMPIERII, *Episcopi Parisiensis, Indiculus errorum, qui a nonnullis Magistris Lutetia publice privatimque docebantur, Anno 1277, in Bibliotheca patrum Maxima*, tom. xxv. p. 233. as also BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 433. and GERARDI DU BOIS, *Hist. Eccles. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 501. The tenets of these doctors will, no doubt, appear of a surprising nature; for they taught, *that there was only one intellect among all the human race; that all things were subject to absolute fate or necessity; that the universe was not governed by a divine*

CENT. III. If the accusations brought against FREDERIC
 XIII. II. by the Roman pontiff GREGORY IX. deserve
 PART I. any credit, that prince may be ranked among the
 most inveterate and malignant enemies of the Christian religion, since he was charged by GREGORY with having said, that *the world had been deceived by three impostors, MOSES, CHRIST, and MAHOMET* [b]. This charge was answered by a solemn and public profession of his faith, which the emperor addressed to all the kings and princes of *Europe*, to whom also had been addressed the accusation brought against him by the pontiff. The accusation, however, was founded upon the testimony of HENRY RASPON, landgrave of *Thuringia*, who declared that he had heard the emperor pronounce the abominable blasphemy above mentioned [c]. It is, after all, difficult to decide with sufficient evidence concerning the truth of this fact. FREDERIC, who was extremely passionate and imprudent, may, perhaps in a fit of rage, have let some such expression as this escape his reflexion, and this is rendered probable enough by the company he frequented, and the number of learned Aristotelians that were always about his person, and might suggest matter enough for such impious expressions, as that now under

Frederic II.
 accused of
 impiety.

providence; that the world was eternal, and the soul mortal; and they maintained these and such like monstrous errors by arguments drawn from the philosophy of ARISTOTLE. But, at the same time, to avoid the just resentment of the people, they held up, as a buckler against their adversaries, that most dangerous and pernicious distinction between theological and philosophical truth, which has been since used, with the utmost cunning and bad faith, by the more recent Aristotelians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These things, said they (as we learn from STEPHEN TEMPIER) are true in philosophy, but not according to the catholic faith. Vera sunt hæc secundum philosophum, non secundum fidem catholicam.

[b] MATTH. PARIS, *Histor. Major.* p. 408. 459.—PETR. DE VINEIS, *Epistolarum, lib. i.*

[c] HERM. GYGANTIS *Flores temporum*, p. 126.—CHR. FRID. AYRMANN, *Sylloge Anecdotor.* tom i. p. 639.

consideration. It was this affair that gave occasion, in after-times, to the invention of that fabulous account [d], which supposes the detestable book *Concerning the three impostors*, to have been composed by the emperor himself, or, by PETER DE VINEIS, a native of *Capua*, a man of great credit and authority, whom that prince [e] had chosen for his prime

[d] See CASIM. OUDINI *Comment. de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* tom. iii. p. 66.—ALB. HENR. DE SALLENGRE, *Memoirs d'Histoire et de Litterature*, tom. i. part I. p. 386.

[e] The book entitled *Liber de III Impostoribus, sive Tractatus de Vanitate Religionum*, is really a book which had no existence at the time that the most noise was made about it, and was spoken of by multitudes before it had been seen by any one person. Its supposed existence was probably owing to an impious saying of SIMON OF TOURNAI, doctor of divinity in the university of *Paris* in the thirteenth century, which amounts to this: "That the Jews were seduced out of their senses by MOSES, the Christians by JESUS, and the Gentiles by MAHOMET." This, or some expressions of a similar kind, were imputed to the emperor FREDERIC, and other persons, and that perhaps without any real foundation; and the imaginary book, to which they have given rise, has been attributed, by different authors, to FREDERIC, to his chancellor PETER DE VINEIS, to ALPHONSO, king of *Casile*, to BOCCACE, POGGE, the ARETINS, POMPO NACE, MACHIAVEL, ERASMUS, OCHINUS, SERVETUS, RABELAIS, GIORDANO BRUNO, CAMPANELLA, and many others. In a word, the book was long spoken of before any such work existed; but the rumour that was spread abroad encouraged some profligate traders in licentiousness to compose, or rather compile, a bundle of miserable rhapsodies, under the famous title of the *Three Impostors*, in order to impose upon such as are fond of these pretended rarities. Accordingly, the *Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante* of GIORDANO BRUNO, and a wretched piece of impiety, called the *Spirit of SPINOZA*, were the ground-work or materials from whence these hireling compilers, by modifying some passages and adding others, drew the book which now passes under the name of the *Three Impostors*, of which I have seen two copies in manuscript, but no printed edition. See LA MONNOYE'S *Dissertation sur le Livre de III Imposteurs*, published at *Amsterdam* in 1715, at the end of the fourth volume of the *Ménagiana*. See also an *Answer* to this Dissertation, which was impudently exposed to the public eye, in 1716, from the press of *Scheurleer* in the *Hague*, and which contains a fabulous story of the

CENT. minister, and in whom he placed the highest confidence.

XIII.
PART I.

origin of the book in question. Whoever is desirous of a more ample and a very curious account of this matter, will find it in the late PROSPER MARCHAND'S *Dictionaire Historique*, vol. ii. at the article IMPOSTORIBUS.

 PART II.

 The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of learning and philosophy during this century.

I. **T**HE Greeks, amidst the dreadful calamities, discords, and revolutions, that distracted and perplexed their unhappy country, had neither that spirit, nor that leisure, that are necessary to the culture of the arts and sciences. Yet, under all these disadvantages, they still retained a certain portion of their former spirit, and did not entirely abandon the cause of learning and philosophy, as appears by the writers that arose among them during this century. Their best historians were NICETAS, CHONIATES, GEORGIUS ACROPOLITA, GREGORIUS PACHYMERES, and JOEL, whose *Chronology* is yet extant. We learn from the writings of GREGORY PACHYMERES, and NICEPHORUS BLEMIDA, that the Peripatetic philosophy was not without its admirers among the Greeks; though the Platonic was most in vogue. The greatest part of the Grecian philosophers, following the example of the later Platonists, whose works were the subject of their constant meditation, inclined to reduce the wisdom of PLATO and the subtilties of the Stagirite into one system, and to reconcile, as well as they could, their jarring principles. It is not necessary

CENT.
XIII.
PART II.

The state of
learning
among the
Greeks.

CENT. to exhibit a list of those authors, who wrote the
 XIII. lives and discourses of the saints, or distinguished
 PART II. themselves in the controversy with the Latin church,
 or of those who employed their learned labours in
 illustrating the canon law of the Greeks. The
 principal Syrian writer, which this century produced,
 was GREGORY ABUL FARAI, primate of the Jaco-
 bites, a man of true genius and universal learning,
 who was a judicious divine, an eminent historian,
 and a good philosopher [a]. GEORGE ELMACIN;
 who composed the history of the Saracens, was also
 a writer of no mean reputation.

II. The sciences carried a fairer aspect in the
 western world, where every branch of erudition was
 cultivated with assiduity and zeal, and, of conse-
 quence, flourished, with increasing vigour, from day
 The pro-
 gress of
 learning in
 the west.

[a] See BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article ABULPHARAGE;
 as also JOS. SIM. ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom.
 ii. cap. xlii. p. 244.

ABULPHARAGIUS, or ABUL FARAI, was a native of
Malatia, a city in *Armenia*, near the source of the river *Euphrates*,
 and acquired a vast reputation in the east on account of his
 extensive erudition. He composed *An Abridgment of Universal
 History*, from the beginning of the world to his own times, which
 he divided into ten parts, or dynasties. The 1st comprehends
 the history of the ancient Patriarchs, from *Adam* to *Moses*.
 The 2^d, that of *Josbua* and the other Judges of *Israel*. The 3^d,
 4th, 5th, and 6th, contain the history of the Kings of *Israel*, of
 the Chaldean Princes, of the Persian Magi, and of the Grecian
 Monarchs. The 7th, relates to the Roman history; the 8th, to
 that of the Greek Emperors of *Constantinople*. In the 9th, he
 treats concerning the Arabian Commanders; and in the 10th,
 concerning the Moguls. He is more to be depended upon in
 his history of the Saracens and Tartars, than in his accounts of
 other nations. The learned Dr. EDWARD POCOCK translated
 this work into Latin, and published his translation in 1663:
 together with a Supplement, which carries on the history of the
 Oriental princes, where ABUL FARAI left it. The same learned
 translator had obliged the public, in 1650, with an abridgment of
 the ninth dynasty under the following title: *Specimen Historie
 Arabum; sive Georgii Abulfaragii Malaticensis de origine et moribus
 Arabum succincta narratio.*

to day. The European kings and princes had learned, by a happy experience, how much the advancement of learning and arts contribute to the grandeur and happiness of a nation; and therefore they invited into their dominions learned men from all parts of the world, nourished the arts in their bosom, excited the youth to the love of letters, by crowning their progress with the most noble rewards, and encouraged every effort of genius, by conferring upon such as excelled, the most honourable distinctions. Among these patrons and protectors of learning the emperor FREDERIC II. and ALPHONSUS X. king of *Leon* and *Castile*, two princes as much distinguished by their own learning, as by the encouragement they granted to men of genius, acquired the highest renown, and rendered their names immortal. The former founded the academy of *Naples*, had the works of ARISTOTLE translated into Latin, assembled about his person all the learned men whom he could engage by his munificence to repair to his court, and gave many other undoubted proofs of his zeal for the advancement of the arts and sciences [*b*]. The latter obtained an illustrious and permanent renown by several learned productions, but more especially by his famous *Astronomical Tables* [*c*]. In consequence then of the protection that was given to the sciences in this century, academies were erected almost in every city, peculiar privileges of various kinds were also granted to the youth that frequented them, and these learned societies acquired, at length, the form of political bodies; that is to say, they were invested with a certain

[*b*] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 115.—GIANNONE, *Hist. de Naples*, tom. ii. p. 497. Add to these the observations of JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, *Biblioth. Latin. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 618.

[*c*] NIC. ANTONII *Bibliotheca vetus Hispan.* lib. viii. c. v. p. 217.—JO. DE FERRERAS, *Histoire d'Espagne*, tom. iv. p. 347.

CENT. jurisdiction, and were governed by their own laws
XIII. and statutes.

PART II. III. In the public schools or academies that
The state of the European academies. were founded at *Padua, Modena, Naples, Capua, Thoulouse, Salamanca, Lyons, and Cologne*, the whole circle of the sciences was not taught, as in our times. The application of the youth, and the labours of their instructors, were limited to certain branches of learning, and thus the course of academical education remained imperfect. The academy of *Paris*, which surpassed all the rest both with respect to the number and abilities of its professors, and the multitude of students by whom it was frequented, was the first learned society which extended the sphere of education, received all the sciences into its bosom, and appointed masters for every branch of erudition. Hence it was distinguished, before any other academy, with the title of an UNIVERSITY, to denote its embracing the whole circle of science; and, in process of time, other schools of learning were ambitious of forming themselves upon the same model, and of being honoured with the same title. In this famous university, the doctors were divided into four colleges or classes, according to the branches of learning they professed; and these classes were called, in after-times, *faculties*. In each of these *faculties*, a doctor was chosen by the suffrages of his colleagues, to preside during a fixed period in the society; and the title of *dean* was given to those who successively filled that eminent office [d]. The head of the *university*, whose inspection and jurisdiction extended to all branches of that learned body, was dignified with the name of *chancellor*, and that high and honourable place was filled by the bishop of *Paris*, to whom an assistant was afterwards joined, who shared the administration with him, and was clothed

[d] This arrangement was executed about the year 1260. See DU BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 557. 564.

with an extensive authority [*e*]. The college set apart for the study of divinity was first erected and endowed, in the year 1250, by an opulent and pious man, whose name was ROBERT DE SORBONNE, a particular friend and favourite of St. LEWIS, whose name was adopted, and is still retained, by that theological society [*f*].

IV. Such as were desirous of being admitted professors in any of the *faculties*, or colleges of this famous university, were obliged to submit to a long and tedious *course* of probation, to suffer the strictest examinations, and to give, during several years, undoubted proofs of their learning and capacity, before they were received in the character of public teachers. This severe discipline was called the *academical course*; and it was wisely designed to prevent the number of professors from multiplying beyond measure, and also to hinder such as were destitute of erudition and abilities from assuming an office, which was justly looked upon as of high importance. They, who had satisfied all the demands of this academical law, and had gone through the formidable trial with applause, were solemnly invested with the dignity of *professors*, and were saluted *masters* with a certain round of ceremonies, that were used in the societies of illiterate tradesmen, when their company was augmented by a new candidate. This vulgar custom was introduced, in the preceding century, by the professors of law in the academy of *Bolonia*, and, in

[*e*] See HERM. CONRINGII *Antiquitates Academicæ*, a work, however, susceptible of considerable improvements. The important work mentioned in the preceding note, and which is divided into six volumes, deserves to be principally consulted in this point, as well as in all others that relate to the history and government of the university of *Paris*; add to this CLAUD. HEMERÆI *Liber de Academia Parisiensi, qualis primo fuit in insula et episcoporum scholis, Lutet.* 1637. in 4to.

[*f*] See DU BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 223. —DU FRESNE'S *Annotations upon the Life of St. LEWIS*, written by JOINVILLE, p. 36.

CENT. this century, it was transmitted to that of *Paris*,
 XIII. where it was first practised by the divinity-colleges,
 PART II. and afterwards by the professors of physic and of
 the liberal arts. In this account of the trial and
 installation of the professors of *Paris*, we may
 perceive the origin of what we now call *academical*
degrees; which, like all other human institutions,
 have degenerated sadly from the wise ends for which
 they were at first appointed, and grow more insigni-
 ficant from day to day [g].

The state
 of litera-
 ture or
 humanity.

V. These public institutions, consecrated to the
 advancement of learning, were attended with
 remarkable success; but that branch of erudition,
 which we call humanity, or polite literature, derived
 less advantage from them, than the other sciences.
 The industrious youth either applied themselves
 entirely to the study of the civil and canon laws,
 which was a sure path to preferment, or employed
 their labours in philosophical researches, in order
 to the attainment of a shining reputation, and of
 the applause that was lavished upon such as were
 endowed with a subtle and metaphysical genius.
 Hence the bitter complaints that were made by the
 pontiffs and other bishops, of the neglect and
 decline of the liberal arts and sciences; and hence
 also the zealous, but unsuccessful efforts they used
 to turn the youth from jurisprudence and philosophy,
 to the study of humanity and philology [b]. Not-
 withstanding all this, the thirteenth century produced
 several writers, who were very far from being

[g] Besides the writers above mentioned, see JO. CHR. IT-
 TERUS, *De Gradibus Academicis*.—JUST. HENN. BOHMERI
Pref. ad jus Canonicum, p. 14.—ANT. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxoni-
 ensis*. tom. i. p. 24.—BOULAY, *Histor. Academ. Paris.* tom. ii. p.
 256. 682. 684, &c.

[b] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 265. where
 there is an epistle of INNOCENT III. who seems to take this
 matter seriously to heart.—ANT. WOOD. *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p.
 124.—IMOLA in *Dantem in Muratori Antiquit. Ital. medii ævi*,
 tom. i. p. 1262.

contemptible, such as GUIL. BRITO [i], GUALTHE-CENT. RUS MAPES [k], MATTHEW of *Vendosme*, ALAIN DE L'ISLE [l], GUNTHERUS, JACOBUS DE VITRIACO, and several others, who wrote with ease, and were not altogether destitute of elegance. Among the historians the first place is due to MATTHEW PARIS, a writer of the highest merit both in point of knowledge and prudence, to whom we may add RODERICUS XIMENIUS, RIGORDUS [m], VINCENT of *Beauvais*, ROBERT of *St. Marino* [n], MARTINUS, a native of *Poland*, GERVAIS of *Tilbury* [o], CONRAD of *Lichtenau*, GULIELMUS NANGIUS, whose names are worthy of being preserved from oblivion. The writers who have laboured to transmit to posterity the lives and exploits of the saints, have rather related the superstitions and miseries of the times, than the actions of these holy men. Among these biographers, JAMES of *Vitri*, mentioned above, makes the greatest figure; he also composed a *History of the Lombards*, that is full of insipid and trifling stories [p].

[i] See the *Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. xvi. p. 255.

[k] JO. WOLFII, *Lectiones Memorabil.* tom. i. p. 430.

[l] Called in Latin, ALANUS DE INSULIS.

[m] See the *Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. xvi. p. 243. which also gives an ample account of WILLIAM of *Nangis*, p. 292.

[n] See LE BOEUF, *Memoires pour l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. p. 490. where there is also a learned account of Vincent of *Beauvais*, p. 494.

[o] GERVAIS of *Tilbury* was nephew to HENRY II. king of *England*, and was in high credit with the emperor OTTO IV. to whom he dedicated a Description of the World and a Chronicle, both of which he had himself composed. He wrote also a History of *England*, and one of the Holy Land, with several treatises upon different subjects.

[p] See SCHELHORNII *Amanitates Literarie*, tom. xi. p. 324.

CENT. VI. ROGER BACON [q], JOHN BALBI, and
 XIII. ROBERT CAPITO, with some other learned men,
 PART II. whose number was but inconsiderable, applied
 themselves to the study of Greek literature. The
 Hebrew language and theology were much less
 cultivated; though it appears that BACON and
 CAPITO, already mentioned, and RAYMOND MAR-
 TIN, author of an excellent treatise, entitled,
Pugio Fidei Christianæ, or, *The Dagger of the
 Christian Faith*, were extremely well versed in that
 species of *crudition*. Many of the Spaniards, and
 more particularly the Dominican friars, made them-
 selves masters of the Arabian learning and language,
 as the kings of *Spain* had charged the latter with
 the instruction and conversion of the Jews and Sara-
 cens who resided in their dominions [r]. As to the
 Latin grammarians, the best of them were extremely
 barbarous and insipid, and equally destitute of taste
 and knowledge. To be convinced of this, we have
 only to cast an eye upon the productions of ALEX-
 ANDER DE VILLA DEI, who was looked upon as
 the most eminent of them all, and whose works
 were read in almost all the schools from this period
 until the sixteenth century. This pedantic Franciscan

The study
 of the
 Greek and
 Oriental
 languages.

☞ [q] This illustrious Franciscan was, in point of genius and universal learning, one of the greatest ornaments of the British nation, and in general of the republic of letters. The astonishing discoveries he made in astronomy, chemistry, optics, and mathematics, made him pass for a magician in the ignorant and superstitious times in which he lived, while his profound knowledge in philosophy, theology, and the Greek and Oriental languages, procured him, with more justice, the title of the *admirable*, or *wonderful doctor*. Among other discoveries he is said to have made that of the composition and force of gun-powder, which he describes clearly in one of his letters; and he proposed much the same correction of the Kalendar, which was executed about 300 years after by GREGORY XIII. He composed a prodigious number of books, of which the list may be seen in the *General Dictionary*, at the article BACON.

[r] See RICH. SIMON's *Lettres Choïssies*, tom. iii. p. 112.—
 NIC. ANTONII *Bibliotheca vetus Hispanica*.

composed, in the year 1240, what he called, a CENT. *Doctrinale*, in *Leonine* verse, full of the most XIII. wretched quibbles, and in which the rules of grammar and criticism are delivered with the greatest PART II. confusion and obscurity, or rather, are covered with impenetrable darkness.

VII. The various systems of philosophy that were in vogue before this century, lost their credit by degrees, and submitted to the triumphant doctrine of ARISTOTLE, which erected a new and despotic empire in the republic of letters, and reduced the whole ideal world under its lordly dominion. Several of the works of this philosopher, and more especially his metaphysical productions, had been so early as the beginning of this century translated into Latin at *Paris*, and were from that time explained to the youth in the public schools [s]. But when it appeared, that ALMERIC [t] had drawn from

The state of philosophy.

[s] FRANC. PATRICII, *Discussiones Peripateticæ*, tom. i. lib. xi. p. 145.—JO. LAUNOIUS *de varia Aristot. fortuna in Acad. Parisiensi*, cap. i. p. 127. ed. *Elfwich*. It is commonly reported, that the books of ARISTOTLE here mentioned, were translated from Arabic into Latin. But we are told positively, that these books were brought from *Constantinople*, and translated from Greek into Latin. See RIGORDUS, *De gestis Philippi regis Francorum ad A.* 1209, in ANDR. CHESNII *Scriptor. Histor. Franc.* p. 119.

[t] ALMERIC, of AMAURI, does not seem to have entertained any enormous errors. He held that every Christian was obliged to believe himself a member of JESUS CHRIST, and attached, perhaps, some extravagant and fanatical ideas to that opinion; but his followers fell into more pernicious notions, and adopted the most odious tenets, maintaining, that the power of the Father continued no longer than the Mosaic dispensation; that the empire of the Son extended only to the thirteenth century; and that then the reign of the Holy Ghost commenced, when all sacraments and external worship were to be abolished, and the salvation of Christians was to be accomplished merely by internal acts of illuminating grace. Their morals also were as infamous as their doctrine was absurd, and under the name of charity they comprehended and committed the most criminal acts of impurity and licentiousness.

CENT. these books his erroneous sentiments concerning the
 XIII. divine nature, they were prohibited and condemned
 PART II. as pernicious and pestilential, by a public decree of
 the council of *Sens*, in the year 1209 [u]. The
 logic of ARISTOTLE, however, recovered its credit
 some years after this, and was publicly taught in
 the university of *Paris* in the year 1215; but the
 natural philosophy and metaphysic of that great man
 were still under the sentence of condemnation [w].
 It was reserved for the emperor FREDERIC II. to
 restore the Stagirite to his former glory, which this
 prince effected by employing a number of learned
 men, whom he had chosen with the greatest atten-
 tion and care [x], and who were profoundly versed
 in the knowledge of the languages, to translate into
 Latin, from the Greek and Arabic, certain books
 of ARISTOTLE, and of other ancient sages. This
 translation, which was recommended, in a particular
 manner, to the academy of *Bolonia* by the learned
 emperor, raised the credit of ARISTOTLE to the
 greatest height, and gave him an irresistible and
 despotic authority in all the European schools.
 This authority was still farther augmented by the

☞ [u] Dr. MOSHEIM has fallen here into two light mistakes. It was in *Paris*, and not in *Sens*, and in the year 1210, and not in 1209, that the metaphysical books of ARISTOTLE were condemned to the flames. The writers quoted here by our author are LAUNOIS, *De varia Aristotelis fortuna in Acad. Paris.* cap. iv. p. 195. and the same writer's *Syllabus rationum quibus Durandi causa defenditur*, tom. i. opp. pars I. p. 8.

[w] NAT. ALEXANDER, *Select. Histor. Eccles. Capita*, tom. viii. cap. iii. § 7. p. 76.

[x] PETR. DE VINIS, *Epistolar.* lib. iii. ep. lxxvii. p. 503. This epistle is addressed *ad magistros et scholares Bononienses*, i. e. to the masters and scholars of the academy of *Bolonia*; but it is more than probable, that the emperor sent letters, upon this occasion, to the other European schools. It is a common opinion, that this learned prince had all the works of ARISTOTLE, that were then extant, translated into Latin about the year 1020; but this cannot be deduced from the letter above mentioned, nor from any other sufficient testimony that we know of.

translations, which were made of some of the books CENT.
of the Grecian sage by several Latin interpreters, XIII.
such as MICHAEL SCOT, PHILIP of Tripoly, WIL- PART II.
LIAM FLEMING, and others; though these men
were quite unequal to the task they undertook,
and had neither such knowledge of the languages,
nor such an acquaintance with philosophy, as were
necessary to the successful execution of such a diffi-
cult enterprize [y].

VIII. The Aristotelian philosophy received the Thomas
very last addition that could be made to its autho- Aquinas
rity and lustre, when the Dominican and Franciscan and others
friars adopted its tenets, taught it in their schools, adopt and
and illustrated it in their writings. These two men- maintain
dicant orders were looked upon as the chief depo- the Aristo-
sitaries of all learning both human and divine; and telian
were followed with the utmost eagerness and assi- system.
duity, by all such as were ambitious of being distin-
guished from the multitude by their superior know-
ledge. ALEXANDER HALES, an English Fran-
ciscan, who taught philosophy at *Paris*, and acquired,
by the strength of his metaphysical genius, the title
of the IRREFRAGABLE *Doctor* [z], and ALBERT
the Great, a German, of the Dominican order, and
bishop of *Ratisbon*, a man of vast abilities and a
universal dictator at this time [a], were the two
first eminent writers who illustrated, in their learned

[y] See WOOD's account of the interpreters of ARISTOTLE,
in his *Antiquitat. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 119. as also JEBB's *Preface*
to the *Opus Majus* of the famous ROGER BACON, published at
London in folio, in the year 1733. We shall give here the
opinion which BACON had of the translators of ARISTOTLE, in
the words of that great man, who expresses his contempt of these
wretched interpreters in the following manner: *Si haberem* (says
he) *potestatem supra libros Aristotelis Latine conversos, ego facerem*
omnes cremari, quia non est nisi temporis amissio studere in illis, et
causa erroris et multiplicatio ignorantiae, ultra id quod valet explica. i.

[z] See LUCEÆ WADDINGI *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p.
233.—DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 200. 673.

[a] JO. ALB. FABRICII *Bibliotheca Latina medii ævi*, tom. i.
p. 113.

CENT. productions, the Aristotelian system. But it was the
 XIII. disciple of ALBERT, THOMAS AQUINAS, the *Angelic*
 PART II. *Doctor*, and the great luminary of the scholastic world,
 that contributed most to the glory of the Stagirite [b],
 by inculcating, illustrating, and enforcing his doc-
 trines, both in his lectures and in his writings; and
 principally by engaging one of his learned colleagues
 to give, under his inspection, a new translation of
 the works of the Grecian sage, which far surpassed
 the former version in exactness, perspicuity, and
 elegance [c]. By these means the philosophy of
 ARISTOTLE, notwithstanding the opposition of sever-
 al divines, and even of the Roman pontiffs them-
 selves, who beheld its progress with an unfriendly
 eye, triumphed in all the Latin schools, and absorbed
 all the other systems that had flourished before this
 literary revolution.

The limits
 of science
 are extend-
 ed by feve-
 ral eminent
 men,

IX. There were, however, at this time in *Europe*
 several persons of superior genius and penetration,
 who, notwithstanding their veneration for ARISTO-
 TLE, thought the method of treating philosophy,
 which his writings had introduced, dry, inelegant,
 and proper to confine and damp the efforts of the
 mind in the pursuit of truth, and who, consequently,

[b] The Dominicans maintain, that this *Angelic Doctor* was
 the disciple of ALBERT the Great, and their opinion seems to be
 founded in truth. See ANTOINE TOURON, *Vie de St. Thomas*,
 p. 99. The Franciscans however maintain as obstinately, that
 ALEXANDER HALES was the master of THOMAS. See WAD-
 DINGI *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 133.

[c] It has been believed by many, that WILLIAM DE MOER-
 BEKA, a native of *Flanders*, of the Dominican order, and
 archbishop of *Corinth*, was the author of the new Latin translation
 of the Works of ARISTOTLE, which was carried on and finished
 under the auspicious inspection of THOMAS AQUINAS. See J.
 ECHARD, *Scriptores Dominican.* tom. i. p. 338.—CASIM. OUDI-
 NUS *Comm. de Scriptor. Eccles.* tom. iii. p. 468. JO. FRANC.
 FOPPENS, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, tom. i. p. 416. Others however
 suppose, though indeed with less evidence, that this translation
 was composed by HENRY KOSBEIN, who was also a Dominican.
 See ECHARD, *Script. Dominic.* tom. i. p. 469.

were desirous of enlarging the sphere of science by new researches and new discoveries [d]. At the head of these noble adventurers we may justly place ROGER BACON, a Franciscan friar, of the English nation, known by the appellation of the *admirable doctor*, renowned on account of his most important discoveries, and who, in the progress he had made in natural philosophy, mathematics, chemistry, the mechanic arts, and the learned languages, soared far beyond the genius of the times [e]. With him we may associate ARNOLD of *Villa Nova*, whose place of nativity is fixed by some in *France*, by others

[d] BACON's contempt of the learning that was in vogue in his time may be seen in the following passage quoted by JEBB, in his *Preface to the Opus Majus* of that great man: *Nunquam, says he, fuit tanta apparentia sapientia, nec tantum exercitium studii in tot facultatibus, in tot regionibus, sicut jam a quadraginta annis; ubique enim doctores sunt dispersi . . . in omni civitate, et in omni castro, et in omni burgo, precipue per duos ordines studentes* (he means the Franciscans and Dominicans, who were almost the only religious orders that distinguished themselves by an application to study) *quod non accidit, nisi a quadraginta annis aut circiter, cum tamen nunquam fuit TANTA IGNORANTIA, TANTUS ERROR . . . Vulgus studentium languet et osinat circa male translata* (by these wretched versions he understands the works of ARISTOTLE, which were most miserably translated by ignorant bunglers) *et tempus et studium amittit in omnibus et expensas. Apparentia quidem sola tenet eos, et non curant quid sciant, sed quid videantur scire coram multitudine insensata.* Thus, according to BACON, in the midst of the most specious appearance of science, the greatest ignorance and the grossest errors reigned almost universally.

[e] That BACON deserves this high rank in the learned world appears evidently from his book, entitled *Opus Majus*, which was dedicated to the Roman pontiff, CLEMENT IV. and which doctor JEBB published at *London* in 1733, from a manuscript which still exists in the university of *Dublin*, enriching it with a learned Preface and a considerable number of judicious observations. The other works of BACON, which are very numerous, lie as yet for the most part concealed in the libraries of the curious. For a farther account of this eminent man, see WOOD, *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 136 — WADDINGI *Annales Minor.* tom. iv. p. 264. tom. v. p. 51. — THOM. GALE *ad Jamblichum de Mysteriis Aegyptior.* p. 255. *General Hist. and Crit. Dictionary*, at the article BACON.

CENT. in *Spain*, and who acquired a shining reputation by
 [XIII. his knowledge in chemistry, poetry, philosophy, lan-
 PART II. guages, and physic [f]; as also PETRUS DE ABANO,
 a physician of *Padua*, who was surnamed the *Recon-*
ciler, from a book he wrote with a design to termi-
 nate the dissensions and contests that reigned among
 the philosophers and physicians [g], and who was
 profoundly versed in the sciences of philosophy,
 astronomy, physic, and mathematics [b]. It must,
 however, be observed, to the eternal dishonour of
 the age, that the only fruits which these great men
 enjoyed of their learned labours, and their noble,
 as well as successful, efforts for the advancement of
 the arts and sciences, were the furious clamours of
 an enraged and superstitious multitude, who looked
 upon them as heretics and magicians, and thirsted
 so eagerly after their blood, that they escaped with
 difficulty the hands of the public executioner. BA-
 CON was confined many years to a loathsome prison;
 and the other two were, after their death, brought
 before the tribunal of the inquisition, and declared
 worthy of being committed to the flames for the
 novelties they had introduced into the republic of
 letters.

The study
 of law and
 physic.

X. The state of theology, and the method of
 teaching and representing the doctrines of Christi-
 anity that now prevailed, shall be mentioned in
 their place. The civil and canon laws held the first
 rank in the circle of the sciences, and were studied

[f] See NIC. ANTONII *Biblioth. vetus Hispan.* tom. ii. lib. ix. c. i. p. 74.—PIERRE JOSEPH *Vie d'Arnaud de Ville neuve*, Aix. 1719.—NICERON, *Memoires des hommes illustres*, tom. xxxiv. p. 82.—NICOL. EYMERICI *Directorium Inquisitorum*. p. 282. where, among other things, we have an account of his errors.

[g] This book was entitled, *Conciliator Differentiarum Philosophorum et Medicorum*.

[b] There is a very accurate account of this philosopher given by JOH. MARIA MAZZUCHELLI *Notizie Storiche e Critiche intorno alla vita di Pietro d'Abano*, in ANGELI CALOGERÆ *Opusculi Scientifici et Philologici*, tom. xiii. p. i.—liv.

with a peculiar zeal and application by almost all CENT. who were ambitious of literary glory. These sciences, XIII. however, notwithstanding the assiduity with which PART II. they were cultivated, were far from being, as yet, brought to any tolerable degree of perfection. They were disfigured by the jargon that reigned in the schools, and they were corrupted and rendered intricate by a multitude of trivial commentaries that were designed to illustrate and explain them. Some employed their labours in collecting the letters of the Roman pontiffs, which are commonly known under the title of *Decretals* [*i*], and which were looked upon as a very important branch of ecclesiastical law. RAIMOND of *Pennafort*, a native of *Barcelona*, was the most famous of all these compilers, and acquired a considerable reputation by his collection of the *Decretals* in five books, which he undertook at the desire of GREGORY IX. and which has been since honoured with the name of that pontiff, who ordered it to be added to the *Decretals* of GRATIAN, and to be read in all the European colleges [*k*]. Towards the conclusion of this century, BONIFACE VIII. had a new collection made, which was entitled, *The Sixth Book of Decretals*, because it was added to the five already mentioned.

[*i*] See BOULAY, *Hist. Academ. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 98.

[*k*] GERH. A MASTRICHT, *Historia juris Ecclesiastici*, § 353. p. 384.—JO. CHIFLET, *De juris utriusque Architectis*, cap. vi. p. 60.—ECHARD et QUETIF, *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 106.—*Acta Sanctor. Antwerp.* tom. i. *Januarii ad d. vii.* p. 404.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church, and its form of government, during this century.

CENT. I. **BOTH** the Greek and Latin writers, pro-
 XIII. voked, beyond measure, by the flagitious lives of
 PART II. their spiritual rulers and instructors, complain loudly
 ————— of their licentious manners, and load them with the
 The cor- severest reproaches; nor will these complaints and
 ruption of reproaches appear excessive to such as are acquainted
 the clergy. with the history of this corrupt and superstitious age
 [1]. Several eminent men attempted to stem this
 torrent of licentiousness, which from the heads
 of the church had carried its pernicious streams
 through all the members; but their power and
 influence were unequal to such a difficult and arduous
 enterprize. The Grecian emperors were prevented
 from executing any project of this kind by the infe-
 licity of the times, and the various calamities and
 tumults, that not only reigned in their dominions,
 but even shook the throne on which they sat; while
 the power and opulence of the Roman pontiffs and
 the superstition of the age hindered the Latins from
 accomplishing, or even attempting, a reformation in
 the church.

And of the II. The history of the popes presents a lively and
 Roman horrible picture of the complicated crimes that
 pontiffs. dishonoured the ministers of the church, who were

[1] See the remarkable letter of the Roman pontiff, GREGORY IX. to the archbishop of *Bourges*, which was written in the year 1227, with a design to reprove and reform the vices which had infested all the various orders of the clergy, and which is published by DION. SAMMARTHANUS, in his *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. in *Append.* p. 21.—See also DU FRESNE, *Adnotat. in Vitam Ludovici Sti.* p. 99.

peculiarly obliged, by their sacred office, to exhibit to the world distinguished models of piety and virtue. Such of the Sacerdotal order as were advanced to places of authority in the church, behaved rather like tyrants than rulers, and showed manifestly, in all their conduct, that they aimed at an absolute and unlimited dominion. The popes, more especially, inculcated that pernicious maxim, “That the bishop of *Rome* is the supreme lord of the universe, and that neither princes nor bishops, civil governors nor ecclesiastical rulers, have any lawful power in church or state but what they derive from him.” This extravagant maxim, which was considered as the sum and substance of papal jurisprudence, the Roman pontiffs maintained obstinately, and left no means unemployed, that perfidy or violence could suggest, to give it the force of a universal law. It was in consequence of this arrogant pretension, that they not only claimed the right of disposing of ecclesiastical *benefices*, as they are commonly called, but also of conferring civil dominion, and of dethroning kings and emperors, according to their good pleasure. It is true, this maxim was far from being universally adopted; many placed the authority of councils above that of the pontiffs, and such of the European kings and princes as were not ingloriously blinded and enslaved by the superstition of the times, asserted their rights with dignity and success, excluded the pontiffs from all concern in their civil transactions, nay, even reserved to themselves the supremacy over the churches that were established in their dominions [m]. In opposing thus the haughty

[m] As a specimen of this, the reader may peruse the letters of INNOCENT III. and the emperor OTHO IV. which have been collected by the learned GEORGE CHRIST. GEBEUR, in his *History of the Emperor RICHARD*, written in German, p. 611—614. Other princes, and more especially the kings of *England* and *France*, displayed, in the defence of their rights and privileges, the same zeal that animated OTHO.

CENT. pretensions of the lordly pontiffs, it was, indeed,
 XIII. necessary to proceed with mildness, caution, and
 PART II. prudence, on account of the influence which these
 spiritual tyrants had usurped over the minds of the
 people, and the power they had of alarming princes,
 by exciting their subjects to rebellion.

The power
 of creating
 bishops, ab-
 bots, &c.
 claimed by
 the pontiffs.

III. In order to establish their authority, both in
 civil and ecclesiastical matters, upon the firmest
 foundations, the Roman pontiffs assumed to them-
 selves the power of disposing of the various offices
 of the church, whether of a higher or more subor-
 dinate nature, and of creating *bishops*, *abbots*, and
canons, according to their fancy. Thus we see the
 ghostly heads of the church, who formerly disputed
 with such ardour against the emperors in favour of
 the free election of bishops and abbots, overturning
 now all the laws that related to the election of these
 spiritual rulers, reserving for themselves the revenues
 of the richest benefices, conferring vacant places
 upon their clients and their creatures, nay, often
 deposing bishops that had been duly and lawfully
 elected, and substituting, with a high hand, others
 in their room [n]. The hypocritical pretexts for
 all these arbitrary proceedings were an ardent zeal
 for the welfare of the church, and an anxious
 concern, lest devouring *heretics* should get a footing
 among the flock of CHRIST [o]. The first of the
 pontiffs, who usurped such an extravagant extent
 of authority, was INNOCENT III. whose example
 was followed by HONORIUS III. GREGORY IX. and
 several of their successors. But it was keenly
 opposed by the bishops, who had hitherto enjoyed

[n] Many examples of this may be taken from the history of
 this century. See STEPH. BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 443.
 466. 470. 488. 491. 493.—*Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 69.
Append.—LUC. WADDINGI *Annal. Minor. in Diplom.*—WOOD
Antiquit. Oxon. tom. i. p. 148. 201, 202.

[o] See the *Epistle of INNOCENT IV.* in BALUZ. *Miscellan.*
 tom. vii. p. 468.

the privilege of nominating to the smaller benefices, CENT. and still more effectually by the kings of *England* XIII. and *France*, who employed the force of warm PART II. remonstrances and vigorous edicts to stop the progress of this new jurisprudence [*p*]. LEWIS IX. king of *France*, and now the tutelary saint of that nation, distinguished himself by the noble opposition he made to these papal encroachments. In the year 1268, before he set out for the Holy Land, he secured the rights of the Gallican church against the insidious attempts of the Roman pontiffs, by that famous edict known in *France* by the name of the *pragmatic sanction* [*q*]. This resolute and prudent measure rendered the pontiffs more cautious and slow in their proceedings, but did not terrify them from the prosecution of their purpose. For BONIFACE VIII. maintained, in the most express and impudent terms, that the universal church was under the dominion of the pontiffs, and that princes and lay-patrons, councils and chapters, had no more power in spiritual things, than what they derived from CHRIST'S vicar upon earth.

IV. The legates, whom the pontiffs sent into the provinces, to represent their persons, and execute their orders, imitated perfectly the avarice and insolence of their masters. They violated the privileges of the chapters; disposed of the smaller, and sometimes of the more important ecclesiastical benefices, in favour of such as had gained them by bribes, or such like considerations [*r*]; extorted money from the people by the vilest and most iniquitous means; seduced the unwary by forged letters and other stratagems of that nature; excited tumults among the multitude, and were, themselves,

The authority of the pope's legates.

[*p*] BOULAY, Histor. Acad. Paris. tom. iii. p. 659. and principally tom. iv. p. 911.

[*q*] Idem, ib. p. 389.

[*r*] See BALUZII *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 437. 475. 480, &c.

CENT. the ringleaders of the most furious and rebellious
 XIII. factions; carried on, in the most scandalous manner,
 PART II, the impious traffick of *relicks* and *indulgences*, and
 distinguished themselves by several acts of profligacy
 still more heinous than the practices now mentioned.
 Hence we find the writers of this age complaining
 unanimously of the flagitious conduct and the
 enormous crimes of the pope's legates [s]. Nay,
 we see the Roman pontiff ALEXANDER IV. enacting,
 in the year 1256, a severe law against the avarice
 and frauds of these corrupt ministers [t], which
 however, they easily evaded, by their friends and
 their credit at the court of *Rome*.

The wealth
 and revenues of the
 pontiff augmented.

V. From the ninth century to this period, the
 wealth and revenues of the pontiffs had not received
 any considerable augmentation; but at this time
 they were vastly increased under INNOCENT III.
 and NICOLAS III. partly by the events of war, and
 partly by the munificence of kings and emperors.
 INNOCENT was no sooner seated in the papal chair,
 than he reduced under his jurisdiction the præfect
 of *Rome*, who had hitherto been considered as
 subject to the emperor, to whom he had taken an
 oath of allegiance in entering upon his office. He
 also seized upon *Ancona*, *Spoletto*, *Affisi*, and several
 cities and fortresses which had, according to him,
 been unjustly alienated from the patrimony of St.
 PETER [u]. On the other hand, FREDERIC II.
 who was extremely desirous that the pope should
 espouse his quarrel with OTHO IV. loaded the

[s] See that judicious and excellent writer MATTH. PARIS, in his *Historia Major*, p. 313. 316. 549. and particularly p. 637. where we find the following remarkable words: *Semper solent legati quales, et omnes nuncii papales regna quæ ingrediuntur depauperare, vel aliquo modo perturbare.* See also BOULAY. *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 659.

[t] This edict is published by LAMI, in his *Deliciae Eruditorum*, tom. ii. p. 300.

[u] See FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Romanor. Pontif.* tom. iii. p. 161.—MURATORI *Antiq. Italicae*, tom. i. p. 328.

Roman see with the richest marks of his munificence CENT. and liberality, and not only made a noble present in XIII. valuable lands to the pope's brother [w], but also PART II. permitted RICHARD count of *Fundi* to leave, by will, all his possessions to the Roman see [x], and confirmed the immense donation that had formerly been made to it by the opulent MATILDA. Such was the progress that INNOCENT III. made, during his pontificate, in augmenting the splendour and wealth of the church. NICOLAS IV. followed his example with the warmest emulation, and, in the year 1278, gave a remarkable proof of his arrogance and obstinacy, in refusing to crown the emperor RODOLPHUS I. before he had acknowledged and confirmed, by a solemn treaty, all the pretensions of the Roman see, of which, if some were plausible, the greatest part were altogether groundless, or, at least, extremely dubious. This agreement, to which all the Italian princes, that were subject to the emperor, were obliged to accede, was no sooner concluded, than NICOLAS reduced under his temporal dominion several cities and territories in *Italy*, that had formerly been annexed to the imperial crown, particularly *Romania* and *Bologna*. It was therefore under these two pontiffs, that the see of *Rome* arrived, partly by force, and partly by artifice, at that high degree of grandeur and opulence, which it yet maintains in our times [y].

VI. INNOCENT III. who remained at the head of The tyrannic pontificate of Innocent III. proved by several examples. the church until the year 1216, followed the steps of GREGORY VII. and not only usurped the despotic government of the church, but also claimed the empire of the world, and thought of nothing less than

[w] This brother of the pontiff was called RICHARD. See for an account of this transaction, MURATORI'S *Antiquitat. Italicae*, tom. v. p. 652.

[x] ODOR. RAYNALDUS, *Continuat. Annal. Baronii, ad A. 1212.* § ii.

[y] See RAYNALDUS, *loc. cit. ad A. 1278,* § 47.

CENT. subjecting the kings and princes of the earth to his
 XIII. lordly sceptre. He was a man of learning and
 PART II. application; but his cruelty, avarice, and arrogance
 [z] clouded the lustre of any good qualities which
 his panegyrists have thought proper to attribute to
 him. In *Asia* and *Europe*, he disposed of crowns
 and sceptres with the most wanton ambition. In
Asia, he gave a king to the Armenians: in *Europe*,
 he usurped the same extravagant privilege in the
 year 1204, and conferred the regal dignity upon
 PRIMISLAUS, duke of *Bobemia* [a]. The same
 year he sent to JOHANNICUS, duke of *Bulgaria* and
Walachia, an extraordinary legate, who, in the name
 of the pontiff, invested that prince with the ensigns
 and honours of royalty, while, with his own hand,
 he crowned PETER II. of *Arragon*, who had rendered
 his dominions subject and tributary to the church,
 and saluted him publicly at *Rome* with the title of
 King [b]. We omit many other examples of this
 frenetic pretension to universal empire, which might
 be produced from the *letters* of this arrogant pontiff,
 and many other acts of despotism, which *Europe*
 beheld with astonishment, but also, to its eternal
 reproach, with the ignominious silence of a passive
 obedience.

VII. The ambition of this pope was not satisfied
 with the distribution and government of these petty
 kingdoms. He extended his views farther, and
 resolved to render the power and majesty of the
 Roman see formidable to the greatest European
 monarchs, and even to the emperors themselves.
 When the empire of *Germany* was disputed, towards
 the commencement of this century, between PHILIP,

[z] See MATTH. PARIS, *Histor. Major*, p. 206. 230.

[a] Other historians affirm, that it was the emperor
 PHILIP that conferred the royal dignity upon PRIMISLAUS, in
 order to strengthen his party against OTHO.

[b] MURATORII *Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. vi. p. 116.—
 JO. DE FERRERA, *Histoire d'Espagne*, tom. ix. p. 8.

duke of *Swabia*, and OTHO IV. third son of CENT. HENRY LION, he espoused, at first, the cause of XIII. OTHO, thundered out his excommunications against PART II. PHILIP, and, upon the death of the latter, which happened in the year 1209, he placed the imperial diadem upon the head of his adversary. But as OTHO was, by no means, disposed to submit to this pontiff's nod, or to satisfy to the full his ambitious desires, he incurred, of consequence, his lordly indignation; and INNOCENT, declaring him, by a solemn excommunication, unworthy of the empire, raised in his place FREDERIC II. his pupil, the son of Henry VI. and king of the two *Sicilies*, to the imperial throne in the year 1212 [c]. The same pontiff excommunicated PHILIP AUGUSTUS, king of *France*, for having dissolved his marriage with INGERBURG, a princess of *Denmark*, and espoused another in her place; nor did he cease to pursue this monarch with his anathemas, until he engaged him to receive the divorced queen, and to restore her to her lost dignity [d].

VIII. But of all the European princes none felt, in so dishonorable and severe a manner, the despotic fury of this insolent pontiff as JOHN, surnamed *Sans terre*, king of *England*. This prince opposed vigorously the measures of INNOCENT, who had ordered the monks of *Canterbury* to chuse STEPHEN LANGTON, a Roman cardinal of English descent, archbishop of that see, notwithstanding the election of JOHN DE GREY to that high dignity, which had been regularly made by the convent, and had been confirmed by royal authority [e]. The

[c] All this is amply illustrated in the *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. iii. lib. vii. p. 247.

[d] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 8.—DANIEL, *Histoire de la France* tom. iii. p. 475.—GERHARD. DU BOIS, *Hist. Eccles. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 204—257.

☞ [e] Dr. MOSHEIM passes lightly over this rupture between king JOHN and INNOCENT III. mentioning in a few lines the interdict under which *England* was laid by that pontiff, the

CENT. pope, after having consecrated LANGTON at *Viterbo*;
 XIII. wrote a soothing letter in his favour, to the king,
 PART II. accompanied with four rings, and a mystical com-
 ment upon the precious stones with which they were
 enriched. But this present was not sufficient to
 avert the just indignation of the offended monarch,
 who sent a body of troops to drive out of the kingdom
 the monks of *Canterbury*, who had been engaged by
 the pope's menaces to receive LANGTON as their
 archbishop. The king also declared to the pontiff,
 that, if he persisted in imposing a prelate upon the
 see of *Canterbury*, in opposition to a regular election
 already made, the consequences of such presump-
 tuous obstinacy would, in the issue, prove fatal to
 the papal authority in *England*. INNOCENT
 was so far from being terrified by this menacing
 remonstrance, that in the year 1200, he sent
 orders to the bishops of *London*, *Worcester*, and *Ely*,
 to lay the kingdom under an *interdict*, in case the
 monarch refused to yield and to receive LANGTON.
 JOHN, alarmed at this terrible menace, and unwill-
 ing to break entirely with the pope, declared his
 readiness to confirm the election made at *Rome*; but,
 in the act that was drawn up for this purpose, he
 wisely threw in a clause to prevent any interpretation
 of this compliance, that might be prejudicial to his
 rights, dignity, and prerogative. This exception
 was rejected, and the *interdict* was proclaimed. A
 stop was immediately put to divine service; the
 churches were shut; the administration of all the
 sacraments was suspended except that of baptism;
 the dead were buried in the highways without
 the usual rites or any funeral solemnity. But,

excommunication he issued out against the king's person, and the
 impious act by which he absolved the English from their allegi-
 ance. The translator, however, thought this event of too great
 importance to be treated with such brevity, and has, therefore,
 taken the liberty to enlarge considerably this eighth section, which
 contains but eleven lines in the original.

notwithstanding this interdict, the Cistercian order continued to perform divine service, and several learned and respectable divines, among which were the bishops of *Winchester* and *Norwich*, protested against the injustice of the pope's proceedings.

The interdict not producing the effects that were expected from it, the pontiff proceeded to a still farther degree of severity and presumption, and denounced a sentence of excommunication against the person of the English monarch. This sentence, which was issued out in the year 1208, was followed about three years after by a bull, absolving all his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and ordering all persons to avoid him, on pain of excommunication. But it was in the year 1212, that INNOCENT carried his impious tyranny to the most enormous length, when, assembling a council of cardinals and prelates, he deposed JOHN, declared the throne of *England* vacant, and wrote to PHILIP AUGUSTUS, king of *France*, to execute this sentence, to undertake the conquest of *England*, and to unite that kingdom to his dominions forever. He, at the same time, published another bull, exhorting all Christian princes to contribute, whatever was in their power, to the success of this expedition, promising such as seconded PHILIP in this grand enterprise, the same indulgences that were granted to those who carried arms against the infidels in *Palestine*. The French monarch entered into the views of the Roman pontiff, and made immense preparations for the invasion of *England*. The king of *England*, on the other hand, assembled his forces, and was putting himself in a posture of defence, when PANDULF, the pope's legate, arrived at *Dover*, and proposed a conference in order to prevent the approaching rupture, and to conjure the storm. This artful legate terrified the king, who met him at that place, with an exaggerated account of the armament of PHILIP on the one hand, and of the disaffection

CENT. of the English on the other; and persuaded him
 XIII. that there was no possible way left of saving his
 PART II. dominions from the formidable arms of the French
 king, but that of putting them under the protection
 of the Roman see. JOHN, finding himself in such
 a perplexing situation, and full of diffidence both in
 the nobles of his court and in the officers of his
 army, complied with this dishonourable proposal, did
 homage to INNOCENT, resigned his crown to the
 legate, and received it again as a present from the
 see of *Rome*, to which he rendered his kingdoms
 tributary, and swore fealty as a vassal and feudatory
 [f]. In the act by which he resigned, thus
 scandalously, his kingdoms to the papal jurisdiction,
 he declared that he had neither been compelled to
 this measure by fear nor by force; but that it was
 his own voluntary deed, performed by the advice,
 and with the consent, of the barons of his kingdom.
 He obliged himself and his heirs to pay an annual
 sum of seven hundred marks for *England*, and three
 hundred for *Ireland*, in acknowledgment of the
 pope's supremacy and jurisdiction; and consented
 that he or such of his successors as should refuse to
 pay the submission now stipulated, to the see of *Rome*,
 should forfeit all their right to the British crown [g].
 " This shameful ceremony was performed, says a
 " modern historian [b], on Ascension-day, in the
 " house of the Templars at *Dover*, in the midst of
 " a great concourse of people, who beheld it with
 " confusion and indignation. JOHN, in doing
 " homage to the pope, presented a sum of money to

[f] For a full account of this shameful ceremony, see
 MATTHEW PARIS, *Historia Major*, p. 189. 192. 195.—As also
 BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris*. tom. iii. p. 67.—RAPIN THOY-
 RAS *Histoire d'Angleterre*, tom. ii. p. 304.

☞ [g] *Cadet a jure regni*, is the expression used in the
Charter of resignation, which may be seen at length in the *Hist.*
Major of MATTHEW PARIS.

☞ [b] See the *Complete History of England*, by Dr. SMOL-
 LET, vol. i. p. 437.

“ his representative, which the proud legate trampled CENT.
 “ under his feet, as a mark of the king’s dependence. XIII.
 “ Every spectator glowed with resentment, and the PART II.
 “ archbishop of *Dublin* exclaimed aloud against such
 “ intolerable insolence. PANDULF, not satisfied
 “ with this mortifying act of superiority, kept the
 “ crown and sceptre five whole days, and then restored
 “ them as a special favour of the Roman see. JOHN
 “ was despised before this extraordinary resignation ;
 “ but now he was looked upon as a contemptible
 “ wretch, unworthy to sit upon a throne: while he
 “ himself seemed altogether insensible of his dis-
 “ grace.”

IX. INNOCENT III. was succeeded in the ponti- Honorius III.
 ficate by CONCIO SAVELLI, who assumed the title
 of HONORIUS III. ruled the church above ten years,
 and whose government, though not signalized by
 such audacious exploits as those of his predecessor,
 discovered, nevertheless, an ardent zeal for main-
 taining the pretensions, and supporting the despotism,
 of the Roman see. It was in consequence of this
 zeal, that the new pontiff opposed the measures,
 and drew upon him the indignation of FREDERIC II.
 that magnanimous prince, on whose head he himself
 had placed, in the year 1220, the imperial crown.
 This spirited prince, following the steps of his
 illustrious grandfather, had formed the resolution
 of confirming the authority, and extending the
 jurisdiction of the emperors in *Italy*, of depressing
 the small states of *Lombardy*, and reducing to
 narrower limits the immense credit and opulence of
 the pontiffs and bishops ; and it was with a view to
 the execution of these grand projects, that he deferred
 the fulfilling of the solemn vow, by which he had
 engaged himself to march a formidable army against
 the infidels in *Palestine*. The pontiff, on the other
 hand, urged, with importunity, the emperor’s depar-
 ture, encouraged, animated, and strengthened, by

CENT. secret succours, the *Italian* states that opposed his
 XIII. pretensions, and resisted the progress of his power
 PART II. by all the obstacles which the most fertile invention
 could suggest. These contests, however, had not,
 as yet, brought on an open rupture.

The calamities that arose from the ambition of Gregory IX.

X. In the year 1227, HUGOLINUS, bishop of *Ostia*, whose advanced age had not extinguished the fire of his ambition, nor diminished the firmness and obstinacy of his spirit, was raised to the pontificate, assumed the title of GREGORY IX. and kindled the feuds and dissensions, that had already secretly subsisted between the church and the empire, into an open and violent flame. No sooner was he placed in the papal chair, than, contrary to all justice and order, he excommunicated the emperor for putting off his expedition against the Saracens another year, though that delay was manifestly owing to a fit of sickness, which seized that prince when he was ready to embark for *Palestine*. In the year 1228. FREDERIC at last set out and arrived in the Holy Land; but, instead of carrying on the war with vigour, as we have had already occasion to observe, he entered into a truce with SALADIN, and contented himself with the recovery of *Jerusalem*. The pretended vicar of CHRIST, forgetting (or rather unwilling to persuade himself) that his master's *kingdom was not of this world*, made war upon the emperor in *Apuglia* during his absence [*i*], and used his utmost efforts to arm against him all the European powers. FREDERIC, having received information of these perfidious and violent proceedings, returned into *Europe* in the year 1229, defeated the papal army, retook the places he had lost in *Sicily* and in *Italy*, and the year following made his peace with the pontiff, from

☞ [*i*] Under the feeble reign of HENRY III. the pope drew immense sums out of *England* for the support of this impious war, and carried his audacious avarice so far, as to demand the fifth part of the ecclesiastical revenues of the whole kingdom.

whom he received a public and solemn absolution. This peace, however, was but of a short duration; nor was it possible for the emperor to bear the insolent proceedings, and the imperious temper, of GREGORY. He therefore broke all measures with that headstrong pontiff, distressed the states of *Lombardy* that were in alliance with the see of *Rome*, seized upon the island of *Sardinia*, which GREGORY looked upon as a part of his spiritual patrimony, and erected it into a kingdom for his son ENTIUS. These, with other steps that were equally provoking to the avarice and ambition of GREGORY, drew the thunder of the Vatican anew upon the emperor's head in the year 1239. FREDERIC was excommunicated publicly with all the circumstances of severity that vindictive rage could invent, and was charged with the most flagitious crimes, and the most impious blasphemies, by the exasperated pontiff, who sent a copy of this terrible accusation to all the courts of *Europe*. The emperor, on the other hand, defended his injured reputation by solemn declarations in writing, while, by his victorious arms, he avenged himself of his adversaries, maintained his ground, and reduced the pontiff to the greatest straits. To get rid of these difficulties, the latter convened in the year 1240, a general council at *Rome*, with a view to depose FREDERIC by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals and prelates, that were to compose that assembly. But the emperor disconcerted that audacious project by defeating, in the year 1241, a Genoese fleet, on board of which the greatest part of these prelates were embarked, and by seizing, with all their treasures, these reverend fathers, who were all committed to close confinement. This disappointment, attended with others which gave an unhappy turn to his affairs, and blasted his most promising expectations, dejected and consumed the despairing

CENT.
XIII.
PART II.

CENT. pontiff, and contributed probably to the conclusion of
 XIII. his days, which happened soon after this remarkable
 PART II. event [k].

Innocent
 IV.

XI. GEOFFRY, bishop of *Milan*, who succeeded
 GREGORY IX. under the title of CELESTINE IV.
 died before his consecration, and, after a vacancy of
 twenty months, the apostolic stool was filled by
 SINIBALD, one of the counts of *Fiesque*, who was
 raised to the pontificate in the year 1243, assumed
 the denomination of INNOCENT IV. and yielded to
 none of his predecessors in arrogance and fury [l].
 His elevation, however, offered at first a prospect of
 peace, as he had formerly been attached to the
 interests of the emperor, and accordingly the con-
 ferences were opened, and a reconciliation was
 proposed; but the terms offered by the new pope
 were too imperious and extravagant, not to be
 rejected with indignation by the emperor [m]. Hence
 it was that INNOCENT, not thinking himself safe in
 any part of *Italy*, set out from *Genoa*, the place of his
 birth, for *Lyons* in the year 1244, and assembling
 there a council the following year, deposed, in their
 presence, though not with their approbation, the
 emperor FREDERIC, and declared the imperial throne

[k] Besides the original and authentic authors collected by
 MURATORI, in his *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, and the German
 and Italian historians, few or none of whom are absolutely void
 of partiality in their accounts of these unhappy contests between
 the empire and the papacy, see PETRUS DE VINIIS, *Epistol. lib.*
 i. and MATTH. PARIS, *Historia Major*. Add to these RAYNALDI
Annal.—MURATORI *Annal. Italicæ*, tom. vii. & *Antiquit. Italicæ*,
 tom. iv. p. 325. 517. It must however be observed, that this
 branch of history stands yet in need of farther illustrations.

[l] See MATTHEW PARIS, *Historia Major ad A. 1254.* p.
 771.

[m] These preliminary conditions were: 1st, That the
 emperor should give up entirely to the church the inheritance
 which was left to it by MATHILDA; and, 2^{dly}, That he would
 oblige himself to submit to whatever terms the pope should think
 fit to propose, as conditions of peace.

vacant [n]. This unjust and insolent measure was regarded with such veneration, and looked upon as so weighty by the German princes, seduced and blinded by the superstition of the times, that they proceeded instantly to a new election, and raised first, HENRY, landgrave of *Thuringia*, and after his death, WILLIAM, count of *Holland*, to the head of the empire. FREDERIC, whose firm and heroic spirit supported without dejection these cruel vicissitudes, continued to carry on the war in *Italy*, until a violent dysentery ended his days in *Apulia*, the 13th of December, 1250. Upon the death of his formidable and magnanimous adversary, INNOCENT returned into *Italy* [o], hoping now to enjoy with security the fruits of his ambition. It was principally from this period, that the two famous factions, called *Guelphs* and *Guibelines*, of which the latter espoused the cause of the emperors, and the former that of the pontiffs, involved all the Italian states in the most fatal dissensions, though their origin is much earlier than this century [p].

XII. RAYNALD, count of *Segni*, and bishop of *Ostia*, was raised to the pontificate after the death of INNOCENT, in the year 1254, and is distinguished in the list of the popes by the name of ALEXANDER IV. During the six years and six months that he governed the see of *Rome*, his time was less employed in civil affairs, than in regulating the internal state of the church, if we except the measures he took for the destruction of CONRADIN, grandson of FREDERIC II. and for composing the tumults that had so long reigned without interruption in *Italy*. The mendicant friars, in particular, and among

[n] This assembly is placed in the list of *œcumenical*, or general councils; but it is not acknowledged as such by the Gallican church.

[o] Besides the writers, already mentioned, see NICOL. DE CURIO, *Vita Innocentii IV.* in BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 353.

[p] See MURATORII *Dissertat. de Guelphis et Guibellinis*, in his *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iv. p. 606.

CENT. them the Dominicans and Franciscans, were much
 XIII. favoured by this pontiff, and received several marks
 PART II. of his peculiar bounty.

Urban IV. He was succeeded in the Roman see, A. D. 1261, by URBAN IV. a native of *Troyes*, of obscure birth, who, before his elevation to the pontificate, was patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and after that period was more distinguished by his instituting the *Festival of the body of Christ*, than by any other circumstance in the course of his reign. He had, indeed, formed several important projects, but their execution was prevented by his death, which happened, in the year 1264, after a short reign of three years. His successor GUI FULCIDI, or CLEMENS IV. a native of *France*, and bishop of *Sabino*, who was raised to the see of *Rome* in the year 1265, did not enjoy much longer that high dignity. His name, however, makes a greater figure in history, and was rendered famous in many respects, and more especially by his conferring the kingdom of *Naples* upon CHARLES of *Anjou*, brother to LEWIS IX. king of *France*. The consequences of this donation are well known, and the fate of CONRADIN, the last descendant of FREDERIC II. who, after an unfortunate battle fought against CHARLES, was publicly beheaded by the barbarous victor, if not by the counsel, yet certainly with the consent, of the Roman pontiff, are well known to such as have the smallest acquaintance with the history of these unhappy times.

Gregory X. XIII. Upon the death of CLEMENT IV. [9], there arose warm and vehement contests among the cardinals concerning the election of a new pontiff. These debates, which kept the Roman see vacant during the space of three years, were at length terminated in favour of THEALD, or THIBALD, a native of *Placentia*, and archbishop of *Liege*, who

[9] Which happened in the year 1268.

was raised to the pontificate in the year 1271, and assumed the title of GREGORY X. [r.] This devout ecclesiastic was in the Holy Land when he received the news of his election; and, as he had been an eye-witness of the miserable condition of the Christians in that country, he had nothing so much at heart, as the desire of contributing to their relief. Hence it was, that, immediately after his consecration, he summoned a council to meet at *Lyons*, in the year 1274, in which the relief and maintenance of the Christians in *Palestine*, and the re-union of the Greek and Latin churches, were the two great points, that were to come principally under deliberation. This assembly is acknowledged as the fourteenth general council, and is rendered particularly remarkable by the new regulations that were introduced into the manner of electing the Roman pontiff, and more especially by the famous law, which is still in force, and by which it was enacted, that the cardinal electors should be shut up in the conclave during the vacancy of the pontificate. With respect to the character and sentiments of the new pope we shall only observe, that, though he seemed to be actuated by a milder spirit than many of his predecessors, yet he inculcated, without the least hesitation, that odious maxim of GREGORY VII. that declared the bishop of *Rome* the lord of the world, and, in a more especial manner, of the Roman empire. It was in consequence of this presumptuous system, that, in the year 1271, he wrote an imperious and threatening letter to the German princes, in which, deaf to the pretensions and remonstrances of ALPHONSUS, king of *Castile* [s], he ordered them to elect an emperor

[r] The records of this election are published by LUC. WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 330.

[s] ALPHONSUS, king of *Castile*, had been elected emperor in the year 1256, by the archbishop of *Triers*, the duke of *Saxony*, the margrave of *Brandenburg*, and the king of *Bohemia*, in opposition to RICHARD, duke of *Cornwall*, brother of HENRY III. king of *England*, who was at the same time raised to the

CENT. without delay, assuring them, that if they did not
 XIII. do it immediately, he would do it for them. This
 PART II. letter produced the designed effect; an electoral-
 diet was assembled at *Franckfort*, and RODOLPHUS,
 count of *Hapsburg*, was raised to the imperial throne.

Innocent V. XIV. GREGORY X. was succeeded, in the year
 Adrian V. 1276, by PETER of *Tarantaise*, of the Dominican
 John XXI. order, and bishop of *Ostia*, who assumed the name
 Nicolas III. of INNOCENT V. and died about five months after
 his election. OTTOBONI, a native of *Genoa*, and
 cardinal of *St. Adrian*, was chosen in his place,
 took the title of ADRIAN V. [*t*], and, after having
 ruled the church during five weeks, was succeeded
 by PETER JULIAN, bishop of *Tusculum*, who enjoyed
 that high dignity about eight months, and is distin-
 guished in the papal list by the name of JOHN XXI.
 [*u*]. The see of *Rome* continued vacant for above
 six months after the death of the last mentioned
 pontiff, but was at length filled, in the month of
 November, 1277, by JOHN CAJETAN, of the family
 of *Ursins*, cardinal of *St. Nicolas*, whose name he
 adopted for his papal title. This famous pontiff,
 as has been already observed, augmented greatly
 both the opulence and authority of the bishops of
Rome, and had formed vast projects, which his
 undaunted courage and his remarkable activity
 would have enabled him, without doubt, to execute
 with success, had not death blasted his hopes, and
 disconcerted his ambitious schemes.

Martin IV. XV. He was succeeded in the year 1281, about
 Nicolas IV. six months after his departure from this life, by
 SIMON DE BRIE, who adopted the name of
 same dignity by the archbishops of *Mentz* and *Bologn*, the count
Palatine of the *Rhine*, and the duke of *Bavaria*.

☞ [*t*] We read in the Latin, ADRIAN VI. which is more
 probably an error of the press, than a fault of the author.

☞ [*u*] In the original Dr. MOSHEIM observes, that these
 three successors of GREGORY were elected and carried off by
 death in the year 1276 but here he has fallen into a slight mistake;
 for JOHN XXI, died the 16th of May 1277.

MARTIN IV. and was not inferior to NICOLAS III. in ambition, arrogance, and constancy of mind, of which he gave several proofs during his pontificate. MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS, the Grecian emperor, was one of the first princes, who was solemnly excommunicated by this audacious priest, and that, under the pretext of his having broken the peace that had been concluded between the Greek and Latin churches, at the council of *Lions* [w]. The same insult was committed against PETER, king of *Arragon*, whom MARTIN not only excluded from the bosom of the church, but also deposed from his throne, on account of his attempt upon *Sicily*, and made a grant of his kingdom, fiefs, and possessions to CHARLES, son of PHILIP the Bold [x], king of *France*. It was during the execution of such daring enterprizes as these, and while he was meditating still greater things for the glory of the Roman hierarchy, that a sudden death, in the year 1285, obliged him to leave his schemes unfinished. They were, however, prosecuted with great spirit by his successor, JAMES SAVELLI, who chose the denomination of HONORIUS IV. but was also stopt short, in the midst of his career, in the year 1287, having ruled the church only two years. JEROME D'ASCOLI, bishop of *Palestrina*, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1288, and is known by the name of NICOLAS IV. distinguished himself, during the four years that he remained at the head of the church, by his assiduous application both to ecclesiastical and political affairs. Sometimes we see the disputes of sovereign powers left to his arbitration, and terminated by his decision; at other times, we find him maintaining the pretensions and privileges of the church with the most resolute zeal and the most obstinate perseverance; at other times, again,

[w] This council had been held under the pontificate of GREGORY X.

[x] PHILIPPE LE HARDI, as he is called by the French.

CENT. we see him employing, with the utmost assiduity,
 XIII. every probable method of propagating the gospel
 PART II. among the Tartars and other eastern nations. But
 the object which, of all others, occupied most the
 thoughts of this vigilant and zealous pontiff, was
 the desperate state of the Christians in *Palestine*,
 who were now reduced to the greatest extremities
 of misery and weakness. His laborious efforts were
 therefore employed for the restoration of their former
 grandeur; they were however employed in
 vain, and his death, which happened in the year
 1292, disconcerted all the projects he had formed
 for that purpose.

Celestine V. XVI. The death of this pontiff was followed by
 a vacancy of three years in the see of *Rome*, which
 was owing to the disputes that arose among the
 cardinals about the election of a new pope. These
 disputes were at length terminated, and the con-
 tending parties united their suffrages in favour of
 PETER, surnamed DI MURRONE, from a mountain
 where he had hitherto lived in the deepest solitude
 and with the utmost austerity. This venerable old
 man, who was in high renown on account of the
 remarkable sanctity of his life and conversation, was
 raised to the pontificate in the year 1294, and assumed
 the name of CELESTINE V. But the austerity of
 his manners, which was a tacit reproach upon the
 corruption of the Roman court, and more especially
 upon the luxury of the cardinals, rendered him
 extremely disagreeable to a degenerate and licentious
 clergy; and this dislike was so heightened by the
 whole course of his administration (which shewed
 that he had more at heart the reformation and
 purity of the church, than the increase of its opu-
 lence and the propagation of its authority) that he
 was almost universally considered as unworthy of the
 pontificate. Hence it was, that several of the cardi-
 nals, and particularly BENEDICT CAJETAN, advised
 him to abdicate the papacy, which he had accepted

with such reluctance, and they had the pleasure of seeing their advice followed with the utmost docility. The good man resigned his dignity the fourth month after his election, and died in the year 1297, in the castle of *Fumone*, where his tyrannic and suspicious successor kept him in captivity, that he might not be engaged, by the solicitations of his friends, to attempt the recovery of his abdicated honours. His memory was precious to the virtuous part of the church, and he was elevated to the rank of a saint by CLEMENT V. It was from him that the branch of the Benedictine order, called *Celestines*, and which yet subsists in *France* and *Italy*, derived its origin [y].

XVII. BENEDICT CAJETAN, who had persuaded the good pontiff now mentioned to resign his place, succeeded him in it in the year 1294, and took the name of BONIFACE VIII. We may say, with truth, of this unworthy prelate, that he was born to be a plague both to church and state, a disturber of the repose of nations, and that his attempts to extend and confirm the despotism of the Roman pontiffs, were carried to a length that approached to frenzy. From the moment that he entered upon his new dignity, he laid claim to a supreme and irresistible dominion over all the powers of the earth, both spiritual and temporal, terrified kingdoms and empires with the thunder of his bulls, called princes and sovereign states before his tribunal to decide their quarrels, augmented the papal jurisprudence with a new body of laws, which was entitled, *The Sixth Book of the Decretals*, declared war against the illustrious family of *Colonna*, who disputed his title to the pontificate [z]; in a word, exhibited to the church

[y] HELYOT, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. vi. p. 180.

[z] The reasons they alleged for disputing the title of BONIFACE to the pontificate were, that the resignation of CELESTINE was not *canonical*, and, moreover, that it was brought about by fraudulent means.

CENT. and to *Europe*, a lively image of the tyrannical
 XIII. administration of GREGORY VII. whom he perhaps
 PART II. surpassed in arrogance [a]. It was this pontiff that,
 in the year 1300, instituted the famous jubilee, which, since that time, has been regularly celebrated in the Roman church, at certain fixed periods. But the consideration of this institution, which was so favourable to the progress of licentiousness and corruption, as also the other exploits of BONIFACE, and his deplorable end, belong to the history of the following century [b].

New monastic orders.

XVIII. In the council of Lateran that was held in the year 1215, a decree had been passed, by the advice of INNOCENT III. to prevent the introduction of *new religions*, by which was meant, new monastic institutions. This decree however seemed to be very little respected, either by that pontiff or his successors, since several religious orders, hitherto unknown in the Christian world, were not only tolerated, but were moreover distinguished by peculiar marks of approbation and favour, and enriched with various privileges and prerogatives. Nor will this tacit abrogation of the decree of INNOCENT appear at all surprising to such as consider the state of the church in this century. For, not to mention many enormities that contributed to the suspension of this decree, we shall only observe, that the enemies of Christianity, and the *heretical* sects, increased daily every where; and, on the other hand, the *secular* clergy were more attentive to their worldly advantages than to the interests of the church, and

[a] There is a history of this pontiff written by JO. RUBEUS, a Benedictine monk, whose work, which is entitled *BONIFACIUS VIII. e familia Cajetanorum principum Romanus pontifex*, was published at *Rome* in the year 1651, in 4to.

[b] In this account of the popes, I have chiefly followed DANIEL PAPERBROCH, FRANCIS PAGI, and MURATORI, in his *Annales Italiae*, consulting at the same time the original sources collected by the last-mentioned author, in his *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*.

spent in mirth and jollity the opulence with which the piety of their ancestors had enriched that sacred body. The monastic orders also had almost all degenerated from their primitive sanctity, and, exhibiting the most offensive and shocking examples of licentiousness and vice to public view, rendered by their flagitious lives the cause of heresy triumphant, instead of retarding its progress. All these things being considered, it was thought necessary to encourage the establishment of new monastic societies, who, by the sanctity of their manners, might attract the esteem and veneration of the people, and diminish the indignation which the tyranny and ambition of the pontiffs had so universally excited; and who, by their diligence and address, their discourses and their arguments, their power and arms, when these violent means were required, might discover, persecute, convert, and vanquish the growing tribe of heretics.

XIX. Of the religious societies that arose in this century some are now entirely suppressed, while others continue to flourish, and are in high repute at this present time. Among the former we may reckon the *Humiliati* (a title expressive of great humility and self-abasement), whose origin may be traced to a much earlier period than the present century, though their order was confirmed and new modelled by INNOCENT III. who subjected it to the rule of St. BENEDICT. These humble monks became so shockingly licentious in process of time, that, in the year 1571, Pope PIUS V. was obliged to dissolve their society [c]. We may also place in the list of the suppressed monasteries the *Jacobins*, who were erected into a religious order by INNOCENT III. [d], and who, in this very century, not long after the council of *Lyons*, were deprived of their charter;

[c] HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vi. p. 152.

[d] MATTH. PARIS, *Hist. Major*, p. 161.

CENT. the *Vallifcholares*, or *scholars of the valley*, so called
 XIII. from their being instituted by the *scholares*, i. e.
 PART II. the four professors of divinity in the university of
 ———— *Paris*, and from a deep vale in the province of
Champagne in which they assembled and fixed their
 residence in the year 1234 [e]. This society, whose
 foundation was laid about the commencement of this
 century, was formerly governed by the rule of St.
 AUGUSTIN, but is now incorporated into the order
 of the *Regular canons of St. Genievve*. To the
 same class belong the *order of the blessed Virgin Mary*
the Mother of Christ, which had its commencement
 in the year 1266, and was suppressed in 1274 [f];
 the *Knights of faith and charity*, who undertook to
 disperse the bands of robbers that infested the public
 roads in *France*, and who were favoured with the
 peculiar protection and approbation of GREGORY IX.
 [g]; the *Hermits of St. William duke of Aquitaine*
 [h]; not to mention the *Brethren of the sack*, the
Bethlehemites, and other orders of inferior note, that
 started up in this century, which, of all others, was
 the most remarkable for the number and variety of
 monastic establishments, that date their origin from
 it [i].

The con-
 vents that
 still subsist.

XX. Among the convents that were founded in
 this century, and still subsist, the principal place is
 due to that of the *servites*, i. e. *the servants of the*
blessed Virgin, whose order was first instituted, A. D.
 1223, in *Tuscany*, by seven Florentine merchants,

[e] BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 15.—*Acta*
Sanc. Mens. Februar. tom. ii. p. 482.

[f] DION. SANMARTHANI *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 653.

[g] *Gallia Christ.* tom. i. *Append.* p. 165.—MARTENE, *Voyage*
Liter. de deux Benedictins, tom. ii. p. 23.

[h] JO. BOLLANDI *De ordine Eremitar. S. Guilielmi Comm. in*
actis SS. Februar. tom. ii. p. 472.

[i] MATTH. PARIS, *Hist. Major.* p. 815. edit. *Watts*.
 Where, speaking of the prodigious number of convents that were
 founded in *England* during this century, he expresseth himself
 thus: *Tot jam apparuerunt ordines in Anglia, ut ordinum confusio*
videretur inordinata.

and afterwards made a great progress under the government of PHILIP BENIZI its chief. This order, though subjected to the rule of St. AUGUSTIN, was, nevertheless, erected in commemoration of the most holy widowhood of the blessed Virgin; for which reason its monks wear a black habit [k], and observe several rules unknown to other monasteries. The prodigious numbers of Christians, that were made prisoners by the Mahometans in *Palestine*, gave rise, towards the conclusion of the XIIIth century, to the institution of the order, entitled, *The Fraternity of the Trinity*, which, in the following age, received a still greater degree of stability, under the pontificate of HONORIUS III. and also of his successor CLEMENT IV. The first founders of this institution were JOHN DE MATHA and FELIX DE VALOIS, two pious men, who led an austere and solitary life at *Cerfroy*, in the diocese of *Meaux*, which is still the seat of the principal convent of the order. The monks of this society are called the *Brethren of the Holy Trinity*, because all their churches are solemnly dedicated to that profound mystery; they are also styled MATHURINS, from their having a monastery at *Paris* erected in a place where there is a chapel consecrated to St. MATHURIN, and *Brethren of the redemption of captives* [l], because the grand design of their institution was to find out means for restoring liberty to the Christian captives in the Holy Land, in which charitable work they are

[k] Besides the ordinary writers of the Monastic History, see PAULI FLORENTINI *Dialog. de origine Ordinis Servorum*, in LAMII *Deliciis Eruditorum*, tom. i. p. 1—48.

[l] BROUGHTON and some other writers make a distinction between the *Order of the redemption of captives*, and the *Fraternity, or Brethren of the Holy Trinity*. They allege, that the latter order was instituted at *Rome* by St. PHILIP NERI, in the year 1548, about 350 years after the first establishment of the former; and that the monks, who composed it, were obliged, by their vow, to take care of the pilgrims who resorted from all parts of the world to *Rome*, to visit the tombs of St. PETER and St. PAUL.

CENT. obliged to employ the third part of their revenue.

XIII. Their manner of life was, at first, extremely abstemious and austere; but its austerity has been from
 PART II. time to time considerably mitigated by the indulgence and lenity of the pontiffs [m].

The mendicant order. XXI. The religious society that surpassed all the rest in the purity of its manners, the extent of its fame, the number of its privileges, and the multitude of its members, was that of the *Mendicant*, or begging friars, whose order was first established in this century, and who, by the tenor of their institution, were to remain entirely destitute of all fixed revenues and possessions. The present state and circumstances of the church rendered the establishment of such an order absolutely necessary. The monastic orders, who wallowed in opulence, were, by the corrupting influence of their ample possessions, lulled in a luxurious indolence. They lost sight of all their religious obligations, trampled upon the authority of their superiors, suffered heresy to triumph unrestrained, and the sectaries to form assemblies in several places; in short, they were incapable of contributing in any respect to promote the true interests of the church, and abandoned themselves, without either shame or remorse, to all manner of crimes. On the other hand, the

[m] Beside HELYOT and the other writers of the Monastic History, see TOUSSAINT DE PLESSIS, *Hist. de l'Eglise de Meaux*, tom. i. p. 172. and 566.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 523. ANT. WOOD, *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 133. In the ancient records, this society is frequently styled the *Order of Asses*, on account of the prohibition of the use of horses, which made a part of their *rule*, and which obliged the mendicant monks to ride upon asses. See CAR. DU FRESNE's *Notes upon Joinville's Life of St. LEWIS*, p. 81. But at present, through the indulgence of the Roman pontiffs, they are permitted to make use of horses when they find them necessary. An order of the same kind was instituted in *Spain*, in the year 1228, by PAUL NOLASCO, under the title of the *Order of St. MARY for the redemption of captives*. See the *Acta Sanctorum Januarii*. tom. ii. p. 980.

enemies of the church, the various sects which had left its communion, followed certain austere rules of life and conduct, which formed a strong contrast between them and the religious orders, and contributed to render the licentiousness of the latter still more offensive and shocking to the people. These sects maintained; that voluntary poverty was the leading and essential quality in a servant of CHRIST, obliged their doctors to imitate the simplicity of the apostles, reproached the church with its overgrown opulence, and the vices and corruptions of the clergy, that flowed from thence as from their natural source, and by this commendation of poverty and contempt of riches, acquired a high degree of respect, and gained a prodigious ascendant over the minds of the multitude. All this rendered it absolutely necessary to introduce into the church a set of men, who, by the austerity of their manners, their contempt of riches, and the external gravity and sanctity of their conduct and maxims, might resemble the doctors, who had gained such reputation to the heretical sects, and who might be so far above the allurements of worldly profit and pleasure, as not to be seduced, by the promises or threats of kings and princes, from the performance of the duties they owed to the church, or from persevering in their subordination to the Roman pontiffs. INNOCENT III. was the first of the popes who perceived the necessity of instituting such an order; and, accordingly, he gave such monastic societies as made a profession of poverty the most distinguishing marks of his protection and favour. They were also encouraged and patronized by the succeeding pontiffs, when experience had demonstrated their public and extensive usefulness. But when it became generally known, that they had such a peculiar place in the esteem and protection of the rulers of the church, their number grew to such an enormous and unwieldy multitude, and swarmed so prodigiously in all the European

CENT. provinces, that they became a burthen, not only to
 XIII. the people, but to the church itself.

PART II. XXII. The great inconveniency that arose from
 its history. the excessive multiplication of the mendicant orders,
 was remedied by GREGORY X. in a general council
 which he assembled at *Lyons* in the year 1272.
 For here all the religious orders, that had sprung up
 after the council held at *Rome*, in the year 1215,
 under the pontificate of INNOCENT III. were sup-
 pressed, and the *extravagant multitude of mendicants*,
 as GREGORY called them, were reduced to a smaller
 number, and confined to the four following societies,
 or denominations, *viz.* the *Dominicans*, the *Franciscans*,
 the *Carmelites*, and the *Hermits of St. Augustin*
 [n]. The *Carmelite* order, which had been insti-
 tuted in *Palestine* during the preceding century, was,
 in this, transplanted into *Europe*, and, in the year
 1226, was favoured by pope HONORIUS III. with a
 place among the monastic societies, which enjoyed
 the protection and approbation of the church. The
Hermits of St. Augustin had for their founder ALEX-
 ANDER IV. [o], who, observing that the *Hermits*
 were divided into several societies, some of which
 followed the maxims of the famous WILLIAM, others
 the rule of St. AUGUSTIN, while others again were
 distinguished by different denominations, formed the
 wise project of uniting them all into one religious
 order, and subjecting them to the same rule of
 discipline, even that which bears the name of St.

[n] *Concil. Ludg. II. A. 1274. Can. xxiii.* in JO. HARDUINI
Conciliis, tom. vii. p. 715. *Importuna potentium inibiatio Religionum*
(so were the religious orders entitled) multiplicationem extorsit,
verum etiam aliquorum præsumptuosa temeritas diversorum ordinum,
præcipue Mendicantium effrænatam multitudinem adinvenit
. . . . Hinc ordines Mendicantes post dictum concilium (i. e. the
council of Lateran held in 1215) adinvenitos perpetuæ
prohibitioni subjicimus.

[o] This edict of pope ALEXANDER IV. is to be found in
 the new edition of the *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. i. p. 110.—
 See also *Acta Sanctor. Mens. Februar.* tom. ii. p. 472.

AUGUSTIN. This project was put in execution in the year 1256.

CENT.

XIII.

PART II.

XXIII. As the pontiffs allowed these Mendicant orders the liberty of travelling wherever they thought proper, of conversing with persons of all ranks, of instructing the youth and the multitude wherever they went; and, as these monks exhibited, in their outward appearance and manner of life, more striking marks of gravity and holiness, than were observable in the other monastic societies, they arose all at once to the very summit of fame, and were regarded with the utmost esteem and veneration throughout all the countries of *Europe*. The enthusiastic attachment to these sanctimonious beggars went so far, that, as we learn from the most authentic records, several cities were divided or cantoned out, into four parts, with a view to these four orders: the first part was assigned to the Dominicans; the second, to the Franciscans; the third, to the Carmelites; and the fourth, to the Augustinians. The people were unwilling to receive the sacraments from any other hands than those of the Mendicants, to whose churches they crowded to perform their devotions, while living, and were extremely desirous to deposit there also their remains after death; all which occasioned grievous complaints among the ordinary priests, to whom the cure of souls was committed, and who considered themselves as the spiritual guides of the multitude. Nor did the influence and credit of the Mendicants end here; for we find in the history of this and of the succeeding ages, that they were employed not only in spiritual matters, but also in temporal and political affairs of the greatest consequence, in composing the differences of princes, concluding treaties of peace, concerting alliances, presiding in cabinet-councils, governing courts, levying taxes, and other occupations, not only remote from, but absolutely inconsistent with, the monastic character and profession.

Attracts the veneration and esteem of the public.

CENT. XXIV. We must not however imagine, that all
 XIII. the Mendicant friars attained to the same degree of
 PART II. reputation and authority; for the power of the
 The Domi- Dominicans and Franciscans surpassed greatly that
 sans. of the other two orders, and rendered them singularly conspicuous in the eyes of the world. During three centuries, these two fraternities governed, with an almost universal and absolute sway, both state and church, filled the most eminent posts ecclesiastical and civil, taught in the universities and churches with an authority, before which all opposition was silent, and maintained the pretended majesty and prerogatives of the Roman pontiffs against kings, princes, bishops, and heretics, with incredible ardour and equal success. The Dominicans and Franciscans were, before the Reformation, what the Jesuits have been since that happy and glorious period, the very soul of the hierarchy, the engines of the state, the secret springs of all the motions of the one and the other, and the authors or directors of every great and important event both in the religious and political world. DOMINIC, a Spaniard by birth, a native of the village of *Calaroga*, descendant of the illustrious house of *Guzman*, and regular canon of *Osma*, a man of a fiery and impetuous temper, and vehemently exasperated by the commotions and contests which the heretics of different denominations had excited in the church, set out for *France* with a few companions, in order to combat the sectaries, that were multiplied in that kingdom. This enterprize he executed with the greatest vigour, and we may add, fury, attacking the Albigenes and the other enemies of the church with the power of eloquence, the force of arms, and subtilty of controversial writings, and the terrors of the *inquisition*, which owed its form to this violent and sanguine priest. Passing from thence into *Italy*, he was honoured by the Roman pontiff's INNOCENT III. and HONORIUS III. with the most distinguished

marks of their protection and favour; and, after many labours in the cause of the church, obtained from them the privilege of erecting this new fraternity, whose principal design was the extirpation of error, and the destruction of heretics. The first rule which he adopted for the new society was that of the *Canons of St. Augustin*, to which he added several austere precepts and observances. But he afterwards changed the discipline of the canons for that of the monks; and, holding a chapter of the order at *Bologna* in the year 1220, he obliged the brethren to take a vow of absolute poverty, and to abandon entirely all their revenues and all their possessions. He did not live long enough to see the consequences of this reformation, for he died the year following at *Bologna* [q]. His monks were, at first, distinguished by the denomination of *preaching friars*, because public instruction was the main end of their institution; but were afterwards called *Dominicans* after their founder [r]. [† Just before his death DOMINIC sent GILBERT DE FRESNEY with twelve of the brethren into *England*, where they founded their first monastery at *Oxford* in the year 1221, and soon after, another at *London*. In the year 1276, the mayor and aldermen of the

[q] See JAC. ECHARD. and QUETIF in *Scriptoribus Ord. Dominic.* tom. i. p. 84.—*Acta Sanctor. April*, tom. iii. p. 872.—NICOL. JANSENI *Vita S. Dominici, Antwerp*, 1622, in 8vo. Add to these the long list of writers mentioned by FABRICIUS, in his *Bibliotheca Lat. med. ævi*, tom. ii. p. 137. and also ANTONII BREMONDI *Bullarium Ordinis Dominicani*, published some years ago at *Rome*.

[r] The Dominicans are called *Frates Majores* in several of the ancient records; see ANT. MATTHÆI *Analecta vet. ævi*, tom. ii. p. 172. This appellation, however, by which the Dominicans were set in opposition to the Franciscans, who call themselves *Frates Minores*, is rather a term of derision than a real name. In *France* the Dominicans are called *Jacobins*, from the street where their first convent was erected at *Paris*, in the year 1218, which street was dedicated to *St. James*, and is still known by the name of *Rue de St. Jaques*.

CENT. city of *London*, gave them two whole streets by the
 XIII. river *Thames*, where they erected a very commodious
 PART II. convent, whence that place is still called *Black-friars*,
 ————— for so the Dominicans were called in *England*.]

The Fran-
 ciscans.

XXV. FRANCIS, the founder of the famous order that bears his name, was the son of a merchant of *Affisi*, in the province of *Umbria*, and a young man who led, for some time, a most debauched and dissolute life. Upon his recovery from a severe fit of sickness, which was the consequence and punishment of his licentious conduct, he changed his method of living, and, as extremes are natural to men of warm imaginations, fell into an extravagant kind of devotion, that looked less like religion than alienation of mind. Some time after this [s], he happened to be in a church, where he heard that passage of the scriptures repeated, in which CHRIST addresseth his apostles in the following manner: *Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves, for the workman is worthy of his meat* [t]. This produced a powerful effect upon his mind, made him consider a voluntary and absolute poverty as the essence of the gospel and the soul of religion, and prescribe this poverty as a sacred rule both to himself and to the few that followed him. Such was the commencement of the famous Franciscan order, whose founder and chief was, undoubtedly, a pious and well-meaning man, though grossly ignorant, and manifestly weakened in his intellect by the disorder from which he had but lately recovered. Nevertheless the new society, which appeared to INNOCENT III. extremely adapted to the present state of the church, and proper to restore its declining credit, was solemnly approved and confirmed by HONORIUS III. in the year 1223, and had already made a considerable progress when its devout founder

[s] In the year 1208.

[t] *Matthew*, x. 9, 10.

was called from this life in the year 1226. FRANCIS, through an excessive humility, would not suffer the monks of his order to be called *Fratres*, i. e. brethren, or *friars*, but *Fraterculi*, i. e. little brethren, or *friars-minors* [u], by which denomination they still continue to be distinguished [w]. The Franciscans came into *England* in the reign of HENRY III. and their first establishment was at *Canterbury*.

XXVI. These two celebrated orders restored the church from that declining condition in which it had been languishing for many years, by the zeal and activity with which they set themselves to discover and extirpate heretics, to undertake various negotiations and embassies for the interests of the hierarchy, and to confirm the wavering multitude in their implicit obedience to the Roman pontiffs. These ghostly rulers, on the other hand, sensible of their obligations to the new monks, which, no doubt, were very great, not only employed them in every affair they looked upon as of high importance, and raised them to the most eminent stations in the church, but also accumulated upon them employments and privileges, which, if they enriched them on the one hand, could not fail to render them odious on the

The eminent services rendered to the Roman pontiffs by the Dominican and Franciscans:

[u] They were called *Fratricelli* by the Italians, *Freres Mineurs* by the French, and *Fratres Minores* by the Latin writers.

[w] BONAVENTURE wrote a life of St. FRANCIS, which has passed through several editions. But the most ample and circumstantial accounts of this extraordinary man are given by LUKE WADDING, in the first volume of his *Annal. Minorum*, which contains a complete history of the Franciscan order, confirmed by a great number of authentic records, and the best edition of which is that published at *Rome* in 1731, and the following years, in eighteen volumes in folio, by JOSEPH MARIA FONSECA AB EBORA. It is to the same WADDING that we are obliged for the *Opuscula Sti. Francisci*, and the *Bibliotheca Ordinis Minorum*, the former of which was published in 4to at *Antwerp*, in the year 1623, and the latter at *Rome*, in 4to likewise, in 1650. The other writers, who have given accounts of the Franciscan order, are mentioned by JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, in his *Bibliotheca Lat. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 573.

CENT. other [x], and to excite the envy and complaints
 XIII. of other ecclesiastics. Such, among many other
 PART II. extraordinary prerogatives, was the permission they
 received from the pontiffs, of preaching to the
 multitude, hearing *confession*, and pronouncing *absol-*
ution, without any license from the bishops, and
 even without consulting them; to which we may
 add the treasure of ample and extensive *indulgences*,
 whose distribution was committed by the popes to
 the Franciscans, as a mean of subsistence, and a
 rich indemnification for their voluntary poverty [y].
 These acts of liberality and marks of protection,
 lavished upon the Dominican and Franciscan *friars*
 with such an ill-judged profusion, as they overturned
 the ancient discipline of the church, and were a
 manifest encroachment upon the rights of the first
 and second orders of the ecclesiastical rulers, produced

[x] The popes were so infatuated with the Franciscans, that those whom they could not employ more honourably in their civil negotiations or domestic affairs, they made their publicans, beadles, &c. See for a confirmation of this, the following passages in the *Histor. Major* of MATTHEW PARIS: *Fratres minores et prædicatores* (says he) *invitos, ut credimus, jam suos fecit dominus papa, non sine ordinis eorum lesione et scandalo, telonarios et bedellos*, p. 634.—*Non cessavit papa pecuniam aggregare, faciens de Fratribus prædicatoribus et minoribus, etiam invitatis, non jam piscatoribus hominum, sed nummorum*, p. 639. Conf. p. 602. 664.—*Erant Minores et Prædicatores magnatum consiliatores et nuntii, etiam domini papæ secretarii: nimis in hoc gratiam sibi secularem comparantes; ad An. 1236. p. 354.*—*Facti sunt eo tempore Prædicatores et Minores regum consiliarii et nuntii speciales, ut sicut quondam mollibus induti in domibus regum erant, ita tunc qui vilibus vestiebantur, in domibus, cameris et palatiis essent principum; ad An. 1239, p. 465.*

[y] See BALUZZI *Miscellan.* tom. iv. p. 490. tom. vii. p. 392.—It is well known that no religious order had the distribution of so many and such ample *indulgences* as the Franciscans. Nor could these good friars live and multiply as they did, without some source of profit, since, by their institution, they were to be destitute of revenues and possessions of every kind. It was therefore in the place of fixed revenues, that such fat *indulgences* were put into their hands.

the most unhappy and bitter diffensions between the Mendicant orders and the bishops. And these diffensions, extending their contagious influence beyond the limits of the church, excited throughout all the European provinces, and even in the city of *Rome* [z], under the very eye of the pontiffs, the most dreadful disturbances and tumults. The measures taken by the popes to appease these tumults were various, but ineffectual; because their principal view was to support the cause of their faithful servants and creatures, the Mendicant friars, and to maintain them in the possession of their honours and advantages [a].

XXVII. Among all the controversies which were maintained by the Mendicants, whether against the bishops, abbots, schools, or other religious orders, none was so famous, as that which arose, in the year 1228, between the Dominicans and the university of *Paris*, and was prolonged, with various success, until the year 1259. The Dominicans claimed, as their unquestionable right, two theological classes in that celebrated university, one of which had been taken from them, and an academical law passed, that no religious order should have what the Dominicans demanded. These latter, however, persisted obstinately in reclaiming the professorship they had lost; while the doctors of the university, perceiving the restless and contentious spirit that animated their efforts, excluded them from their society, and formed themselves into a separate body. This measure was

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The dispute between the Dominicans and the university of *Paris*.

[z] BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 441.

[a] See JO. LAUNOII *Explicata Ecclesie Traditio circa Canonem: Omnis utriusque Sexus*, tom. i. part I. opp. p. 247.—RICH. SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, par M. DU PIN, tom. i. p. 326.—LENFANT, *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, tom. i. p. 310. tom. ii. p. 8.—ECHARDI *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 404. The circumstances of these flaming contests are mentioned by all the writers both of this and the following centuries.

CENT. considered as a declaration of war; and, accordingly, XIII. the most vehement commotions arose between the
 PART II. contending parties. The debate was brought before the tribunal of the Roman pontiff in the year 1255; and the decision, as might well have been expected, was in favour of the monks. ALEXANDER IV. ordered the university of *Paris* not only to restore the Dominicans to their former place in that learned society, but moreover to make a grant to them of as many classes or professorships as they should think proper to demand. This unjust and despotic sentence was opposed by the university with the utmost vigour, and thus the contest was renewed with double fury. But the magistrates of *Paris* were, at length, so terrified and overwhelmed with the thundering edicts and formidable mandates of the exasperated pontiff, that, in the year 1259, they yielded to superior force, and satisfied the demands not only of the Dominican, but also of the Franciscan order, in obedience to the pope, and to the extent of his commands [b]. Hence arose that secret enmity, that silent ill-will, which prevailed so long between the university of *Paris* and the Mendicant orders, especially the Dominicans, and which are not yet entirely extinguished.

The Dominicans meet with a formidable adversary.

XXVIII. In this famous debate none pleaded the cause of the university with greater spirit, and asserted its rights with greater zeal and activity, than GUILLAUME DE St. AMOUR, doctor of the Sorbonne, a man of true genius, worthy to have lived in better times, and capable of adorning a more enlightened age. This vigorous and able champion attacked

[b] See CÆS. EGASS. DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 138. 240. 244. 248. 266, &c.—JO. CORDESI, or (to mention him by the name he assumes) JO. ALITOPHILI *Pref. Hist. et Apologetica ad Opera Guilielmi de S. Amore.*—ANTOINE TOURON, *Vie de S. Thomas*, p. 134.—WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 247. 366. tom. iv. p. 14. 52. 106. 263.—MATTH. PARIS, *Hist. Major, ad An. 1228*, & NANGIS *Chronicon.* apud DACHERIUM; *Spicilegii*, tom. iii. p. 38.

the whole Mendicant tribe in various treatises with CENT, the greatest vehemence, and more especially in a XIII. book *Concerning the perils of the latter times*. He PART II. maintained publicly, that their discipline was in direct opposition to the precepts of the gospel; and that, in confirming and approving it, the popes had been guilty of temerity, and the *church was become chargeable with error* [c]. What gave occasion to the remarkable title of this famous book, was the author's being entirely persuaded that the prophecy of St. PAUL, relating to the *perilous times that were to come in the last days* [d], was fulfilled in the establishment of the Mendicant friars. This notion St. AMOUR maintained in the warmest manner, and proved it, principally, from the book called the *Everlasting Gospel*, which was explained publicly by the Dominicans and Franciscans, and of which we shall have occasion to speak more fully hereafter. The fury and resentment of the Mendicants were therefore kindled, in a peculiar manner, against this formidable adversary, whom they persecuted without interruption, until, in the year 1256, ALEXANDER VI. ordered his book to be publicly burnt, and banished its author out of *France*, lest he should excite the Sorbonne to renew their opposition to these ghostly beggars. St. AMOUR submitted to the papal edict, and retired into the *Franche Comté*, which was the place of his birth; but, under the pontificate of CLEMENT IV. he returned to *Paris*, where he illustrated the tenets of his famous book in a more extensive work, and died universally esteemed and regretted by all ranks and orders of men, except the Mendicants [d].

[c] 2 *Timothy*, iii. 1.[d] 2 *Timothy*, iii. 1.[d] The doctors of the university of *Paris* profess still a high respect for the memory of St. AMOUR, esteem his book, and deny obstinately that he was ever placed in the list of *heretics*. The Dominicans, on the contrary, consider him as a heretic of

CENT.

XXIX. While the pontiffs accumulated upon the

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PART II.

Mendicants the most honourable distinctions, and the most valuable privileges which they had to bestow, they exposed them still more and more to the envy and hatred of the rest of the clergy; and this hatred was considerably increased by the audacious arrogance that discovered itself every where in the conduct of these supercilious orders. They had the presumption to declare publicly, that they had a divine impulse and commission to illustrate and maintain the religion of JESUS; they treated with the utmost insolence and contempt all the different ranks and orders of the priesthood; they affirmed, without a blush, that the true method of obtaining salvation was revealed to them alone, proclaimed with ostentation the superior efficacy and virtue of their *indulgences*, and vaunted, beyond measure, their interests at the court of heaven, and their familiar connexions with the Supreme Being, the Virgin MARY, and the saints in glory. By these impious wiles, they so deluded and captivated the miserable and blinded multitude, that they would not entrust any others but the Mendicants with the care of their souls, their spiritual and eternal concerns [*e*]. We may

The pride
and arro-
gance of the
Mendi-
cants.

the first magnitude, if we may use that expression. Such of his works as could be found were published in 4to, in the year 1632, at *Paris* (though the title bears *Constantiæ*), by CORDESIUS, who has prefixed to them a long and learned Preface, in which he defends the reputation and orthodoxy of St. AMOUR in a triumphant manner. This learned editor, to avoid the resentment and fury of the Mendicants, concealed his real name, and assumed that of JO. ALIOPHILUS. This did not, however, save his book from the vengeance of these friars, who obtained from LEWIS XIII. in the year 1633, an edict for its suppression, which TOURON, a Dominican friar, has published in his *Vie de St. Thomas*, p. 164.—For a farther account of the life of this famous doctor, see WADDING, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 366.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 266.—NAT. ALEX. *Hist. Eccles. Sæc. xiii. cap. iii. Art. vii.* p. 95.—RICH. SIMON. *Critique de la Biblioth. Eccles. de M. DU PIN*, tom. i. p. 345.

[*e*] See M. PARIS, *ad A.* 1246, *Hist. Major*, p. 607. 630, &c.

give, as a specimen of these notorious frauds, the ridiculous fable, which the Carmelites impose upon the credulous, relating to SIMON STOCKIUS, the general of their order, who died about the beginning of this century. To this ecclesiastic, they tell us that the Virgin MARY appeared, and gave him a solemn promise, that the souls of such as left the world with the Carmelite cloak or *scapulary* upon their shoulders, should be infallibly preserved from eternal damnation [*f*]. And here let it be observed to the astonishment of all, in whom the power of superstition has not extinguished the plainest dictates of common sense, that this fiction, ridiculous and impious as it was, found patrons and defenders even among the pontiffs [*g*].

XXX. It is however certain, that the Mendicant orders, though they were considered as the main pillars of the hierarchy, and the principal supports of the papal authority, involved the pontiffs, after the death of DOMINIC and FRANCIS, in many perplexities and troubles, which were no sooner dispelled than they were unhappily renewed; and thus the church was often reduced to a state of imminent danger. These tumults and perplexities began with the contests between the Dominicans and Franciscans about pre-eminence, in which these *humble* monks loaded each other with the bitterest invectives and the severest accusations both in their writings and their discourse, and opposed each other's interests with all the fury of disappointed ambition.

[*f*] See JO. LAUNOII *Lib. de Viso Stockii Oper.* tom. ii. part II. p. 379.—*Acta Sanctor.* tom. iii. *Mensis Maii ad diem xvi.*—THEOPH. RAINAUDI *Scapulare Marianum*, tom. vii. opp. p. 614.

[*g*] The late pope BENEDICT XIV. notwithstanding his pretended freedom from superstition and priestly fraud, has deigned to appear among the supporters of this gross fiction, though he defends it with his usual air of prudence and timidity, in his book *De Fests B. Mariæ Virg.* lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 472. tom. x. opp. edit. *Rom.*

CENT. Many schemes were formed, and various measures
 XIII. were employed, for terminating these scandalous
 PART II. diffensions; but the root of the evil still remained,
 and the flame was rather covered than extinguished
 [b]. Besides this, the Franciscans were early
 divided among themselves, and split into several
 factions, which gathered strength and consistence
 from day to day, and not only disturbed the tran-
 quillity of the church, but struck at the supreme
 jurisdiction and prerogatives of the Roman pontiffs.
 And whoever considers with attention the series of
 events that happened in the Latin church from this
 remarkable period, will be fully convinced that the
 Mendicant orders, whether through imprudence or
 design we shall not determine, gave several mortal
 blows to the authority of the church of *Rome*, and
 excited in the minds of the people those ardent
 desires of a reformation in the church, which pro-
 duced, in after-times, such substantial and such
 glorious effects.

Intestine
 divisions
 among the
 Franciscans
 occasioned
 by different
 explications
 of their
 rule.

XXXI. The occasion of these intestine divisions
 among the Franciscans, was a dispute about the
 precise meaning of their rule. Their founder and
 chief had made absolute poverty one of their indis-
 pensable obligations. The religious orders before
 his time were so constituted, that, though no single
 monk had any personal property, yet the whole
 community, considered as one collective body, had
 possessions and revenues, from whence each individual
 drew the means of his subsistence. But the austere
 chief of the Franciscans absolutely prohibited both
 separate and collective property to the monks of his
 order; and neither the individual nor the community
 were permitted to possess either fund, revenue, or
 any worldly goods [i]. This injunction appeared

[b] See the *Alcoran des Cordeliers*, tom. i. p. 256. 266. 278.
 &c. LUC. WADDINGH *Annales Minor.* tom. iii. p. 380.

[i] The words of the rule itself relating to this point are as
 follow: C. vi. *Fratres sibi nihil approprient, nec domum, nec*

so severe to several of the Friars-minors, that they took the liberty to dispense with it as soon as their founder was dead; and in this they were seconded by the Roman pontiff, GREGORY IX. who, in the year 1231, published an interpretation of this rule, which mitigated considerably its excessive rigour [k]. But this mitigation was far from being agreeable to all the Franciscans; it shocked the austere monks of that order, those particularly who were called the *Spiritual* [l], whose melancholy temper rendered them fond of every thing harsh and gloomy, and whose fanatical spirit hurried them always into extremes. Hence arose a warm debate, which INNOCENT IV. decided, in the year 1245, in favour of those who were for mitigating the severity of the rule in question. By this decree of the pontiff it was enacted, that the Franciscan friars should be permitted to possess certain places, habitations, goods and chattels, books, &c. and to make use of them, but that the *property* of all these things should reside in St. PETER, or the Roman church; so that without the consent of the Roman pontiff they might neither be sold, changed, nor transferred, under any pretext whatsoever. This edict was considered by the gloomy part of the order as a most pernicious depravation of their holy rule, and was, consequently, opposed and rejected by them with indignation. Hence many of these *spiritual* mal-contents retired

locum, nec aliquam rem: sed sicut peregrini et advenæ in hoc sæculo, in paupertate et humilitate famulantes Domino, vadant pro elemosyna confidentur . . . (i. e. let them be sturdy beggars) . . . Hæc est illa celsitudo altissimæ paupertatis, quæ vos carissimos meos fratres hæredes et reges regni calorum instituit.

[k] This bull was published by EMMANUEL RODERIC, in his *Collectio privilegiorum regularium Mendicantium, et non Mendicantium*, tom. i. p. 8.

[l] LUC. WADDINGII *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 99. they were also called *Zelatores*, and *Cæsarians*, from their chief, CÆSARIUS.

CENT. into the woods and desarts, while others were apprehended, by CRESCENTIUS, the general of the society, and sent into exile [m].

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XXXII. The face of affairs was, however, soon changed in their favour, when, in the year 1247, JOHN of *Parma* was chosen general of the order. This famous ecclesiastic, who was zealously attached to the sentiments of the *spiritual*, recalled them from their exile, and inculcated upon all his monks a strict and unlimited obedience to the very letter of the rule that had been drawn up by St. FRANCIS [n]. By this reform, he brought back the order to its primitive state; and the only reward he obtained for his zealous labours was to be accused as a rebellious heretic at the tribunal of the Roman pontiff, ALEXANDER IV, in consequence of which he was obliged to resign his post. He had also the mortification to see the monks who adhered to his sentiments cast into prison, which unhappy lot he himself escaped with great difficulty [o]. His successor, the famous BONAVENTURA, who was one of the most eminent scholastic divines of this century, proposed steering a middle course between the two contending factions, having nothing so much at heart as to prevent an open schism. Nevertheless, the measures he took to reconcile the jarring parties, and to maintain a spirit of union in the order, were not attended with the degree of success which he expected from them; nor were they sufficient to hinder the less austere part of the Franciscans from soliciting and obtaining, in the year 1247, from ALEXANDER IV. a solemn renewal of the mild interpretation which INNOCENT IV. had given of the rule of their founder [p]. On

[m] LUC. WADDINGII *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 128. & tom. iii. p. 171.

[n] LUC. WADDINGII *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 171.

[o] Id. *ibid.* tom. iv. p. 4.

[p] This edict of ALEXANDER IV. is published by WADDINGIUS, *Annal. Min.* tom. iv. p. 446. among the *Records.*

the other hand, the faction that adhered to the sentiments of JOHN of *Parma* maintained their cause with such success, that, in an assembly of the order, held in the year 1260, the explication of INNOCENT was abrogated and annulled, especially in those points wherein it differed from that which had been formerly given by GREGORY IX. [q].

XXXIII. This dispute concerning the true sense of the rule of St. FRANCIS was followed by another of equal moment, which produced new and unhappy divisions among the monks of that order. About the commencement of this century, there were handed about in *Italy* several pretended prophecies of the famous JOACHIM, abbot of *Sora* in *Calabria* [r], whom the multitude revered as a person divinely inspired, and equal to the most illustrious prophets of ancient times. The greatest part of these predictions were contained in a certain book, entitled, *The Everlasting Gospel*, and which was also commonly called, *The Book of Joachim* [s]. This

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Another contest arises among the Franciscans, concerning the *Everlasting Gospel* of the abbot Joachim.

[q] The interpretation of GREGORY mitigated the rule of St. FRANCIS; but that of INNOCENT went much farther, and seemed to destroy its fundamental principles. See WADDING *Annales Minor.* tom. iv. p. 128. The lamentable divisions that reigned among the monks of this famous order, are described, in an accurate and lively manner, by BONAVENTURA himself, in a letter, which is extant in the *Annales* now cited, tom. iv. p. 58.

[r] The resemblance that there is between the words *Sora* and *Flora*, has probably led Dr. MOSHEIM here into a slight mistake. *Sora* is not in *Calabria*, but in the province of *Capua*. It must therefore have been *Flora*, that our author intended to write, as SPANHEIM, FLEURY, and the other ecclesiastical historians have done.

[s] The MERLIN of the English, the MALACHY of the Irish, and NOSTRADAMUS of the French, those pretended soothsayers, who, under the illusory, or feigned persuasion of a divine impulse, sung, in uncouth verse, the future revolutions of church and state, are just what we may suppose the JOACHIM of the Italians to have been. Many predictions of this latter were formerly handed about, and are still to be seen; nay, they have passed through various editions, and have been illustrated by the lucubrations of several commentators. It is not to be doubted, that

CENT. JOACHIM, whether a real or fictitious person we shall
 XIII. not pretend to determine, among many other future
 PART II. events, foretold the destruction of the church of
 ———— *Rome*, whose corruptions he censured with the
 greatest severity, and the promulgation of a new and
more perfect gospel in the age of the Holy Ghost, by a
 set of poor and austere ministers, whom God was to
 raise up and employ for that purpose. For he
 divided the world into *three ages*, relative to the
 three dispensations of religion that were to succeed
 each other in it. The two *imperfect ages*, to wit,
 the age of the Old Testament, which was that of the
Father, and the age of the New, which was under
 the administration of the *Son*, were, according to
 the predictions of this fanatic, now past, and the
 third age, even that of the *Holy Ghost*, was at hand.
 The *Spiritual*, i. e. the austere Franciscans, who
 were, for the most part, well-meaning, but wrong-
 headed enthusiasts, not only swallowed down, with
 the most voracious and implicit credulity, the pro-
 phecies and doctrines that were attributed to JOA-
 CHIM, but applied these predictions to themselves,
 and to the rule of discipline established by their holy

JOACHIM was the author of various predictions; and that he, in a particular manner, foretold the reformation of the church, of which he might easily see the absolute necessity. It is however certain, that the greatest part of the predictions and writings, which were formerly attributed to him, were composed by others; and this we may affirm even of the *Everlasting Gospel*, the work, undoubtedly, of some obscure, silly, and visionary author, who thought proper to adorn his reveries with the celebrated name of JOACHIM, in order to gain them credit, and to render them more agreeable to the multitude. The title of this senseless production is taken from *Revelations* xiv. 6. and it contained three books; the first was entitled, *Liber Concordiæ veritatis*, i. e. *The Book of the Harmony of Truth*; the second, *Apocalypsis Nova*, or *New Revelations*; and the third, *Psalterium decem Chordarum*, i. e. *The Ten-stringed Harp*. This account was taken from a manuscript of that work, in the library of the Sorbonne, by JAC. ECHARD, who has published it in his *Scriptores Dominic.* tom. i. p. 202.

founder St. FRANCIS [t]; for they maintained, CENT. that he delivered to mankind the *true gospel*, and XIII. that he was the angel whom St. JOHN saw flying in PART II. the midst of heaven [u].

XXXIV. At the very time that the intestine Gerhard's book condemned. divisions among the Franciscans were at the greatest height, one of the *Spiritual* friars, whose name was GERHARD, undertook the explication of the *Everlasting Gospel* attributed to JOACHIM, in a book which appeared in the year 1250, under the title of *Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel* [w]. In this

[t] This is acknowledged even by WADDING, notwithstanding his partiality in favour of the *spiritual* or austere Franciscans. See his *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 3—6.

[u] *Revel.* xiv. 6. *And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, &c.*—See on this subject BALUZZI *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 221. 228. 235. 246. ECHARDI *Scriptor. Dominic.* tom. i. p. 202.—*Codex Inquisit. Tholosana* a LIMBORCHIO edit. p. 301, 302. 305, &c.

[w] As the accounts given of this book, by ancient and modern writers, are not sufficiently accurate, it may not be improper to offer here some observations that may correct their mistakes. 1. They almost all confound the *Everlasting Gospel*, or *The Gospel of the Holy Ghost*, (for so was it also called, as we are told by GUILL. DE ST. AMOUR, in his book *De Periculis noviss. Tempor.* p. 38.) with the *Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel*. But these two productions must be carefully distinguished from each other. The *Everlasting Gospel* was attributed to the abbot JOACHIM, and it consisted in three books, as has been already observed. But the *Introduction* to this Gospel was the work of a certain Franciscan monk, who explained the obscure predictions of the pretended Gospel, and applied them to his order. The *Everlasting Gospel* was neither complained of by the university of *Paris*, nor condemned by the Roman pontiff, ALEXANDER IV. ; but the *Introduction* was complained of, condemned, and burnt, as appears evidently from the letters of the abovementioned pontiff, which are to be seen in BOULAY'S *Histor. Academ. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 292. The *former* consisted, as productions of that nature generally do, in ambiguous predictions and intricate riddles, and was consequently despised or neglected; but the *latter* was dangerous in many respects. 2. It is farther to be observed, that the ancient writers are not agreed concerning the author of this *Introduction*. They are unanimous in attributing it to one of the

CENT. book, the fanatical monk, among other enormities, as
XIII. insipid as impious, inculcated the following detestable

PART II.

Mendicant friars; but the votaries of St. FRANCIS maintain, that the author was a Dominican; while the Dominican party affirm as obstinately, that he was a Franciscan. It is however certain, that the greatest part of the learned are of opinion, that the author of the infamous work in question was JOHN of *Parma*, general of the Franciscans, who is known to have been most warmly attached to the *spiritual* faction of that order, and to have maintained the sentiments of the abbot JOACHIM with an excessive zeal. See LUC. WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 9. who endeavours to defend him against this accusation, though without success. (See also the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. iii. *Martii*, p. 157. for JOHN of *Parma*, though he preferred the *Gospel* of St. FRANCIS to that of CHRIST, has, nevertheless, obtained a place among the saints.) The learned ECHARD is of a different opinion, and has proved, in his *Scriptor. Dominican.* tom. i. p. 202, 203. from the curious manuscripts yet preserved in the Sorbonne, relating to the *Everlasting Gospel*, that GERHARD, a Franciscan friar, was the author of the infamous *Introduction* to that book. This GERHARD, indeed, was the intimate friend and companion to JOHN of *Parma*, and not only maintained, with the greatest obstinacy, the cause of the *spiritual*, but also embraced all the sentiments that were attributed to the abbot JOACHIM, with such an ardent zeal, that he chose to remain eighteen years in prison rather than to abandon them. See WADDINGII *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 4. 7. The Franciscans, who were called *observantes*, i. e. *vigilant*, from their professing a more rigid observance of the rule of their founder than was practised by the rest of their order, place GERHARD among the saints of the first rank, and impudently affirm, that he was not only endowed with the gift of prophecy, but also with the power of working miracles. See WADDINGII *Annales Min.* tom. iii. p. 213, 214. It is to be observed 3dly, That whoever may have been the writer of this detestable book, the whole Mendicant order, in the judgment of the greatest part of the historians of this age, shared the guilt of its composition and publication, more especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, who are supposed to have fallen upon this impious method of deluding the multitude into a high notion of their sanctity, in order thus to establish their dominion, and to extend their authority beyond all bounds. This opinion however is ill-founded, notwithstanding the numbers by which it has been adopted. The Franciscans alone are chargeable with the guilt of this horrid production, as appears most evidently from the fragments of the book itself, which yet remain; but we are obliged in justice to observe farther, that this guilt does not even lie upon all the Franciscans, but only on that

doctrine; “ That St. FRANCIS, who was the CENT.
 “ angel mentioned in the *Revelations* xiv. 6. had XIII.
 “ promulgated to the world the true and everlasting PART II.
 “ gospel of God; that the gospel of CHRIST was
 “ to be abrogated in the year 1260, and to give
 “ place to this new and everlasting gospel, which
 “ was to be substituted in its room; and that the
 “ ministers of this great reformation were to be
 “ humble and bare-footed friars, destitute of all
 “ worldly emoluments [x].” When this strange
 book was published at *Paris* in the year 1254, it
 excited in the doctors of the church, and, indeed,
 in all good men, the most lively feelings of horror

faction of the order, which is known under the title of the
Spiritual. Perhaps we might go still farther, and allege, that the
 charge ought not to be extended even to all the members of this
 faction, but to such alone as placed an idle and enthusiastic con-
 fidence in the abbot JOACHIM, and gave credit to all his pretended
 prophecies. These observations are necessary to the true under-
 standing of what has been said concerning the *Everlasting Gospel*
 by the following learned men; JO. ANDR. SCHMIDIUS, *Singular*
Differtat. Helmst. 1700, in 4to.—USSERIUS, *De Successione Eccle-*
siar. Occident. c. ix. § 20. p. 337.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.*
 tom. iii. p. 292.—NATAL. ALEXANDER, *Histor. Eccles. Sæc.*
 xiii. Artic. iv. p. 78.—LUC. WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv.
 p. 9.—Upon the whole it may be affirmed, that the book under
 consideration is not, as the greatest part of the learned have
 imagined, a monument of the arrogance of the Mendicant orders,
 but rather a proof of the impious fanaticism and extravagance of
 an handful of Franciscans.

[x] See GUIL. DE ST. AMORE, *De Periculis noviss. Tempor.*
 p. 38, 39. who observes, that the book under consideration was
 not indeed published before the year 1254, but that the opinions
 contained in it had an earlier origin, and were propagated even in
 the year 1200. Several of the ancient writers have given large
 extracts from this infamous book, see HERM. CORNERI *Chronicon*,
 in ECCARDI *Corpore Histor. mediæ ævi*, tom. ii. p. 850.—*Chronicon*
Egmondanum, in ANT. MATTHÆI *Analectis veteris ævi*, tom. ii.
 p. 517.—RICOBALDUS apud ECCARDUM, *loc. cit.* tom. i. p. 1215.
 —But there is a great difference between these extracts, which
 seems to have arisen from this, that some drew their citations
 from the *Everlasting Gospel* of JOACHIM, while others drew
 theirs from the *Introduction* of GERHARD, not sufficiently distin-
 guishing the one work from the other.

CENT. and indignation against the Mendicant friars, who
 XIII. had already incurred the displeasure of the public
 PART II. on other accounts. This universal ferment engaged
 the Roman pontiff, ALEXANDER IV. though much
 against his will, to order the suppression of this
 absurd book in the year 1255; he, however, took
 care to have this order executed with the greatest
 possible mildness, lest it should hurt the reputation
 of the Mendicants, and open the eyes of the super-
 stitious multitude. But the university of *Paris* was
 not satisfied with these gentle and timorous pro-
 ceedings; and consequently its doctors repeated
 without interruption their accusations and complaints,
 until the extravagant production, that had given
 such just and general offence, was publicly committed
 to the flames [y].

The famous
 constitution
 of Nicolas
 III. relating
 to the rule
 of St. Fran-
 cis.

XXXV. The intestine flame of discord, that had
 raged among the Franciscans, and was smothered,
 though not extinguished, by the prudent manage-
 ment of BONAVENTURA, broke out anew with
 redoubled fury after the death of that pacific doctor.
 The Franciscan monks, who were fond of opulence
 and ease, renewed their complaints against the rule
 of their founder, as unreasonable and unjust,
 demanding what it was absolutely beyond the power
 of man to perform. Their complaints, however,
 were without effect; and their schemes were discon-
 certed by the Roman pontiff, NICOLAS III. who
 leaned to the side of the austere Franciscans; and,
 in the year 1279, published that famous *constitution*,
 which confirmed the rule of St. FRANCIS, and
 contained an accurate and elaborate explication of
 the maxims it recommended, and the duties it pre-
 scribed [z]. By this edict, the pontiff renewed

[y] See BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 299.—
 JORDANI *Chronicon*, in MURATORII *Antiq. Ital.* tom. iv. p.
 998.

[z] Some affirm, that this famous *Constitution* was issued out by
 NICOLAS IV.; but their opinion is refuted by WADDING, in his
Annal. Min. tom. v. p. 73.

that part of the rule, that prohibited all kinds of property among the Franciscans, every thing that bore the least resemblance of a legal possession, or a fixed domain; but he granted to them, at the same time, the *use* of things necessary, such as houses, books, and other conveniences of that nature, the property of which, in conformity with the appointment of INNOCENT IV. was to reside in the church of *Rome*. Nor did the provident pontiff stop here; but prohibited, under the severest penalties, all private explications of this new law, lest they should excite disputes and furnish new matter of contention; and reserved the power of interpreting it to himself alone, and to his successors in the pontificate [a].

XXXVI. However disposed NICOLAS was to satisfy the *Spiritual*, and austere part of the Franciscan order, which was now become numerous both in *Italy* and *France*, and particularly in the province of *Narbonne*, the *constitution* above mentioned was far from producing that effect. The monks of that gloomy faction that resided in *Italy*, received the papal edict with a sullen and discontented silence. Their brethren in *France*, and more especially in the southern parts of that kingdom, where the inhabitants are of a warm and sanguine complexion, testified, in an open and tumultuous manner, their disapprobation of this new *constitution*, and having at their head a famous Franciscan, whose name was JEAN PIERRE D'OLIVE, they excited new dissensions and troubles in the order [b]. This PIERRE

[a] This constitution is yet extant in the *Jus Canon. Lib. vi. Decretal. Tit. xii. c. iii. p. 1028*, edit. *Bohmerianæ*, and is vulgarly called the *Constitution EXIIT*, from its beginning thus: *Exiit, &c.*

[b] In some ancient records, this ringleader is called *Petrus Betterrensis*, i. e. *Peter of Beziers*, because he resided for a long time in the convent of *Beziers*, where he performed the functions of a public teacher. By others, he is named *Petrus de Serignano*, from the place of his nativity. This remark is so much the more necessary, as certain authors have taken these three denominations for three distinct persons.

CENT. D'OLIVE was a native of *Scrignan* in *Languedoc*,
 XIII. who had acquired a shining reputation by his writings,
 PART II. and whose eminent sanctity and learning drew after
 ————— him a great number of followers; nor is it to be
 denied, that there were many important truths and
 wise maxims in the instructions he delivered. One
 of the great objects, which he never lost sight of in
 his writings, was the corruption of the church of
Rome, which he censured with a peculiar freedom
 and severity, in a work entitled, *Postilla*, or *A Com-*
mentary on the Revelations, affirming boldly, that
 that church was represented by the *whore of Babylon*,
the mother of harlots, whom St. JOHN beheld *sitting*
upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy,
having seven heads and ten horns. [c]. It is, however,
 to be observed, that this severe censor of a corrupt
 church was, himself, a most superstitious fanatic in
 several respects, having imbibed the greatest part of
 those monstrous opinions, which the *Spiritual* pre-
 tended to have received from the abbot JOACHIM;
 to which he added an impious and extravagant
 veneration for St. FRANCIS, whom he considered
 as wholly and entirely transformed into the person of
Christ [d]. In the debate concerning the sense of
 the rule of this famous chief, he seemed to adhere
 to neither of the contending parties; for he allowed
 his followers the bare use of the necessaries of life; and
 being called upon, at different times, by the autho-
 rity of his superiors, to declare his sentiments upon
 this head, he professed his assent to the interpre-
 tation that had been given of the rule in question
 by NICOLAS III. He leaned, nevertheless, to the
 side of those austere and *Spiritual* Franciscans, who
 not only opposed the introduction of property among
 the individuals of the order, but also maintained:

[c] *Revelations* xvii. 3, 4, 5.

[d] *Totum CHRISTO configuratum*. See the *Litera Magistrorum de Postilla Fratris P. Job. Olini*, in *VALUZII Miscellan.* tom. ii. p. 213.—*WADDINGI Annales Minor.* tom. v. p. 51.

that the whole community, considered collectively, was likewise to be excluded from possessions of every kind. His zeal for these gloomy Franciscans was great, and he defended their cause with warmth [e]; hence he is looked upon as the chief of that faction, which disputed so often, and so vehemently, with the Roman pontiffs, in favour of the *renunciation of property*, in consequence of the institution of St. FRANCIS [f].

XXXVII. The credit and authority of PIERRE D'OLIVE, whom the multitude considered not only as a man of unblemished sanctity, but also as a prophet sent from above, added new force and vigour to the *Spiritual*, and encouraged them to renew the combat with redoubled fury. But the prudence of the heads of the order prevented, for some time, the pernicious effects of these violent efforts, and so over-ruled the impetuous motions of this enthusiastic faction, that a sort of equality was preserved between the contending parties. But the promotion of MATTHEW of *Aqua Sparta*, who was elected general of the order in the year 1287, put an end to these prudential measures, and changed entirely the face

[e] The real sentiments of PIERRE D'OLIVE will be best discovered in the last discourse he pronounced, which is yet extant in BOULAY's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 535. and in WADDING's *Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 378.

[f] For an account of this famous friar, see not only the common monastic historians, such as RAYNALDUS, ALEXANDER, and OUDINUS, but also the following: BALUZII *Miscell.* tom. i. p. 213. and in *Vitis Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 752.—CAR. PLESSIS D'ARGENTRE, *Collectio judiciorum de novis Ecclesie Erroribus*, tom. i. p. 226.—WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 52. 108. 121. 140. 236. and more especially p. 378. where he makes an unsuccessful attempt to justify this enthusiast —BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 535.—SCHELHORNII *Amanitates Literariæ*, tom. ix. p. 678.—*Histoire Generale de Languedoc, par les Moines Benedictins*, tom. iv. p. 91. 179. 182. The bones of PIERRE D'OLIVE were raised by the order of the Roman pontiff JOHN XXII. and burnt publicly, with his writings, in the year 1325. See RAYNALD. *ad An.* 1325. § 20.

CENT. of affairs. This new chief suffered the ancient discipline of the Franciscans to dwindle away to nothing; indulged his monks in abandoning even the very appearance of poverty, and thus drew upon him, not only the indignation and rage of the austerer part of the *Spiritual* Franciscans, but also the disapprobation of the more moderate members of that party. Hence arose various tumults and seditions, first in the marquisate of *Ancona*, and afterwards in *France*, which the new general endeavoured to suppress by imprisonment, exile, and corporal punishments; but, finding all these means ineffectual, resigned his place in the year 1289 [g]. His successor RAYMOND GOFFREDI employed his utmost efforts to appease these troubles. For this purpose he recalled the banished friars, set at liberty those that had been cast into prison, and put out of the way several of the austerer Franciscans, who had been the principal fomenters of these unhappy divisions, by sending them into *Armenia* in the character of missionaries. But the disorder was too far gone to admit of a remedy. The more moderate Franciscans, who had a relish for the sweets of property and opulence, accused the new general of a partial attachment to the *Spiritual*, whom he treated with peculiar affection and respect, and therefore employed their whole credit to get him removed from his office, which, with much difficulty, they, at length, effected under the pontificate of BONIFACE VIII. On the other hand, the more rigid part of the *Spiritual* faction renounced all fellowship, even with such of their own party as discovered a pacific and reconciling spirit; and, forming themselves into a separate body, protested publicly against the interpretation which NICOLAS III. had given of the rule of St. FRANCIS. Thus, from the year 1290, the affairs of the Franciscans carried a dismal aspect, and portended nothing else but seditions and schisms

[g] WADDINGI *Annales Min.* tom. v. p. 210, 211. 235.

in an order, that had been so famous for its pretended disinterestedness and humility [b].

XXXVIII. In the year 1294, a certain number of Italian Franciscans, of the *Spiritual* party, addressed themselves to CELESTIN V. for a permission to form a separate order, in which they might not only profess, but also observe, in the strictest manner, that austere rule of absolute poverty, which St. FRANCIS had prescribed to his followers. The good pontiff, who, before his elevation to the head of the church, had led a solitary and austere life [i], and was fond of every thing that looked like mortification and self-denial, granted, with the utmost facility, the request of these friars, and placed at the head of the new order, a monk, whose name was LIBERATUS, and who was one of the greatest *self-tormentors* of all the monastic tribe [k]. Soon after this, CELESTIN, finding himself unfit for the duties of his high and important office, resigned the pontificate, in which he was succeeded by BONIFACE VIII. who annulled every act that had been passed during the short reign of his predecessor, and suppressed, among other institutions, the new order, which had assumed the title of the *Celestin Hermits of St. Francis* [l]. This disgrace was, as it were, the signal which drew

[b] Id. *ibid.* tom. v. p. 108. 121. 140. and more especially p. 235, 236.

[i] This pope, whose name was PETER MEURON, had retired very young to a solitary mountain, in order to devote himself entirely to prayer and mortification. The fame of his piety brought many to see him from a principle of curiosity, several of whom renounced the world, and became the companions of his solitude. With these he formed a kind of community, in the year 1254, which was approved by URBAN IV. in 1264, and erected into a distinct order, called *The Hermits of St. Damien*. Upon MEURON's elevation to the pontificate, and his assuming the name of CELESTIN V. his order, which must not be confounded with the new *Franciscan Celestin Hermits*, took the title of *Celestins*.

[k] WADDINGI *Annales*, tom. v. p. 324. 338.

[l] Id. *ibid.* tom. vi. p. 1. *Bullarium Magnum Contin.* III. IV. p. 108, 109.

CENT. upon them the most furious attacks of their enemies.

XIII. The worldly-minded Franciscans persecuted them
 PART II. with the most unrelenting bitterness, accused them
 of various crimes, and even cast upon them the odious reproach of Manicheism. Hence many of these unhappy fanatics retired into *Achaia*, from whence they passed into a small island, where they imagined themselves secure from the rage of their adversaries, and at liberty to *indulge* themselves in all the austerities of that miserable life, which they looked upon as the perfection of holiness here below. But no retreat was sufficient to screen them from the vigilance and fury of their cruel persecutors, who left no means unemployed to perpetuate their miseries. In the mean time, that branch of the *Spiritual* Franciscans that remained in *Italy*, continued to observe the rigorous laws of their primitive institution in spite of BONIFACE VIII. who used his utmost efforts to conquer their obstinacy. They erected societies of their order first in the kingdom of *Naples*, afterwards in the *Milanese*, and in the marquisate of *Ancona*; and, at length, spreading themselves through the greatest part of *Europe*, they continued in the most violent state of war with the church of *Rome*, until the face of things was changed by the Reformation. In these conflicts they underwent trials and sufferings of every kind, and multitudes of them perished in the flames, as miserable victims to the infernal fury of the *Inquisition* [*m*].

[*m*] The writers that serve generally as guides in this part of the history of the church, and whom I have been obliged to consult upon the divisions of the Franciscans, whose history, as will soon appear, is peculiarly interesting and important, are far from meriting the encomiums that are due to perspicuity and exactness. This part of the Ecclesiastical History of, what is called the *Middle Age*, has not hitherto been accurately illustrated by any writer, though it be, every way, worthy of the labours of the learned, and of the attention of Christians. Its principal merit consists herein, that it exhibits striking examples of piety and learning struggling against the power of superstition and

XXXIX. Towards the conclusion of this century, C E N T.
 arose in *Italy* the enthusiastic sect of the *Fratricelli* XIII.
 and *Bizochi*, which, in *Germany* and *France*, received P A R T II.

ignorance, and against that spiritual tyranny of which they were the principal supports. Nay, these very rebellious Franciscans, though fanatical and superstitious in several respects, deserve, nevertheless, an eminent rank among those who prepared the way for the Reformation in *Europe*, and who excited in the minds of the people, a just aversion to the church of *Rome*. RAYNALDUS, BZOVIVS, SPONDANUS, in their Annals, EYMERICUS, in his *Directorium Inquisitorum*, and NATALIS ALEXANDER, in his Ecclesiastical History, relate the revolutions that happened in the Franciscan order, and in the church in general during this period: but their accounts are neither so accurate, nor so ample, as the importance of the events deserved. And as it is from these authors that the protestant historians have drawn their materials, we need not be surpris'd at the defects with which these latter abound. WADDING, who merits the highest encomiums as a laborious and learned writer, is yet an uncertain guide, when he treats of the matters now under consideration. His attachment to one party, and his fear of the others, lay him under restraints, that prevent his declaring the truth with a noble freedom. He shades his picture with dexterity. He conceals, dissembles, excuses, acknowledges, and denies, with such a timorous prudence and caution, that the truth could not but suffer considerably under his pen. He appears to have been attached to the rigid Franciscans, and yet had not the courage to declare openly, that they had been injured by the pontiffs. He saw on the other hand, the tumults and perplexities in which these rigid Franciscans had involved the church of *Rome*, and the strokes they had levelled, with no small success, at the majesty of the pontiffs: but he has taken all imaginable pains to throw such a shade upon this part of their conduct, as conceals its violence from the view of his readers. Such then being the characters of the writers, who have handed down to us the history of the church in this important period, I could follow none of them as a sure or constant guide in all the events they relate, the judgments they form, or the characters they describe. I have not, however, been destitute of a clue to conduct me through the various windings of this intricate labyrinth. The testimonies of ancient authors, with several manuscripts that have never yet been published, such as the *Diplomas* of the Pontiffs and Emperors, the *Acts of the Inquisition*, and other records of that kind, are the authentic sources from whence I have drawn my accounts of many things that have been very imperfectly represented by other historians.

The Fratricelli and Beguards:

CENT. the denomination of *Beguards*. They were con-
 XIII. demned by BONIFACE VIII. [n], and by several of
 PART II. his successors; and the *inquisitors* were charged by
 ————— these despotic pontiffs to persecute them until they
 were entirely extirpated, which commission they
 executed with their usual barbarity. The *Fratricelli*,
 or *Little Brethren*, were Franciscan monks, who
 separated themselves from the grand community of
 St. FRANCIS, with a design to observe the laws of
 their parent and founder in a more strict and rigorous
 manner than they were observed by the other Fran-
 ciscans; and who, accordingly, renounced every
 kind of possession and property both common and
 personal, and begged from door to door their daily
 subsistence [o]. They alleged that neither CHRIST

[n] See TRITHEMIUS *Annal. Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 74. though this author is defective in several respects, and more especially in his accounts of the origin and sentiments of the *Fratricelli*. It is also to be observed, that he confounds, through the whole of his history, the sects and orders of this century one with another, in the most ignorant and unskilful manner. See rather DU BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 541. where the edict published in the year 1297, by BONIFACE VIII. against the *Bizochi*, or *Beguards*, is inserted; as also JORDANI *Chronicon*, in MURATORI *Antiq. Italie.* tom. iv. p. 1020.

[o] The *Fratricelli* resemble the *Spiritual* in many of their maxims and observances: they, however, are a distinct body, and differ from them in various respects. The *Spiritual*, for instance, continued to hold communion with the rest of the Franciscans, from whom they differed in points of considerable moment, nor did they ever pretend to erect themselves into a particular and distinct order; the *Fratricelli*, on the contrary, renounced all communion with the Franciscans, and, withdrawing their obedience from the superiors of that society, chose for themselves a new chief, under whom they formed a new and separate order. The *Spiritual* did not absolutely oppose their order's possessing certain goods jointly, and in common, provided they renounced all property in these goods, and confined their pretensions to the mere use of them; whereas the *Fratricelli* rejected every kind of possession, whether personal or in common, and embraced that absolute poverty and want, which St. FRANCIS had prescribed in his *Rule* and in his last *Testament*. We omit the mention of other less important differences that might be alleged here.

nor his apostles had any possessions, either *personal*, CENT.
 or *in common*; and that *they* were the models, whom XIII.
 St. FRANCIS commanded his followers to imitate. PART II.
 After the example also of their austere founder, they
 went about clothed with sordid garments, or rather
 with loathsome rags, declaimed against the corrup-
 tion of the church of *Rome*, and the vices of the
 pontiffs and bishops, foretold the reformation of the
 church and the restoration of the true gospel of
 CHRIST by the *genuine* followers of St. FRANCIS,
 and declared their assent to almost all the doctrines,
 which were published under the name of the abbot
 JOACHIM. They esteemed and respected CELESTIN
 V. because, as has been already observed, he was,
 in some measure, the founder of their society, by
 permitting them to erect themselves into a separate
 order. But they refused to acknowledge, as true
 and lawful heads of the church, his successor BONI-
 FACE and the other pontiffs after him, who opposed
 the *Fratricelli*, and persecuted their order [p].

[p] The accounts of the *Fratricelli*, that are given by ancient
 and modern writers, even by those that pretend to the greatest
 exactness, are extremely confused and uncertain. TRITHEMIUS,
 in his *Annal. Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 74. affirms, that they derived
 their origin from TANCHELINUS, and thus ignorantly confounds
 them with the *Catharists* and other sects that arose in those times.
 The Franciscans leave no means unemployed to clear themselves
 from all relation to this society, and to demonstrate, that such a
 pestilential and impious sect, as that of the *Fratricelli*, did not
 derive their origin from the order of St. FRANCIS. In consequence
 of this, they deny that the *Fratricelli* professed the Franciscan
 rule; and maintain, on the contrary, that the society, which was
 distinguished by this title, was a heap of rabble, composed of
 persons of all kinds and all religions, whom HERMAN PONGILUP,
 towards the conclusion of this century, gathered together at
Ferrara in Italy, and erected into a distinct order. See LUC.
 WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 279. This author
 employs all his eloquence to defend his order from the infamous
 reproach of having given rise to that of the *Fratricelli*: 'But his
 efforts are vain; for he acknowledges, nay, even proves by
 unquestionable authorities, that this hated sect professed and
 observed, in the most rigorous manner, the rule of St. FRANCIS;

CENT. XL. As the Franciscan order acknowledged, as
 XIII. its companions and associates, a set of men who
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and, nevertheless, he denies that they were Franciscans; by
 Tertiaries, which he means, and indeed can only mean, that they were not
 Rocafoti, such Franciscans as those who lived in subjection to the general
 and Be- of the order, and adopted the interpretation which the pontiffs
 guins. had given of the rule of their founder. All WADDING's boasted
 demonstration, therefore, comes to no more than this, that the
Fratricelli were Franciscans who separated themselves from the
 grand order of St. FRANCIS, and rejected the authority of the
 general of that order, and the laws and interpretations, together
 with the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiffs; and this no mortal
 ever took it into his head to deny. HERMANNUS, or, as he is
 called by many, ARMANNUS PONGILUP, whom WADDING and
 others consider as the parent of the *Fratricelli*, lived in this
 century, at *Ferrara*, in the highest reputation on account of his
 extraordinary piety; and when he died, in the year 1269, was
 interred with the greatest magnificence and pomp in the principal
 church of that city. His memory was, for a long time, honoured
 with a degree of veneration equal to that which is paid to the most
 illustrious saints; and it was supposed that the Supreme Being
 bore testimony to his eminent sanctity by various miracles. But
 as PONGILUP had been suspected of heresy by the *Inquisitors* *,
 on account of the peculiar austerity of his life, which resembled
 that of the *Catharists*, they made, even after his death, such an
 exact and scrupulous inquiry into his maxims and morals, that,
 many years after he was laid low in the grave, his impiety was
 detected and published to the world. Hence it was, that, in the
 year 1300, his tomb was destroyed, his bones dug up, and burned
 by the order of BONIFACE VIII. and the multitude effectually
 cured of the enthusiastic veneration they had for his memory.
 The *judicial acts* of this remarkable event are recorded by MURA-
 TORI, in his *Antiquit. Italic. mediæ ævi*, tom. v. p. 93—147. and
 it appears evidently from them, that those learned men, who con-
 sider PONGILUP as the founder of the order of the *Fratricelli*, are
 entirely mistaken. So far was he from being the founder of this
 sect, that he was dead before it was in being. The truth of the
 matter is, that this famous enthusiast was a *Catharist*, infected
 with *Paulician* or *Manichean* principles, and that he was a
 member of the sect entitled *Bagnolists*, from a town of that name
 in *Provence*, where they resided. Some modern writers, indeed,
 have seen so far into the truth, as to perceive that the *Fratricelli*
 were a separate branch of the rigid and austere Franciscans; but
 they err in this, that they consider them as the same sect with the

* These formidable censors were entitled, *Inquisitors of Heretical
 Pravity*.

observed the *third rule* that was prescribed by St. CENT. FRANCIS, and were from thence commonly called XIII.

PART II.

Beguards or *Beguins*, under a different denomination. Such is the opinion adopted by LIMBORCH, in his *Hist. Inquisit.* lib. i. cap. xix. p. 69. who appears to have been very little acquainted with the matters now under consideration; by BALUZIUS, in his *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 195. & *Vit. Pontif. Avinionens.* tom. i. p. 509. by BEAUSOBRE, in his *Dissertation concerning the Adamites*, subjoined to the *History of the Wars of the Hussites*, p. 380. and by WADDING, in his *Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 376. But notwithstanding the authorities of these learned men, it is certain, as we shall shew in its place, that there was a real difference between the *Fratricelli*: and the *Beguards*, not indeed with respect to their opinions, but in their rule of discipline and their manner of life.

The principal cause of the errors that have obscured the *History of the Fratricelli*, is the ambiguity that there is in the denomination of their order. *Fratricellus*, or *Fraterculus*, or *Little Brother*, was an Italian nick-name, or term of derision, that was applied in this century to all those who, without belonging to any of the religious orders, affected a monkish air in their cloathing, their carriage, and their manner of living, and assumed a sanctimonious aspect of piety and devotion. See VILLANI *Istorie Florentine*, lib. viii. c. 84. p. 423.—IMOLA in *Dantem*, p. 1121. in MURATORI *Antiq. Ital.* tom. i. And as there were many vagabonds of this kind, that wandered about from place to place during this century, it happened, that this general term of *Fratricelli* was applied to them all, though they differed much from one another in their opinions and in their methods of living. Thus the *Catharists*, the *Waldenses*, the *Apostles*, and many other sects, who had invented new opinions in religion, were marked with this denomination by the multitude; while the writers of foreign nations, unacquainted with this ludicrous application of the word, were puzzled in their inquiries after the sect of the *Fratricelli*, who had given so much trouble to the Roman pontiffs, nay, were led into the grossest mistakes, and imagined, at one time, that this order was that of the *Catharists*, at another, that it was the sect of the *Waldenses*, &c. But, in order to have distinct ideas of this matter, it must be considered, that the word *Fraterculus*, or *Little Brother*, bore a quite different sense from the ludicrous one now mentioned, when it was applied to the austere part of the Franciscans, who maintained the necessity of observing, in the strictest manner, the rule of their founder. Instead of being a nick-name, or a term of derision when applied to them, it was an honourable denomination, in which they delighted, and which they preferred infinitely before all other titles. *Fratricelli*, or *Little Brothers*, is a word of the same signification with *Friars-minors*; and every

CENT. *Tertiaries* [q]; so likewise the order of the *Fratricelli*,
 XIII. who were desirous of being considered as the only
 PART II.

one knows, that this latter appellation was adopted by the Franciscans, as an expression of their extraordinary humility and modesty. In assuming this title, therefore, these monks did not, properly speaking, assume a new name, but only translated the ancient name of their order into the Italian language; for what the Latins called *Fratres minores*, i. e. *Friars-minors*, that the Italians called *Fratricelli*. Of the many proofs we might draw from the best authors in favour of this account of the matter, we shall only allege one, from the *Life of Thomas Aquinas*, by *GUILIELMUS DE THOCO in Actis Sanctor. Martii*, tom. i. cap. ii. § xxi. *Destruxit* (says that biographer) *et tertium pestiferum pravitatis errorem St. Thomas . . . cujus sectatores simul et inventores SE NOMINANT FRATERCULOS DE VITA PAUPERE, ut etiam sub hoc humilitatis sopsistico nomine simplicium corda seducant . . . Contra quem errorem pestiferum Johannes Papa XXII. mirandam edidit Decretalem.*

Now this very *Decretal* of JOHN XXII. against the *Fratricelli*, which THOCO calls *Admirable*, is, to mention no other testimonies, a sufficient and satisfactory proof of what I have affirmed in relation to that sect. In this *Decretal*, which is to be seen in the *Extravagantia Joh. XXII. Corporis Juris Canon.* tom. ii. p. 1112. edit. *Bachmeriana*, the pontiff expresses himself thus: *Nonnulli profana multitudinis viri, qui vulgariter Fratricelli seu Fratres de paupere vita, Bizochi, sive Beguini, nuncupantur in partibus Italiae, in insula Sicilia . . . publice mendicare solent.* The pontiff afterwards divides the *Fratricelli*, into *Monks* and *Tertiaries*, or (which amounts to the same thing, as we shall shew in its place) into *Fratricelli* and *Beguins*. With respect to the *Fratricelli*, properly so called, he expresses himself thus: *Plurimi regulam seu ordinem Fratrum Minorum . . . Se profiteri ad litteram conservare confingunt, pretendentes se a sanctae memoriae Celestino Papa Quinto, praedecessore nostro, hujus status, seu vitae privilegium habuisse. Quod tamen, et sit ostenderent, non valeret, cum Bonifacius Papa Octavus ex certis causis rationabilibus omnia ab ipso Celestino concessa . . . viribus penitus evacuaverit.* Here the pontiff describes clearly those *Fratricelli*, who, separating themselves from the Franciscans with a view to observe more strictly the rule of St. FRANCIS, were erected into a distinct order by pope CELESTIN V. And in the following passage he characterises, with the same perspicuity, the *Bizochi* or *Beguins*, who entitled themselves of *The third order of the penitents of St. Francis*: *Nonnulli ex ipsis asserentes se esse de tertio ordine beati Francisci penitentium vocato, praedictum statum et ritum eorum sub velamine talis nominis satagunt palliare.*

[q] Besides two very austere rules drawn up by St. FRANCIS, the one for the *Friars-minors*, and the other for the *Poor-Sisters*;

genuine followers of St. FRANCIS, had a great number of *Tertiaries* attached to their cause. These *Tertiaries*, or half-monks, were called, in *Italy*, *Bizochi* and *Bocasoti*; in *France*, *Beguins*; and in *Germany*, *Beguards*, or *Begbards*, which last was the denomination by which they were commonly known in almost all places [r]. They differed from the

called *Clariffes*, from St. CLARA their founder, this famous chief drew up a *third*, whose demands were less rigorous, for such, as, without abandoning their worldly affairs, or resigning their possessions, were, nevertheless, disposed to enter, with certain restrictions, into the Franciscan order, and desirous of enjoying the privileges that were annexed to it. This rule prescribed fasting, continence, hours of devotion and prayer, mean and dirty apparel, gravity of manners, and things of that nature; but neither prohibited contracting marriage, accumulating wealth, filling civil employments, nor attending to worldly affairs. All the Franciscan historians have given accounts of this *third rule*, more especially WADDING. *Annal. Min.* tom. ii. p. 7.—HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vii. p. 214. They, that professed this third rule, were called *Friars of the penance of Christ*, and sometimes also, on account of the meanness of their garments, *Brethren of the sack*, but they were more generally known by the denomination of *Tertiaries*. The greatest part of the religious orders in the church of *Rome* imitated this institution of St. FRANCIS, as soon as they perceived the various advantages that were deducible from it. And hence, at this day, these orders continue to have their *Tertiaries*.

[r] The *Tertiaries* that were connected with the order of the *Fratricelli*, arose about the year 1296, in the marquisate of *Ancona* and the neighbouring countries, and were called *Bizochi*, as we learn from the edict issued out against them, in the year 1297, by BONIFACE VIII. and published by DU BOULAY, in his *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 541. They are mentioned under the same title by JOHN XXII. in the bull already cited. Add to all these authorities, that of the learned DU FRESNE, who, in his *Glossar. Latinit. medice*, tom. i. p. 1188. observes, that this denomination is derived from *Bizochus*, which signifies in French *une Besace*, i. e. a *sack* or *wallet*, such as beggars in general, and these holy beggars in particular, were used to carry about with them. The term *Bocasotus*, or *Vocasotus*, as DU BOULAY writes it (in his *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 510.) has no doubt the same origin, and bears the same signification. It is used by JORDAN, in his *Chronicle*, from whence we shall cite a remarkable passage in the following note. The denominations

CENT. *Fratricelli*, not in their opinions and doctrine, but
 XIII. only in their manner of living. The *Fratricelli*
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— of *Beghards* and *Beguins*, that were given to the *Tertiaries* in *France* and in *Italy*, are very frequently to be met with in the Ecclesiastical History of the Middle Age. The accounts, however, which both ancient and modern writers generally give of these famous names, are so uncertain, and so different from each other, that we need not be surpris'd to find the history of the *Beghards* and *Beguins* involved in greater perplexity and darkness, than any other part of the Ecclesiastical Annals of the Age now mentioned. It is therefore my present design to remove this perplexity, and to dispel this darkness, as far as that can be done in the short space to which I am confined, and to disclose the true origin of these famous denominations.

The words *Beghard* or *Beggehard*, *Begutta*, *Beghinus*, and *Beghina*, which only differ in their termination, have all one and the same sense. The German and Belgic nations wrote *Beghard* and *Begutte*, which terminations are extremely common in the language of the ancient Germans. But the French substituted the Latin termination in the place of the German, and changed *Beghard* into *Beghinus* and *Beghina*; so that those who in *Holland* and *Germany* were called *Beghard* and *Begutte*, were denominat'd in *France*, *Beghini* and *Beghinæ*. Nay, even in *Germany* and *Holland*, the Latin termination was gradually introduced instead of the German, particularly in the feminine term *Begutta*, of which change we might allege several probable reasons, were this the proper place for disquisitions of that nature. There are many different opinions concerning the origin and signification of these terms, which it would be too tedious to mention, and still more so to refute. Besides, I have done this in a large work now almost finished, concerning the *Beghards* and *Beghines*, wherein I have traced out with the utmost pains and labour, in Records, the greatest part of which have never seen the light, the history of all the different sects to whom these names have been given, and have at the same time detected the errors into which many learned men have fallen in treating this part of the history of the church*. At present, therefore, setting aside many opinions and conjectures, I shall confine myself to a brief inquiry into the true origin and signification of these words. They are undoubtedly derived from the old German word *beggen*, *beggeren*, which signifies to seek any thing with importunity, zeal, and earnestness. In joining to this word the syllable *hard*, which is the termination of many German words, we have the term *Beggehard*, which is applicable

* The work here hinted at has not yet appeared, though we hope that those who are entrusted with the papers of the learned author, will prevent such a valuable production being lost to the republic of letters.

were real monks, subjected to the rule of St. FRANCIS; while the *Bizochi*, or *Beguins*, if we except

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PART II.

to a person who asks any thing with ardour and importunity. And as none are so remarkable for asking in this manner as common beggars, who subsist upon the liberality of the public, therefore, in the ancient German language, they were called *Beghard*, from which the English word *beggar* is manifestly derived. *Begutta* signifies a female beggar.—When Christianity was introduced into *Germany*, the word *beggen*, or *beggeren*, was used in a religious sense, and expressed the act of devout and fervent prayer to the Supreme Being. Accordingly we find in the Gothick translation of the Four Gospels attributed to UPHILAS, the word *beggen* employed to express the duty of *earnest and fervent prayer*. Hence, when any person distinguished himself from others by the frequency and fervour of his devotional services, he was called a *Beghard*, i. e. a *devout man*; and the denomination of *Begutta* was given, in the same sense, to women of uncommon piety. And as they, who distinguished themselves from others by the frequency of their prayers, assumed by that means a more striking air of external devotion than the rest of their fellow-christians; hence it came to pass, that all those who were ambitious of appearing more religious and devout than their neighbours, were called *Beghardi*, or *Begutta*.

The observations we have hitherto made, with respect to the origin and signification of the words in question, will serve as a clue to deliver the attentive reader from that labyrinth of difficulties in which the history of the *Beghards* and *Beguine* has been involved. They will also enable him to account for the prodigious multitudes of *Beghards* and *Beguines* that sprung up in *Europe* in the thirteenth century; and will shew him how it happened, that these denominations were given to above thirty sects or orders, which differed widely from each other in their opinions, their discipline, and manner of living. The first and original signification of the word *Beghard* (or *Beggert*, as it was pronounced by the common people) was *importunate beggar*. Therefore, when the people saw certain persons, not only embracing with resignation, but also with the most voluntary choice, and under a pretext of devotion, the horrors of absolute poverty, begging their daily bread from door to door, and renouncing all their worldly possessions and occupations, they called all such persons *Beghards*, or, if they were women, *Beghurts*, without ever once considering the variety of opinions and maxims by which they were distinguished. The sect called *Apostles*, the rigid Franciscans, the *Brethren of the free spirit* (of whom hereafter), all embraced this sordid state of beggary; and though among these orders there was not only the widest difference, but even the

CENT. their fordid habit, and certain observances and
 XIII. maxims, which they followed in consequence of the
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greatest opposition, the Germans called them indiscriminately *Beghards*, from the miserable state which they had all embraced. Nor is this to be wondered at; the character, which they possessed in common, was striking; while the sentiments and maxims that divided them escaped the observation of the multitude.

But the word *Beghard* acquired a second and new signification in this century, being employed, as we have already observed, to signify a person who *prayed* with uncommon frequency, and who *distinguished himself from those about him by an extraordinary appearance of piety*. The force of this term, in its new signification, is the same with that of the word *Methodist*, which is at present the denomination of a certain set of fanatics in these kingdoms. Such, therefore, as departed from the manner of living that was usual among their fellow-citizens, and distinguished themselves by the gravity of their aspect, and the austerity of their manners, were comprehended under the general denomination of *Beghards* and *Begottes* in *Germany*, and of *Beguins* and *Beguines* in *France*. The use of these terms was, at first, so extensive, that, as we could shew by many examples, they were applied even to the monks themselves; but, in process of time, they were applied with less extent, and were confined to those who formed a sort of an intermediate order between the *monks* and *citizens*, and who resembled the former in their manner of living, without assuming their name, or contracting their obligations. The *Tertiaries*, therefore, or half-monks of the Dominican, Franciscan, and, in general, of all the religious orders, were called *Beghards*; for though, as *lay-citizens*, they belonged to the body politic, yet they distinguished themselves by their monkish dispositions, and their profession of extraordinary piety and sanctity of manners. The *Fraternity of weavers*, the *Brethren of St. ALEXIUS*, the *Followers of GERHARD the Great*, in a word, all who pretended to an uncommon degree of sanctity and devotion, were called *Beghards*, although they procured themselves the necessaries of life by honest industry, without having recourse to the fordid trade of begging.

The denominations, therefore, of *Beghards*, *Begottes*, *Beguins*, and *Beguines*, are rather honourable than otherwise, when we consider their origin; and they are mentioned as such, in several records and deeds of this century, whose authority is most respectable, particularly in the Testament of St. LEWIS, king of *France*. But, in process of time, these terms lost gradually, as the case often happens, their primitive signification, and became marks of infamy and derision. For, among these religious *beggars* and these sanctimonious pretenders to extraordinary piety,

injunctions of the famous faint now mentioned, lived CENT. after the manner of other men, and were therefore XIII. considered in no other light, than as *seculars* and PART II. *laymen* [s]. It is, however, to be observed, that the *Bizochi* were divided into two classes, which derived their different denominations of *perfect* and

there were many, whose piety was nothing more than the most senseless superstition; many, also, whose austere devotion was accompanied with the opinions of a corrupt nature, and entirely opposite to the doctrine of the church, and (what was still more horrible) many artful hypocrites, who, under the mask of religion, concealed the most abominable principles, and committed the most enormous crimes. These were the fools and knaves who brought the denomination of *Beghards* into disrepute, and rendered it both ridiculous and infamous, so that it was only employed to signify idiots, heretics, or hypocrites. The denomination of *Lolbards*, of which we shall have occasion to speak more amply hereafter, met with the same fate, and was rendered contemptible by the persons who masked their iniquity under that specious title.

[s] See the *Acta Inquis. Theolof.* published by LIMBORCH, p. 298. 302. 310. 313. and particularly 307. 329. 382. 380. &c. Among the various passages of ancient writers, which tend to illustrate the history of the *Fratricelli* and *Beguins*, I shall quote only one, which is to be found in JORDAN'S *Chronicon*. published by MURATORI, in his *Antiqq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iv. p. 1020. and confirms almost every thing we have said upon that head; Anno 1294. *Petrus de Macerata et Petrus de Forosempronio Apostata fuerunt ordinis Minorum et heretici. His penitentibus eremitice vivere, ut Regulam B. Francisci ad litteram servare possent. Quibus plures Apostatae adhaeserunt, qui statum communitatis damnabant et declarationes Regule, et vocabant se Fratres S. Francisci* (he ought to have said *Fratricellos*) *Seculares*; i. e. the *Tertiaries*, who were the friends and associates of the *Fratricelli*, without quitting, however, their secular state or entering into the monastic order), *Seculares autem vocarunt Bizocios aut Fratricellos vel Bocafotos* (here JORDAN is mistaken) in affirming, that the *Seculares* were called *Fratricelli*; for this latter name belonged only to the true monks of St. FRANCIS, and not to the *Tertiaries*. The other circumstances of this account are exact, and shew that the more austere professors of the Franciscan rule were divided into two classes, viz. into *friars* and *seculars*, and that the latter were called *Bizochi*. *Si dogmatizabant, quod nullus summus Pontifex Regulam B. Francisci declarare potuit. Item, quod Angelus abstulit a Nicolao, tertio Papatus auctoritatem . . . Et quod ipsi soli sunt in via Dei et vera ecclesia, &c.*

CENT. *imperfect*, from the different degrees of austerity that
 XIII. they discovered in their manner of living. The
 PART II. *perfect* lived upon alms, abstained from wedlock,
 and had no fixed habitations. The *imperfect*, on
 the contrary, had their houses, wives, and possessions,
 and were engaged, like the rest of their fellow-
 citizens, in the various affairs of life [t].

A great dif-
 ference be-
 tween the
 Franciscan
 Beguines
 and those of
 Germany
 and the Ne-
 therlands.
 XLI. We must not confound these *Beguins* and
Beguines, who derived their origin from an austere
 branch of the Franciscan order, with the German
 and Belgic *Beguines*, who crept out of their obscu-
 rity in this century, and multiplied prodigiously in a
 very short space of time [u]. Their origin was of
 earlier date than this century, but it was only now

[t] This division is mentioned, or supposed, by several authors, and more especially in the *Acta Inquisit. Tholosanæ*, p. 303. 310. 312, 313. 319, &c.

[u] In the last century, there was a great debate carried on in the Netherlands concerning the origin of the *Beghards* and *Beguines*, of which I have given an ample account in a work not yet published. In the course of this controversy, the *Beguines* produced the most authentic and unexceptionable records and diplomas, from which it appeared, that, so early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there had been several societies of *Beguines* established in *Holland* and *Flanders*. It is true, they had no more than three of these authentic acts to offer as a proof of their antiquity; the first was drawn up in the year 1065, the second in the year 1129, the third in 1151; and they were all three drawn up, at *Vilvorden*, by the *Beguines*, who, at that time, were settled there. See AUB. MIRÆI *Opera Diplomatico-historica*, tom. ii. c. xxvi. p. 948. and tom. iii. p. 628, edit. nov.—ERYCIUS PUTEANUS, *De Beghinarum apud Belgas instituto et nomine suffragio*. This treatise of PUTEANUS is to be found with another of the same author, and upon the same subject, in a work entitled, JOSEPHI GELDOLPHIA RYCKEL *Vita S. Veggæ cum Adnotationibus*, p. 65—227. *Duaci*, 1631, in 4to. Now, though we grant that those writers are mistaken, who place the first rise of the *Beguines* in the twelfth or thirteenth century, yet the small number of authentic records, which they have to produce in favour of their antiquity, is an incontestable proof of the obscurity in which they lay concealed before the time in which these writers place their origin, and may render it almost probable, that the only *convent of Beguines*, that existed before the thirteenth century, was that of *Vilvorden* in *Brabant*.

that they acquired a name, and made a noise in the world. Their primitive establishment was, undoubtedly, the effect of virtuous dispositions and upright intentions. A certain number of pious women, both virgins and widows, in order to maintain their integrity, and preserve their principles from the contagion of a vicious and corrupt age, formed themselves into societies, each of which had a fixed place of residence, and was under the inspection and government of a female head. Here they divided their time between exercises of devotion, and works of honest industry, reserving to themselves the liberty of entering into the state of matrimony, as also of quitting the convent, whenever they thought proper. And as all those among the female sex, who made extraordinary professions of piety and devotion, were distinguished by the title of *Beguines*, i. e. persons who were uncommonly *assiduous in prayer*, that title was given to the women of whom we are now speaking [ω]. The first society of this kind, that we read of, was formed at *Nivelle* in *Brabant*, in the year 1226 [x]; and

[ω] All the *Beghards* and *Beguines* that yet remain in *Flanders* and *Holland*, where their convents have almost entirely changed their ancient and primitive form, affirm unanimously, that both their name and institution derive their origin from St. BEGGHE, dutchess of *Brabant*, and daughter of PEPIN, mayor of the palace to the king of *Austrasia*, who lived in the seventh century. This lady, therefore, they consider as their patroness, and honour her as a kind of tutelary divinity with the deepest sentiments of veneration and respect. See JOS. GELD. A RYCKEL in *vita S. Beggæ cum Adnotat. Duaci et Lovanii edita*; a work of great bulk and little merit, and full of the most silly and insipid fables.—Those who are no well-wishers to the cause of the *Beguines*, adopt a quite different account of their origin, which they deduce from LAMBERT LE BEGUE, a priest and native of *Liege*, who lived in the twelfth century, and was much esteemed on account of his eminent piety. The learned PETER COENS, canon of *Antwerp*, has defended this opinion with more erudition than any other writer, in his *Disquisitione Historica de Origine Beghinarum et Beghinagiorum in Belgio, Leod.* 1672, in 12mo.

☞ [x] Other historians say, in the year 1207.

CENT. was followed by so many institutions of a like nature
 XIII. in *France, Germany, Holland, and Flanders*, that,
 PART II. towards the middle of the thirteenth century, there
 was scarcely a city of any note, that had not its
beguinage, or *vineyard*, as it was sometimes called in
 conformity to the style of the *Song of Songs* [y]. All these female societies were not governed by the same laws; but, in the greatest part of them, the hours, that were not devoted to prayer, meditation, or other religious exercises, were employed in weaving, embroidering, and other manual labours of various kinds. The poor, sick, and disabled *Beguines* were supported by the pious liberality of such opulent persons as were friends to the order.

Beghards
 or Lollards. XLII. This female institution was soon imitated in *Flanders* by the other sex; and considerable numbers of unmarried men, both bachelors and widowers, formed themselves into communities of the same kind with those of the *Beguines*, under the inspection and government of a certain chief, and with the same religious views and purposes; still, however, reserving to themselves the liberty of returning to their former method of life [z]. These pious persons were, in the style of this age, called *Beghards*, and by a corruption of that term usual among the Flemish and the Dutch, *Bogards*; from others they received the denomination of *Lollards*; in *France*

[y] See MATTH. PARIS, *Hist. Major, ad An. 1243 & 1250*, p. 540. 696.—THOMAS CANTIFRATENSIS in *Bono Universali de Apibus*, lib. ii. cap. li. p. 478. edit. Colvenerii.—PETRUS DE HERENTHAL, in his *Annals*, from which, though they are not yet published, we have a very remarkable passage cited by JOS. GELD. A RYCKEL, in his *Observationes ad Vitam S. Beggæ*, § cxcvi. p. 355. The origin and charters of the convents of *Beguines*, that were founded during this and the following century in *Holland and Flanders*, are treated in an ample manner by AUB. MIRÆUS, in his *Opera Historico-diplomatica*, JOHN BAPT. GRAMMAYE, in his *Antiquitates Belgicæ*, ANTON. SANDERS, in his *Brabantia et Flandria illustrata*, and by the other writers of Belgian history.

[z] MATTH. PARIS, *Hist. Major. ad An. 1253*, p. 539, 540.

they were distinguished at first by that of *Bons Valets*, CENT. or *Bons Garçons*, and afterwards by that of *Beguins*: XIII. they were also called the *Fraternity of weavers*, from PART II. the trade which the greatest part of them exercised. The first society of the *Beghards* seems to have been that which was established at *Antwerp* in the year 1228, and continues still in a flourishing state; though the *brethren*, of whom it is composed, have long since departed from their primitive rule of discipline and manners. This first establishment of the *Beghards* was followed by many more in *Germany, France, Holland, and Flanders*; though, after all their success, their congregations were less numerous than those of the *Beguines* [a]. It is worthy of observation that the Roman pontiffs never honoured the societies of the *Beghards* and *Beguines* with their solemn or explicit approbation, nor confirmed their establishments by the seal of their authority. They, however, granted them a full toleration, and even defended them often against the stratagems and violence of their enemies, who were many in number. This appears by the edicts in favour of the *Beghards*, which the pontiffs granted in compliance with the earnest solicitations of many illustrious personages, who wished well to that society. It did not however continue always in a flourishing state. The greatest part of the convents, both of the *Beghards* and *Beguines*, are now either demolished, or converted to other uses. In *Flanders*,

[a] See RYCKELII *Vita S. Begge*, p. 635.—ANT. SANDE-RII *Flandria Illustrata*, lib. c. xvi. p. 136.—JO. BAPT. GRAMMAYEI *Antiquit. Fland. & in Gandavo*, p. 22.—AUB. MIRÆI *Opera Diplom. Hist.* tom. iii. c. cixviii. p. 145.—HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vii. p. 248, who is, nevertheless, chargeable with many errors—GERHARDUS ANTONIUS, *Pater Minister* (so the head of the order is called in our times) *Beghardorum Antwerpianorum in Epistola ad Ryckium de Beghardorum origine et factis*, in RYCKELII *Vita S. Begge*, p. 489. This author, indeed, from a spirit of partiality to his order, conceals the truth designedly in various places.

CENT. indeed, a considerable number of the latter still subsist,
 XIII. but few of the former are to be found any where.

PART II. XLIII. After the accounts hitherto given of the
 Greek rulers of the church, and of the monastic and other
 writers. religious orders that were instituted or became
 famous during this century, it will not be improper
 to conclude this chapter by mentioning briefly the
 Greek and Latin writers, who, during the same
 period, acquired a name by their learned productions.
 The most eminent among the Greeks were,

NICETAS ACOMINATUS, who composed a work
 entitled, *The History and Treasure of the Orthodox
 Faith*;

GERMANUS, the Grecian patriarch, of whom we
 have yet extant, among other productions of less
 note, *A Book against the Latins*, and *An Exposition
 of the Greek Liturgy*;

THEODORUS LASCARIS, who left behind him
 several treatises upon various subjects of a religious
 nature, and who also entered the lists against the
 Latins, which was the reigning passion among such
 of the Greeks, as were endowed with any tolerable
 parts, and were desirous of shewing their zeal for
 the honour of their nation ;

NICEPHORUS BLEMMIDA, who employed his
 talents in the salutary work of healing the divisions
 between the Greeks and Latins ;

ARSENIUS, whose *Synopsis of the Canon Law of
 the Greeks*, is far from being contemptible ;

GEORGIUS ACROPOLITA, who acquired a high
 degree of renown, not only by his historical writings,
 but also by the transactions and negociations in which
 he was employed by the emperor MICHAEL ;

JOHANNES BECCUS or VECCUS, who involved
 himself in much trouble, and made himself many
 enemies, by defending the cause of the Latins against
 his own nation with too much zeal ;

GEORGE METOCHITA, and CONSTANTINE
 MELITENIOTA, who employed, without success,

their most earnest efforts to bring about a reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins ;

GEORGE PACHYMERES, who acquired a name by his commentary upon DIONYSIUS, the pretended chief of the mystics, and by a history which he composed of his own time ; and

GEORGE the *Cyprian*, whose hatred of the Latins, and warm opposition to VECCUS above mentioned, rendered him more famous than all his other productions [b].

XLIV. The prodigious number of Latin writers that appeared in this century, renders it impossible for us to mention them all ; we shall therefore confine our account to those among them, who were the most eminent, and whose theological writings demand most frequently our notice in the course of this history. Such are,

JOACHIM, abbot of *Flora* in *Calabria*, who, though esteemed on account of his piety and knowledge, was, nevertheless, a man of mean parts and of a weak judgment, full of enthusiastic and visionary notions, and therefore considered, during his life and after his death, by the miserable and blinded multitude, as a prophet sent from above. The pretended prophecies of this silly fanatic are abundantly known, and have been frequently published [c] ;

STEPHEN LANGTON, archbishop of *Canterbury*, who wrote commentaries upon the greatest part of the books of scripture [d] ;

[b] For a more ample account of these writers, the reader may consult the *Bibliotheca Græca* of FABRICIUS.

[c] The life of JOACHIM was written in Italian by GREGORY DI LAURO, and published in 4to at *Naples* in the year 1660. The first edition of his prophecies was printed at *Venice*, in the year 1517, and was followed by several new editions, to satisfy the curiosity of the populace, great and small.

[d] LANGTON was a learned and polite author for the age he lived in. It is to him we are indebted for the division of the Bible into chapters. He wrote *Commentaries* upon all the *Books of the Old Testament*, and upon *St. Paul's Epistles*.

CENT. FRANCIS, the founder of the famous society of
 XIII. *Friars-minors*, or *Franciscans*, whose writings were
 PART II. designed to touch the heart, and excite pious and
 ——— devout sentiments, but discover little genius, and
 less judgment ;

ALAN DE L'ISLE, a logician, who made no mean
 figure among the disputatious tribe, who applied
 himself also to the study of chemistry, and published
 several moral discourses, in which there are many
 wise and useful exhortations and precepts [e] ;

JACOBUS DE VITRIACO, who acquired a name by
 his *Oriental History* ; and JACOBUS DE VORAGINE ;
 whose *History of the Lombards* [f] was received
 with applause.

The writers of this century, who obtained the
 greatest renown on account of their laborious
 researches in, what was called, philosophical or dia-
 lectical theology, were ALBERTUS MAGNUS, THO-
 MAS AQUINAS, and BONAVENTURA, who were,
 each of them, truly possessed of an inquisitive turn
 of mind, a sublime and penetrating genius, accom-
 panied with an uncommon talent of founding the
 most hidden truths, and treating with facility the
 most abstruse subjects, though they are all chargeable
 with errors and reveries that do little honour to their
 memories [g]. The other writers, who trod the

[e] Several of the name of ALAN lived in this century, who
 have been strangely confounded both by ancient and modern
 writers. See JAQ. LE BOEUF, *Memoires sur l'Hist. d'Auxerre*,
 tom. i. p. 300. & *Dissert. sur l'Hist. Civil. et Eccles. de Paris*,
 tom. ii. p. 293.

[f] JAC. ECHARDI *Scriptor. Domin.* tom. i. p. 454.—BOL-
 LANDI *Pref. ad Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. p. 9.

[g] For an account of ALBERT, see ECHARD. *Script. Dom.*
 tom. i. p. 162.—For an account of THOMAS AQUINAS, who
 was called the *Angel of the scholastics* among other splendid titles,
 see the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. *Martii*, p. 655. & ANT. TURON,
Vie de St. Thomas, Paris, 1737, in 4to.—We have also a cir-
 cumstantial relation of whatever concerns the life, writings, and
 exploits of BONAVENTURA, the tutelary saint of the *Lionnois*
in France, in the two following books, viz. COLONIA, *Histoire*

same intricate paths of metaphysical divinity, were many in number, and several of them justly admired, though much inferior in renown to the celebrated triumvirate now mentioned; such were ALEXANDER DE HALES, the interpreter of ARISTOTLE, WILLIAM of *Paris* [*b*], ROBERT CAPITO [*i*], THOMAS CANTIPRATENSIS, JOHN DE PECKHAM, WILLIAM DURAND, ROGER BACON [*k*], RICHARD MIDDLETON, ÆGIDIUS DE COLUMNA, ARMAND DE BELLO VISU, and several others.

HUGO DE ST. CARO gained much applause by the *Concordance*, which he composed, of the *Holy Bible* [*l*].

GUILLAUME DE ST. AMOUR carried on with great spirit and resolution, but with little success, a literary and theological war against the Mendicant friars, who looked upon begging as a mark of sanctity.

HUMBERT DE ROMANIS drew up a system of rules and precepts, with a view to put under a better regulation the lives and manners of the monastic orders.

Litteraire de la Ville de Lyon, tom. ii. p. 307. and the *Histoire de la Vie et du Culte de S. Bonaventure*, par un Religieux Cordelier, à Lyon, 1747, in 8vo.

[*b*] See the *Gallia Christiana*, published by the Benedictines, tom. vii. p. 95.

[*i*] The learned ANTHONY WOOD has given an ample account of ROBERT CAPITO, in his *Antiquitat. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 31. 105.

[*k*] We are surprised to find ROGER BACON thrust here into a crowd of vulgar *Literati*, since that great man, whose astonishing genius and universal learning have already been taken notice of, was, in every respect, superior to ALBERT and BONAVENTURA, two of the heroes of DR. MOSHEM's *University*.

[*l*] HUGO DE ST. CARO, or *St. Cher*, composed also a very learned collection of the various readings of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin manuscripts of the Bible. This work, which he entitled *Correctorium Bibliæ*, is preserved in manuscript in the Sorbonne library. We must not forget to observe also, that his *Concordance* is the first that ever was compiled.

CENT.

XIII.
PART II.

GUILIELMUS PERALDUS arose in this century to the highest degree of literary renown, in consequence of a system of morals he published under the title of *Summa Virtutum et Vitiatorum* [m].

RAYMOND MARTIN yet survives the oblivion that has covered many of his cotemporaries; and his *Pugio Fidei*, or *Sword of Faith*, which he drew against the Jews and Saracens, has escaped the ruins of time.

JOHN of PARIS deserves an eminent rank among the glorious defenders of truth, liberty, and justice; since he maintained the authority of the civil powers, and the majesty of kings and princes, against the ambitious stratagems and usurpations of the Roman pontiffs, and declared openly his opposition to the opinion that was commonly adopted with respect to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and the presence of **CHRIST** in that holy ordinance [n].

CHAPTER III.

Concerning the doctrine of the Christian church during this century.

The general state of religion. **I. HOWEVER** numerous and deplorable the corruptions and superstitious abuses were, that had hitherto reigned in the church, and deformed the beautiful simplicity of the gospel, they were

[m] See **COLONIA**, *Histoire Litteraire de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 322.

[n] We may learn his opinion concerning the eucharist from his treatise, entitled, *Determinatio de S. Cæna*, and published in 8vo. at London, by the learned Dr. **ALIX**, in the year 1686.—See also **ECHARDI** *Scriptor. Dominican.* tom. i. p. 501.—**BALUZZI** *Vita Pontif. Avenionens.* tom. i. p. 4. 576, 577.

nevertheless increased in this century, instead of CENT. XIII. being reformed, and the religion of CHRIST continued to suffer under the growing tyranny of PART II. fanaticism and superstition. The progress of reason and truth was retarded among the Greeks and Orientals, by their immoderate aversion to the Latins, their blind admiration of whatever bore the stamp of antiquity, the indolence of their bishops, the stupidity of their clergy, and the calamities of the times. Among the Latins, many concurring causes united to augment the darkness of that cloud that had already been cast over the divine lustre of genuine Christianity. On the one hand, the Roman pontiffs could not bear the thoughts of any thing that might have the remotest tendency to diminish their authority, or to encroach upon their prerogatives; and therefore they laboured assiduously to keep the multitude in the dark, and to blast every attempt that was made towards a reformation in the doctrine or discipline of the church. On the other hand, the school divines, among whom the Dominican and Franciscan monks made the greatest figure on account of their unintelligible jargon and subtilty, shed perplexity and darkness over the plain truths of religion by their intricate distinctions and endless divisions, and by that cavilling, quibbling, disputatious spirit, that is the mortal enemy both of truth and virtue. It is true, that these scholastic doctors were not all equally chargeable with corrupting the truth; the most enormous and criminal corrupters of Christianity were those who led the multitude into the two following abominable errors: that it was in the power of man to perform, if he pleased, a more perfect obedience than God required; and that the whole of religion consisted in an external air of gravity, and in certain composed bodily gestures.

II. It will be easy to confirm this general account of the state of religion by particular facts. In the fourth council of the Lateran that was held by New articles of faith imposed by Innocent III,

CENT. INNOCENT III. in the year 1215, and at which a
 XIII. prodigious number of ecclesiastics were assembled
 PART II. [o], that imperious pontiff, without deigning to
 consult any body, published no less than seventy laws
 or decrees, by which not only the authority of the
 popes and the power of the clergy were confirmed
 and extended, but also new doctrines, or *articles of
 faith*, were imposed upon Christians. Hitherto the
 opinions of the Christian doctors, concerning the
manner in which the body and blood of CHRIST
 were *present* in the eucharist, were extremely
 different; nor had the church determined by any
 clear and positive decree, the sentiment that was to
 be embraced in relation to that important matter.
 It was reserved for INNOCENT to put an end to the
 liberty, which every Christian had hitherto enjoyed,
 of interpreting this presence in the manner he
 thought most agreeable to the declarations of
 scripture, and to decide in favour of the most mon-
 strous doctrine that the frenzy of superstition was
 capable of inventing. This audacious pontiff pro-
 nounced the opinion, that is embraced at this day
 in the church of *Rome* relating to that point, to be
 the only true and orthodox account of the matter;
 and he *had the honour* of introducing and establishing
 the use of the term *Transubstantiation*, which was
 hitherto absolutely unknown [p]. The same pontiff
 placed, by his own authority, among the duties
 prescribed by the divine laws, that of *auricular con-
 fession* to a priest; a confession that implied not only
 a general acknowledgment, but also a particular
 enumeration of the sins and follies of the penitent.
 Before this period several doctors, indeed, looked
 upon this kind of *confession*, as a duty inculcated by

☞ [o] At this council there were present 412 bishops, 800
 abbots and priors, besides the ambassadors of almost all the Euro-
 pean princes.

[p] See EDM. ALBERTINUS, *De Eucharistia*, lib. iii. p. 972.

divine authority; but this opinion was not publicly received as the doctrine of the church. For though the confession of sins was justly looked upon as an essential duty, yet it was left to every Christian's choice, to make this confession mentally to the Supreme Being, or to express it in words to a spiritual confident and director [q]. These two laws, which, by the authority of INNOCENT, were received as laws of God, and adopted, of consequence, as laws of the church, occasioned a multitude of new injunctions and rites, of which not even the smallest traces are to be found in the sacred writings, or in the apostolic and primitive ages, and which were much more adapted to establish and extend the reign of superstition, than to open the eyes of the blinded multitude upon the enormous abuses of which it had been the source.

III. There is nothing that will contribute more to convince us of the miserable state of religion in this century, and of the frenzy that almost generally prevailed in the devotion of these unhappy times, than the rise of the sect called *Flagellantes*, or *Whippers*, which sprung up in *Italy* in the year 1260, and was propagated from thence through almost all the countries of *Europe*. The societies that embraced this new discipline, presented the most hideous and shocking spectacle that can well be conceived; they ran in multitudes, composed of persons of both sexes, and of all ranks and ages, through the public places of the most populous cities, and also through the fields and desarts, with whips in their hands, lashing their naked bodies with the most astonishing severity, filling the air with their wild shrieks, and beholding the firmament with an air of distraction, ferocity, and horror; and all this with a view to obtain the divine mercy for themselves, and others, by their

The sect of
the Flagel-
lantes, or
Whippers.

[q] See the book of the learned DAILLE, concerning *Auricular Confession*.

CENT. voluntary mortification and penance [r]. This
 XIII. method of appeasing the Deity was perfectly con-
 PART II. formable to the notions concerning religion that
 generally prevailed in this century; nor did these
 fanatical *Whippers* do any thing more, in this extra-
 vagant discipline, than practise the lessons they had
 received from the monks, especially from those of
 the Mendicant orders. Hence they attracted the
 esteem and veneration not only of the populace, but
 also of their rulers, and were honoured and revered
 by all ranks and orders, on account of their extra-
 ordinary sanctity and virtue. Their sect, however,
 did not continue always in the same high degree of
 credit and reputation; for though the primitive
Whippers were exemplary in point of morals, yet
 their societies were augmented, as might naturally
 be expected, by a turbulent and furious rabble,
 many of whom were infected with the most ridiculous
 and impious opinions. Hence both the emperors
 and pontiffs thought proper to put an end to this
 religious frenzy, by declaring all devout *whipping*
 contrary to the divine law, and prejudicial to the
 soul's eternal interests.

The method
 of interpret-
 ing and ex-
 plaining the
 scriptures
 little altered
 in this cen-
 tury.

IV. The Christian interpreters and commentators
 of this century differ very little from those of the pre-
 ceding times. The greatest part of them pretended
 to draw from the depths of truth (or rather of their
 imaginations) what they called the *Internal juice and*
marrow of the scriptures, i. e. their hidden and
 mysterious sense; and this they did with so little
 dexterity, so little plausibility and invention, that the
 most of their explications must appear insipid and
 nauseous to such as are not entirely destitute of

[r] CHRIST. SCHOTGENII *Historia Flagellantium*.—JAQUES
 BOILEAU, *Histoire des Flagellans*, chap. ix. p. 253. We have
 also a lively picture of this fanatical discipline of the *Whippers*,
 exhibited in MARTENE'S *Voyage Littéraire de deux Bénédictins*,
 tom. ii. p. 105. with which the reader may compare MURATORI
Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi, tom. vi. p. 469.

judgment and taste. If our readers be desirous of a proof of the justice of this censure, or curious to try the extent of their patience, they have only to peruse the explications that have been given by archbishop LANGTON, HUGH DE ST. CHER, and ANTONY of *Padua*, of the various books of the *Old and New Testament*. The *Mystic* doctors carried this visionary method of interpreting scripture to the greatest height, and displayed the most laborious industry, or rather the most egregious folly, in searching for mysteries, where reason and common sense could find nothing but plain and evident truths. They were too *penetrating and quick-sighted* not to perceive clearly in the holy scriptures all those doctrines that were agreeable to their idle and fantastic system. Nor were their adversaries, the *schoolmen*, entirely averse to this arbitrary and fanciful manner of interpretation; though their principal industry was employed rather in collecting the explications given by the ancient doctors, than in inventing new ones, as appears from the writings of ALEXANDER HALES, GUILIELMUS ALVERNUS, and THOMAS AQUINAS himself. We must not, however, omit observing, that the scholastic doctors in general, and more especially these now mentioned, had recourse often to the subtilties of logic and metaphysic, to assist them in their explications of the sacred writings. To facilitate the study and interpretation of these divine books, HUGH DE ST. CHER composed his *Concordance* [s], and the Dominicans, under the eye of their supreme chief, the learned JORDAN, gave a new edition of the Latin translation of the Bible, carefully revised and corrected from the ancient copies [t]. The Greeks contributed nothing that deserves attention towards the illustration of the

[s] See ECHARDI *Scriptor. Ord. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 194.

[t] RICH SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Eccles.* par M. DU PIN.

CENT. Holy Scriptures; the greatest part of which were
 XIII. expounded with great learning by GREGORY ABUL-
 PART II. PHARAIUS, that celebrated Syrian, whose erudition
 was famous throughout all the east, and whom we
 have already had occasion to mention in the course of
 this history [u].

The state of
 the didactic
 theology.

V. Systems of theology and morals were multiplied exceedingly in this century; and the number of those writers, who treated of the divine perfections and worship, and of the practical rules of virtue and obedience, is too great to permit our mentioning them particularly. All such as were endowed with any considerable degree of genius and eloquence employed their labours upon these noble branches of sacred science, more especially the academical and public teachers, among whom the Dominicans and Franciscans held the most eminent rank. It is, indeed, neither necessary to mention the names, nor to enumerate the productions of these doctors, since whoever is acquainted with the characters and writings of ALBERT the Great and THOMAS AQUINAS, will know every thing that is worthy of note in the rest, who were no more than their echos. The latter of these two truly great men, who is commonly called the *Angel of the schools* or the *Angelic Doctor*, sat unrivalled at the head of the divines of this century, and deservedly obtained the principal place among those who digested the doctrines of Christianity into a regular system, and illustrated and explained them in a scientific manner. For no sooner had his system or *sum* of theology and morals seen the light, than it was received universally with the highest applause, placed in the same rank with the famous *Book of Sentences* of PETER LOMBARD, and admitted as the standard of truth and the great rule according to which the public teachers formed their plans of instruction, and

[u] JOS. SIM. ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. ii. p. 277.

the youth their method of study. Certain writers, indeed, have denied that THOMAS was the author of the celebrated system that bears his name [w]; but the reasons they allege in support of this notion are utterly destitute of evidence and solidity [x].

VI. The greatest part of these doctors followed ARISTOTLE as their model, and made use of the logical and metaphysical principles of that subtle philosopher, in illustrating the doctrines of Christianity and removing the difficulties with which some of them were attended. In their philosophical explanations of the more sublime truths of that divine religion they followed the hypothesis of the *Realists*, which sect, in this century, was much more numerous and flourishing than that of the *Nominalists*, on account of the lustre and credit it derived from the authority of THOMAS AQUINAS and ALBERT, its learned and venerable patrons. Yet notwithstanding all the subtilty and penetration of these *irrefragable, seraphic, and angelic* doctors, as they were commonly styled, they often appeared wiser in their own conceit than they were in reality, and frequently did little more than involve in greater obscurity the doctrines which they pretended to place in the clearest light. For, not to mention the ridiculous oddity of many of their expressions, the hideous barbarity of their style, and their extravagant and presumptuous desire of prying into matters that infinitely surpass the comprehension of short-sighted

The scholastic doctors, for the most part, *Realists* *.

[w] See JO. LAUNOII *Traditio Ecclesiæ circa Simoniam*, p. 290.

[x] See NATALIS ALEXANDER, *Histor. Eccles. Sec. xiii.* p. 391.—ECHARD and QUETIF, *Scriptor. Ordin. Predicator. Sec. xiii.* tom. i. p. 293.—ANT. TOURON, *Vie de St. Thomas*, p. 604.

* In the original we find *Positivi* in the margin, which is manifestly a fault; since the *Positivi* were quite opposite, in their method of teaching, to the schoolmen, and were the same with *Biblici* mentioned in the following section. See above, Cent. XII. Part II. Ch. III. § VIII.

CENT. mortals, they were chargeable with defects in their
 XIII. manner of reasoning, which every true philosopher
 PART II. will, of all others, be most careful to avoid. For
 they neither defined their terms accurately, and
 hence arose innumerable disputes merely about
 words; nor did they divide their subject with per-
 spicuity and precision, and hence they generally
 treated it in a confused and unsatisfactory manner.
 The great *Angelic Doctor* himself, notwithstanding
 his boasted method, was defective in these respects;
 his definitions are often vague, or obscure, and his
 plans or divisions, though full of art, are frequently
 destitute of clearness and proportion.

The num-
 ber of com-
 pilers, or
*Biblicists**,
 greatly di-
 minished.

VII. The method of investigating divine truth
 by reason and philosophy prevailed universally, and
 was followed with such ardour, that the number of
 those, who, in conformity with the example of the
 ancient doctors, drew their systems of theology from
 the holy scriptures and the writings of the fathers,
 and who acquired on that account the name of *Bib-
 licists*, diminished from day to day. It is true indeed,
 that several persons of eminent piety [y], and even
 some of the Roman pontiffs [z], exhorted with

☞ * In the margin of the original, instead of *Biblicists*,
 which we find in the text, DR. MOSHEIM has wrote *Sententiarii*,
 which is undoubtedly an oversight. The *Sententiarii*, or fol-
 lowers of PETER LOMBARD, who is considered as the father of
 the scholastic philosophy, are to be placed in the same class with
 the philosophical divines, mentioned in the preceding section,
 and were quite opposite to the *Biblici*, both in their manner of
 thinking and teaching. See above, Cent. XII. Part II. Ch. III.
 § VIII.

[y] See DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 9. 129.
 180.—ANT. WOOD, *Antiqq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 91, 92. 94.

[z] See the famous epistle of GREGORY IX. to the professors
 in the university of *Paris*, published in DU BOULAY's *Histor. Acad.
 Paris.* tom. iii. p. 129. The pontiff concludes that remarkable
 epistle with the following words: *Mandamus et strictè præcipimus,*
quatenus sine fermento mundana scientiæ, doccatis Theologicam puri-
tatem non adulterantes verbum Dei Philosophorum figmentis . . . sed
contenti terminis a patribus institutis mentes auditorum vestrorum
fructu cælestis eloquii saginatis, ut hauriant a fontibus salvatoris.

great seriousness and warmth the *scholastic* divines, and more especially those of the university of *Paris*, to change their method of teaching theology, and, laying aside their philosophical abstraction and subtilty, to deduce the sublime science of salvation from the holy scriptures with that purity and simplicity with which it was there delivered by the inspired writers. But these admonitions and exhortations were without effect; the evil was become too inveterate to admit of a remedy, and the passion for logic and metaphysic was grown so universal and so violent, that neither remonstrances nor arguments could check its presumption, or allay its ardour. In justice however to the scholastic doctors, it is necessary to observe, that they did not neglect the dictates of the gospel, nor the authority of tradition; though what they drew from these two sources proves sufficiently that they had studied neither with much attention or application of mind [a]. And it is moreover certain, that, in process of time, they committed to others the care of consulting the sources now mentioned, and reserved to themselves the much-respected province of philosophy, and the intricate mazes of dialectical chicane. And, indeed, independent of their philosophical vanity, we may assign another reason for this method of proceeding, drawn from the nature of their profession, and the circumstances in which they were placed. For the greatest part of these subtle doctors were Dominican or Franciscan friars; and as the monks of these Orders had no possessions, not even libraries, and led, besides, wandering and itinerant lives, such of them as were ambitious of literary fame, and of the honours of authorship, were, for the most part, obliged to

[a] FAYDIT, *Alteration du Dogme Theologique par la Philosophie d'Aristote*, p. 289.—RICHARD SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccles.* par M. DU PIN, tom. i. p. 170, 187.

CENT.
XIII.
PART II.

CENT. draw their materials from their own genius and
 XIII. memory, being destitute of all other succours.

PART II.

Much op-
 position
 made to the
 scholastic
 doctors.

VIII. The opinions which these philosophical divines instilled into the minds of the youth, appeared to the votaries of the ancient fathers highly dangerous and even pernicious; and hence they used their utmost efforts to stop the progress of these opinions, and to diminish the credit and influence of their authors. Nor was their opposition at all ill-grounded; for the subtle doctors of the school not only explained the mysteries of religion in a manner conformable to the principles of their presumptuous logic, and modified them according to the dictates of their imperfect reason, but also propagated the most impious sentiments and tenets concerning the Supreme Being, the material world, the origin of the universe, and the nature of the soul. And when it was objected to these sentiments and tenets, that they were in direct contradiction to the genius of Christianity, and to the express doctrines of scripture, these scholastic quibblers had recourse, for a reply, or rather for a method of escape, to that perfidious distinction, which has been frequently employed by modern deists, that these tenets were *philosophically true*, and conformable to right reason, but that they were, indeed, *theologically false*, and contrary to the orthodox faith. This kindled an open war between the *Biblicists*, or Bible-divines, and the scholastic doctors, which was carried on with great warmth throughout the whole course of this century, particularly in the universities of *Oxford* and *Paris*, where we find the former loading the latter with the heaviest reproaches in their public acts and in their polemic writings, and accusing them of corrupting the doctrines of the gospel both in their public lessons and in their private discourse [b].

[b] See MATTH. PARIS, *Histor. Major*, p. 541.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iii. p. 397. 430. 433. 472, &c.

Even St. THOMAS himself was accused of holding opinions contrary to the truth; his orthodoxy, at least, was looked upon as extremely dubious by many of the Parisian doctors [c]. He accordingly saw a formidable scene of opposition arising against him, but had the good fortune to conjure the storm, and to escape untouched. Others, whose authority was less extensive and their names less respectable, were treated with more severity. The living were obliged to confess publicly their errors; and the dead, who had persevered in them to the last, had their memories branded with infamy.

IX. But the most formidable adversaries the scholastic doctors had to encounter, were the *Mystics*, who, rejecting every thing that had the least resemblance of argumentation or dispute about matters of doctrine and opinion, confined their endeavours to the advancement of inward piety, and the propagation of devout and tender feelings, and thus acquired the highest degree of popularity. The people, who are much more affected with what touches their passions, than with what is only addressed to their reason, were attached to the *Mystics* in the warmest manner; and this gave such weight to the reproaches and invectives which they threw out against the *school-men*, that the latter thought it more prudent to disarm these favourites of the multitude by mild and submissive measures, than to return their reproaches with indignation and bitterness. They accordingly set themselves to flatter the *Mystics*, and not only extolled their *sentimental* system, but employed their pens in illustrating and defending it; nay, they associated it with the scholastic philosophy, though they were as different from each other as

[c] See Jo. LAUNOII *Histor. Gymnas. Navarreni*, part III. lib. iii. cap. cxvi. tom. iv. opp. part I. p. 485.—BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 204.—PETRI ZORNII *Opuscula Sacra*, tom. i. p. 445.—R. SIMON, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. ii. p. 266.—ECHARDI *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 435.

CENT. any two things could possibly be. It is well known
 XIII. that BONAVENTURA, ALBERT the Great, ROBERT
 PART II. CAPITO, and THOMAS AQUINAS contributed to
 ——— this reconciliation between Mysticism and Dialectics
 by their learned labours, and even went so far as
 to write commentaries upon DIONYSIUS, the chief
 of the Mystics, whom these subtle doctors probably
 looked upon with a secret contempt.

The state of
 Christian
 morality.

X. Both the school-men and Mystics of this
 century treated, in their writings, of the obligations
 of morality, the duties of the Christian life, and of
 the means that were most adapted to preserve or
 deliver the soul from the servitude and contagion of
 vice; but their methods of handling these important
 subjects were, as may be easily conceived, entirely
 different. We may form an idea of mystical morality
 from the *Observations of GEORGE PACHYMERES,*
upon the writings of Dionysius, and from the *Spiritual*
Institutes, or Abridgment of Mystic Theology, composed
 by HUMBERT DE ROMANIS, of which productions
 the first was written in Greek and the second in
 Latin. As to the scholastic moralists, they were
 principally employed in defining the nature of virtue
 and vice in general, and the characters of the various
 virtues and vices in particular; and hence the pro-
 digious number of *sums*, or systematical collections,
of virtues and vices, that appeared in this century.
 The school-men divided the virtues into two classes.
 The first comprehended the *moral* virtues, which
 differ, in no respect, from those which ARISTOTLE
 recommended to his disciples. The second contained
 the theological virtues, which, in consequence of
 what St. PAUL says, *1 Corinth. xiii. 13.* they made
 to consist in *Faith, Hope, and Charity.* In explaining
 and illustrating the nature of the virtues compre-
 hended in these two classes, they seemed rather to
 have in view the pleasure of disputing than the
 design of instructing; and they exhausted all their
 subtilty in resolving difficulties which were of their

own creation. THOMAS AQUINAS shone forth as a CENT. star of the first magnitude, though, like the others, XIII. he was often covered with impenetrable fogs. The PART II. second part of his famous *sum* was wholly employed in laying down the principles of morality, and in deducing and illustrating the various duties that result from them; and this part of his learned labours has had the honour and misfortune of passing through the hands of a truly prodigious number of commentators.

XI. It is absolutely necessary to observe here, that the moral writers of this and the following centuries must be read with the utmost caution; and with a perpetual attention to this circumstance, that, though they employ the same terms that we find in the sacred writings, yet they use them in a quite different sense from that which they bear in these divine books. They speak of justice, charity, faith, and holiness; but as these virtues are illustrated by these quibbling sophists, they differ much from the amiable and sublime duties, which CHRIST and his disciples have inculcated under the same denominations. A single example will be sufficient to render this evident beyond contradiction. A *pious* and *holy* man, according to the sense annexed by our Saviour to these terms, is one, who consecrates his affections and actions to the service of the Supreme Being, and accounts it his highest honour and felicity, as well as his indispensable duty, to obey his laws. But, in the style of the moral writers of this age, he was a *pious* and *holy* man, who deprived himself of his possessions to enrich the priesthood, to build churches and found monasteries, and whose faith and obedience were so implicitly enslaved to the imperious dictates of the Roman pontiffs, that he believed and acted without examination, as these lordly directors thought proper to prescribe. Nor were the ideas which these writers entertained concerning *justice*, at all conformable to the nature of

An important remark relating to the manner of treating morals in this century.

CENT. that virtue, as it is described in the holy scriptures;
 XIII. since in their opinion it was lawful to injure, revile,
 PART II. torment, persecute, and even to put to death, a

Heretic, i. e. any person who refused to obey blindly
 the decrees of the pontiffs, or to believe all the
 absurdities which they imposed upon the credulity
 of the multitude.

The state of
 polemic or
 controver-
 sial theo-
 logy.

XII. The writers of controversy in this century
 were more numerous than respectable. NICETAS
 ACOMINATUS, who made a considerable figure among
 the Greeks, attacked all the different sects in his
 work entitled, *The Treasure of the Orthodox Faith*;
 but he combated after the Grecian manner, and
 defended the cause he undertook to maintain, rather
 by the decrees of councils, and the decisions of the
 fathers, than by the dictates of reason and the
 authority of scripture. RAYMOND of PENNA-
 FORT was one of the first among the Latins, who
 abandoned the unchristian method of converting
 infidels by the force of arms and the terrors of capital
 punishments, and who undertook to vanquish the
 Jews and Saracens by reason and argument [*d*].
 This engaged in the same controversy a considerable
 number of able disputants, who were acquainted
 with the Hebrew and Arabic languages; among
 whom RAYMOND MARTIN, the celebrated author
 of the *Sword of Faith* [*e*], is unquestionably entitled
 to the first rank. THOMAS AQUINAS also appeared
 with dignity among the Christian champions; and
 his book against the Gentiles [*f*] is far from being
 contemptible: nor ought we to omit mentioning a
 learned work of ALAN DE L'ISLE, which was
 designed to refute the objections of both Jews and

[*d*] ECHARD et QUETIF in *Scriptoribus Ordinis Prædicator.*
 tom. i. § xiii. p. 106.

[*e*] BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article MARTINI.—PAULI
 COLONESII *Hispania Orient.* p. 209.

[*f*] JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, *Delect. Argumentorum et Scriptor.*
pro veritate Relig. Christian. p. 270.

Pagans [g]. The writers, who handled other more particular branches of theological controversy, were far inferior to these now mentioned in genius and abilities; and their works seemed less calculated to promote the truth, than to render their adversaries odious.

XIII. The grand controversy between the Greek and Latin church was still carried on; and all the efforts that were made, during this century, to bring it to a conclusion, one way or another, proved ineffectual. GREGORY IX. employed the ministry of the Franciscan monks to bring about an accommodation with the Greeks, and pursued with zeal this laudable purpose from the year 1232 to the end of his pontificate, but without the least appearance of success [h]. INNOCENT IV. embarked in the same undertaking in the year 1247, and sent JOHN of PARMA, with other Franciscan friars, to *Nice* for the same purpose; while the Grecian pontiff came in person to *Rome*, and was declared legate of the *Apostolic see* [i]. But these previous acts of mutual civility and respect, which could not but excite the hopes of such as longed for the conclusion of these unhappy discords, did not terminate in the reconciliation that was expected. New incidents arose to blast the influence of these salutary measures, and the flame of dissension recovered new vigour. Under the pontificate of URBAN IV. the aspect of things changed for the better, and the negotiations for peace were renewed with such success, as promised a speedy conclusion of these unhappy divisions. For MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS had no sooner driven the Latins out of *Constantinople*, than he sent ambassadors

The controversy between the Greeks and Latins continued.

[g] *Libri contra Judæos et Paganos.*

[h] See WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. ii. p. 279. 296 & ECHARD, *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 103. 911.—Add to these MATTH. PARIS, *Histor. Major.* p. 386.

[i] See BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 370. 388. 393. 397. 497, 498.—WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. & iv. p. 37.

CENT. to *Rome* to declare his pacific intentions, that thus
 XIII. he might establish his disputed dominion, and gain
 PART II. over the Roman pontiff to his side [k]. But, during
 the course of these negotiations, URBAN's death left
 matters unfinished, and suspended once more the
 hopes and expectations of the public. Under the
 pontificate of GREGORY X. proposals of peace were
 again made by the same emperor, who, after much
 opposition from his own clergy, sent ambassadors to
 the council that was assembled at *Lions* in the year
 1274 [l], and there, with the solemn consent of
 JOHN VECCUS, patriarch of *Constantinople*, and
 several Greek bishops, publicly agreed to the terms
 of accommodation proposed by the Roman pontiff
 [m]. This re-union, however, was not durable;
 for the situation of affairs in *Greece* and *Italy* being
 changed some years after this convention, and that
 in such a manner as to deliver the former from all
 apprehensions of a Latin invasion, ANDRONICUS,
 the son of MICHAEL, assembled a council at *Constantinople*
 in the palace of *Blachernæ*, A. D. 1284, in
 which, by a solemn decree, this ignominious treaty

[k] WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 181. 201. 223. 269. 303.

[l] See WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 343. 371. tom. v. p. 9. 29. 62.—COLONIA, *Hist. Litter. de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 284.

[m] JOSEPH, and not VECCUS, was patriarch of *Constantinople*, when this treaty was concluded. The former had bound himself by a solemn oath never to consent to a reconciliation, between the Greek and Latin churches; for which reason the emperor, when he sent his ambassadors to *Lions*, proposed to JOSEPH the following alternative: that, if they succeeded in bringing about an accommodation, he should renounce his patriarchal dignity; but, if they failed in their attempt, he was to remain patriarch, advising him, at the same time, to retire to a convent, until the matter was decided. The ambassador succeeded, JOSEPH was deposed, and VECCUS elected in his place; when, and not before, this latter ratified the treaty in question by his solemn consent to the ignominious article of *supremacy* and *pre-eminence*, which it confirmed to the Roman pontiff.

was declared entirely null, and the famous VECCUS, CENT. XIII. by whose persuasion and authority it had been concluded, was sent into exile [n]. This resolute measure, as may well be imagined, rendered the divisions more violent than they had been before the treaty now mentioned; and it was also followed by an open schism, and by the most unhappy discords among the Grecian clergy. PART II.

XIV. We pass over several controversies of a more private kind and of inferior moment, which have nothing in their nature or circumstances that deserves the attention of the curious; but we must not forget to observe that the grand dispute concerning the eucharist was still continued in this century, not only in *France*, but also in several other places. For though INNOCENT III. had, in the council held at the Lateran in the year 1215, presumptuously taken upon him to place *Transubstantiation* among the avowed doctrines of the Latin church, yet the authority of this decree was called in question by many, and several divines had the courage to maintain the probability of the opinions that were opposed to that monstrous doctrine. Those who, adopting the sentiments of BERENGER, considered the bread and wine in no other light, than as signs or symbols of the body and blood of CHRIST, did not venture either to defend or profess this opinion in a public manner. Many, also, thought it sufficient to acknowledge, what was termed a *real presence*, though they explained the *manner* of this presence quite otherwise than the doctrine of INNOCENT had defined it [o]. Among these JOHN, surnamed PUNGENS ASINUS, a subtle doctor of the

The dispute concerning the presence of Christ's body in the eucharist continued.

[n] LEO ALLATIUS *de perpetua consensione Eccles. Orient. et Occident.* lib. ii. c. xv, xvi. p. 727.—FRED. SPANHEIM *de perpet. dissensione Græcor. et Latin.* tom. ii. opp. p. 488, &c.

[o] PET. ALLIX. *Pref. ad F. Johannis Determinat. de Sacramento Altaris*, published at London in 8vo, in the year 1686.

CENT. university of *Paris*, acquired an eminent and distinguished name, and, without incurring the censure
 XIII. of his superiors, substituted *Consubstantiation* in the
 PART II. place of *Transubstantiation* towards the conclusion of
 this century [*p*].

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.

Rites multiplied.

I. IT would be endless to enumerate the additions that were made in this century to the external part of divine worship, in order to increase its pomp and render it more striking. These additions were owing partly to the public edicts of the Roman pontiffs, and partly to the private injunctions of the Sacerdotal and Monastic orders, who shared the veneration which was excited in the multitude by the splendor and magnificence of this religious spectacle. Instead of mentioning these additions, we shall only observe in general, that religion was now become a sort of a raree-show in the hands of the rulers of the church, who, to render its impressions more deep and lasting, thought proper to exhibit it in a striking manner to the external senses. For this purpose, at certain stated times, and especially upon the more illustrious festivals, the miraculous dispensations of the divine wisdom in favour of the church, and the more remarkable events in the

[*p*] The book of this celebrated doctor was published by the learned ALBIX abovementioned. See BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 576.—DACHERII *Spicileg. Veter. Scriptor.* tom. iii. p. 58.—ECHARDI *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 561.

Christian history, were represented under certain allegorical figures and images, or rather in a kind of mimic shew [q]. But these scenic representations, in which there was a motley mixture of mirth and gravity, these tragi-comical spectacles, though they amused and affected in a certain manner the gazing populace, were highly detrimental, instead of being useful, to the cause of religion; they degraded its dignity, and furnished abundant matter of laughter to its enemies.

II. It will not appear surprising that the bread, consecrated in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, became the object of religious worship; for this was the natural consequence of the monstrous doctrine of *Transubstantiation*. But the effects of that impious and ridiculous doctrine did not end here; it produced all that train of ceremonies and institutions that are still used in the church of *Rome* in honour of that *deified* bread, as they blasphemously call it. Hence those rich and splendid receptacles, that were formed for the residence of God under this new shape [r], and the lamps and other precious ornaments that were designed to beautify this habitation of the Deity. And hence the custom that still prevails, of carrying about this *divine bread*

The rites instituted in relation to the eucharist.

[q] It is probable enough, that this licentious custom of exhibiting mimic representations of religious objects derived its origin from the Mendicant friars.

[r] This blasphemous language, which Dr. MOSHEIM is obliged to use in representing the absurdities of the doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, is nothing in comparison with the impious figures that were made use of by the abettors of that monstrous tenet to accomodate it, in some measure, to the capacities of the multitude. We need not wonder, that the Pagans metamorphosed their JUPITER into a *bull*, a *swan*, and other such figures, when we see the rulers of the Christian church transforming the Son of God into a piece of bread; a transformation so vile, and, even were it not vile, so uselefs, that it is inconceivable how it could enter into the head of any mortal, and equally so, how the bishops of *Rome* could confide so far in the credulity of the people as to risk their authority by propagating such a doctrine.

CENT. in solemn pomp through the public streets, when
 XIII. it is to be administered to sick or dying persons, with
 PART. II. many other ceremonies of a like nature, which are
 dishonourable to religion, and opprobrious to humanity. But that which gave the finishing touch to this heap of absurdities, and displayed superstition in its highest extravagance, was the institution of the celebrated annual *Festival of the Holy Sacrament*, or, as it is sometimes called, of the *body of Christ*, whose origin was as follows: A certain devout woman, whose name was JULIANA, and who lived at *Liege*, declared that she had received a revelation from heaven, intimating to her, that it was the will of God, that a peculiar festival should be annually observed in honour of the *holy sacrament*, or rather of the *real presence* of CHRIST'S body in that sacred institution. Few gave attention or credit to this pretended vision, whose circumstances were extremely equivocal and absurd [s], and which would have come to nothing, had it not been supported by ROBERT, bishop of *Liege*, who, in the year 1246, published an order for the celebration of this festival throughout the whole province, notwithstanding the opposition which he knew would be made to a proposal founded only on an idle dream. After the death of JULIANA, one of her friends and companions, whose name was EVE, took up her cause with uncommon zeal, and had credit enough with URBAN IV. to engage him to publish, in the year 1264, a solemn edict, by which the festival in question was imposed upon all the Christian churches, without exception. This edict, however, did not produce

☞ [s] This fanatical woman declared, that as often as she addressed herself to God, or to the saints in prayer, she saw the full moon with a small defect or breach in it; and that, having long studied to find out the signification of this strange appearance, she was *inwardly* informed by the spirit, that the *moon* signified the *church*, and that the defect or breach was the want of an annual festival in honour of the holy sacrament.

its full and proper effect, on account of the death of the pontiff, which happened soon after its publication; so that the festival under consideration was not celebrated universally throughout the Latin churches before the pontificate of CLEMENT V. [t], who, in the council, held at *Vienne* in *France*, in the year 1311, confirmed the edict of URBAN, and thus, in spite of all opposition, established a festival, which contributed more to render the doctrine of transubstantiation agreeable to the people, than the decree of the council of the Lateran under INNOCENT III. or than all the exhortations of his lordly successors.

III. About the conclusion of this century, BONIFACE VIII. added to the public rites and ceremonies of the church, the famous jubilee, which is still celebrated at *Rome*, at a stated period, with the utmost profusion of pomp and magnificence. In the year 1299, a rumour was spread abroad among the inhabitants of that city, that all such as visited, within the limits of the following year, the church of *St. Peter*, should obtain the remission of all their sins, and that this privilege was to be annexed to the performance of the same service once every hundred years. BONIFACE no sooner heard of this, than he ordered strict enquiry to be made concerning the author and the foundation of this report, and the result of this inquiry was answerable to his views; for he was assured, by many testimonies worthy of credit [u], (say the Roman-catholic historians) that,

The year of jubilee added to the rites of the church.

[t] See BARTHOL. FISEN. *Origo prima Festi Corporis CHRISTI ex Viso Sanctæ Virginis Julianæ oblato*, published in 8vo at *Liege*, in the year 1619.—DALLÆUS, *De cultus religiosi objecto*, p. 287.—*Acta Sanctor. April.* tom. i. p. 437. 903.—And above all BENEDICT. *Pont. Max. de Festis CHRISTI et MARIE*, lib. i. c. xiii. p. 360. tom. x. opp.

☞ [u] These *Testimonies worthy of credit* have never been produced by the Romish writers, unless we rank in that class, that of an old man, who had completed his 107th year, and

CENT. from the remotest antiquity, this important privilege
 XIII. of remission and indulgence was to be obtained by
 PART II. the services above-mentioned. No sooner had the
 ——— pontiff received this information than he issued out
 an epistolary mandate addressed to all Christians, in
 which he enacted it as a solemn law of the church,
 that those who, every hundredth or jubilee year,
 confessed their sins, and visited, with sentiments of
 contrition and repentance the churches of *St. Peter*
 and *St. Paul* at *Rome*, should obtain thereby the
 entire remission of their various offences [*w*]. The
 successors of BONIFACE were not satisfied with adding

who, being brought before BONIFACE VIII. declared (if we
 may believe the Abbé FLEURY) that his father, who was a
 common labourer, had assisted at the celebration of a jubilee, an
 hundred years before that time. See FLEURY *Hist. Eccles.*
 towards the end of the twelfth century. It is, however, a very
 unaccountable thing, if the institution of the jubilee year was not
 the invention of BONIFACE, that there should be neither in the
 acts of councils, nor in the records of history, nor in the
 writings of the learned, any trace, or the least mention of its
 celebration before the year 1300; this, with other reasons of an
 irresistible evidence, have persuaded some Roman-catholic writers
 to consider the institution of the jubilee year, as the invention of
 this pontiff, who, to render it more respectable, pretended it was
 of a much earlier date. See GHILEN. & VICTORELL. apud
 BONANNI *Numism. Pontif. Rom.* tom. i. p. 22, 23.

[*w*] So the matter is related by JAMES CAJETAN, cardinal of
St. George, and nephew to BONIFACE, in his *Relatio de Centesimo*
seu Jubilæo anno, which is published in his *Magna Bibliotheca*
Vet. Patrum, tom. vi. p. 426. 440. and in the *Bibliotheca Maxima*
Patrum, tom. xxv. p. 267. Nor is there any reason to believe
 that this account is erroneous and false, nor that BONIFACE acted
 the part of an impostor, from a principle of avarice, upon this
 occasion.

☞ *N. B.* It is not without astonishment, that we hear Dr.
 MOSHEIM deciding in this manner with respect to the *good faith*
 of BONIFACE and the *relation* of his nephew. The character of
 that wicked and ambitious pontiff is well known, and the *relation*
 of the cardinal of *St. George* has been proved to be the most ridicu-
 lous, fabulous, motley piece of stuff that ever usurped the title of
 an historical record. See the excellent *Lettres de M. Chais sur*
les Jubilés (that are mentioned more at large in the following
 note), tom. i. p. 53.

a multitude of new rites and inventions, by way of ornaments, to this superstitious institution; but, finding by experience that it added to the lustre and augmented the revenues of the Roman church, they rendered its return more frequent, and fixed its celebration to every five and twentieth year [x].

[x] The various writers, who have treated of the institution of the Roman jubilee, are enumerated by JO. ALBERT FABRICIUS in his *Bibliogr. Antiquar.* p. 316. Among the Authors that may be added to this list, there is one whom we think it necessary to mention particularly, viz. the Reverend CHARLES CHAIS, whose *Lettres Historiques et Dogmatiques sur les Jubilés et des Indulgences*, were published at the *Hague* in three volumes 8vo. in the year 1751.

☞ These letters of Mr. CHAIS (minister of the French church at the *Hague*, and well known in the Republic of Letters) contain the most full and accurate account that has been ever given of the institution of the jubilee, and of the rise, progress, abuses, and enormities of the infamous trade of indulgences. This account is judiciously collected from the best authors of antiquity, and from several curious records that have escaped the researches of other writers; it is also interspersed with curious, and sometimes ludicrous anecdotes, that render the work equally productive of entertainment and instruction. In the first volume of these Letters, the learned author lays open the nature and origin of the institution of the jubilee; he proves it to have been a human invention, which owed its rise to the avarice and ambition of the popes, and its credit to the ignorance and superstition of the people, and whose celebration was absolutely unknown before the thirteenth century, which is the true date of its origin. He takes notice of the various changes it underwent with respect to the time of its celebration, the various colours with which the ambitious pontiffs covered it in order to render it respectable and alluring in the eyes of the multitude; and exposes these illusions by many convincing arguments, whose gravity is seasoned with an agreeable and temperate mixture of decent raillery. He proves, with the utmost evidence, that the papal jubilee is an imitation of the *Secular Games*, that were celebrated with such pomp in Pagan Rome. He points out the gross contradictions that reign in the *bulls* of the different popes, with respect to the nature of this institution and the time of its celebration. Nor does he pass over in silence the infamous traffic of indulgences, the worldly pomp and splendour, the crimes, debaucheries, and disorders of every kind, that were observable at the return of each jubilee year. He lays also before the reader an historical

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the divisions and heresies that troubled the church during this century.

CENT. I. **W**E have no account of any new sects
 XIII. that arose among the Greeks during this century.
 PART II. Those of the Nestorians and Jacobites, which were
 Nestorians settled in the remoter regions of the east, and who
 and Jacobites. equalled the Greeks in their aversion to the rites and jurisdiction of the Latin church, were frequently solicited, by the ministry of Franciscan and Dominican missionaries sent among them by the popes, to receive the Roman yoke. In the year 1246, INNOCENT IV. used his utmost efforts to bring both these sects under his dominion; and in the year 1278, terms of accommodation were proposed by NICOLAS IV. to the Nestorians, and particularly to that branch of the sect which resided in the Northern parts of *Asia* [y]. The leading men both among the Nestorians and Jacobites seemed to give ear to the proposals that were made to them, and were by no means averse to a reconciliation with the church of

view of all the jubilees that were celebrated from the pontificate of BONIFACE VIII. in the year 1300, to that of BENEDICT XIV. in 1750, with an entertaining account of the most remarkable adventures that happened among the pilgrims who repaired to *Rome* on those occasions. The second and third volumes of these interesting Letters treat of the *indulgences* that are administered in the church of *Rome*. The reader will find here their nature and origin explained, the doctrine of the Roman-catholic divines relating to them stated and refuted, the history of this impious traffic accurately laid down, and its enormities and pernicious effects circumstantially exposed with learning, perspicuity, and candour.

[y] ODOR. RENALDUS, *Annal. Eccles.* tom. xiii. ad A. 1247. § xxxii. & tom. xv. ad A. 1303. § xxii. & ad A. 1304. § xxiii. —MATTH. PARIS, *Hist. Major.* p. 372.

Rome ; but the prospect of peace soon vanished, and a variety of causes concurred to prolong the rupture.

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II. During the whole course of this century, the Roman pontiffs carried on the most barbarous and inhuman persecution against those whom they branded with the denomination of *heretics* ; i. e. against all those who called their pretended authority and jurisdiction in question, or taught doctrines different from those which were adopted and propagated by the church of *Rome*. For the sects of the *Catharists*, *Waldenses*, *Petrobrussians*, &c. gathered strength from day to day, spread imperceptibly throughout all *Europe*, assembled numerous congregations in *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, and formed by degrees such a powerful party as rendered them formidable to the Roman pontiffs, and menaced the papal jurisdiction with a fatal revolution. To the ancient sects new factions were added, which, though they differed from each other in various respects, yet were all unanimously agreed in this one point, *viz.* “ That the public and established religion was a motley system of errors and superstition ; and that the dominion which the popes had usurped over Christians, as also the authority they exercised in religious matters, were unlawful and tyrannical.” Such were the notions propagated by the sectaries, who refuted the superstitions and impostures of the times by arguments drawn from the holy scriptures, and whose declamations against the power, the opulence, and the vices of the pontiffs and clergy were extremely agreeable to many princes and civil magistrates, who groaned under the usurpations of the sacred order. The pontiffs, therefore, considered themselves as obliged to have recourse to new and extraordinary methods of defeating and subduing enemies, who, both by their number and their rank, were every way proper to fill them with terror.

The contests of the Roman pontiffs with various sects, whom they branded indiscriminately with the name of Heretics.

III. The number of these dissenters from the church of *Rome* was no where greater than in *Narbonne*

CENT. *Gaul* [z] and the countries adjacent, where
 XIII. they were received and protected, in a singular
 PART II. manner, by RAYMOND VI. earl of *Tholouse*, and
 other persons of the highest distinction; and where
 The rise of the inquisition in Narbonne *Gaul*.
 the bishops, either through humanity or indolence,
 were so negligent and remiss in the prosecution of
 heretics, that the latter, laying aside all their fears,
 formed settlements, and multiplied prodigiously from
 day to day. INNOCENT III. was soon informed of
 all these proceedings; and about the commencement
 of this century sent legates extraordinary into the
 southern provinces of *France* to do what the bishops
 had left undone, and to extirpate heresy, in all its
 various forms and modifications, without being at all
 scrupulous in using such methods as might be neces-
 sary to effect this salutary purpose. The persons
 charged with this ghostly commission were RAINIER
 [a], a Cistercian monk, PIERRE DE CASTELNAU
 [b], archdeacon of *Maguelonne*, who became also
 afterwards a Cistercian friar. These eminent mis-
 sionaries were followed by several others, among
 whom was the famous Spaniard DOMINIC, founder
 of the order of preachers, who, returning from *Rome*
 in the year 1206, fell in with these delegates, em-
 barked in their cause, and laboured both by his
 exhortations and actions in the extirpation of heresy.
 These spiritual champions, who engaged in this
 expedition upon the sole authority of the pope,
 without either asking the advice or demanding the
 succours of the bishops, and who inflicted capital

[z] That part of *France* which, in ancient times, compre-
 hended the provinces of *Savoy*, *Dauphiné*, *Provence*, and
Languedoc.

[a] Instead of RAINIER, other historians mention one
 RAOUL, or RALPH, as the associate of PIERRE DE CASTELNAU.
 See FLEURY, *Histoire Eccles.* livr. lxxvi. § xii.

[b] The greatest part of the Roman writers consider PIERRE
 DE CASTELNAU as the first *Inquisitor*. It will appear hereafter
 in what sense this assertion may be admitted. For an account of
 this legate, see the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. *Martii*, p. 411.

* punishment upon such of the heretics as they could not convert by reason and argument, were distinguished in common discourse by the title of *Inquisitors*, and from them the formidable and odious tribunal called the *Inquisition* derived its original.

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IV. When this new set of heresy-hunters [c] had executed their commission, and purged the provinces to which they were sent of the greatest part of the enemies of the Roman faith, the pontiffs were so sensible of their excellent services, that they established missionaries of a like nature, or, in other words, placed *Inquisitors* in almost every city whose inhabitants had the misfortune to be suspected of heresy, notwithstanding the reluctance which the people shewed to this new institution, and the violence with which they frequently expelled, and sometimes massacred, these bloody officers of the popish hierarchy. The council held at *Tbolouse*, in the year 1229, by ROMANUS, cardinal of *St. Angelo*, and pope's legate, went still farther, and erected in every city a *council of inquisitors consisting of one priest and three laymen* [d]. This institution was, however, superseded in the year 1233, by GREGORY IX. who intrusted the Dominicans, or preaching friars, with the important commission of discovering and bringing to judgment the heretics that were lurking in *France*, and in a formal epistle discharged the bishops from the burthen of that painful office [e]. Immediately after this, the bishop of *Tournay*, who was the pope's

The form
of the in-
quisition set-
tled.

☞ [c] The term of Heresy-hunters, for which the translator is responsible, will not seem absurd, when it is known, that the missionaries, who were sent into the provinces of *France* to extirpate heresy, and the inquisitors who succeeded them, were bound by an oath, not only to seek for the heretics in towns, houses, cellars, and other lurking places, but also in woods, caves, fields, &c.

[d] See HARDUINI *Concilia*, tom. vii. p. 175.

[e] BERNHARD GUIDONIS in *Chronico Pontif. MS. ap. JAC. ECHARDUM Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 88.—PERCINI *Historia Inquisit. Tholosanæ*, subjoined to his *Historia Conventus FF. Prædicat. Tholosanæ*, 1693, in 8vo.—*Histoire Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 394, 395.

CENT. legate in *France*, began to execute this new resolution, by appointing PIERRE CELLAN, and GUILLAUME ARNAUD, *inquisitors of the heretical pravity at Tholouse*, and afterwards proceeded in every city, where the Dominicans had a convent, to constitute officers of the same nature, chosen from among the monks of that celebrated order [f]. From this period we are to date the commencement of the dreadful tribunal of the *inquisition*, which in this and the following ages subdued such a prodigious multitude of heretics, part of whom were converted to the church by terror, and the rest committed to the flames without mercy. For the Dominicans erected, first at *Tholouse*, and afterwards at *Carcaffone* and other places, a tremendous court, before which were summoned not only *heretics*, and persons *suspected of heresy*, but likewise all who were accused of *magic, sorcery, judaism, witchcraft*, and other crimes of that kind. This tribunal, in process of time, was erected in the other countries of *Europe*, though not every where with the same success [g].

V. The method of proceeding in this court of *inquisition* was at first simple, and almost in every

[f] ECHARD & PERCINUS *loc. citat.*

[g] The accounts we have here given of the first rise of the *Inquisition*, though founded upon the most unexceptionable testimonies and the most authentic records, are yet very different from those that are to be found in most authors. Certain learned men tell us, that the *Tribunal of the Inquisition* was the invention of St. DOMINIC, and was first erected by him in the city of *Tholouse*: that he, of consequence, was the first inquisitor: that the year of its institution is indeed uncertain; but that it was undoubtedly confirmed in a solemn manner, by INNOCENT III. in the council of the Lateran, in the year 1215. See JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, in his *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exorients*, p. 569.—PHIL. LIMBORCHI *Historia Inquisit.* lib. i. c. x. p. 39. and the other writers mentioned by FABRICIUS. I will not affirm, that the writers who give this account of the matter have advanced all this without authority; but this I will venture to say, that the authors, whom they have taken for their guides, are not of the first rate in point of merit and credibility. LIMBORCH, whose *History of the Inquisition* is looked upon as a most important and capital work,

respect similar to that which was observed in the ordinary courts of justice [b]. But this simplicity was gradually changed by the Dominicans, to whom experience suggested several new methods of augmenting the pomp and majesty of their spiritual tribunal, and who made such alterations in the forms of proceedings, that the manner of taking cognizance of *heretical* causes became totally different

is generally followed by modern writers in their accounts of that odious tribunal. But, however laudable that historian may have been in point of fidelity and diligence, it is certain, that he was but little acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of the middle age; that he drew his materials, not from the true and original sources, but from writers of a second class, and thus has fallen, in the course of his history, into various mistakes. His account of the origin of the inquisition is undoubtedly false; nor does that which is given by many other writers approach nearer to the truth. The circumstances of this account, which I have mentioned in the beginning of this note, are more especially destitute of all foundation. Many of the Dominicans, who, in our times have presided in the court of inquisition, and have extolled the sanctity of that *pious* institution, deny, at the same time, that DOMINIC was its founder, as also that he was the first inquisitor, nay, that he was an inquisitor at all. They go still farther, and affirm, that the court of inquisition was not erected during the life of St. DOMINIC. Nor is all this advanced inconsiderately, as every impartial inquirer into the proofs they allege will easily perceive. Nevertheless, the question, Whether or not St. DOMINIC was an inquisitor? seems to be merely a dispute about words, and depends entirely upon the different significations of which the term *inquisitor* is susceptible. That word, according to its original meaning, signified a person invested with the commission and authority of the Roman pontiff to extirpate heresy and oppose its abettors, but not clothed with any judicial power. But it soon acquired a different meaning, and signified a person appointed by the Roman pontiff to proceed *judicially* against heretics and such as were suspected of heresy, to pronounce sentence according to their respective cases, and to deliver over to the secular arm such as persisted obstinately in their errors. In this latter sense DOMINIC was not an *inquisitor*; since it is well known that there were no papal judges of this nature before the pontificate of GREGORY IX.; but he was undoubtedly an *inquisitor* in the original sense that was attached to that term.

[b] The records, published by the Benedictines in their *Histoire Gener. de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 371. shew the simplicity that reigned in the proceedings of the inquisition at its first institution.

CENT. from that which was usual in civil affairs. These
 XIII. friars were, to say the truth, entirely ignorant of
 PART II. judicial matters; nor were they acquainted with
 ——— the procedures of any other tribunal, than that
 which was called, in the Roman church, the *Tribunal of penance*. It was therefore after this, that they modelled the new court of *Inquisition*, as far as a resemblance between the two was possible; and hence arose that strange system of *inquisitorial* law, which, in many respects, is so contrary to the common feelings of humanity, and the plainest dictates of equity and justice. This is the important circumstance by which we are enabled to account for the absurd, imprudent, and iniquitous proceedings of the inquisitors, against persons that are accused of holding, what they call, heretical opinions.

The rights
 and privi-
 leges grant-
 ed to the
 inquisition.

VI. That nothing might be wanting to render this spiritual court formidable and tremendous, the Roman pontiffs persuaded the European princes, and more especially the emperor FREDERIC II. and LEWIS IX. king of *France*, not only to enact the most barbarous laws against *heretics*, and to commit to the flames, by the ministry of public justice, those who were pronounced *such* by the *inquisitors*, but also to maintain the inquisitors in their office, and grant them their protection in the most open and solemn manner. The edicts to this purpose issued out by FREDERIC II. are well known; edicts every way proper to excite horror, and which rendered the most illustrious piety and virtue incapable of saving from the cruelest death such as had the misfortune to be disagreeable to the *inquisitors* [i].

[i] The law of the emperor FREDERIC, in relation to the inquisitors, may be seen in LIMBORCH'S *History of the Inquisition*, as also in the *Epistles* of PIERRE DE VIGNES, and in BZOVIVS, RAYNALDUS, &c. The edict of St. LEWIS, in favour of these ghostly judges, is generally known under the title of *Cupientes*; for so it is called by the French lawyers on account of its beginning with that word. It was issued out in the year 1229, as the

These abominable laws were not, however, sufficient to restrain the just indignation of the people against these inhuman judges, whose barbarity was accompanied with superstition and arrogance, with a spirit of suspicion and perfidy, nay, even with temerity and imprudence. Accordingly they were insulted by the multitude in many places, were driven, in an ignominious manner, out of some cities, and were put to death in others; and CONRAD of *Marpurg*, the first German inquisitor, who derived his commission from GREGORY IX. was one of the many victims that were sacrificed upon this occasion to the vengeance of the public [*k*], which his incredible barbarities had raised to a dreadful degree of vehemence and fury [*l*].

VII. When INNOCENT III. perceived that the labours of the first *inquisitors* were not immediately attended with such abundant fruits as he had fondly expected, he addressed himself, in the year 1207, to PHILIP AUGUSTUS, king of *France*, and to the

Severer methods are employed against the heretics.

Benedictine monks have proved sufficiently in their *Hist. Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 378. 575. It is also published by CAELIUS, in his *Histor. Comit. Tolosanor.* p. 340. and in many other authors. This edict is as severe and inhuman, to the full, as the laws of FREDERIC II. For a great part of the *sanctity* of good king LEWIS consisted in his furious and implacable aversion to *heretics*, against whom he judged it more expedient to employ the influence of racks and gibbets, than the power of reason and argument. See DU FRESNE, *Vita Ludovici a Joinvillio scripta*, p. 11. 39.

[*k*] The life of this furious and celebrated inquisitor has been composed from the most authentic records that are extant, and also from several valuable manuscripts by the learned JOHN HERMAN SCHMINKIUS. See also WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. ii. p. 151. 355. & ECHARD. *Scriptor. Dominican.* tom. i. p. 437.

[*l*] The Abbé FLEURY acknowledges the brutal barbarity of this unrelenting inquisitor, who, under the pretext of heresy, not only committed to the flames a prodigious number of nobles, clerks, monks, hermits, and lay-persons of all ranks, but moreover caused them to be put to death, the very same day they were accused, without appeal. See FLEURY, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. lxxx. § xxiv.

CENT. leading men of that nation, foliciting them by the
 XIII. alluring promises of the most ample *indulgences*, to
 PART II. extirpate all, whom he thought proper to call
 heretics, by fire and sword [m]. This exhortation
 was repeated with new accessions of fervour and
 earnestness the year following, when PIERRE DE
 CASTELNAU, the legate of this pontiff, and his
 inquisitor in *France*, was put to death by the patrons
 of the people, called heretics [n]. Not long after
 this, the Cistercian monks, in the name of this pope,
 proclaimed a crusade against the heretics throughout
 the whole kingdom of *France*, and a storm seemed to
 be gathering against them on all sides: RAYMOND
 VI. earl of *Tholouse*, in whose territories CASTELNAU
 had been massacred was solemnly excommunicated,
 and, to deliver himself from this ecclesiastical malediction,
 changed sides, and embarked in the crusade
 now mentioned. In the year 1209, a formidable
 army of cross-bearers commenced against the heretics,
 who were comprehended under the general denomi-
 nation of *Albigenses* [o], an open war which they

[m] INNOCENTII III. *Epistola*, Lib. x. *Epist.* 49.

[n] Id. *ibid.* Lib. xi. *Ep.* 26, 27, 28, 29.—*Acta Sanctor.*
Mart. tom. i. p. 411.

[o] The term *Albigenses* is used in two senses, of which the
 one is general, and the other more confined. In its more general
 and extensive sense it comprehends all the various kinds of heretics
 who resided at this time in *Narbonne-Gaul*, i. e. in the southern
 parts of *France*. This appears from the following passage of
 PETRUS SARNENSIS, who, in the *Dedication of his History of*
the Albigenses to Innocent III. expresses himself thus. *Tolosani et*
aliarum civitatum, et castrorum heretici, et defensores eorum gene-
raliter Albigenses vocantur. The same author divides afterwards
 the *Albigenses* into various sects (*Cap.* ii. p. 3 & 8.) of which he
 considers that of the *Waldenses* as the least pernicious. *Mali*
erant Waldenses, sed comparatione aliorum hereticorum longe minus
perverfi. It was not, however, from the city of *Albigia*, or *Albi*,
 that the French heretics were comprehended under the general
 title of *Albigenses*, but from another circumstance, to wit, that the
 greatest part of *Narbonne-Gaul* was, in this century, called *Albi-*
gensium, as the Benedictine monks have clearly demonstrated in
 their *Histoire Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. not. xiii. p. 552.

carried on with the utmost exertions of cruelty, though with various success, for several years. The chief director of this ghostly war was ARNALD, abbot of the Cisterians, and legate of the Roman pontiff; and the commander in chief of the troops employed in this noble expedition was SIMON earl of *Montford*. RAYMOND VI. earl of *Tholouse*, who, consulting his safety rather than his conscience, had engaged in the crusade against the heretics, was obliged to change sides, and to attack their persecutors. For SIMON, who had embarked in this war, not so much from a principle of zeal for religion, or of aversion to the heretics, as from a desire of augmenting his fortune, cast a greedy eye upon the territories of RAYMOND, and his selfish views were seconded and accomplished by the court of *Rome*. After many battles, sieges, and a multitude of other exploits conducted with the most intrepid courage and the most abominable barbarity, he received from the hands of INNOCENT III. at the council of the Lateran, A. D. 1215, the county of *Tholouse* and the other lands, belonging to that earl, as a reward for his zeal in supporting the *cause of God* and of *the church*. About three years after this, he lost his life at the siege of *Tholouse*. RAYMOND, his valiant adversary, died in the year 1222.

VIII. Thus were the two chiefs of this deplorable war taken off the scene; but this removal was far from extinguishing the infernal flame of persecution on the side of the pontiffs, or calming the restless

The fruitless opposition made by the earl of *Tholouse* to the Roman pontiff.

The term *Albigenses*, in its more confined sense, was used to denote those heretics who inclined towards the Manichæan system, and who were otherwise known by the denominations of *Catharists*, *Publicans*, or *Paulicians*, and *Bulgarians*. This appears evidently from many incontestable authorities, and more especially from the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanae*, published by LIMBORCH, in his *History of the Inquisition*, and in which the *Albigenses* are carefully distinguished from the other sects that made a noise in this century.

CENT. spirit of faction on that of the pretended heretics.
 XIII. RAYMOND VII. earl of *Tboloufe*, and AMALRIC,
 PART II. earl of *Montford*, fucceeded their fathers at the head
 ————— of the contending parties, and carried on the war
 with the utmoft vehemence, and with fuch various
 fuccesfs as rendered the iffue for fome time doubtful.
 The former feemed at firft more powerful than his
 adverfary, and the Roman pontiff HONORIUS III.
 alarmed at the vigorous oppofition he made to the
 orthodox legions, engaged LEWIS VIII. king of
France, by the moft pompous promifes, to march in
 perfon with a formidable army againft the enemies of
 the church. The obfequious monarch liftened to
 the follicitations of the lordly pontiff, and embarked
 with a confiderable military force in the caufe of the
 church, but did not live to reap the fruits of his zeal.
 His engagements, however, with the court of *Rome*,
 and his furious defigns againft the heretics, were
 executed with the greateft alacrity and vigour by his
 fon and fucceffor LEWIS the *Saint*; fo that RAY-
 MOND, preffed on all fides, was obliged, in the year
 1229, to make peace upon the moft difadvantageous
 terms, even by making a ceflion of the greateft part
 of his territories to the French monarch, after having
 facrificed a confiderable portion of them, as a peace-
 offering to the church of *Rome* [p]. This treaty of
 peace gave a mortal blow to the caufe of herefy,

☞ [p] It was in confequence of this treaty (of which the
 articles were drawn up at *Meaux*, and afterwards confirmed at
Paris, in prefence of LEWIS) that the univerfity of *Tboloufe* was
 founded, RAYMOND having bound himfelf thereby to pay the fum
 of 4000 filver marcs, in order to the fupport of two profefors of
 divinity, two of canon law, two of grammar, and fix of the liberal
 arts, during the fpace of ten years. We muft alfo obferve, that
 what Dr. MOSHEIM fays of the ceflion that RAYMOND made of
 his lands is not fufficiently clear and accurate. Thefe lands were
 not to be transferred till after his death, and they were to be
 transferred to the brother of LEWIS IX. who, according to the
 treaty, was to efpoufe the daughter of RAYMOND. See FLEURY,
Hift. Ecclef. liv. lxxix. § 50.

and dispersed the champions that had appeared in CENT. its defence; the *inquisition* was established at *Tholouse*, XIII. and the heretics were not only exposed to the *pious* PART II. cruelties of LEWIS, but, what was still more shocking, RAYMOND himself, who had formerly been their patron, became their persecutor, and treated them upon all occasions with the most inhuman severity. It is true, this prince broke the engagements into which he had entered by the treaty above mentioned, and renewed the war against LEWIS and the inquirers, who abused their victory and the power they had acquired in the most odious manner. But this new effort, in favour of the heretics, was attended with little or no effect; and the unfortunate earl of *Tholouse*, the last representative of that noble and powerful house, dejected and exhausted by the losses he had sustained, and the perplexities in which he was involved, died, in the year 1249, without male issue. And thus ended a civil war, of which religion had been partly the cause, and partly the pretext, and which, in its consequences, was highly profitable both to the kings of *France* and to the Roman pontiffs [q].

[q] Many writers both ancient and modern have related the circumstances of this religious war, that was carried on against the earls of *Tholouse* and their confederates, and also against the heretics, whose cause they maintained. But none of the historians, whom I have consulted on this subject, have treated it with that impartiality which is so essential to the merit of historical writing. The Protestant writers, among whom BASNAGE deserves an eminent rank, are too favourable to RAYMOND and the *Albigenses*; the Roman-catholic historians lean with still more partiality to the other side. Of these latter the most recent are BENEDICT, a Dominican monk, author of the *Histoire des Albigeois, des Vaudois, et de Barbets*, published at *Paris*, in 1691, in two volumes, 12mo. — J. BAPT. LANGLOIS, a jesuit, who composed the *Histoire des Croisades contre les Albigeois*, which was published in 12mo, at *Rouen*, in 1703, to which we must add, JO. JAC. PERCINI *Monumenta Conventus Tolosani Ordinis FF. Predicator. in quibus Historia hujus Conventus distribuitur, et refertur totius Albigensium facti narratio, Tolosa, 1693, Fol.* These writers are chargeable

CENT. IX. The severity which the court of *Rome* employed in the extirpation of heresy, and the formidable arguments of fire and sword, racks and gibbets, with which the popes and their creatures reasoned against the enemies of the church, were not sufficient to prevent the rise of new and most pernicious sects in several places. Many of these sects were inconsiderable in themselves, and transitory in their duration, while some of them made a noise in the world, and were suppressed with difficulty. Among the latter we may reckon that of the *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit*, which about this time gained ground secretly and imperceptibly in *Italy, France, and Germany*, and seduced into its bosom multitudes of persons of both sexes, by the striking appearance of piety that was observed in the conduct of the members that composed it. How far the councils of this century proceeded against this new sect, we cannot say with any certainty; because we have upon record but a few of the decrees that were issued out upon that occasion. Perhaps the obscurity of the rising faction screened it, in a great measure, from public view. But that was not the case in the following age; the *Brethren and Sisters* above mentioned came forth from their retreats in proportion as their numbers increased; they drew upon them the eyes of the world, and particularly those of the *inquisitors*, who committed to the flames such of these unhappy enthusiasts as fell into their hands;

with the greatest partiality and injustice in the reproaches and calumnies they throw out so liberally against the *RAYMONDS* and the *Albigenses*, while they disguise, with a perfidious dexterity, the barbarity of *SIMON of Montfort*, and the ambitious views of extending their dominions that engaged the kings of *France* to enter into this war. The most ample and accurate account of this expedition against the Heretics is that which is given by the learned *Benedictines CLAUDE LE VIC* and *JOSEPH VAISSETTE*, in their *Histoire Generale de Languedoc, Paris, 1730*, tom. iii. in which, however, there are several omissions, which render that valuable work defective.

while the councils, held in *Germany* and other nations, loaded them with excommunications and damnatory edicts.

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This new sect took their denomination from the words of St. PAUL [r], and maintained that the true children of God were invested with the privilege of a full and perfect *freedom* from the jurisdiction of the *law* [s]. They were called, by the Germans and Flemish, *Beghards* and *Beguttes*, which, as we have seen already, was a name usually given to those who made an extraordinary profession of piety and devotion. They received from others, the reproachful denomination of *Bicorni*, i. e. Ideots. In *France*, they were known by the appellation of *Beghins* and *Beghines*, while the multitude distinguished them by that of *Turlupins*, the origin and reason of which title I have not been able to learn [t]. Nothing

[r] *Romans* viii. 2. 14.

[s] The accounts we here give of these wretched Fanatics are, for the most part, taken from authentic records, which have not been as yet published, from the decrees of synods and councils held in *France* and *Germany*, from the *Diplomas* of the Roman pontiffs, the sentences pronounced by the inquisitors, and the other sources of information to which I have had access. I have also a collection of extracts from certain books of these enthusiasts, and more especially from that which treated of the *Nine spiritual rocks*, and which was in the highest esteem among the *free brethren*, who considered it as a treasure of divine wisdom and doctrine. As I cannot expose here these records to the examination of the curious reader, I beg leave to refer him to a long and ample edict issued out against these *Brethren* by HENRY I. archbishop of *Cologne*, and published in the *Statuta Coloniensia*, A. 1554. p. 58. This edict is, in every respect, conformable to those published on the same occasion, at *Mentz*, *Aschaffenburg*, *Paderborn*, *Beziers*, *Triers*, and other places.

[t] Many have written, but none with accuracy and precision, concerning the *Turlupins*. See BEAUSOBRE'S *Dissertation sur les Adamites*, part II. p. 384. where that learned author has fallen into several errors, as usually happens to him when he treats subjects of this kind. I know not the origin of the word *Turlupin*, but I am able to demonstrate by the most authentic records, that the persons so called, who were burnt at *Paris* and

CENT. carried a more shocking air of lunacy and distraction
 XIII. than their external aspect and manners. They ran
 PART II. from place to place clothed in the most singular
 and fantastic apparel, and begged their bread with
 wild shouts and clamours, rejecting with horror every
 kind of industry and labour, as an obstacle to divine
 contemplation, and to the ascent of the soul towards
 the Father of spirits. In all their excursions they were
 followed by women, with whom they lived in the
 most intimate familiarity [u]. They distributed
 among the people, books, which contained the sub-
 stance of their doctrine, held nocturnal assemblies in
 places remote from public view, and seduced many
 from frequenting the ordinary institutions of divine
 worship.

The mysti-
 cal doc-
 trines of
 this sect.

X. These *brethren*, who gloried in the *freedom*
 which they pretended to have obtained, *through the*
spirit, from the dominion and obligation of the *law*,
 adopted a certain rigid and fantastic system of *Mystic*
theology, built upon pretended philosophical princi-
 ples, which carried a striking resemblance of the
 impious doctrines of the *Pantheists*. For they held,
 “ That all things flowed *by emanation* from God,
 “ and were finally to return to their divine source :
 “ that rational souls were so many *portions* of the
 “ Supreme Deity, and that the universe, considered
 “ as one great whole, was God : that every man,
 “ by the power of contemplation, and by calling off
 “ his mind from sensible and terrestrial objects, might
 “ be united to the Deity in an ineffable manner, and
 “ become one with the Source and Parent of all
 “ things : and that they, who, by long and assiduous
 “ meditation, had plunged themselves, as it were,
 “ into the *abyss* of the Divinity, acquired thereby

in other parts of *France*, were no other than the *Brethren of the*
free spirit, who were condemned by the Roman pontiffs, and also
 by various councils.

[u] Hence they were called in *Germany*, *Subversivions*, as
 appears by the decrees of several councils.

“ a most glorious and sublime liberty, and were not CENT.
 “ only delivered from the violence of sinful lusts, XIII.
 “ but even from the common instincts of nature.” PART II.
 From these and such like doctrines, the *brethren*
 under consideration drew this impious and horrid
 conclusion, “ That the person who had ascended
 “ to God in this manner, and was absorbed by
 “ contemplation in the abyss of Deity, became thus
 “ a part of the Godhead, commenced God, was the
 “ *Son of God* in the same sense and manner that
 “ CHRIST was, and was thereby raised to a glorious
 “ independence, and freed from the obligation of
 “ all laws human and divine.” It was in conse-
 quence of all this, that they treated with contempt
 the ordinances of the gospel, and every external act
 of religious worship, looking upon prayer, fasting,
 baptism, and the sacrament of the Lord’s supper, as
 the first elements of piety adapted to the state and
 capacity of children, and as of no sort of use to the
perfect man, whom long meditation had raised above
 all external things, and carried into the bosom and
 essence of the Deity [w].

[w] It may not be improper to place here a certain number
 of sentences translated faithfully from several of the more secret
 books of these Heretics. The following will be sufficient to give
 the curious reader a full idea of their impiety.

*Every pious and good man is the only begotten son of God, whom
 God engendered from all eternity: (for these Heretics maintained,
 that what the scriptures taught concerning the distinction of Three
 Persons in the divine nature, is by no means to be understood
 literally, and therefore explained it according to the principles of
 their mystical and fantastic system).*

*All created things are non-entities or nothing: I do not say that
 they are small or minute; but that they are absolutely nothing.*

*There is in the soul of man something that is neither created, nor
 susceptible of creation, and that is, rationality, or the power of
 reasoning.*

*God is neither good, nor better, nor best: whosoever therefore calls
 the Deity good, does as foolishly as he who calls an object black, which
 he knows to be white.*

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Among these heretics there were some that distinguished themselves by their eminent probity, and others that were licentious in an infamous degree.

XI. Among these Fanatics there were several persons of eminent probity, who had entered into this sect with the most upright intentions, and who extended that *liberty of the spirit*, which they looked upon as the privilege of true believers, no farther than to an exemption from the duties of external worship, and an immunity from the positive laws of the church. The whole of religion was placed by this class of men in internal devotion, and they treated with the utmost contempt the rules of monastic discipline, and all other external rites and institutions, as infinitely beneath the attention of the *perfect*. Nor were their exhortations and their examples without effect; for about the middle of this century they persuaded a considerable number of monks and devout persons, in *Swabia*, to live without any rule, and to serve God in the liberty of the spirit, which was the most acceptable service that could be presented to the Deity [*]. The inquisitors, however, stopped these poor enthusiasts in the midst

God still engenders his only begotten son, and begets still the same son, whom he had begotten from eternity. For every operation of the Deity is uniform and one; and therefore he engenders his son without any division.

What the scriptures say concerning Christ is true of every good, of every divine man. And every quality of the divine nature belongs equally to every person, whose piety is genuine and sincere.

To these horrid passages we may add the following sentences, in which, JOHN, bishop of *Strasbourg* (in an edict he published against the *Brethren of the free spirit*, or *Beghards*, in the year 1317, the Sunday before the feast of the assumption of the Virgin MARY) discovers farther the blasphemous doctrine of this impious sect. *Deus* (say these Heretics) *est formaliter omne quod est. Quilibet homo perfectus est Christus per naturam. Homo perfectus est liber in totum, nec tenetur ad servandum præcepta ecclesiæ data à Deo. Multa sunt poetica in evangelio, quæ non sunt vera, et homines credere magis debent conceptibus ex anima sua Deo junctis profectis, quam evangelio, &c.*

[*] See MART. CRUSIUS, *Annal. Suevicorum*, part III. lib. ii. cap. xiv. ad A. 1261, p. 99. edit. *Vet.*—This author has taken his materials from *Felix Faber*, an impartial writer. .

of their career, and committed several of them to the flames, in which they expired, not only with the most unclouded serenity, but even with the most triumphant feelings of cheerfulness and joy.

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But there were among these *Brethren of the free spirit* another class of Fanatics very different from these now mentioned, and much more extravagant, whose system of religion was as dangerous, as it was ridiculous and absurd, since it opened a door to the most licentious manners. These wretched enthusiasts maintained, that, by continual contemplation, it was possible to eradicate all the instincts of nature out of the *heaven-born* mind, and to introduce into the soul a certain divine stupor, and holy apathy, which they looked upon as the great characteristics of Christian perfection. The persons who adopted these sentiments, took strange liberties in consequence of their pretended sanctity, and shewed, indeed, by their conduct, that they had little regard to external appearances; for they held their secret assemblies stark naked, and lay in the same beds with their spiritual sisters, or, indiscriminately, with other women, without the smallest scruple or hesitation. This shocking violation of decency was a consequence of their pernicious system. They looked upon decency and modesty as marks of inward corruption, as the characters of a soul that was still under the dominion of the sensual, animal, and lascivious spirit, and that was not, as yet, re-united to the divine nature, its center and source. And they considered, as at a fatal distance from the Deity, all such as either felt the carnal suggestions of nature, or were penetrated with warm emotions at the view or approach of persons of a different sex, or were incapable of vanquishing and suppressing the rising fervour of lust and intemperance [y].

[y] Certain writers, whose principal zeal is employed in the defence of these heretics, and who have accustomed themselves

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There were, moreover, in this fanatical troop, certain enthusiasts, who far surpassed in impiety the two classes we have been now mentioning, who abused the system and doctrines of the sect, so as to draw from them an apology for all kinds of wickedness, and who audaciously maintained, that the *divine man*, or the believer, who was intimately united to God, *could not sin*, let his conduct be ever so horrible and atrocious. This execrable doctrine was not, indeed, explained in the same manner by all the *Brethren of the free spirit* that were so outrageous as to adopt it. Some held, that the motions and actions of the body had no relation at all to the soul, which, by its union with God, was blended with the divine nature: others fell into a notion infinitely injurious to the Supreme Being, and maintained, that the propensities and passions that arose

to entertain a high idea of the sanctity of all those who, in the middle age, separated themselves from the communion of the church of *Rome*, suspect the inquisitors of having attributed falsely these impious doctrines to the *Brethren of the free spirit*, with a view to blacken these pious men, and to render them odious. But this suspicion is entirely groundless; and the account of this matter, which we have given in the text, is conformable to the strictest truth. The inquisitors have been less fabulous in their accusations of these heretics, than many are apt to imagine. They acknowledge that the *Beghards*, though destitute of shame, were not chargeable, generally speaking, with a breach of the duties of chastity and abstinence. They were indeed of opinion, that this firmness and insensibility of heart, which rendered them proof against female charms and deaf to the voice of nature, was a privilege granted them by the devil. For they adopted the opinion of honest NIEDER, (*Formicar. lib. iii. cap. v. p. 346.*) and affirmed, that it was in the power of that evil spirit to *render men cold*, and to extinguish the warm and lascivious solicitations of nature; and that Satan wrought this miracle upon his friends and adherents, in order to procure them a high reputation of sanctity, and make them appear superior in virtue to the rest of mankind. *Credo* (saith NIEDER, who was both a Dominican and an inquisitor) *quosdam ex eis demonis opere affectos fuisse, ne moverentur ad naturales actus incontinentiæ . . . Facillimum enim est demonibus infrigidare.*

in the soul of the *divine man* after his union with the Deity, were the propensities and affections of God himself, and were therefore, notwithstanding their apparent deformity and opposition to the law, holy and good, seeing that the Supreme Being is infinitely exalted above all law and all obligation [z]. It is

[z] This account will be confirmed by the following passage faithfully translated from the famous book of the *Nine Rocks*, written originally in German: *Moreover the divine man operates and engenders whatever the Deity operates and engenders. For in God he produced and formed the heavens and the earth. He is also the father of the eternal world. Neither could God produce any thing without this divine man, who is therefore obliged to render his will conformable to the will of God, that so whatsoever may be agreeable to the Deity, may be agreeable to him also. If therefore it be the will of God that I should commit sin, my will must be the same, and I must not even desire to abstain from sin. This is true contrition. And although a man, who is well and truly united to God, may have committed a thousand mortal sins, he ought not even to wish that he had not committed them; nay, he should rather die a thousand deaths than omit one of these mortal sins.* Hence the accusation brought by the inquisitors against this impious sect, whom they reproach with maintaining that the *sin of a man united to God, is not sin, since God works in him and with him whatever he does.* HENRY SUSO, a Dominican monk, and one of the most celebrated Mystic writers, composed, in the following century, another *Book concerning the Nine Rocks*, which is to be found in the edition of his works published by LAURENT. SURIUS. But this book is entirely different from that which was in such high esteem among the *Beghards*, though it bears the same title. The latter is of much older date, and was in vogue in *Germany*, among the *Brethren of the free spirit*, long before Suso was born. There fell some time ago into my hands an ancient manuscript, composed in *Alsace*, during the fifteenth century, and containing an account of various *Revelations and Visions of that age.* In this manuscript I found a piece entitled, *Declaratio Religiosi cujusdam super revelatione Carthusiano cuidam de Ecclesiæ per gladium reformatione, Leodii, A. 1453, facta*; and almost in the beginning of this declaration the following passage relating to the *Book of the Nine Rocks*: *Homo quidam devotissimus, licet Laicus, Librum de novem Rupibus conscripsit à Deo compulsus, ubi multa ad præsens pertinentia continentur de Ecclesiæ renovatione et prævia gravi persecutione.* These *Nine Rocks* signified, according to the fanatical doctrine of this wrong-headed sect, the different steps by which the *divine man* ascended to the Deity.

CENT. necessary to observe, before we leave this subject,
 XIII. that flagitious and impious impostors mingled them-
 PART II. selves sometimes with this sect, and took the name of
 ————— *Beghards*, that by a feigned piety they might impose
 upon the multitude, and deceive the simple into their
 snares [a].

Amalric. XII. The famous AMALRIC, native of *Bene*, and
 professor of logic and theology at *Paris*, whose bones
 were dug up and publicly burnt in the year 1209,
 although he had abjured his errors before his death,
 and a considerable number of whose disciples and
 followers were committed to the flames on account
 of their absurd and pernicious doctrine, was, undoubt-
 edly, of the same way of thinking with the sect

[a] The founder of this famous sect, the place of its origin,
 and the precise date of its first appearance, are not known with
 any degree of certainty. I have actually in my possession *Eighty-
 nine Sentences of the Beghards, vulgarly called Schweftrones, but
 who style themselves Brethren of the sect of the Free Spirit and of
 voluntary Poverty, with a Refutation of the said Sentences*, written
 at *Worms* towards the conclusion of this century by some one or
 other of the inquisitors. The 79th of these sentences runs thus :
*To say that the truth is in Rhetia, is to fall into the heresy of Donat-
 us, who said, that God was in Africa, and not elsewhere.* From
 these words it appears evident, that *Rhetia* was the place where
 the church of the Brethren of the free spirit was fixed and established,
 and that from this province they passed into *Germany*. I am
 not however of opinion, that this sect had its first rise in that
 province; but am rather inclined to think, that *Italy* was its
 country, and that, being driven from thence, it took refuge in
Rhetia. Nor is it at all improbable, that *Italy*, which saw so
 many religious factions arise in its bosom, was also the nursing
 mother of this blasphemous sect. We shall be almost fully
 confirmed in this opinion when we consider that, in a long letter
 from CLEMENT V. to RAIMIER bishop of *Cromona* (published
 by ODOR. RAYNALDUS, *Annal.* tom. xv. A. 1311, n. 66. p. 90.)
 the zealous pontiff exhorts that prelate to suppress and extirpate,
 with all his might, the sect of the Brethren of the free spirit,
 which was settled in several parts of *Italy*, and particularly in the
 province of *Spoletto* and the countries adjacent. Such are the
 terms of the pontiff's letter; in *nonnullis Italiae partibus, tam
 Spoletanae provinciae, quam circumjacentium regionum.*

whose opinions we have been now considering [*b*]. CENT. For though the writers of this barbarous age have given very different and confused accounts of this man's opinions, and even attributed some doctrines to him which he never maintained, it is nevertheless certain, that he taught, that all things were the parts of one substance, or, in other words, that the universe was God, and that not only the *forms* of all things, but also their *matter* or substance, proceeded from the Deity, and must return to the source from whence they were derived [*c*]. From these absurd

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[*b*] *This did not escape the notice of the enemies of the Beghards, or Brethren of the free spirit, in Germany, much less that of the Inquisitors, who, in their Refutation of the 89 Sentences of the Beghards mentioned in the preceding note, express themselves thus: (Sententia 68). Dicere quod omnis creatura est Deus, heresis Alexandri* est, qui dixit, materiam primam et Deum et Hominem, hoc est mentes, esse in substantia, quod postea quidam David de Dinanto sequutus est, qui temporibus nostris de hac heresi de Francia fugatus est, et punitus fuisset, si deprehensus fuisset.*

[*c*] The account given by FLEURY, in his Ecclesiastical History, of the opinions of AMALRIC, is very different from that which is here given by Dr. MOSHEIM. The former observes, that AMALRIC, or AMAURI, taught that every Christian was obliged to believe himself a member of Jesus Christ, and that without this belief none could be saved, and he observes also, that his disciples introduced errors still more pernicious, such as the following: "That the power of the Father had continued only during the Mosaic dispensation, that of the Son 1200 years after his entrance upon earth, and that, in the thirteenth century, the age of the Holy Spirit commenced, in which the sacraments and all external worship were to be abolished; that there would be no resurrection; that heaven and hell were mere fictions;" and many more sentiments of that nature, which, as the learned SPANHEIM † imagines, were falsely imputed to AMALRIC, in order to render his memory odious, because he had opposed the worship of saints and images. See FLEURY, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. lxxvi. § lix.—Dr. MOSHEIM looks upon AMALRIC to have been a Pantheist, and many men of

* The person here mentioned is ALEXANDER, the Epicurean, of whom PLUTARCH speaks in his *Symposium*.

† See *Spanhemii Hist. Eccles.* Sæc. xii. p. 1694.

CENT. and blasphemous principles he deduced that chimerical system of fanatical devotion, which we have already exposed to the view of the reader, pretended to demonstrate the possibility of incorporating or translating the human nature into the divine, and rejected all kinds of external worship, as insignificant and useless. The disciples of this enthusiast were men of exemplary piety, were distinguished by the gravity and austerity of their lives and manners, and suffered death in the most dreadful forms with the utmost resolution and constancy. One of the most eminent among these was DAVID of *Dinant*, a Parisian doctor, who usually expressed the fundamental principle of his master in the following proposition: *God is the primary matter or substance of all things.* He composed a work entitled *Quaternarii*, with several other productions, which were chiefly designed to affect and gain the multitude: but, after all, was obliged to save himself by flight [*d*]. The bishops, assembled in council at *Paris* in the year 1209, considered the philosophy of ARISTOTLE as the source of all these impious doctrines, and, on that account, prohibited the reading, or explaining, either in public or private, the metaphysical, and other productions of the Grecian sage [*e*].

XIII. If we may depend upon the accounts given by certain writers, AMALRIC and his followers received with the utmost docility and faith the

Joachim
Wilhelmina

eminent learning are of this opinion. See among others JOH. GERSON apud JAC. THOMASIIUM, and also BRUCKER'S *Hist. Philosoph.* tom. iii. p. 688.

[*d*] See MARTENE, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. iv. p. 163. where there is an account of the heresies, for which several priests were burnt at *Paris* in the year 1209.—NATAL. ALEXANDER, *Hist. Eccl. Sac.* xiii. cap. iii. art. ii. p. 76.—DU BOIS, *Historia Eccles. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 244.—BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 24. 48. 53.—JAC. THOMASIIUS, *De Exultatione Mundi Stoica,* p. 199.

[*e*] LAUNOIIUS, *De varia Aristot. fortuna in Acad. Paris.* p. 127.

predictions, attributed to JOACHIM abbot of *Flora*, CENT. XIII. concerning the reformation that was soon to be brought about in the church by the power of the sword, the approaching *Age of the Holy Ghost* that was to succeed those of the Father and the Son, and other things of that nature, which raised the hopes and occupied the thoughts of the *Spiritual Franciscans*. Whether these accounts may be depended upon or not, we shall not determine. To us they appear extremely doubtful. It is, however, true, that certain persons were so far deluded by these pretended prophecies, as to form new sects with a view to their accomplishment, and to declare war against the established church, its system of doctrine, and its forms of worship. Among other fanatical sectaries, there arose one of a most extraordinary kind, a Bohemian woman named *Wilhelmina*, who resided in the territory of *Milan*. This delirious and wrong-headed woman, having studied with attention the predictions concerning the *Age of the Holy Ghost*, was extravagant enough to persuade herself, and, what is still more amazing, had influence enough to persuade others, that the Holy Ghost was become *incarnate* in her person, for the salvation of a great part of mankind. According to her doctrine, “None were saved by the blood of JESUS, but true and pious Christians; while the Jews, Saracens, and unworthy Christians, were to obtain salvation through the Holy Spirit which dwelt in her, and that, in consequence thereof, all that had happened to CHRIST, during his appearance upon earth in the human nature, was to be exactly renewed in her person, or rather in that of the Holy Ghost, which was united to her.” This mad woman died at *Milan* in the year 1281, in the most fragrant odour of sanctity, and her memory was not only held in the highest veneration by her numerous followers and the ignorant multitude, but was also honoured with religious worship both in

CENT. public and in private. Her sect, nevertheless, was
 XIII. discovered by the curious eye of persecution in the
 PAR I II year 1300, and fell into the clutches of the in-
 quiritors, who destroyed the magnificent monument that
 had been erected in her honour, had her bones
 raised and committed to the flames, and in the same
 fire consumed the chief leaders of this wretched
 faction, among which there were persons of both
 sexes [f].

The sect
 called
 Apostles.

XIV. It was upon predictions similar to those
 mentioned in the preceding section, that *the sect of
 the apostles* founded its discipline. The members of
 this sect made little or no alterations in the doctrinal
 part of the public religion; what they principally
 aimed at, was, to introduce among Christians the
 simplicity of the primitive times, and more especially
 the manner of life that was observed by the apostles.
 GERHARD SAGARELLI, the founder of this sect,
 obliged his followers to go from place to place as the
 apostles did, to wander about cloathed in white,
 with long beards, dishevelled hair, and bare heads,
 accompanied with women, whom they called their
Sisters. They were also obliged to renounce all
 kinds of property and possessions, and to preach in
 public the necessity of repentance, while in their
 more private assemblies they declared the approach-
 ing destruction of the corrupt church of *Rome*, and
 the establishment of a purer service, and a more
 glorious church, that, according to the prophecies
 of the abbot JOACHIM, was to arise from its ruins.
 No sooner was the unhappy leader of this faction

[f] The Milanese historians, such as BERNARD, CORIUS,
 and others, have related the adventures of this odd woman; but
 their accounts are very different from those given by the learned
 MURATORI, in his *Antiq. Italicae medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 91. and
 which he has drawn from the judicial proceedings of the court,
 where the extraordinary case of this female fanatic was examined.
 We are informed by the same excellent author, that a learned
 writer, named PURICELLI, composed a history of WILHELMINA,
 and of her sect.

committed to the flames [g], than he was succeeded in that character by a bold and enterprising fanatic, named DULCINUS, a native of *Novara*, who published his predictions with more courage, and maintained them with more zeal, than his predecessor had done, and who did not hesitate to declare that, in a short time, the Roman pontiff BONIFACE VIII. with the corrupt priests and the licentious monks, were to perish by the hand of the emperor FREDERIC III. son of PETER, king of *Arragon*, and that a new and most holy pontiff was to be raised to the head of the church. These visionary predictions were, no doubt, drawn from the dreams of the abbot JOACHIM, who is said to have declared, among other things, that an emperor called FREDERIC III. was to bring to perfection what FREDERIC II. had left unfinished. Be that as it may, DULCINUS appeared with intrepid assurance at the head of the *apostles*; and acting not only in the character of a prophet, but also in that of a general, he assembled an army to maintain his cause, and perhaps to accomplish, at least in part, his predictions. He was opposed by RAYNERIUS, bishop of *Vercelli*, who defended the interests of the Roman pontiff, and carried on, during the space of two years and more, a most bloody and dreadful war against this chief of the apostles. The issue of this contest was fatal to the latter, who, after several battles fought with obstinate courage, was at length taken prisoner, and put to death at *Vercelli* in the most barbarous manner in the year 1307, together with *Margaret*, whom he had chosen for his *Spiritual Sister*, according to the custom of his sect. The terrible end of DULCINUS was not immediately followed by the downfall of his sect, which still subsisted in *France*, *Germany*, and in other countries, and stood firm against the most

[g] This unhappy man was burnt alive at *Parma*, in the year 1300.

CENT. vehement efforts of its enemies until the beginning
 XIII. of the xvth century, when, under the pontificate of
 PART II. BONIFACE IX. it was totally extirpated [b].

A true account of the heresy that was imputed to Joachim. XV. This famous JOACHIM, abbot of *Flora*, whose fanatical predictions turned the heads of so many well-meaning people, and excited them to attempt reforming the church by the sword, and to declare open war against the Roman pontiffs, did not fall under the suspicion of heresy on account of these predictions, but in consequence of a new explication he had given of the doctrine of a Trinity of Persons in the Godhead. He had in an elaborate work attacked very warmly PETER LOMBARD, the master of the sentences, on account of the distinction this latter writer had made between the *Divine Essence*, and the *three Persons* in the Godhead; for JOACHIM looked upon this doctrine as introducing a *fourth* object, even an *essence*, into the Trinity. But the good man was too little versed in metaphysical matters, to carry on a controversy of such a subtle nature, and he was betrayed by his ignorance so far as to advance inconsiderately the most rash and exceptionable tenets. For he denied that there was any thing, or any *essence*, that belonged in common to the three Persons in the Trinity, or was jointly

[b] I composed in the German language an accurate history, in three books, of this famous sect, which is very little known in our times, and I have in my hands materials, that will furnish an interesting addition to that history. That this sect subsisted in *Germany*, and in some other countries, until the pontificate of BONIFACE IX. is evident from the *Chronicle* of HERMAN CORNERUS, published by JO. GEORGE ECHARD, in his *Corpus Historicum mediæ ævi*, tom. ii. p. 906. and may be sufficiently demonstrated by other authentic testimonies. In the year 1402, a certain member of this apostolical sect, whose name was WILLIAM, or WILHELMUS, was burnt alive at *Lubeck*. See CORNERUS, *loc. cit.* p. 1185. The Germans, who were accustomed to distinguish by the name of *Beghards* all those who pretended to extraordinary piety, and sought, by poverty and begging, an eminent reputation for sanctity and virtue, gave this title also to the sect of the *Apostles*.

possessed by them; by which doctrine the *substantial* union between the three Persons was taken away, and the unity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost was reduced from a *natural, simple, and numerical* unity, to a *moral* one only; that is, to such an unity as reigns in the councils and opinions of different persons, who embrace the same notions, and think and act with one accord. This explication of the Trinity was looked upon by many as very little different from the Arian system; and therefore the Roman pontiff, INNOCENT III. pronounced, in the year 1215, in the council of the Lateran, a damnatory sentence against the doctrine of JOACHIM, which sentence, however, did not extend to the person or fame of the abbot himself. And, indeed, notwithstanding this papal sentence, JOACHIM has at this day a considerable number of adherents and defenders, more especially among those of the Franciscans, who are called *Observants*. Some of these maintain that the book of this abbot was corrupted and interpolated by his enemies, while the rest are of opinion that his doctrine was not thoroughly understood by those that opposed it [i].

[i] See DAN. PAPEBROCHIUS, *Disquis. Histor. de Florensi Ordine, Prophetis, Doctrina, B. Joachimi*, in *Actis Sanctorum, Maii*, tom. vi. p. 486. which contains *The Life of Joachim*, and several other pieces of consequence. See also NATAL. ALEXANDER, *Hist. Eccles. Sac. xiii. Diff. ii.* p. 331.—LUC. WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 6.

THE
FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

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CHAPTER I.

Concerning the prosperous events that happened to the Church during this century.

I. SEVERAL attempts were made by the monarchs and princes of the west, set on by the instigation of the Roman pontiffs, to renew the war in *Palestine* against the Turks and Saracens, and to deliver the whole province of *Syria* from the oppressive yoke of these despotic Infidels. The succession of pontiffs that resided at *Avignon* were particularly zealous for the renovation of this religious war, and left no artifice, no methods of persuasion unemployed, that could have the least tendency to engage the kings of *England* and *France* in an expedition to the Holy Land. But their success was not answerable to their zeal; and notwithstanding the powerful influence of their exhortations and remonstrances, something still happened to prevent their producing the desired effect. CLEMENT V. urged the renewal of this holy war with the greatest ardour in the years 1307, 1308, and set apart an immense sum of money for carrying it on

CENT.
XIV.
PART I:
Fruitless attempts to renew the crusades.

C'ENT. with alacrity and vigour [a]. JOHN XXII. ordered
 XIV. a fleet of ten ships to be fitted out in the year 1319,
 PART I. to transport an army of pious adventurers into *Palestine* [b], and had recourse to the power of superstition, that is, to the influence of *indulgences*, for raising the funds necessary to the support of this great enterprize. These *indulgences* he offered to such as contributed generously to the carrying on the war, and appointed legates to administer them in all the countries in *Europe* that were subject to his ghostly jurisdiction. But, under this fair shew of piety and zeal, JOHN is supposed to have covered the most selfish and groveling views; and we find LEWIS of *Bavaria*, who was at that time emperor, and several other princes, complaining loudly that this pontiff made use of the holy war as a pretext to disguise his avarice and ambition [c]; and indeed the character of this pope was proper to give credit to such complaints. Under the pontificate of BENEDICT XII. a formidable army was raised in the year 1330, by PHILIP DE VALOIS king of *France*, with a view, as was said, to attempt the deliverance of the Christians in *Palestine* [d]; but when he was just ready to embark his troops, the apprehension of an invasion from *England*, obliged him to lay aside this weighty enterprize. In the year 1345, CLEMENT V. at the request of the Venetians, engaged, by the persuasive power of *indulgences*, a prodigious number of adventurers to embark for *Smyrna*, where they composed a numerous army under the command of GUIDO or GUY, dauphin of *Vienne*; but the want

[a] BALUZII *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 15. 594. tom. ii. p. 55. 57. 374. 391, &c. ANT. MATTHÆI *Analec̃ta veteris ævi*, tom. ii. p. 577.

[b] BALUZII *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 125. tom. ii. p. 515.

[c] BALUZIIUS, *loc. cit.* tom. i. p. 175. 786.—MATTHÆI *Analec̃ta vet. ævi*, tom. ii. p. 595. 598.

[d] BALUZIIUS, *loc. cit.* tom. i. p. 200.

of provisions obliged this army to return with their general into *Europe* in a short time after their departure [e]. This disappointment did not, however, damp the spirits of the restless pontiffs; for another formidable army was assembled in the year 1363, in consequence of the zealous exhortations of *URBAN V.* and was to be employed in a new expedition against the infidels, with *JOHN*, king of *France*, at its head; but the unexpected death of that prince blasted the hopes that many had entertained from this grand project, and occasioned the dispersion of that numerous body which had repaired to his standards [f].

II. The missionaries that had been sent by the Roman pontiffs into *China*, *Tartary*, and the adjacent countries, in the preceding century, found their labours crowned with the desired success, and established a great number of Christian churches in these unenlightened nations. In the year 1307, *CLEMENT V.* erected *Cambalu* (which at this time was the celebrated metropolis of *Cathay*, and is, undoubtedly, the same with *Peking*, the capital city at present of the Chinese empire) into an archbishopric, which he conferred upon *JOHN DE MONTE CORVINO*, an Italian friar, who had been employed in propagating the gospel in that country for many years. The same pontiff sent soon after to assist this prelate in his pious labours seven other bishops of the Franciscan order [g]. *JOHN XXII.* exerted in this good cause the same zeal which had distinguished the

[e] *Fragmenta Histor. Romanæ*, in *MURATORI Antiqq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iii. p. 368.

[f] *BALUZII Vite Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 366. 386. 371. 401.

[g] *WADDINGUS, Annal. Ordin. Minor.* tom. vi. ad A. 1305, § xii. p. 69. ad A. 1307, p. 91. 368. tom. vii. p. 53. 221. tom. viii. p. 235.—*J. S. ASSEMANNI Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. § ii. p. 521.—*J. ECHARDI Scriptor. Predicator.* tom. i. p. 537.—*Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. *Januarii*, p. 984.—*MOSHEMUS Historia Eccles. Tartar.*

CENT. pontificate of his predecessors. Upon the death of
 XIV. JOHN DE MONTE CORVINO, in the year 1330, he
 PART I. sent NICOLAS of *Bentra* to fill the vacant arch-
 bishopric of *Cambalu*, and charged him with letters
 to the emperor of the Tartars, who, at that time,
 was in possession of the Chinese dominions. In the
 year 1338, BENEDICT XII. sent new legates and
 missionaries into *Tartary* and *China*, in consequence
 of a solemn embassy [b] with which he was honoured
 at *Aignon* from the *Kan* of the Tartars. During
 the time that the princes of this latter nation main-
 tained themselves in the empire of *China*, the
 Christian religion flourished in these vast regions,
 and both Latins and Nestorians not only made a
 public profession of their faith, but also propagated
 it without any apprehension of danger, throughout
 the northern provinces of *Asia*.

Conversion
 of the Li-
 thuanians.

III. There remained in this century scarcely any
 European prince, unconverted to Christianity, if we
 except JAGELLO, duke of *Lithuania*, who continued
 in the darkness of paganism, and worshipped the gods
 of his idolatrous ancestors, until the year 1386,
 when he embraced the Christian faith, received in
 baptism the name of VLADISLAUS, and persuaded
 his subjects to open their eyes upon the divine light
 of the gospel. We shall not pretend to justify the
 purity of the motives that first engaged this prince to
 renounce the religion of his fathers, as they were
 accompanied, at least, with views of policy, interest,
 and ambition. Upon the death of LEWIS, king of
Poland, which happened in the year 1382, JAGELLO
 was named among the competitors who aspired
 after the vacant throne; and as he was a rich and
 powerful prince, the Poles beheld his pretensions and
 efforts with a favourable eye. His religion was the
 only obstacle that lay in his way to the accomplish-
 ment of his views. HEDWIGE, the youngest daughter

[b] BALUZII *Vite Pontificum Avenionensium*, tom. p. 242.

of the deceased monarch, who, by a decree of the senate, was declared heiress of the kingdom, was as little disposed to espouse, as the Poles were to obey, a Pagan, and hence JAGELLO was obliged to make superstition yield to royalty [i]. On the other hand, the Teutonic knights and crusaders extirpated by fire and sword any remains of paganism that were yet to be found in *Prussia* and *Livonia*, and effected, by force, what persuasion alone ought to have produced.

We find also in the annals of this century a great many instances of Jews converted to the Christian faith. The cruel persecutions they suffered in several parts of *Europe*, particularly in *France* and *Germany*, vanquished their obstinacy, and bent their untractable spirits under the yoke of the gospel. The reports (whether false or true we shall not determine) that had been industriously spread abroad of their poisoning the public fountains, of their killing infants and drinking their blood, of their profaning in the most impious and blasphemous manner the consecrated waters that were used in the celebration of the eucharist, with other accusations equally enormous, excited every where the resentment of the magistrates and the fury of the people, and brought the most terrible sufferings, that unrelenting vengeance could invent, upon that wretched and devoted nation.

IV. The Saracens maintained, as yet, a considerable footing in *Spain*. The kingdoms of *Granada* and *Murcia*, with the province of *Andalusia*, were subject to their dominion; and they carried on a perpetual war with the kings of *Castile*, *Arragon*, and *Navarre*, in which, however, they were not always victorious. The African princes, and particularly the emperors of *Morocco*, became their

CENT.
XIV.
PART I.

Many of the Jews become Christians through compulsion

A scheme laid for the expulsion of the Saracens out of *Spain*.

[i] OÐOR. RAYNALDUS, *Annal. Eccles. ad A. 1386.* § iv.
—WADDINGI *Annal Minor.* tom. ix. p. 71.—SOLIGNAC, *Histoire de Pologne*, tom. iii. p. 241.

CENT. auxiliaries against the Christians. On the other
 XIV. hand, the Roman pontiffs left no means unemployed
 PART I. to excite the Christians to unite their forces against
 the Mahometans, and to drive them out of the
 Spanish territories; presents, exhortations, promises,
 in short, every allurement that religion, superstition,
 or avarice could render powerful, were made use of
 in order to the execution of this arduous project.
 The Christians accordingly, united their counsels and
 efforts for this end; and though for some time the
 difficulty of the enterprize rendered their progress
 but inconsiderable, yet even in this century their
 affairs carried a promising aspect, and gave them
 reason to hope that they should one day triumph
 over their enemies, and become sole possessors of the
 Spanish dominions [k].

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the
 Church during this century.

The Chris-
 tian religi-
 on loses
 ground in
Asia.

I. **T**HE Turks and Tartars, who extended
 their dominions in *Asia* with an amazing rapidity,
 and directed their arms against the Greeks as well
 as against the Saracens, destroyed wherever they went
 the fruits that had sprung up in such a rich abundance
 from the labours of the Christian missionaries, extir-
 pated the religion of JESUS in several provinces and

[k] See JO. DE FERRERAS, *Histoire de l'Espagne*, tom. iv. v.
 vii.—*Fragmenta Histor. Romanae*, in MURATORII *Antiqq. Ital.*
medii ævi, tom. iii. p. 319. in which, however, there is a con-
 siderable mixture of truth and falsehood.—BALUZII *Miscellan.*
 tom. ii. p. 267.

cities where it flourished, and substituted the impositions of MAHOMET in its place. Many of the Tartars had formerly professed the gospel, and still more had tolerated the exercise of that divine religion; but, from the beginning of this century, things put on a new face; and that fierce nation recouced every other religious doctrine, except that of the Alcoran. TIMUR BEG, commonly called TAMERLANE, their mighty emperor, embraced himself the doctrine of MAHOMET, though under a form different from that which was adopted by the Tartars in general [l]. This formidable warrior, after having subdued the greatest part of *Asia*, having triumphed over BAJAZET the emperor of the Turks, and even filled *Europe* with terror at the approach of his victorious arms, made use of his authority to force multitudes of Christians to apostatize from their holy faith. To the dictates of authority he added the compulsive power of violence and persecution, and treated the disciples of CHRIST with the utmost barbarity. Persuaded, as we learn from the most credible writers of his life and actions, that it was incumbent upon the true followers of MAHOMET, to persecute the Christians, and that the most ample and glorious rewards were reserved for such as were most instrumental in converting them to the Mahometan faith [m]; he employed the most inhuman acts of severity to vanquish the magnanimous constancy of those that persevered in their attachment to the Christian religion, of whom some suffered death in the most

[l] This great TAMERLANE, whose name seemed to strike terror even when he was no more, adhered to the sect of the *Sunnites*, and professed the greatest enmity against their adversaries the *Schites*. See PETIT CROIX, *Histoire de Timur-Beg*, tom. ii. p. 151. tom. iii. p. 228. It is, however, extremely doubtful, what was, in reality, the religion of TAMERLANE, though he professed the Mahometan faith. See MÖSHEIM, *Hist. Eccles. Tartaror.* p. 124.

[m] PETIT CROIX, *Histoire de Timur-Beg*, tom. ii. p. 329. tom. iii. p. 137. 243, &c.

CENT. barbarous forms, while others were condemned to

XIV. perpetual slavery [n].

PART I.

The decline
of Christi-
anity in
China and
in *Tartary*.

II. In those parts of *Asia*, that are inhabited by the Chinese, Tartars, Moguls, and other nations as yet less known, the Christian religion not only lost ground, but seemed to be totally extirpated. It is, at least, certain, that we have no account of any members of the Latin church residing in those countries, later than the year 1370, nor could we ever learn the fate of the Franciscan missionaries that had been sent thither from *Rome*. We have, indeed, some records, from which it would appear that there were Nestorians residing in *China* so far down as the sixteenth century [o]; but these records are not so clear in relation to this matter, as to remove all uncertainty and doubting. However that may be, it is evident beyond all contradiction, that the abolition of Christianity, in those remote parts of the world, was owing to the wars that were carried on by the Tartars against the Chinese and other Asiatic nations; for in the year 1369, the last emperor of the race of GENGIS KAN was driven out of *China*, and his throne filled by the *Mim* family, who, by a solemn law, refused to all foreigners the privilege of entering into *China*.

[n] Many instances of this we find in a *History of Timur-Bec*, wrote by a Persian, who was named SCHERFEDINUS, tom. ii. p. 376. 384. 386. tom. iii. p. 243. tom. iv. p. 111. 115. 117. and published at *Delft*, in four volumes, 8vo, in the year 1723. —See also HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Oriental.* at the article TIMUR, p. 877.

[o] NICOL. TRIGAUTIUS, *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas*, lib. i. cap. xi. p. 116.—JOS. SIM. ASSEMANI *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. part I. p. 592. & part II. p. 445. 536.—HALDE, *Description de la China*, tom. i. p. 175.

P A R T II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.



CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.

I. **T**HE Greeks, though dejected by the CENT. foreign and intestine calamities in which they were XIV. involved, were far from withdrawing their attention PART II. and zeal from the cause of literature, as is evident The state of letters among the Greeks. from the great number of learned men who flourished among them during this period. In this honourable class was NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, MANUEL CHRYSOLORAS, MAXIMUS PLANUDES, and many others, who, by their indefatigable application to the study of humanity and antiquities, criticism and grammar, acquired considerable reputation. To omit writers of inferior note, THEODORUS METOCHILA, JOHN CANTACUZENUS, and NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, applied themselves to the composition of history, though with different success. Nor ought we to pass over in silence NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS, who compiled an Ecclesiastical History, which, notwithstanding its being debased with idle stories and evident marks of superstition, is highly useful on account of the light it casts on many important facts.

II. As none of the sages of this century was The state of philosophy among the Greeks. adventurous enough to set up for a leader in philosophy, such of the Greeks as had a taste for

CENT. philosophical researches adhered to ARISTOTLE, as
 XIV. their conductor and guide; but we may learn from
 PART II. the tracts of THEODORUS METOCHITA in what
 manner they explained the principles and tenets of
 the Stagirite. PLATO also had his followers, especially among those who were fond of mysticism, which had for many ages been held in the highest veneration by the Greeks. In the sublime sciences of mathematics and astronomy NICOLAS CABASILAS surpassed all his contemporaries. BARLAAM adopted the sentiments and precepts of the Stoics with respect to the obligations of morality and the duties of life, and digested them into a work of his, which is known by the title of *Ethica ex Stoicis* [g].

The state of
 learning
 among the
 Latins.

III. In all the Latin provinces, schemes were laid and carried into execution with considerable success, for promoting the study of letters, improving taste, and dispelling the pedantic spirit of the times. This laudable disposition gave rise to the erection of many schools and academies, at *Cologne, Orleans, Cahors, Perugia, Florence, and Pisa*, in which all the liberal arts and sciences, distributed into the same classes that still subsist in those places, were taught with assiduity and zeal. Opulent persons founded and amply endowed particular *colleges* in the public universities, in which, besides the *monks*, young men of narrow circumstances were educated in all the branches of literature. Libraries were also collected, and men of learning animated to aspire to fame and glory, by the prospect of honourable rewards. It must be confessed indeed, that the advantages arising to the church and state, from so many professors and learned men, did not wholly answer the expence and care bestowed on this undertaking, by men of rank and fortune: yet we are by no means to conclude, as many have rashly done, that all the doctors of this age, who rose gradually from the lower to the higher

[g] HENRICI CANISII *Lectiones Antiquae*, tom. iv. p. 405.

and more honourable stations, were only distinguished by their stupidity and ignorance.

CENT.
XIV.
PART II.

IV. CLEMENT V. who was now raised to the pontificate, ordered the Hebrew, and other Oriental languages, to be taught in the public schools, that the church might never want a sufficient number of missionaries properly qualified to dispute with the Jews and Mahometans, and to diffuse the divine light of the gospel throughout the east [r]: in consequence of which appointment, some eminent proficients in these tongues, and especially in the Hebrew, flourished during this age. The Greek language, which hitherto had been much neglected, was now revived, and taught with general applause, first of all by LEONTIUS PILATUS, a Calabrian, who wrote a commentary upon HOMER, and a few others [s], but afterwards, with far greater success and reputation, by MANUEL CHRYSOLORAS [t], a native of *Constantinople*. Nor were there wanting some extraordinary geniuses, who, by their zeal and application, contributed to the restoration of the ancient and genuine eloquence of the Latins, among whom the excellent and justly-renowned PETRARCH held the first place [u], and DANTE ALIGHIERI the second. Full of this worthy design, they both

The state of languages.

*Petrarch h
Dante.*

[r] See ANT. WOOD, *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 156. 159.

[s] See HUMPH. HODY, *De Græcis illustribus, Linguae Græcæ Literarumque humaniorum instauratoribus*, lib. i. p. 5. Londini, 1742, in 8vo.—CALOGERA, *Opusculi Scientifici*, tom. xxv. p. 258.

[t] HODY, *loc. cit.* lib. i. p. 10.—ANGELI CALOGERÆ *loc. cit.* p. 248.—And more especially CHRIST. FRID. BORNERI *Lib. de Græcis Literarum Græcarum in Italia instauratoribus*.

[u] See JAC. PHIL. THOMASINI *vita Petrarchi* in JO. GERH. MEUSCHEN *Vitæ claror. viror.* tom. iv. who in his Preface enumerates all the other writers of his life. Of the celebrated poet DANTE, several have treated, particularly his translator BENEVENUTUS of *Imola*, from whence MURATORIUS has borrowed large extracts in his *Antiquit. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p. 1036. f.

CENT. acted as if they had received an extraordinary
 XIV. commission to promote the reign of true taste and
 PART II. the progress of polite learning; and their success was
 answerable to the generous ambition that animated
 their efforts; for they had many followers and
 admirers, not only among their countrymen, but
 also among the French and Germans.

Of the
 other sci-
 ences.

V. The writings of this age furnish us with a long list of grammarians, historians, lawyers, and physicians, of which it would be easy to give a circumstantial account: but as it is quite foreign to our purpose, it will be sufficient to inform our readers, that there were but few of this vast multitude, whose labours were in any great degree useful to society. Great numbers applied themselves to the study of the *civil* and *canon* law, because it was the readiest way to preferment both in church and state. Such as have any tolerable acquaintance with history, cannot be entire strangers to the fame of BARTOLUS, BALDUS, ANDREAS, and other doctors of laws in this century, who reflected honour on the universities of *Italy*. But, after all, it is certain that the jurisprudence of this age was a most intricate disagreeable study, unenlivened either by history or language, and destitute of every allurement that could recommend it to a man of genius. As for the mathematics, they were cultivated by many; yet, if we except Dr. THOMAS BRADWARDINE, the acute and learned archbishop of *Canterbury*, there were but few who acquired any reputation worth mentioning by this kind of study.

Of philoso-
 phy.

VI. The vast number of philosophers, who rather disgraced than adorned this century, looked upon ARISTOTLE as their infallible oracle and guide; though they stript him of all those excellencies that really belonged to him, and were incapable of entering into the true spirit of his writings. So great was the authority of the peripatetic philosophy, that, in order to diffuse the knowledge of it as

widely as possible, even kings and emperors ordered the works of ARISTOTLE to be translated into the native language of their respective dominions. Among the most eminent of this class was CHARLES V. king of *France*, who ordered all the writings of the ancients, and especially those of ARISTOTLE, to be translated into French by NICHOLAS ORESME [w]. Those, however, who professed themselves philosophers, instead of being animated by the love of truth, were inflamed by a rage of disputation, which led them to perplex and deform the pure, simple doctrines of reason and religion, by a multitude of idle subtilties, trifling questions, and ridiculous distinctions. It is needless to enlarge on the barbarity of their phraseology, in which they supposed the whole strength of their art consisted; as also on that utter aversion to every branch of polite learning in which they foolishly gloried. Those who have a mind to be acquainted with their methods of argumentation, and whatever else relates to this wrangling tribe, need only consult JOHN SCOTUS, or WALTER BULÆUS. But though they all followed one common track, there were several points on which they differed among themselves.

VII. The old disputes between the *Realists* and *Nominalists*, which had lain dormant a long time, were now revived with unextinguishable ardour, by an English Franciscan friar of the severer order, named WILLIAM OCCAM, who was a follower of the great SCOTUS, and a doctor of divinity at *Paris*. The Greeks and Persians never fought against each other with more hatred and fury, than these two discordant sects, whose angry disputations subsisted without any abatement, till the appearance of LUTHER, who soon obliged the scholastic divines to

[w] JO. LAUNOIUS, *Hist. Gymnas. Navarr.* tom. iv. opp. part I. p. 504.—BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 379.—LE BOEUF, *Dissert. sur l'Hist. Eccles. et Civile, Par.* tom. iii. p. 456. 463. f.

CENT. terminate their mutual wranglings, and to listen to
 XIV. terms of accommodation. The *Realists* despised their
 PART II. antagonists as philosophers of a recent date, branding
 them with the name of *Moderns*, while, through a
 great mistake, they ascribed a very high antiquity to
 the tenets of their own party. The *Nominalists*, on
 the other hand, inveighed against them as a set of
 doating visionaries, who, despising substantial matters,
 were pursuing mere shadows. The *Nominalists* had
 the most eloquent, acute, and subtile doctors of *Paris*
 for their leaders, among whom, besides OCCAM, the
 famous JOHN BURIDAN [x] was very eminent:
 nevertheless, through the countenance given them
 by successive popes, the *Realists* prevailed. For
 when OCCAM joined the party of the Franciscan
 monks, who strenuously opposed JOHN XXII. that
 pope himself, and his successors after him, left no
 means untried to extirpate the philosophy of the
Nominalists, which was deemed highly prejudicial to
 the interests of the church [y]: and hence it was,
 that, in the year 1339, the university of *Paris*, by a
 public edict, solemnly condemned and prohibited
 the philosophy of OCCAM, which was that of the
Nominalists [z]. But, as it is natural for men to
 love and pursue what is forbidden, the consequence
 was, that the party of the *Nominalists* flourished more
 than ever.

VIII. Among the philosophers of these times,
 there were many who mingled astrology with their
 philosophy, *i. e.* the art of telling fortunes, by the
 aspect of the heavens, and the influence of the stars;

Astrology
 mingles it-
 self with
 the philo-
 sophy of the
 times, and
 is consid-
 ered as
 magic.

[x] ROB. GUAGINUS wrote a particular account of this famous
 man, as we learn from JO. LAUNOIUS, in his *Historia Gymnasti
 Navarrensi*, tom. iv. opp. part I. p. 722. see also p. 296, 297.
 330. and BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 282. 307.
 341, &c.

[y] STEPH. BALUZII *Miscellanea*, tom. iv. p. 532.

[z] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 257. tom. v.
 p. 708.—CAR. PLESS. D'ARGENTRE, *Collectio judiciorum de
 novis erroribus*, &c. see MOSHEIM.

and, notwithstanding the obvious folly and absurdity of this pretended science, all ranks of people, from the highest down to the lowest, were fond of it even to distraction. Yet, in spite of all this popular prejudice in favour of their art, these astrological philosophers, to avoid being impeached of witchcraft, and to keep themselves out of the hands of the inquisitors, were obliged to behave with great circumspection. The neglect of this caution was remarkably fatal to CECCUS ASCULANUS, a famous peripatetic philosopher, astrologer, and mathematician, first of all physician to pope JOHN XXII. and afterwards to CHARLES SINETERRA, duke of *Calabria*. This unhappy man having performed some experiments in mechanics, that seemed miraculous to the vulgar, and having also offended many, and among the rest his master, by giving out some predictions, which were said to have been fulfilled, was universally supposed to deal with infernal spirits, and burnt for it by the inquisitors at *Florence*, in the year 1337 [a]. There is yet extant a commentary of his upon the *Sphere of John de Sacrobosco*, otherwise named *Holywood*, which shews its author to have been deeply tainted with superstition [b].

IX. RAYMUND LULLY was the author of a new and very singular kind of philosophy, which he endeavoured to illustrate and defend by his voluminous writings. He was a native of *Majorca*, and admirable for the extent and fecundity of his genius; yet, at the same time, a strange compound of reason and folly. Being full of zeal for the propagation of the gospel, and having performed many voyages,

The philosophy of Lully.

[a] PAUL ANTON. APPIANUS wrote a defence of this unhappy man, which is inserted in DOMEN. BERNINI *Storia di tutte l'heresie*, tom. iii. sæc. xiv. cap. iii. p. 210. f. We have also a further account of him in JO. MARIA CRESCIMBENUS. *Commentari della volgar. Poesia*, vol. ii. part II. lib. iii. cap. xiv.

[b] GABR. NAUDÆUS, *Apologie pour les grands hommes qui ont été soupçonnez de Magie*, p. 270. f.

CENT. and undergone various hardships to promote it, he
 XIV. was slain at *Bugia*, in *Africa*, in the year 1315, by
 PART II. the Mahometans, whom he was attempting to convert. The Franciscans, to whose third order it is said he belonged, extol him to the skies, and have taken great pains to persuade several popes to canonize him: while many on the contrary, and especially the Dominicans, inveigh bitterly against him, calling him a harebrained chymist, a hot-headed fanatic, a heretic, a magician, and a mere compiler of the works of the more learned Mahometans. The popes entertained different opinions of him; some esteeming him a harmless pious man, while others pronounced him a vile heretic. But whoever peruses the writings of LULLY without prejudice, will not be biassed by either of these parties. It is at least certain, that he would have been a great man, had the warmth and fertility of his imagination been tempered with a sound judgment [c].

[c] See JOHN SALZINGER's Preface to RAYMUND LULLY's Works, which JOHN WILLIAM, elector *Palatine*, caused to be collected at a great expence, and to be published, in 1720, in five folio volumes. LUC. WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 421. tom. v. p. 157. 316. tom. vi. p. 229. Concerning the famous invention of LULLY, see DAN. GEORG. MORHOFIUS, *Polyhistroire*, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 352. f.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the doctors and government of the church during this century.

I. **T**HE governors of the church in this CENT. period, from the highest to the lowest orders, were XIV. addicted to vices peculiarly dishonourable to their PART II. sacred character. We shall say nothing of the ————— Grecian and Oriental clergy, who lived, for the The corrupt state of the most part, under a rigid, severe, and oppressive clergy. government, though they deserve their part in this heavy and ignominious charge. But with regard to the Latins our silence would be inexcusable, since the flagrant abuses that prevailed among them were attended with consequences equally pernicious to the interests of religion and the well-being of civil society. It is however necessary to observe, that there were, even in these degenerate times, several pious and worthy men, who ardently longed for a reformation of the church, both in *its head and members*, as they used to express themselves [*d*]. Laudable as these desires undoubtedly were, many circumstances concurred to prevent their accomplishment; such as the exorbitant power of the popes, so confirmed by length of time that it seemed immovable, the excessive superstition that enslaved the minds of the generality, together with the wretched ignorance and barbarity of the age, by which every spark of truth was stifled, as it were, in its very birth. Yet, firm and lasting as the dominion of the Roman pontiffs seemed to be, it was gradually undermined and weakened, partly by

[*d*] MATT. FLACIUS, *Catalogo testium veritatis*, lib. xiii. p. 1697. JO. LAUNOIUS, *De varia fortuna Aristotelis*, p. 217. JO. HENR. HOTTINGERI *Historia Eccles.* Sæc. xiv. p. 754.

CENT. the pride and rashness of the popes themselves, and partly by several unexpected events.

XIV.
PART II.

Philip king
of France
opposes the
papal ty-
ranny.

II. This important change may be dated from the quarrel which arose between BONIFACE VIII. who filled the papal throne about the beginning of this century, and PHILIP the Fair, king of France. This prince, who was endowed with a bold and enterprising spirit, soon convinced Europe, that it was possible to set bounds to the overgrown arrogance of the bishop of Rome, notwithstanding many crowned heads had attempted it without success. BONIFACE sent PHILIP the haughtiest letters imaginable, in which he asserted, that the king of France, with all other kings and princes whatsoever were obliged, by a divine command, to submit to the authority of the popes, as well in all political and civil matters, as in those of a religious nature. The king answered him with great spirit, and in terms expressive of the utmost contempt. The pope rejoined with more arrogance than ever; and, in that famous bull, *unam sanctam*, which he published about this time, asserted that JESUS CHRIST had granted a twofold power to his church, or, in other words, *the spiritual and temporal sword*; that he had subjected the whole human race to the authority of the Roman pontiff, and that whoever dared to disbelieve it, were to be deemed heretics, and stood excluded from all possibility of salvation [e]. The king, on the other hand, in an assembly of the peers of his kingdom, held in the year 1303, ordered WILLIAM DE NOGARET, a celebrated lawyer [f],

[e] This bull is yet extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon. Extravagant. Commun. lib. i. tit. De majoritate et obedientia.*

[f] Of this celebrated lawyer, who was the most intrepid and inveterate enemy the popes ever had before LUTHER, none have given us a fuller account than the Benedictine monks, *Hist. Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 114. 117. f. PHILIP made him chancellor of France for his resolute opposition against the pope.

to draw up an accusation against the pope, in which he publicly charged him with *heresies, simony,* and many other vices, demanding, at the same time, an œcumenical council to depose such an execrable pontiff. The pope, in his turn, passed a sentence of excommunication, that very year, against the king and all his adherents.

III. PHILIP, shortly after he received his sentence, held an assembly of the states of the kingdom, where he again employed some persons of the highest rank and reputation to sit in judgment upon the pope, and appealed to a general council. After this he sent WILLIAM DE NOGARET, with some others, into *Italy*, to excite a sedition, to seize the pope's person, and then to convey him to *Lyons*, where the king was determined to hold the above-mentioned council. NOGARET, being a resolute active man, soon drew over to his assistance the powerful family of the COLONNAS, then at variance with the pope, levied a small army, seized BONIFACE, who lived in perfect security at *Anagni*, and as soon as he had got him into his power, treated him in the most shocking manner, carried his resentment so far as to wound him on the head by a blow with his iron gauntlet. The inhabitants of *Anagni* rescued him out of the hands of this fierce and inveterate enemy, and conducted him to *Rome*, where he died soon after of an illness occasioned by the rage and anguish into which these insults had thrown him [g].

[g] See the *Acta inter Bonifacium VIII. Bened. XI. Clement V. et Philippum Pulchrum*, published, A. D. 1614, by PETER PUTEANUS.—ADR. BAILLET, *Hist. de Demeelez du Boniface VIII. avec Philippe de Bel*, printed at *Paris*, in 4to, in 1718.—JO. RUBIUS, in *Bonifacio*, cap. xvi. p. 137.—The other writers on this subject are mentioned by BAILLET, in his Preface, p. 9.—See also BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 4.

CENT.

XIV.
PART II.

The papal
residence
removed
to *Avignon*.

IV. BENEDICT XI. who succeeded him, and whose name before his accession to the papal chair was NICOLAS BOCCACINI, learned prudence by this fatal example, and pursued more moderate and gentle measures. He repealed, of his own accord, the sentence of excommunication that his predecessor had thundered out against the king of *France* and his dominions : but never could be prevailed upon to absolve NOGARET of his treason against the ghostly majesty of the pontificate. NOGARET, on the other hand, set a small value upon the papal absolution, and prosecuted, with his usual vigour and intrepidity, in the Roman court, the accusation that he had formerly brought against BONIFACE ; and, in the name of his royal master, insisted, that the memory of that pontiff should be branded with a notorious mark of infamy. While this was transacting, BENEDICT died, A. D. 1304 ; upon which PHILIP, by his artful intrigues in the conclave, obtained the see of *Rome* for a French prelate BERTRAND DE GOT, archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, who was accordingly elected to that high dignity, on the 5th of June 1305. This step was so much the more necessary, in that the breach between the king and the court of *Rome* was not yet entirely healed, and, as NOGARET was not as yet absolved, might easily be renewed. Besides, the French monarch, inflamed with the desire of revenge, insisted upon the formal condemnation of BONIFACE by the court of *Rome*, the abolition of the order of *Templars*, and other concessions of great importance, which he could not reasonably expect from an Italian pope. Hence he looked upon a French pontiff, in whose zeal and compliance he could confide, as necessary to the execution of his designs. BERTRAND assumed the name of CLEMENT V. and, at the king's request, remained in *France*, and removed the papal residence to *Avignon*, where it continued during the space of seventy years. This period the

Italians call, by way of derision, the Babylonish CENT.
captivity [b].

V. There is no doubt, but that the continued P A R T II.
residence of the popes in *France* greatly impaired
the authority of the Roman see. For during the
absence of the pontiffs from *Rome*, the faction of the
Gibellines, their inveterate enemies, rose to a greater
height than ever; insomuch, that they not only
invaded and ravaged *St. Peter's patrimony*, but
even attacked the papal authority, by their writings.
This caused many cities to revolt from the popes:
even *Rome* itself was the grand source and fountner
of cabals, tumults, and civil wars; insomuch that
laws and decrees sent thither from *France* were
publicly treated with contempt by the common
people, as well as by the nobles [i]. The influence
of this example was propagated from *Italy* through
most parts of *Europe*; it being evident, from a vast
number of instances, that the Europeans in general
did not pay near so much regard to the decrees and
thunders of the Gallic popes, as they did to those of
Rome. This gave rise to various seditions against the
pontiffs, which they could not entirely crush, even
with the aid of the *inquisitors*, who exerted them-
selves with the most barbarous fury.

VI. The French pontiffs, finding they could draw New
but small revenues from their Italian dominions, which schemes in-
vented by
the popes
to acquire
riches.

[b] For an account of the French popes, consult chiefly
STEPH. BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenionensium*, published at *Paris*
in two volumes 4to, in the year 1693. The reader may also
peruse, but it must be with the utmost caution, LONGUEVAL'S
History of the Gallican Church, and those who continued that
work after his death. See more especially tom. xii. This
Jesuit, and his successors, have shewn great industry and eloquence
in the composition of this history; but they, for the most
part, artfully conceal the vices and enormities of the Roman
pontiffs.

[i] See BALUZII *Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 290, 291. 301.
309. 323. and many other places.—MURATORII *Antiqq. Ital.*
tom. iii. p. 397. 401. 409, &c.—GIANNONE, *Histoire de Naples*,
tom. iii. p. 280.

CENT. were now torn in pieces by faction, and ravaged by
 XIV. sedition, were obliged to contrive new methods of
 PART II. accumulating wealth. For this purpose they not
 only sold *indulgences* to the people, more frequently
 than they had formerly done, whereby they made
 themselves extremely odious to several potentates,
 but also disposed publicly of scandalous licences, of
 all sorts, at an excessive price. JOHN XXII. was
 remarkably shrewd and zealous in promoting this
 abominable traffic; for, though he was not the
 first inventor of the *taxes and rules of the apostolical
 chancery*, yet the Romish writers acknowledge that
 he enlarged and rendered them more extensively
 profitable to the holy treasury [k]. It is certain,
 that the origin of the tribute paid to the popes
 under the name of *Annates* and which is generally
 affirmed to have been first imposed by him, is of a
 much earlier date [l]. Besides the abuses now
 mentioned, these Gallic popes, having abolished the
 right of elections, arrogated to themselves a power of
 conferring all the offices of the church, whether
 greater or smaller, according to their fancy, by which
 they soon amassed prodigious wealth. It was also
 under their government that *reserves, provisions,
 expectatives*, and other impositions of the like odious
 nature, that had seldom or never been heard of
 before, became familiar to the public ear, and filled all
Europe with bitter complaints [m]. These complaints

[k] JO. CIAMPINUS, *De vicecancellario ecclesie Rom.* p. 39.
 —CAR. CHAIS, *Lettres sur les Jubiles*, tom. ii. p. 673. and
 others.

[l] BERNH. VAN ESPEN, *Jus Eccles. universale*, tom. ii.
 p. 876.—BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 911.—
 ANT. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 213.—GUIL. FRANCOIS
 BERTHIER, *Diff. sur les Annates*, tom. xii. *Hist. de l'Eglise
 Gallic.* p. 1.

[m] STEPH. BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. iii. p. 479. 518. *Ejus
 Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 60. 63. 65. 74. 154. 156.
Gallia Christiana Benedictinor. tom. i. Append. p. 13. WOOD,
Antiquit. Oxon. tom. i. p. 148. 201, 202. BOULAY, *Hist. Acad.
 Paris.* tom. iv. p. 911.

exceeded all bounds, when some of these pontiffs, particularly JOHN XXII. CLEMENT VI. and GREGORY X. openly declared that they had reserved to themselves all churches and parishes within their jurisdiction, and were determined, in consequence of that sovereign authority and plenitude of power which CHRIST had conferred upon them, his vicars, to provide for them, and dispose of them without exception [n]. It was by these and other such mean and selfish contrivances, which had no other end than the acquisition of riches, that these inconsiderate pontiffs excited a general hatred against the Roman see, and thereby greatly weakened the papal empire, which had been visibly upon the decline from the time of BONIFACE.

VII. CLEMENT V. was a mere creature of PHILIP the Fair, and was absolutely directed and governed by that prince as long as he lived. WILLIAM DE NOGARET, the implacable enemy of BONIFACE VIII. notwithstanding he was under a sentence of excommunication, had the boldness to prosecute his master's cause, and his own, against BONIFACE, even in the pope's court; an instance of assurance this, not easy to be paralleled. PHILIP insisted, that the dead body of BONIFACE should be dug up, and publicly burnt; but CLEMENT averted this infamy by his advice and intreaties, promising implicit obedience to the king in every thing else. In order therefore to keep his word, he was obliged to abrogate the laws enacted by BONIFACE, to grant the king a bounty of five years' tithes, fully to absolve NOGARET of all his crimes, on condition of his submitting to a light penance (which, however, he never performed), to restore the citizens of *Anagni* to their reputation and honour, and to call a general

[n] BALUZII *Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 873. tom. i. p. 285. 311. 681. f. ANT. MATTHÆI *Analecta vet. ævi*, tom. v. p. 249. f. *Gallie Christiana*, tom. i. p. 69. 1208. *Histoire du droit Eccles. François*, tom. ii. p. 129. f.

CENT. council at *Vienna* in the year 1311, in order to
 XIV. condemn the Templars, on whose destruction PHILIP
 PART II. was most ardently bent. In this council every
 ———— thing was determined as the king thought proper.
 For CLEMENT, terrified by the melancholy fate of
 BONIFACE durst not venture to oppose this intrepid
 and obstinate monarch [o].

John XXII.
 Nicolas V.

VIII. Upon CLEMENT's death, which happened
 in the year 1314, many fierce contentions arose in
 the conclave about choosing a successor, the French
 cardinals insisting upon a French, and those of *Italy*
 demanding an Italian pope. After a contest, which
 continued two years, the French party prevailed,
 and, in the year 1316, elected JAMES DE EUSE,
 a native of *Cabors*, and cardinal bishop of *Porto*.
 He assumed the name of JOHN XXII. and had a
 tolerable share of learning, but was at the same
 time crafty and proud, weak, imprudent, and covet-
 ous, which is allowed even by those writers who, in
 other respects, speak well of him. He is deservedly
 censured on account of his temerity, and the ill
 success that attended him, through his own impru-
 dence, in many of his enterprises; but he is more
 especially blamed for that calamitous and unhappy
 war into which he entered against LEWIS of *Bavaria*.
 This powerful prince disputed the imperial throne
 of *Germany* with FREDERIC, duke of *Austria*; and
 they had been both chosen to that high dignity, in
 the year 1314, by their respective partisans among
 the electors and princes of the empire. JOHN took
 it for granted, that the decision of this contest came
 under his ghostly jurisdiction. But, in the year
 1322, the duke of *Bavaria* having vanquished his
 competitor by force of arms, took upon him the

[o] Besides the common writers already cited, see GUIL.
 FRANC. BERTHIERI, *Discours sur le Pontificat de Clement V.*
 tom. iii. *Historie Eccles. Gallic.* COLONIA. *Hist. Litter. de Lyon*,
 tom. i. p. 340. *Gallia Christiana Benedict.* tom. i. p. 1189. & tom.
 ii. p. 829.

administration of the empire without asking the pope's approbation, and would by no means allow, that their dispute, already determined by the sword, should be again decided by the judgment of the pope. JOHN interpreted this refusal as a heinous insult upon his authority, and, by an edict issued out in the year 1324, pretended to deprive the emperor of his crown. But this impotent resentment was very little regarded; nay, he was even accused of heresy by the emperor, who, at the same time, appealed to a general council. Highly exasperated by these and other deserved affronts, the pontiff presumes, in the year 1327, to declare the imperial throne vacant a second time, and even to publish a sentence of excommunication against the chief of the empire. This new mark of papal arrogance was severely resented by LEWIS, who, in the year 1328, published an edict at *Rome*, by which JOHN was declared unworthy of the pontificate, deposed from that dignity, and succeeded in it by one of his bitterest enemies PETER DE CORBIERI, a Franciscan monk, who assumed the name of NICOLAS V. and crowned the emperor at *Rome* in a solemn and public manner. But in the year 1330, this *imperial* pope voluntarily abdicated the chair of *St. Peter*, and surrendered himself to JOHN, who kept him in close confinement at *Avignon* for the rest of his days. Thus ended the contest between the duke of *Bavaria* and JOHN XXII. who, notwithstanding their mutual efforts to dethrone each other, continued both in the possession of their respective dignities [*p*].

[*p*] The particulars of this violent quarrel may be learnt from the *Records* published by STEPH. BALUZ. in his *Vite Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 512. *f.*—EDM. MARTENE, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 641. *f.*—JO. GEORG. HERWART, in *Ludovico Imperatore defenso contra Bzovium, Monachii* 1618, in 4to, et CHRIST. GEWALD. in *Apologia pro Ludovico Bavaro, Ingoldstadt* 1618, in 4to, against the same BZOVIUS, who, in the *Annals*

CENT. IX. The numerous tribes of the *Fratricelli*;
 XIV. *Beghards*, and *Spiritual Franciscans*, adhered to the
 PART II. party of LEWIS. Supported by his patronage,
 and dispersed throughout the greatest part of *Europe*;
 they attacked every where the reigning pontiff, as
 an enemy to the true religion, and loaded him with
 the heaviest accusations and the bitterest invectives,
 both in their writings and in their ordinary conver-
 sation. These attacks did not greatly affect the
 pontiff, as they were made only by private persons,
 by a set of obscure monks, who, in many respects,
 were unworthy of his notice; but, towards the
 conclusion of his life, he incurred the disapprobation
 and censures of almost the whole Catholic church.
 For in the year 1331 and 1332, having asserted,
 in some public discourses, that the souls of the
 faithful, in their intermediate state, were permitted
 to behold CHRIST as man, but not the *face of God*,
 or the divine nature, before their re-union with
 the body at the last day, this doctrine highly offended
 PHILIP VI. king of *France*, was opposed by the
 pope's friends as well as by his enemies, and unani-
 mously condemned by the divines of *Paris*, in the
 year 1333. This favourite tenet of the pope was
 thus severely treated, because it seemed highly
 prejudicial to the felicity of happy spirits in their
 unembodied state; otherwise the point might have

John XXII.
 accused of
 herefy.

he had published, basely aspersed the memory of the emperor.
 See also LUC. WADDINGUS in *Annalib. Minor.* tom. vii. p. 77.
 106. f. &c. Whoever attentively peruses the history of this
 war, will perceive that LEWIS of *Bavaria* followed the example
 of PHILIP the Fair, king of *France*. As PHILIP brought an
 accusation of herefy against BONIFACE, so did LEWIS with
 respect to JOHN XXII. The French monarch made use of
 NOGARET and other accusers against the one pontiff. LEWIS
 employed OCCAM and the Franciscans in that quality against the
 other. Each of them insisted upon the assembling a general
 council, and upon the deposition of the pontiff's who had incurred
 their displeasure. I omit other circumstances that might be alleged
 to render the parallel more striking.

been yielded to a man of his positive temper, without any material consequence. Alarmed by these vigorous proceedings, he immediately offered something by way of excuse for having espoused this opinion; and afterwards, in the year 1334, when he lay at the point of death, though he did not entirely renounce, he, in some measure, softened it, by saying he believed that the unembodied souls of the righteous *beheld the divine essence as far as their separate state and condition would permit* [q]. This declaration did not satisfy his adversaries; hence his successor, BENEDICT XII. after many disputes had been held about it, put an end to this controversy by an unanimous resolution of the Parisian doctors, ordering it to be received as an article of faith, that the souls of the blessed, during their intermediate state, did fully and perfectly contemplate the divine nature [r]. BENEDICT'S publishing this resolution could be in no way injurious to the memory of JOHN; for when the latter lay upon his death-bed, he submitted his opinion to the judgment of the church, that he might not be deemed a *heretic* after his decease [s].

[q] See STEPH. BALUZII *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 175. 177. 182. 197. 221. 786, &c.—LUC. DACHERII *Spicil. Scriptor. Veter.* tom. i. p. 760. *ed. Vet.*—JO. LAUNOII *Historia Gymnas. Navarreni*, part I. cap. vii. p. 319. tom. iv. part I. opp.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 235. 250—LUC. WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 371. tom. vii. p. 145.—JAC. ECHARDI *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 599. 608.

[r] BALUZII *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 197. 216. 221. 224. 236.

[s] All this pope's heretical fancies about the *Beatific Vision* were nothing in comparison with a vile and most enormous *practical heresy* that was found in his coffers after his death, *viz.* five and twenty millions of florins, of which there were eighteen in *specie*, and the rest in plate, jewels, crowns, mitres, and other precious baubles, all which he had squeezed out of the people and the inferior clergy during his pontificate. See FLEURY, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. xciv. § xxxix.

CENT. X. JOHN dying in the year 1334, new contentions
 XIV. arose in the conclave between the French and Italian
 PART II. cardinals about the election of a pope; but towards
 the end of the year they chose JAMES FOURNIER,
 Benedict a Frenchman, and cardinal of *St. Prisca*, who
 XII. took the name of BENEDICT XII. The writers of
 these times represent him as a man of great probity,
 who was neither chargeable with that avarice, nor
 that ambition, that dishonoured so many of his
 predecessors [t]. He put an end to the papal quarrel
 with the emperor LEWIS: and though he did not
 restore him to the communion of the church, because
 prevented, as it is said, by the king of *France*, yet
 he did not attempt any thing against him. He care-
 fully attended to the grievances of the church,
 redressed them as far as was in his power, endea-
 voured to reform the fundamental laws of the
 monastic societies, whether of the mendicant, or
 more opulent orders; and died in the year 1342,
 while he was laying the most noble schemes for
 promoting a yet more extensive reformation. In
 short, if we overlook his superstition, the prevailing
 blemish of this barbarous age, it must be allowed
 that he was a man of integrity and merit.

Clement
 VI.

XI. He was succeeded by a man of a quite dif-
 ferent disposition, CLEMENT VI. a native of *France*,
 whose name was PETER ROGER, and who was
 cardinal of *St. Nereus* and *St. Achilles*, before his
 elevation to the pontificate. Not to insist upon the
 most unexceptionable parts of this pontiff's conduct,
 we shall only observe that he trod faithfully in the
 steps of JOHN XXII. in *providing* for vacant churches
 and bishoprics, by *reserving* to himself the disposal
 of them, which shewed his sordid and insatiable
 avarice; that he conferred ecclesiastical dignities

[t] See the *Fragmenta Histor. Roman. in MURATORII Anti-
 quit. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 275.—BALUZII *Vit. Pont. Avenion.* tom.
 i. p. 205. 218. 240, &c.—BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom.
 iv. p. 253.

and benefices of the highest consequence upon strangers and Italians, which drew upon him the warm displeasure of the kings of *England* and *France*; and lastly, that by renewing the dissensions that had formerly subsisted between *LEWIS* of *Bavaria* and the Roman see, he displayed to the world his excessive vanity and ambition in the most odious colours. In the year 1343, he assailed the emperor with his thundering edicts; and when he heard that they were treated by that prince with the utmost contempt, his rage augmented, and he not only threw out new maledictions, and published new sentences of excommunication against him, in the year 1346, but also excited the German princes to elect *HENRY VII.* son to *CHARLES IV.* emperor in his place. This violent measure would infallibly have occasioned a civil war in *Germany*, had it not been prevented by the death of *LEWIS*, in the year 1347. *CLEMENT* did not long survive him, for he died in the year 1352, famous for nothing but his excessive zeal for extending the papal authority, and for his having added *Avignon*, which he purchased of *JOAN*, queen of *Naples*, to the patrimony of *St. Peter*.

XII. His successor *INNOCENT VI.* whose name was *STEPHEN ALBERT*, was much more remarkable for integrity and moderation. He was a Frenchman, and before his election had been bishop of *Ostia*. He died in the year 1362, after having governed the church ten years. His greatest blemish was, that he promoted his relations with an excessive partiality, but in other respects he was a man of merit, and a great encourager of pious and learned men. He kept the monks closely to their duty, carefully abstained from *reserving churches*, and, by many good actions, acquired a great and deserved reputation. He was succeeded by *WILLIAM GRIMOARD*, abbot of *St. Victor*, at *Marseilles*, who took the name of *URBAN V.* and was entirely free

Innocent VI.
Urban V.

CENT. from all the groffer vices, if we except those which
 XIV. cannot easily be separated from the papal dignity.

PART II. This pope, being prevailed on by the entreaties of
 the Romans, returned to *Rome* in the year 1367,
 but, in 1370, he came back to *Avignon*, to recon-
 cile the differences that had arisen between the
 kings of *England* and *France*, and died there the
 same year.

Gregory XI XIII. He was succeeded by PETER ROGER, a
 French ecclesiastic of illustrious descent, who assumed
 the name of GREGORY XI. a man, who, though
 inferior to his predecessors in virtue, exceeded them
 far in courage and assurance. In his time *Italy* in
 general, and the city of *Rome* in particular, was
 distressed with most outrageous and formidable
 tumults. The Florentines carried on successfully
 a terrible war against the ecclesiastical state [u].
 Upon which GREGORY, in hopes of quieting the
 disorders of *Italy*, and also of recovering the cities
 and territories which had been taken from *St. Peter's*
patrimony, transferred the papal seat from *Avignon*
 to *Rome*, in the year 1376. To this he was in a
 great measure determined by the advice of one
 CATHARINE, a virgin of *Sens*, who, in this credu-
 lous age, was thought to be inspired with the spirit
 of prophecy, and made a journey to *Avignon* on
 purpose to persuade him to take this step [w]. It
 was not, however, long before GREGORY repented
 that he had followed her advice: for by the long
 absence of the popes from *Italy*, their authority was
 reduced to such a low ebb, that the Romans and
 Florentines made no scruple to insult him with the
 grossest abuse, which made him resolve to return to

[u] See, chiefly, COLUZII SALUTATI *Epistola*, written in
 the name of the Florentines, part I. p. 47—100. 148. 162.
 See also *Prefat.* ad part II. p. xviii. the new Florentine edition
 by LAUR. MEHUS.

[w] See LONGUEVAL, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xiv.
 p. 159. 192.

Avignon; but before he could execute his determination he was taken off by death, in the year 1378.

CENT.
XIV.
PART II.

XIV. After the death of GREGORY XI. the cardinals assembled to consult about choosing a successor, when the people of *Rome*, fearing lest the vacant dignity should be conferred on a Frenchman, came in a tumultuous manner to the conclave, and with great clamours, accompanied with many outrageous threatenings, insisted that an Italian should be advanced to the popedom. The cardinals, terrified by this uproar, immediately proclaimed BARTHOLOMEW DE PREGNANO, who was a Neapolitan, and archbishop of *Bari*, and assumed the name of URBAN VI. This new pontiff, by his unpolite behaviour, injudicious severity, and intolerable arrogance, had made himself many enemies among people of all ranks, and especially among the leading cardinals. These latter therefore, tired of his insolence, withdrew from *Rome* to *Anagni*, and from thence to *Fondi*, a city in the kingdom of *Naples*, where they elected to the pontificate ROBERT count of *Geneva*, who took the name of CLEMENT VII. and declared at the same time, that the election of URBAN was nothing more than a mere ceremony, which they had found themselves obliged to perform, in order to calm the turbulent rage of the populace. Which of these two is to be considered as the true and lawful pope, is, to this day, matter of doubt; nor will the records and writings alleged by the contending parties, enable us to adjust that point with any certainty [x]. URBAN remained at *Rome*: CLEMENT

A great schism arises in the Romish church.

[x] See the acts and documents in CÆS. EGASS. DE BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 463. f.—LUC. WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. ix. p. 12. f.—STEPH. BALUZII *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 442. 998. f.—*Acta Sanctor.* tom. i. April. p. 728. I have also some documents never yet published, which throw great light upon this controversy, though they do not absolutely determine the point in dispute.

CENT. went to *Avignon in France*. His cause was espoused
 XIV. by *France and Spain, Scotland, Sicily, and Cyprus*,
 PART II. while all the rest of *Europe* acknowledged URBAN
 ————— to be the true vicar of CHRIST.

Its bad con-
 sequences.

XV. Thus the union of the Latin church under one head was destroyed at the death of GREGORY XI. and was succeeded by that deplorable dissension, commonly known by the name of the *great western schism* [y]. This dissension was fomented with such dreadful success, and arose to such a shameful height, that, for the space of fifty years, the church had two or three different heads at the same time; each of the contending popes forming plots, and thundering out anathemas against their competitors. The distress and calamity of these times is beyond all power of description; for, not to insist upon the perpetual contentions and wars between the factions of the several popes, by which multitudes lost their fortunes and lives, all sense of religion was extinguished in most places, and profligacy rose to a most scandalous excess. The clergy, while they vehemently contended which of the reigning popes was the true successor of CHRIST, were so excessively corrupt, as to be no longer studious to keep up even an appearance of religion or decency: and in consequence of all this, many plain well-meaning people, who concluded that no one could possibly partake of eternal life, unless united with the vicar of CHRIST,

[y] An account of this dissension may be seen in PIERRE DU PUY, *Histoire Generale du Schisme qui a été en l'Eglise depuis l'An. 1378. jusqu'en l'An. 1428*, which, as we are informed in the *Preface*, was compiled from the Royal Records of *France*, and is entirely worthy of credit. Nor should we wholly reject LEWIS MAIMBOURG's *Histoire du grand Schisme d'Occident*, though in general it be deeply tainted with the leaven of party spirit. A great many documents are to be met with in BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. and v. and also in EDM. MARTENE, *Theauri Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 1074. I always pass over the common writers upon this subject, such as ALEXANDER, RAYNOLD, BZOVIUS, SPONDANUS, and DU PIN.

were overwhelmed with doubt, and plunged into the deepest distress of mind [z]. Nevertheless these abuses were, by their consequences, greatly conducive both to the civil and religious interests of mankind; for by these dissensions the papal power received an incurable wound; and kings and princes, who had formerly been the slaves of the lordly pontiffs, now became their judges and masters. And many of the least stupid among the people had the courage to disregard and despise the popes on account of their odious disputes about dominion, to commit their salvation to God alone, and to admit it as a maxim, that the prosperity of the church might be maintained and the interests of religion secured and promoted without a visible head, crowned with a spiritual supremacy.

XVI. The Italian cardinals attached to the interests of URBAN VI. upon the death of that pope in the year 1389, set up for his successor, at Rome, PETER THOMACELLI, a Neapolitan, who took the name of BONIFACE IX. and CLEMENT VII. dying in the year 1394, the French cardinals raised to the pontificate PETER DE LUNA, a Spaniard, who assumed the name of BENEDICT XIII. During these transactions various methods were proposed and attempted for healing this melancholy breach in the church. Kings and princes, bishops and divines, appeared with zeal in this salutary project. It was generally thought that the best course to be taken in this matter was, what they then styled, the *Method of cession*: but neither of the popes could be prevailed on, either by entreaties or threatenings, to give up the pontificate. The Gallican church, highly incensed at this obstinacy, renounced solemnly, in a council held at *Paris* in the year

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Proposals
for abolishing
the
schism.

[z] Concerning the mischievous consequences of this schism, we have a large account in the *Histoire du droit public Eccles. François*, tom. ii. p. 166. 193. 202. f.

CENT. 1397, all subjection and obedience to both pontiffs;
 XIV. and, upon the publication of this resolution in the
 PART II. year 1398, BENEDICT XIII. was, by the express
 orders of CHARLES VI. detained prisoner in his
 palace at *Avignon* [a].

The enormities of the monks especially of the Mendicants.

XVII. Some of the popes, and especially BENE-
 DICT XII. were perfectly acquainted with the pre-
 vailing vices and scandalous conduct of the greatest
 part of the monks, which they zealously endeavoured
 to rectify and remove: but the disorder was too
 inveterate to admit of a cure. The *Mendicants*,
 and more especially the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*,
 were at the head of the monastic orders, and were,
 indeed, become the heads of the church; so exten-
 sive was the influence they had acquired, that all
 matters of importance, both in the court of *Rome*
 and in the cabinets of princes, were carried on
 under their supreme and absolute direction. The
 multitude had such a high notion of the sanctity of
 these *sturdy beggars*, and of their credit with the
 Supreme Being, that great numbers of both sexes,
 some in health, others in a state of infirmity, others
 at the point of death, earnestly desired to be admit-
 ted into the *Mendicant* order, which they looked
 upon as a sure and infallible method of rendering
 heaven propitious. Many made it an essential part
 of their last wills, that their carcases, after death,
 should be wrapped in old, ragged Dominican or
 Franciscan habits, and interred among the Mendi-
 cants. For such was the barbarous superstition and
 wretched ignorance of this age, that people univer-
 sally believed they should readily obtain mercy from
 CHRIST, at the day of judgment, if they appeared
 before his tribunal associated with the Mendicant
 friars.

[a] Besides the common historians, and LONGUEVAL'S
Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane, tom. xiv. see the *Acts* of this council
 in BOULAY'S *Histor. Acad. Paris*, tom. iv. p. 829.

XVIII. The high esteem in which the Mendicant orders were held, and the excessive degree of authority they had acquired, only served to render them still more odious to such as had hitherto been their enemies, and to draw upon them new marks of jealousy and hatred from the higher and lower clergy, the monastic societies, and the public universities. So universal was this odium, that there was scarcely a province or university in *Europe* in which bishops, clergy, and doctors were not warmly engaged in opposition to the Dominicans and Franciscans, who employed the power and authority they had received from the popes, in undermining the ancient discipline of the church, and assuming to themselves a certain superintendence in religious matters. In *England*, the university of *Oxford* made a resolute stand against the encroachments of the Dominicans [b], while RICHARD, archbishop of *Armagh*, HENRY CRUMP, NORIS, and others, attacked all the Mendicant orders with great vehemence and severity [c]. But RICHARD, whose animosity against them was much keener than that of their other antagonists, went to the court of INNOCENT VI. in the year 1356, and there vindicated the cause of the church against them with the greatest fervour, both in his writings and discourse, until the year 1360, in which he died [d]. They had also many opponents in *France*, who, together with the university of *Paris*, were secretly engaged in contriving means to overturn

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—————
They fall
under a
general
odium.

[b] See ANT. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 150. 154. 196, &c.

[c] See WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 181, 182. tom. ii. p. 61, 62.—BALUZII *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 338. 95c.—BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 336.—WADINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. viii. p. 126.

[d] See SIMON, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. i. p. 164.—I have in my possession a manuscript treatise of BARTHOLOMEW DE BRISAC, entitled, *Solutiones oppositæ Ricardi, Armachani episcopi, propositionibus contra Mendicantes in curia Romana coram Pontifice et cardinalibus factis, Anno 1360.*

CENT. their exorbitant power: but JOHN DE POLLIAC
 XIV. set himself openly against them, publicly denying
 PART II. the validity of the absolution granted by the Domi-
 nicans and Franciscans to those who confessed to
 them, maintaining, that the popes were disabled
 from granting them a power of absolution by the
 authority of the canon, entitled, *Omnis utriusque
 sexus*; and proving from these premises, that all
 those, who would be sure of their salvation, ought to
 confess their sins to their own parish priests, even
 though they had been absolved by the monks.
 They suffered little or nothing, however, from the
 efforts of these numerous adversaries, being reso-
 lutely protected against all opposition, whether open
 or secret, by the popes, who regarded them as their
 best friends, and most effectual supports. Accord-
 ingly, JOHN XXII. by an extraordinary decree,
 condemned the opinions of JOHN DE POLLIAC, in
 the year 1321 [e].

John Wick-
 liff.

XIX. But among all the enemies of the Mendi-
 cant orders, none has been transmitted to posterity
 with more exalted encomiums on the one hand, or
 blacker calumnies on the other, than JOHN WICK-
 LIFF, an English doctor, professor of divinity at
Oxford, and afterwards rector of *Lutterworth*; who,
 according to the testimony of the writers of these
 times, was a man of an enterprising genius and
 extraordinary learning. In the year 1360, animated
 by the example of RICHARD; archbishop of *Armagh*,
 he first of all defended the statutes and privileges of
 the university of *Oxford* against all the orders of the
 Mendicants, and had the courage to throw out some
 slight reproofs against the popes, their principal

[e] See Jo. LAURENCE, *De Canone: Omnis utriusque Sexus*,
 tom. i. part I. opp. p. 271. 274. 287, &c.—BALUZII *Vit. Pontif.
 Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 10. & *Miscellanor.* tom. i. p. 153.—DACHE-
 RII *Spicil. Scriptor. Veter.* tom. i. p. 112. f.—It was published
 by EDM. MARTENE, in *Thefauro Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 1368.
 See also BALUZII *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 132. 182, &c.

patrons, which no true Briton ever imputed to him as a crime. After this, in the year 1367, he was deprived of the wardenship of *Canterbury-Hall* in the university of *Oxford*, by SIMON LANGHAM, archbishop of *Canterbury*, who substituted a monk in his place; upon which he appealed to pope URBAN V. who confirmed the sentence of the archbishop against him, on account of the freedom with which he had inveighed against the monastic orders. Highly exasperated at this treatment, he threw off all restraint, and not only attacked all the monks, and their scandalous irregularities, but even the pontifical power itself, and other ecclesiastical abuses, both in his sermons and writings. From hence he proceeded to yet greater lengths, and, detesting the wretched superstition of the times, refuted, with great acuteness and spirit, the absurd notions that were generally received in religious matters, and not only exhorted the laity to study the scriptures, but also translated into English these divine books, in order to render the perusal of them more universal. Though neither the doctrine of WICKLIFF was void of error, nor his life without reproach, yet it must be confessed that the changes he attempted to introduce, both in the faith and discipline of the church, were, in many respects, wise, useful, and salutary [f].

XX. The monks, whom WICKLIFF had principally exasperated, commenced a violent prosecution against him at the court of GREGORY XI. who, in the year 1377, ordered SIMON SUDBURY, archbishop of *Canterbury*, to take cognizance of the affair in the council held at *London*. Imminent as this danger evidently was, WICKLIFF escaped it by

His adventures.

[f] A work of his was published at *Leipsic* and *Frankfort*, in 4to, in the year 1753, entitled *Dialogorum Libri quatuor*, which, though it does not contain all the branches of his doctrines, yet shews sufficiently the spirit of the man, and his way of thinking in general.

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the interest of the duke of *Lancaster*, and some other peers, who had an high regard for him. And soon after the death of GREGORY XI. the fatal schism of the Romish church commenced, during which there was one pope at *Rome*, and another at *Avignon*; so that of course this controversy lay dormant a long time. But no sooner was this embroiled state of affairs tolerably settled, than the process against him was revived by WILLIAM DE COURTENEY, archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1385, and was carried on with great vehemence in two councils held at *London* and *Oxford*. The event was, that of the *twenty-three* opinions, for which WICKLIFF had been prosecuted by the monks, *ten* were condemned as heresies, and *thirteen* as errors [g]. He himself, however, returned in safety to *Lutterworth*, where he died peaceably in the year 1387. This latter attack was much more dangerous than the former; but by what means he got safely through it, whether by the interest of the court, or by denying or abjuring his opinions, is to this day a secret [h]. He left many followers in *England*,

☞ [g] In the original Dr. MOSHEIM says, that, of eighteen articles imputed to WICKLIFF, nine were condemned as *heresies*, and fifteen as *errors*. This contradiction, which we have taken the liberty to correct in the text, is perhaps an oversight of the learned author, who may have confounded the eighteen heresies and errors that were enumerated and refuted by WILLIAM WODFORD, in a letter to ARUNDEL archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the twenty-three propositions that had been condemned by his predecessor COURTENEY at *London*, of which ten were pronounced *heretical*, and thirteen *erroneous*. See the very curious collection of pieces, entitled *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum* ORTHUINI GRATII, published first at *Cologne*, by the compiler in the year 1535, and afterwards at *London* in 1690, with an additional volume of ancient pieces and fragments by the learned Mr. EDWARD BROWN. The letter of WODFORD is at full length in the first volume of this collection, p. 191.

[h] We have a full and complete *History of the Life and Sufferings of JOHN WICKLIFF*, published in 8vo at *London* in the year 1705, by Mr. JOHN LEWES, who also published, in the

and other countries, who were stiled *Wickliffites* and *Lollards*, which last was a term of popular reproach translated from the Flemish tongue into English. Wherever they could be found, they were terribly persecuted by the *inquisitors*, and other instruments of papal vengeance, and, in the council of *Constance*, in the year 1415, the memory and opinions of *WICKLIFF* were condemned by a solemn decree: and about thirteen years after, his bones were dug up, and publicly burnt.

XXI. Notwithstanding the Mendicants were thus vigorously attacked on all sides, by such a considerable number of ingenious and learned adversaries, they could not be persuaded to abate any thing of their excessive pride, to set bounds to their superstition, or to desist from imposing upon the multitude, but were as diligent as ever in propagating opinions highly detrimental to religion in general, and particularly injurious to the majesty of the Supreme Being. The Franciscans, forgetting, in their enthusiastic frenzy, the veneration they owed to the Son of God, and animated with a mad zeal for advancing the glory of their order and its founder, impiously maintained, that the latter was a *second CHRIST*, in all respects similar to the *first*; and that their institution and discipline was the true gospel of *JESUS*. Yet, shocking as these foolish and impious pretensions were, the popes were not ashamed to patronize and encourage them by their letters and mandates, in which they made no scruple to assert,

The impiety of the Franciscans.

year 1731, *WICKLIFF*'s English translation of the *New Testament* from the Latin version, called the *Vulgate*. This translation is enriched with a learned *Preface* by the editor, in which he enlarges upon the life, actions, and suffering of that eminent reformer. The pieces, relative to the controversies which were set on foot by the doctrines of *WICKLIFF*, are to be found in the learned work of *WILKINS*, entitled *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae*. tom. iii. p. 116. 156.—See also *BOULAY*, *Histor. Acad. Paris*. tom. iv. p. 450.—*ANT. WOOD*, *Antiqq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 183. 186, & passim.

CENT. that the absurd fable of the *stigmas*, or five wounds
 XIV. impressed upon FRANCIS by CHRIST himself, on
 PART II. mount *Alvernus*, was worthy of credit, because
 ————— matter of undoubted fact [*i*]. Nor was this all;
 for they not only permitted to be published without
 any mark of their disapprobation, but approved,
 and even recommended, an impious piece, stuffed
 with tales yet more improbable and ridiculous than
 either of the above-mentioned fictions, and entitled,
 *The Book of the conformities of St. Francis.
 of the conformities of
 St. Francis. *The book of the conformities of St. Francis with* JESUS
 CHRIST, which was composed in the year 1383,
 by BARTHOLOMEW ALBIZI, a Franciscan of *Pisa*,

[*i*] The story of the *marks*, or *stigmas*, impressed on FRANCIS, is well known, as are also the letters of the Roman pontiffs, which enjoin the belief of it, and which WADDING has collected with great care, and published in his *Annales Minorum*, tom. viii. & ix. The Dominicans formerly made a public jest of this ridiculous fable, but, being awed into silence by the papal bulls, they are now obliged to deride it in secret, while the Franciscans, on the other hand, continue to propagate it with the most fervent zeal. That St. FRANCIS had upon his body the *marks* or impressions of the five great wounds of CHRIST, is not to be doubted, since this is a fact proved by a great number of unexceptionable witnesses. But, as he was a most superstitious and fanatical mortal, it is undoubtedly evident, that he *imprinted* on himself these *holy* wounds, that he might resemble CHRIST, and bear about in his body a perpetual memorial of the Redeemer's sufferings. It was customary in these times, for such as were willing to be thought more pious than others, to imprint upon their bodies *marks* of this kind, that, having thus continually before them a lively representation of the death of CHRIST, they might preserve a becoming sense of it on their minds. The words of St. PAUL, *Galat. vi. 17.* were sufficient to confirm in this wretched delusion, an ignorant and superstitious age, in which the scriptures were neither studied nor understood. A long list of these *stigmatised fanatics* might be extracted from the *Acta Sanctorum*, and other records of this and the following century; nor is this ancient piece of superstition entirely abolished, even in our times. Be that as it may, the Franciscan monks, having found these *marks* upon the dead body of their founder, took this occasion of making him appear to the world as honoured by heaven above the rest of mortals, and invented, for this purpose, the story of CHRIST's having miraculously transferred his wounds to him.

with the applause of his order. This infamous CENT. tract, in which the Son of God is put upon a level XIV. with a wretched mortal, is an eternal monument of PART II. the outrageous enthusiasm and abominable arrogance of the Franciscan order; and not less so of the excessive imprudence of the popes in extolling and recommending it [*k*].

XXII. The Franciscans, who adhered to the genuine and austere rule of their founder, and opposed the popes who attempted to mitigate the severity of its injunctions, were not a whit wiser than those of the order, who acknowledged the jurisdiction and respected the decisions of the Roman pontiffs. By these antipapal Franciscans, I mean the *Fratricelli* or Minorites, and the Tertiaries of that order, otherwise called *Begbards*, together with the *Spirituals*, who resided principally in *France*, and embraced the opinions of PIERRE DE OLIVE. These monastic factions were turbulent and seditious beyond expression; they gave incredible vexation to the popes, and for a long time disturbed, wherever they went, the tranquillity both of church and state. About the beginning of this century [*l*], the less austere

The enormities of the Fratricelli.

[*k*] Concerning ALBIZI in his book, see WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. ix. p. 158.—J. A. FABRICII *Biblioth. Lat. mediævi*, tom. i. p. 131.—SCHELHORNII *Amen. Litter.* tom. iii. p. 160.—BAYLE'S *Dictionary*, at the article FRANCIS, and the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. Crit.* tom. i. at the article ALBIZI, p. 217. ERASMUS ALBERT made several extracts from this book, and published them under the title of the *Alcoran of the Franciscans*, which was frequently printed in Latin, German, and French; and, in the year 1734, was published at *Amsterdam* in two volumes 8vo, in French and Latin, with elegant cuts.

☞ The *Conformities* between CHRIST and St. FRANCIS are carried to forty in the book of ALBIZI, but they are multiplied to 4000 by a Spanish monk of the order of Observants, in a book published at *Madrid* in the year 1651, under the following title, *Prodigiosum Naturæ et Gratiæ Portentum*. The *Conformities* mentioned by PEDRO DE ALVA ASTORGA, the austere author of this most ridiculous book, are whimsical beyond expression. See the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, tom. iv. p. 318.

[*l*] In the year 1306 and 1307.

CENT. Franciscans were outrageous in their resentment
 XIV. against the *Fratricelli*, who had deserted their
 PART II. communion [m]; upon which, such of the latter, as
 had the good fortune to escape the fury of their
 persecutors, retired into *France* in the year 1307,
 and associated themselves with the *Spirituals* or
 followers of PIERRE D'OLIVE in *Provence*, who had
 also formerly abandoned the society. Soon after
 this, the whole Franciscan order, in *France*, *Italy*,
 and other countries, was divided into two parties.
 The one, which embraced the severe discipline and
 absolute poverty of St. FRANCIS, were called *Spiri-*
tuals; the other, which insisted upon mitigating the
 austere injunctions of their founder, were styled the
Brethren of the community. The latter, being by
 far the most numerous and powerful, exerted them-
 selves to the utmost to oppress the former, whose
 faction as yet was but weak, and, as it were, in its
 infancy; but, notwithstanding this, they cheerfully
 submitted to these hardships, rather than return to
 the society of those who had deserted the rules of
 their master. Pope CLEMENT V. having drawn
 the leaders of these two parties to his court, took
 great pains to compose their dissensions; neverthe-
 less his pacific scheme advanced but slowly, on
 account of the inflexible obstinacy of each sect, and
 the great number of their mutual accusations. In
 the mean while, the *Spirituals of Tuscany*, instead
 of waiting for the decision of his holiness, chose
 themselves a president, and inferior officers; while
 those of *France*, being in the neighbourhood of
Avignon, patiently expected the papal determination
 [n].

[m] WADDINGI *Annales Minor.* tom. vi. ad A. 1307, p. 91.

[n] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. iv. 1310, p. 172.—ECCARDI
Corpus Histor. medii ævi, tom. i. p. 1480.—BOULAY. *Hist. Acad.*
Parif. tom. iv. p. 129.—ECCARDI *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i.
 p. 508, 509.

XXIII. After many deliberations, CLEMENT V. in a general council held at *Vienne*, in *Dauphine*, where he issued out the famous bull, *Exiivi de paradiso* [*o*], proposed an expedient for healing the breach between the jarring parties, by wise concessions on both sides. He gave up many points to the *Spirituals*, or rigid Franciscans, enjoining upon the whole order the profession of *absolute poverty*, according to their primitive rule, and the solemn renunciation of all property, whether common or personal, confining them to what was necessary for their immediate subsistence, and allowing them, even for that, a very scanty pittance. He however, on the other hand, permitted the Franciscans, who lived in places where it was extremely difficult to procure by begging the necessaries of life, to erect *granaries* and *storehouses*, where they might deposit a part of their alms as a *stock* in case of want; and ordered that all such *granaries* and *storehouses* should be under the inspection and management of overseers and storekeepers, who were to determine what quantity of provisions should be laid up in them. And finally, in order to satisfy the *Brethren of the community*, he condemned some opinions of PIERRE D'OLIVE [*p*]. These proceedings silenced the monastic commotions in *France*; but the *Tuscan* and *Italian Spirituals* were so exceedingly perverse and obstinate, that they could not be brought to consent to any method of reconciliation. At length, in the year 1313, many of them, not thinking themselves any longer safe in *Italy*, went into *Sicily*, where they met with a very friendly reception from king FREDERIC, the nobility, and bishops [*q*].

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XIV.
PART II.
Deliberations about compelling the differences among the Franciscans

[*o*] This bull is inserted in the *Jus Canonicum inter Clementinas*, tit. xi. *De verbor. signif.* tom. ii. p. 1095. edit. *Bohmeri*.

[*p*] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vi. p. 194. 197. 199.

[*q*] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vi. p. 213, 214.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 152. 165.—ARGENTRE, *Collectio judicior. de novis error.* tom. i. p. 392. *f*.

CENT. XXIV. Upon the death of CLEMENT V. the
 XIV. tumult, which had been appeased by his authority,
 PART II. was revived in *France* with as much fury as ever.
 For, in the year 1314, an hundred and twenty of
 the *Spirituals* made a violent attack upon the *Bre-*
thren of the community, drove them out of the convents
 of *Narbonne* and *Beziers* by force of arms, and
 inflamed the quarrel in a yet higher degree by
 laying aside their ancient habits, and assuming such
 as were short, strait, and coarse. They were soon
 joined by a considerable number from other pro-
 vinces, and the citizens of *Narbonne*, where OLIVE
 was interred, enlisted themselves in the party.
 JOHN XXII. who was raised to the pontificate in the
 year 1317, took great pains to heal this new
 disorder. The first thing he did for this purpose
 was to publish a special bull, by which he ordered
 the abolition of the *Fratricelli*, or *Minorites*, and
 their *Tertiaries*, whether *Beguines* or *Beghards*, who
 were a body distinct from the *Spirituals* [r]. In
 the next place, he admonished the king of *Sicily* to
 expel all the *Spirituals* who had taken refuge in his
 dominions [s]: and then ordered the French
Spirituals to appear at *Avignon*; where he exhorted
 them to return to their duty; and, as the first step
 to it, to lay aside *their short, strait habits with the*
small hoods. The greatest part of them obeyed;
 but FR. BERNARD DELITIOSI, who was the head
 of the faction, and twenty-four of the Brethren,
 boldly refused to submit to the injunction. In
 vindication of their conduct, they alleged that the
 rules prescribed by St. FRANCIS were the same
 with the gospel of JESUS CHRIST; that the popes
 therefore had no authority to alter them; that

[r] This law is called *Sancta Romana*, &c. and is to be found among the *Extravagantes Johannis XXII.* tit. vii. *De religiosis domibus*, tom. ii. *Jur. Canon.* p. 1112.

[s] WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 265. f.

the popes had acted sinfully in permitting the Franciscans to have *granaries* and *store-houses*; and that they added to their guilt in not allowing those habits to be worn that were enjoined by St. FRANCIS. JOHN, highly exasperated by this opposition, gave orders that these obstinate Brethren should be proceeded against as *heretics*. And surely nothing could make them appear *viler heretics* in the papal eye, than their daring thus audaciously to oppose the authority and majesty of the Roman see. As for F. DELITIOSI, who was at the head of this sect, and who is sometimes called DELLI CONSI, he was imprisoned, and died in his confinement. Four of his adherents were condemned to the flames, in the year 1318, at *Marseilles* [t], which odious sentence was accordingly executed without mercy.

XXV. Thus these unhappy friars, and many more of their fraternity, who were afterwards cut off by this cruel persecution, suffered merely for their contempt of the decisions of the pontiffs, and for maintaining that the institute of St. FRANCIS, their founder, which they imagined he had established under the direction of an immediate inspiration, was the very *Gospel of Christ*, and therefore not to be altered by the pope's authority. The controversy, considered in itself, was rather ridiculous than important, since it did not affect religion in the least, but turned wholly on these two points, the form of the habits to be worn by the Franciscan order, and their *granaries* and *store-houses*. The *Brethren of the community*, or the less rigid Franciscans, wore long,

The ridiculous disputes of the Franciscans.

[t] BALUZII *Vite Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 116. tom. ii. p. 341. et *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 195. 272. WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 267. f. 316. f. MARTENE *Theſaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 175. MARTINUS *Fuldensis*, in ECCARDI *Corpore Histor. mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p. 1725. et HERM. CORNERUS, *ibid.* tom. ii. p. 981. *Histoire generale de Languedoc*, tom. iv. p. 179. f. ARGENTRE *Collectio Judicior. de nobis errorib.* tom. i. p. 294. f.

CENT. loose, and good habits, with ample hoods; but the
 XIV. *Spirituals* went in strait, short, and very coarse
 PART II. ones, which they asserted to be precisely the dress
 enjoined by the institute of St. FRANCIS, and what
 therefore no power upon earth had a right to alter.
 And whereas the *Brethren of the community*, immediately after the harvest and vintage, were accustomed to lay up a stock of corn and wine in their granaries and cellars, the *Spiritual Franciscans* resolutely opposed this practice, as entirely repugnant to the profession of absolute poverty, that had been embraced by the *Fratricelli* or *Minorites*. In order to put an end to these broils, pope JOHN, this very year, published a long mandatory letter, in which he ordered the contending parties to submit their disputes, upon the two points above mentioned, to the decision of their superiors [u].

Excite
 grievous
 commo-
 tions.

XXVI. The effects of this letter, and of other decrees, were prevented by the unseasonable and impious severity of JOHN XXII. whose cruelty was condemned and detested even by his adherents. For the *Spiritual Franciscans* and their votaries, being highly exasperated at the cruel death of their brethren, maintained, that JOHN XXII. by procuring the destruction of these holy men, had rendered himself utterly unworthy of the papal dignity, and was the true *Antichrist*. They moreover revered their four brethren, who were burnt at *Marfeilles*, as so many martyrs, paying religious veneration to their bones and ashes; and inveighed yet more vehemently than ever against *long habits, large hoods, granaries, and store-houses*. The inquisitors on the other hand, having, by the pope's order, apprehended as many of these people as they could find, condemned them to the flames, and sacrificed them without mercy to papal resentment and fury. So

[u] It may be seen in the *Jus Canon. inter Extravag. communes de verbor. signif. cap. i.* See also WADDINGI *Annual. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 273.

that from this time a vast number of those zealous CENT. defenders of the institute of St. FRANCIS, viz. the XIII. *Minorites, Beghards, and Spirituals*, were most PART II. barbarously put to death, not only in *France*, but also in *Italy, Spain, and Germany* [w].

XXVII. This dreadful flame continued to spread, till it invaded the whole Franciscan order, which, in the year 1321, had revived the old contentions concerning the poverty of CHRIST and his apostles. A certain *Beguin*, or monk of the third order of St. FRANCIS, who was apprehended this year at *Norbonne*, taught, among other things, *That neither Christ, nor his apostles, ever possessed any thing, whether in common or personally, by right of property or dominion.* JOHN DE BELNA, an inquisitor of the Dominican order, pronounced this opinion erroneous; but BERENGARIUS TALONI, a Franciscan, maintained it to be orthodox, and perfectly consonant to the bull, *Exiit qui seminet*, of NICHOLAS III. The judgment of the former was approved by the Dominicans; the determination of the latter was adhered to by the Franciscans. At length the matter was brought before the pope, who prudently endeavoured to put an end to the dispute. With this view he called into his council UBERTINUS DE CASALIS, the patron of the *Spirituals*, and a person of great weight and reputation. This eminent monk gave captious, subtle, and equivocal answers to the

A New dispute arises concerning the poverty of Christ.

[w] Besides many other pieces that serve to illustrate the intricate history of this persecution, I have in my possession a treatise, entitled, *Martyrologium Spiritualium et Fratricellorum*, which was delivered to the tribunal of the inquisition at *Carcafsonne*, A. D. 1454. It contains the names of an hundred and thirteen persons of both sexes, who, from the year 1318, to the time of INNOCENT VI. were burnt in *France and Italy*, for their inflexible attachment to the poverty of St. FRANCIS. I reckon that, from these and other records, published and unpublished, we may make out a list of two thousand martyrs of this kind. Compare *Codex Inquis. Tholosanae*, à LIMBORCHIO editus, p. 298. 302. 319. 327, &c.

CENT. questions that were proposed to him. The pontiff,
 XIV. however, and the cardinals, persuaded that his
 PART II. decisions, equivocal as they were, might contribute
 to terminate the quarrel, acquiesced in them, seconded them with their authority, and enjoined, at the same time, silence and moderation on the contending parties [x].

XXVIII. But the Dominicans and Franciscans were so exceedingly exasperated against each other, that they could by no means be brought to conform themselves to this order. JOHN XXII. perceiving this, permitted them to renew the controversy in the year 1322; nay, he himself proposed to some of the most celebrated divines of the age, and especially to those of *Paris*, the determination of this point, *viz.* *Whether or no those were to be deemed heretics who maintained that Jesus Christ, and his apostles, had no common or personal property in any thing they possessed?* The Franciscans, who held an assembly this year at *Perugia*, having got notice of this proceeding, unanimously decreed, that those who held this tenet were not heretics, but maintained an opinion that was holy and orthodox, and perfectly agreeable to the decisions and mandates of the popes. They also sent a deputy to *Avignon*, to defend this unanimous determination of their whole order against all opponents whatever. The person they commissioned for this purpose was F. BONAGRATIA, of *Bergamo*, who also went by the name of BONCORTESE [y], one of their fraternity, and a man famous for his extensive learning. JOHN XXII. being highly incensed at this step, issued out a decree in the month of November,

[x] WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 361. STEPH. BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 307. GERH. DU BOIS, *Histor. Eccles. Paris.* p. 611. f.

[y] I insert this caution, because I have observed that some eminent writers, by not attending to this circumstance, have taken these two names for two different persons.

wherein he espoused an opinion diametrically opposite CENT. to that of the Franciscans, and pronounced them XIV. heretics, for obstinately maintaining *that Christ, PART II. and his apostles, had no common or personal property in what they possessed, nor a power of selling, or alienating, any part of it.* Soon after he proceeded yet farther, and in another constitution, published in December following, exposed the weakness and inefficacy of those arguments, commonly deduced from a bull of NICHOLAS III. concerning the property of the Franciscan possessions being transferred to the church of *Rome*, whereby the monks were supposed to be deprived of what we call *right*, and were only allowed the *simple use* of what was necessary for their *immediate* support. In order to confute this plea, he shewed that it was absolutely impossible to separate *right* and *property* from the *lawful use* of such things as were immediately consumed by that use. He also solemnly renounced all property in the Franciscan effects, which had been reserved to the church of *Rome* by former popes, their churches and some other things excepted. And whereas the revenues of the order had been hitherto received and administered by procurators on the part of the Roman church, he dismissed these officers, and abolished all the decrees of his predecessors, and all the ancient constitutions relating to this affair [z].

XXIX. By this method of proceeding, the dexterous pontiff entirely destroyed that boasted The quarrel between the Franciscans and John XXIII. *expropriation*, which was the main bulwark of the Franciscan order, and which its founder had esteemed the distinguishing glory of the society. It was

[z] These constitutions are recorded in the *Corpus Juris Canon.* and also among the *Extravagantes*, tit. xiv. *de verbor. signific.* cap. ii, iii. p. 1121. Concerning the transaction itself, the reader should chiefly consult that impartial writer ALVARUS PELAGIUS, *De planctu ecclesiæ*, lib. ii. c. 60. *f.* 145. as also LUC. WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 394. *f.* Each of them blames JOHN BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 191. *f.*

CENT. therefore natural that these measures should deter-
 XIV. mine the Franciscans to an obstinate resistance. And
 PART II. such indeed was the effect they produced: for, in
 the year 1323, they sent their brother BONA-
 GRATIA in quality of legate to the papal court,
 where he vigorously and openly opposed the latter
 constitution of JOHN, boldly affirming, that it was
 contrary to all law both human and divine [a].
 The pope, on the other hand, highly exasperated
 against this audacious defender of the Franciscan
 poverty, threw him into prison; and, by a new
 edict, which he published about the end of the year,
 enacted, that all who maintained that CHRIST, and
 his apostles, had no common nor special property
 in any of their possessions, should be deemed heretics,
 and corrupters of the true religion [b]. Finding,
 however, that the Franciscans were not terrified in
 the least by this decree, he published another yet
 more flaming constitution about the end of the year
 1324, in which he confirmed his former edicts, and
 pronounced that tenet concerning the expropriation of
 Christ and his apostles, a pestilential, erroneous,
 damnable, and blasphemous doctrine, subversive of the
 catholic faith, and declared all such as adhered to it,
 obstinate heretics and rebels against the church [c]. In
 consequence of this merciless decree, great numbers
 of those who persisted in asserting that CHRIST and

[a] WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. vii. p. 2. 22.—AVAR. PELAGIUS, *De planctu ecclesiæ*, lib. ii. f. 167.—TRITHEMIUS, *Annal. Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 157.—THEOD. DE NIEN, in *ECCARDI Corpore Histor. med. ævi*, tom. vii. p. 1491.

[b] WADDINGUS, tom. vii. p. 36.—*Contin. de NANGIS*, in *DACHERII Spicilegio*, tom. iii. p. 83.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 205.—*Benedictinor. Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 1515.

[c] This constitution as well as the two former already mentioned, is published among the *Extravagantes*, tit. xiv. *De verbor. signif.* WADDINGUS, tom. vii. p. 36. vigorously opposes this last, which is pretty extraordinary in a man so immoderately attached to the cause of the popes as he was.

his apostles were exactly such Mendicants as FRANCIS would have his brethren to be, were apprehended by the Dominican inquisitors, who were implacable enemies of the Franciscans, and committed to the flames. The history of *France and Spain, Italy and Germany*, during this and the following century, abounds with instances of this deplorable cruelty.

XXX. The zealous pontiff pursued this affair with great warmth for several years successively; and as this contest seemed to have taken its rise from the books of PIERRE D'OLIVE, he branded with infamy, in the year 1325, the *Postilla*, and the other writings of that author, as pernicious and heretical [*d*]. The next step he took was to summon to *Avignon* some of the more learned and eminent brethren of the Franciscan order, of whose writings and eloquence he was the most apprehensive, and to detain them at his court: and then, to arm himself against the resentment and indignation of this exasperated society, and to prevent their attempting any thing to his prejudice, he kept a strict guard over them in all places, by means of his friends the Dominicans. MICHAEL DE CÆSENAS, who resided in *Italy*, and was the head of the order, could but ill dissemble the hatred he had conceived against the pope, who therefore ordered him to repair to *Avignon*, in the year 1327, and there deprived him of his office. [*e*]. But, prudent as this violent measure might appear at first sight, it served only to inflame the enraged Franciscans more than ever, and to confirm them in their attachment to the scheme of absolute poverty. For no sooner did the bitter and well-known contest between JOHN XXII. and the emperor LEWIS of *Bavaria*, break out, than the principal champions of the Franciscan

The attempts of the Franciscans against the pope.

[*d*] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 47.—JO. GEORG. ECCARDI *Corpus Histor. mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p. 592, and 1491.

[*e*] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 69. 74.

CENT. caufe, fuch as MARSILIUS of *Padua*, and JO. DE
 XIV. JANDUNO, of *GENOA*, fled to the emperor, and
 PART II. under his protection publifhed the moft virulent
 pieces imaginable, in which they not only attacked
 JOHN perfonally, but alfo levelled their fatires at
 the power and authority of the popes in general [*f*].
 This example was foon followed by others, particu-
 larly by MICH. CÆSENAS, and WILLIAM OCCAM,
 who excelled moft men of his time in fubtilty and
 acutenefs of genius, and alfo by F. BONAGRATIA
 of *Bergamo*. They made their efcape by fea from
Avignon, in the year 1327, went firft to the emperor,
 who was, at that time, in *Italy*, and from thence
 proceeded to *Munich*. They were foon joined by
 many others, fuch as BERENGARIUS, FRANCIS
 DE ESCULO, and HENRY DE HALEM, who were
 highly and defervedly efteemed on account of their
 eminent parts and extenfive learning [*g*]. All
 thefe learned fugitives defended the institute of their
 founder in long and laboured treatifes, in which
 they reduced the papal dignity and authority within
 a very narrow compafs, and loaded the pontiffs with
 reproaches and invectives. OCCAM furpaffed them
 all in the keennefs and fpirit of his fatire; and hence
 his *Dialogues*, together with his other productions,
 which were perufed with avidity, and transmitted

[*f*] LUC. DACHERII *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 85. *f. Bullar. Roman.* tom. vi. p. 167. EDM. MARTENE, *Theſaur. Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 695. 704. BOULAY, *Hiſtor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 216. There is a very noted piece on this ſubject written by MARSILIUS of *Padua*, who was profeſſor at *Vienna*, which was publifhed in 8vo, at *Francfort*, by FRANC. GOMARUS, 1592, and is entitled, *Defenſor pro Ludovico Bavaro adverſus uſurpatam Romani Pontificis jurifdictionem.*

[*g*] WADDINGII *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 81.—MARTENE, *Theſaur. Anecdotor.* tom. iii. p. 749. 757. *f. 781.*—TRITHEMII *Annal. Hiſting.* tom. ii. p. 167.—BOULAY, *Hiſt. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 217.—ECCARDI *Corpus Hiſtor. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 1034.—BALUZZI *Miſcellan.* tom. i. p. 293. 315.—The reader may alſo conſult thoſe writers who have compiled *Indexes* and *Collections of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians.*

down to succeeding generations, gave, as it were, a mortal blow to the ambition and majesty of the Roman pontiffs.

CENT.
XIV.
PART II.

XXXI. On the other hand, the emperor, LEWIS of *Bavaria*, to express his gratitude to these his defenders, not only made the cause of the Franciscans his own, but also adopted their favourite sentiment concerning the poverty of CHRIST and his apostles. For among the heresies and errors of which he publicly accused JOHN XXII. and for which he deprived him of the pontificate, the principal and most pernicious one, in the opinion of the emperor, was his maintaining that the poverty of CHRIST did not exclude all right and property in what he used as a subsistence [b]. The *Fratricelli*, *Beghards*, *Beguines*, and *Spirituals*, then at variance with the pope, were effectually protected by the emperor, in *Germany*, against the attempts of the inquisitors; so that, during his reign, that country was over-run with shoals of Mendicant friars. There was scarce a province or city in the empire that did not abound with *Beghards* and *Beguines*; that is, monks professing the third rule of St. FRANCIS, and who placed the chief excellence of the Christian life in a voluntary and absolute poverty [i]. The Dominicans, on the other hand, as enemies to the Franciscans, and friends to the pope, were treated with great severity by his Imperial majesty, who banished them with ignominy out of several cities [k].

Lewis of
Bavaria be-
comes the
patron of
the Fran-
ciscans.

[b] See *Processus Ludovici contra Johannem A. 1328, d. 12 Dec. datus*, in BALUZII *Miscellaneis*, tom. ii. p. 522. and also his *Appellatio*, p. 494.

[i] I have many pieces upon this subject that were never published.

[k] MART. DIEFENBACH. *De mortis genere, quo Henricus VII. obiit*, p. 145. and others.—ECCARDI *Corpus Histor. mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p. 2103.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 220.

CENT. XXXII. The rage of the contending parties
 XIV. subsided greatly from the year 1329. The pope
 PART II. caused a diet of the Franciscans to be held that year
 at *Paris*, where, by means of cardinal BERTRAND,
 who was president of the assembly, and the Parisian
 doctors, who were attached to his interests, he so
 far softened the resentment of the greatest part of
 the brethren, that they ceased to defend the conduct
 of MICHAEL CÆSENAS and his associates, and
 permitted another president, GERARD ODDO, to be
 substituted in his room. They also acknowledged
 JOHN to be a true and lawful pope; and then
 terminated the dispute concerning the poverty of
 CHRIST in such an ambiguous manner, that the con-
 stitutions and edicts of NICHOLAS III. and JOHN XXII.
 however contradictory, maintained their authority
 [1]. But, notwithstanding these pacific and mutual
 concessions, there were great numbers of the Fran-
 ciscans in *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, who would
 by no means consent to this reconciliation. After
 the death of JOHN, BENEDICT XII. and CLEMENT
 VI. took great pains to close the breach, and
 shewed great clemency and tenderness towards such
 of the order as thought the institute of their founder
 more sacred than the papal bulls. This lenity had
 some good effects. Many who had withdrawn
 themselves from the society were hereby induced to
 return to it, in which number were FRANCIS DE
 ESCULO, and others, who had been some of JOHN'S
 most inveterate enemies [m]. Even those, who
 would not be prevailed on to return to their order,
 ceased to insult the popes, observed the rules of their
 founder in a quiet and inoffensive manner, and
 would have no sort of connection with those *Fratricelli*

Peace is
 made be-
 tween the
 Franciscans
 and the
 pope.

[1] WADDINGI *Annales*, tom. vii. p. 94.—DACHERII *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 91.

[m] ARGENTRE, *Collectio judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 343.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 281.—WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 313.

and *Tertiaries* in *Italy, Spain, and Germany*, who contemned the papal authority [n].

XXXIII. The German Franciscans, who were protected by the emperor LEWIS, held out their opposition much longer than any of the rest. But in the year 1347, their imperial patron being dead, the halcyon days of the Franciscan *Spirituals*, as also of their associates the *Beghards*, or *Tertiaries*, were at an end in *Germany*. For in the year 1345, his successor CHARLES IV. having been raised to the imperial throne by the interest of the pope, was ready, in his turn, to gratify the desires of the court of *Rome*, and accordingly supported, both by his edicts and by his arms, the inquisitors who were sent by the Roman pontiff against his enemies, and suffered them to apprehend and put to death all of these enemies that came within their reach. These ministers of papal vengeance exerted their power chiefly in the districts of *Magdeburg* and *Bremen, Thuringia, Saxony, and Hesse*, where they extirpated all the *Beghards*, as well as the *Beguines*, or *Tertiaries*, the associates of those Franciscans, who held that CHRIST and his apostles had no property in any thing. These severe measures were approved by CHARLES IV. who then resided in *Italy*, at *Lucca*, from whence, in the year 1369, he issued out severe edicts, commanding all the German princes to extirpate out of their dominions the *Beghards* and *Beguines*, or, as he himself interpreted the name, the *voluntary beggars* [o], as enemies of the church and of the Roman empire, and to assist the *inquisitors* in their proceedings against them. By another edict, published not long after, he gave the houses of the *Beghards* to the *tribunal* of the *inquisition*, ordering them to be converted into prisons for *heretics*: and, at the same time, ordered all the effects of the

CENT.

XIV.

PART II.

The distresses of
Spirituals,
Beghards,
&c. in Ger-
many.

[n] WADDINGI *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 116. 126.—ARGENTRE, *l. c.* tom. i. p. 343, &c.

[o] In high Dutch, *Die wilgen Armen*.

CENT. *Beguines* to be sold publicly, and the profits arising
 XIV. from thence to be equally divided between the
 PART II. *inquisitors*, the magistrates, and the poor of those
 towns and cities where such sale shall be made [p].
 The *Beghards*, being reduced to great straits by this
 and other mandates of the emperor, and by the
 constitutions of the popes, sought a refuge in those
 provinces of *Switzerland* that border upon the
Rhine, and also in *Holland*, *Brabant*, and *Pomerania*
 [q]. But the edicts and mandates of the emperor,
 together with the papal bulls and inquisitors, followed
 them wherever they went, and distressed them in
 their most distant retreats; so that, during the reign
 of CHARLES IV. the greatest part of *Germany*
 (*Switzerland*, and those provinces that are conti-
 guous to it, excepted) was thoroughly purged of
 the *Beghards*, or rebellious Franciscans, both *perfect*
 and *imperfect*.

Their divi-
 sions so far
 from being
 extinguish-
 ed by these
 proceedings,
 that the
 Franciscan
 order is split
 into two
 considerable
 parties.

XXXIV. But neither edicts, bulls, or inquisitors,
 could entirely pluck up the roots of this inveterate
 discord. For so ardently were many of the brethren
 bent upon observing, in the most perfect and rigorous

[p] I have in my possession this edict, with other laws of
 CHARLES IV. enacted on this occasion, as also many of the
 papal constitutions, and other records which illustrate this affair,
 and which undoubtedly deserve to see the light. It is certain,
 that CHARLES IV. himself, in his edicts and mandates, clearly
 characterizes those people, whom he there styles *Beggards* and
Beguines, as *Franciscan Tertiaries*, belonging to that party of the
 order then at variance with the pope. *They are* (to use the
 emperor's own words, in his edict issued out at *Lucca*, and bearing
 date the 16th of June, 1369) *a pernicious sect, who pretend to*
a sacrilegious and heretical poverty, and who are under a vow that
they neither ought to have, nor will have any property, whether
special or common, in the goods they use (this is the poverty of the
 Franciscan institute, which JOHN XXII. so strenuously opposed),
which they extend even to their wretched habits.—For so the
 Spirituals and their associates used to do.

[q] See ODOR. RAYNALDUS, *Annal. Eccles. ad A. 1372.* §
 XXXIV. p. 513. See also the books of FELIX MALLEOLUS,
 written in the following century against the *Beggards* in *Switzer-*
land.

manner, the institute of St. FRANCIS, that numbers CENT. were to be found in all places who either withstood XIV. the president of the society, or, at least, obeyed him PART II. with reluctance. At once therefore to satisfy both

 the laxer and more rigid party, after various methods had been tried to no purpose, a division of the order was agreed to. Accordingly, in the year 1368, the president consented that PAULUTIUS FULGINAS, who was the chief of the more rigid Franciscans in *Italy*, together with his associates, who were pretty numerous, should live separately from the rest of the brethren, according to the rules and customs they had adopted, and follow the institute of their founder in the strictest and most rigorous manner. The *Spirituals*, and the followers of OLIVE, whose scattered remains were yet observable in several places, joined themselves gradually and imperceptibly to this party. And as the number of those who were fond of the *severer discipline* continually increased in many provinces, the popes thought proper to approve that institute, and to give it the solemn sanction of their authority. In consequence of this, the Franciscan order was divided into two large bodies, which subsist to this day, *viz.* the *Conventual Brethren*, and the *Brethren of the observation*. Those who gave up the strict sense of the expressions in which the institute of their founder was conceived, and adopted the modifications that were given of them by the pontiffs, were called by the former name; and the council of *Constance* conferred the latter upon those who chose to be determined by the words of the institute itself, rather than by any explications of it [r]. But the *Fratricelli*, together with the *Beghards*, whom we have frequently had occasion to mention, absolutely rejected this reconciliation, and persisted in disturbing the peace of

[r] See WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. viii. p. 209. 298. 326. 336. tom. ix. p. 59. 65. 78. &c.

CENT. the church, during this and the following century,
 XIV. in the marquisate of *Ancona*, and in other places.

PART II. XXXV. This century gave rise to other religious
 societies, some of which were but of short duration,
 and the rest never became famous. JOHN COLOM-
 BINI, a nobleman of *Sienna*, founded, in the year
 1368, the order of the *Apostolic Clercs*, who, because
 they frequently pronounced the name of JESUS,
 were afterwards called *Jesuates*. This institution
 was confirmed by URBAN V. the following year,
 and subsisted till the last century, when it was
 abolished by CLEMENT IX. [s]. The brethren
 belonging to it professed poverty, and adhered to the
 institute of St. AUGUSTIN. They were not, however,
 admitted to holy orders, but assisted the poor by
 their prayers, and other pious offices, and prepared
 medicines for them, which they distributed *gratis* [t].
 But these statutes were in a manner abrogated when
 CLEMENT dissolved the order.

The sect of
 the Cellite
 brethren
 and sisters.
 The Lol-
 lards.

XXXVI. Soon after the commencement of this
 century, the famous sect of the *Cellite brethren and
 sisters* arose at *Antwerp*: they were also stiled the
Alexian brethren and sisters, because St. ALEXIUS
 was their patron; and they were named *Cellites*,
 from the cells in which they were used to live. As
 the clergy of this age took little care of the sick and
 dying, and deserted such as were infected with those
 pestilential disorders which were then very frequent,
 some compassionate and pious persons at *Antwerp*
 formed themselves into a society for the performance
 of those religious offices which the Sacerdotal orders
 so shamefully neglected. Pursuant to this agree-
 ment, they visited and comforted the sick, assisted
 the dying with their prayers and exhortations, took
 care of the interment of those who were cut off by

[s] In the year 1668.

[t] HIPP. HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. iii. p. 411. f.—
 FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Pontif.* tom. iv. p. 189. f.—BONANNI,
 and others who have compiled histories of the religious orders.

the plague, and on that account forsaken by the
 affrighted clergy, and committed them to the grave
 with a solemn funeral dirge. It was with reference
 to this last office, that the common people gave them
 the name of *Lollards* [u]. The example of these

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[u] Many writers have given us large accounts concerning the sect and name of the *Lollards*, yet none of them are to be commended for their fidelity, diligence, or accuracy on this head. This I can confidently assert, because I have carefully and expressly inquired into whatever relates to the *Lollards*; and from the most authentic records concerning them, both published and unpublished, have collected copious materials from whence their true history may be compiled. Most of the German writers, as well as those of other countries, affirm, that the *Lollards* were a particular sect, who differed from the church of *Rome* in many religious points; and that WALTER LOLLHARD, who was burnt in this century at *Cologn*, was their founder. How so many learned men came to adopt this opinion is beyond my comprehension. They indeed refer to JO. TRITHEMIUS as the author of this opinion; yet it is certain, that no such account of these people is to be found in his writings. I shall therefore endeavour, with all possible brevity, to throw all the light I can upon this matter, that they who are fond of ecclesiastical history may have a just notion of it.

The term *Lollbard*, or *Lullbard*, or, as the ancient Germans write it, *Lollert*, *Lullert*, is compounded of the old German word *Lullen*, *Lollen*, *Lallen*, and the well-known termination *bard*, with which many of the old High Dutch words end. *Lollen*, or *Lullen*, signifies to sing with a low voice. It is yet used in the same sense among the English, who say, *lull a-sleep*, which signifies to sing any one into a slumber with a sweet indistinct voice. See FRANC. JUNII *Etymologicum Anglicanum*, ab EDUARDO LYE, *Oxon.* 1743, *fol.* under the word *Lollard*. The word is also used in the same sense among the Flemings, Swedes, and other nations, as appears by their respective *Dictionaries*. Among the Germans, both the sense and pronunciation of it have undergone some alteration: for they say, *Lallen*, which signifies to pronounce indistinctly, or *stammer*. *Lollbard* therefore is a singer or one who frequently sings. For as the word *Beggen*, which universally signifies to request any thing fervently, is applied to devotional requests, or prayers, and in the stricter sense in which it is used by the High Dutch, denotes *praying fervently to God*; in the same manner, the word *Lollen*, or *Lullen*, is transferred from a common to a sacred song, and signifies, in its most limited sense, to sing a hymn. *Lollbard* therefore, in the vulgar

CENT. good people had such an extensive influence, that in
 XIV. a little time societies of the same sort of *Lollards*,
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tongue of the ancient Germans, denotes a person who is *continually praising God with a song*, or singing hymns to his honour. HOSCEMIUS, a canon of *Liege*, has well apprehended and expressed the force of this word in his *Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium*, lib. i. cap. xxvii. in JO. CHAPEAVILLI *Gestis Pontificum Tungrensium et Leodiensium*, tom. ii. p. 350. *f.* In the same year (1309), says he, *certain strolling hypocrites, who were called LOLLARDS, or praisers of God, deceived some women of quality in Hainault and Brabant.* Because those who praised God, generally did it in verse, therefore, in the Latin style of the middle age, to *praise God*, meant to *sing* to him, and such as were frequently employed in acts of adoration were called *religious singers*. And as prayers and hymns are regarded as a certain external sign of piety towards God, therefore those who aspired after a more than ordinary degree of piety and religion, and for that purpose were more frequently occupied in singing hymns of praise to God than others, were, in the common popular language, called *Lollards*. Hereupon this word acquired the same meaning with that of the term *Beghard*, which denoted a person remarkable for piety; for in all the old records, from the eleventh century, these two words are synonymous: so that all who are styled *Beggards* are also called *Lollards*, which may be proved to a demonstration from many authors, and particularly from many passages in the writings of FELIX MALLECLUS against the *Beggards*: so that there are precisely as many sorts of *Beggards* as of *Lollards*. Those whom the monks now call *Lay Brothers*, were formerly named *Lollard Brethren*, as is well observed by BARTHOL. SCHOBINGER, *Ad Feach. Vadianum de collegiis monasteriisque Germaniæ Veter.* lib. i. p. 24. in GOLDASTI *Scriptor. rerum Alemannicarum*, tom. iii.

The Brethren of the free spirit, of whom we have already given a large account, are by some styled *Beggards*, by others *Lollards*. The followers of GERHARD GROOTE, or *Priests of the community*, are frequently called *Lollard Brethren*. The good man WALTER, who was burnt at *Cologne*, and whom so many learned men have unadvisedly represented as the founder of the sect of the *Lollards*, is by some called a *Beggard*, by others a *Lollard*, and by others a *Minorite*. The Franciscan *Tertiaries*, who were remarkable for their prayers and other pious exercises, often go by the name of *Lollards*. The *Celiite Brethren*, or *Alexians*, whose piety was very exemplary, did no sooner appear in *Flanders* about the beginning of this century, than the people gave them the title of *Lollards*, a term much in use at that time. A particular reason indeed for their being distinguished by this name was, that they

consisting both of men and women, were formed in most parts of *Germany* and *Flanders*, and were

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were public singers, who made it their business to enter the bodies of those who died of the plague, and sang a dirge over them in a mournful and indistinct tone as they carried them to the grave. Among the many testimonies that might be alleged to prove this, we shall confine ourselves to the words of JO. BAPT. GRAMAY, a man eminently skilled in the history of his country, in his Work, entitled, *Antverpia*, lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 16. *The Alexians*, says he, *who constantly employed themselves about funerals, had their rise at Antwerp; at which place, about the year 1300, some honest pious laymen formed a society. On account of their extraordinary temperance and modesty, they were styled Matemanni, (or Moderatists) and also LOLLARDS, FROM THEIR ATTENDANCE ON FUNERAL OBSEQUIES.—From their cells they were named Cellite brethren.* To the same purpose is the following passage in his work, entitled, *Lovanium*, p. 18. which is inserted in the splendid folio edition of the *Belgic Antiquities*, published at Louvain in 1708: *The Alexians who were wholly engaged in taking care of funerals, now began to appear. They were laymen, who having wholly devoted themselves to works of mercy were named LOLLARDS and Matemanni (or Moderatists). They made it their sole business to take care of all such as were sick or out of their senses. These they attended both privately and publicly, and buried the dead.* The same learned author tells us, that he transcribed some of these particulars from an old diary written in Flemish rhyme. Hence we find in the *Annals of Holland and Utrecht*, in ANT. MATTHÆI *Analeæ. vet. ævi*, tom. i. p. 431. the following words: *Die Lollardijes die brochten, de dooden by een, i. e. the Lollards who collected the dead bodies; which passage is thus paraphrased by MATTHÆUS, The managers of funerals, and carriers of the dead, of whom there was a fixed company, were a set of mean, worthless creatures, who usually spoke in a canting mournful tone, as if bewailing the dead; and hence it came to pass, that a street in Utrecht, in which most of these people lived, was called the Loller street.* The same reason that changed the word *Beggard* from its primitive meaning, contributed also to give, in process of time, a different signification to that of *Lollard*, even its being assumed by persons that dishonoured it. For among those Lollards, who made such extraordinary pretences to piety and religion, and spent the greatest part of their time in meditation, prayer, and such-like acts of piety, there were many abominable hypocrites, who entertained the most ridiculous opinions, and concealed the most enormous vices, under the specious mask of this extraordinary profession. But it was chiefly after the rise of the *Alexians*, or *Cellites*, that the name *Lollard* became infamous. For the

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supported partly by their manual labours, and partly by the charitable donations of pious persons. The magistrates and inhabitants of the towns, where these brethren and sisters resided, gave them peculiar marks of favour and protection on account of their great usefulness to the sick and needy. But the clergy, whose reputation was not a little hurt by them, and the Mendicant friars, who found their profits diminished by the growing credit of these new-comers, persecuted them vehemently, and accused them to the popes of many vices and intolerable errors. Hence it was, that the word *Lollard*, which originally carried a good meaning, became a term of reproach to denote a person, who, under the mask of extraordinary piety, concealed either enormous vices, or pernicious sentiments. But the magistrates, by their recommendations and testimonials, supported the *Lollards* against their malignant rivals, and obtained many papal constitutions, by which their institute was confirmed, their persons exempted from the cognizance of the inquisitors, and subjected entirely to the jurisdiction of the bishops. But as these measures were insufficient to secure them from molestation, CHARLES, duke of *Burgundy*, in the year 1472, obtained a solemn bull from pope SIXTUS IV. ordering that the *Cellites*, or *Lollards*, should be ranked among the religious orders, and delivered from the jurisdiction of the bishops; and

priests and monks, being inveterately exasperated against these good men, propagated injurious suspicions of them, and endeavoured to persuade the people, that, innocent and beneficent as the *Lollards* seemed to be, they were in reality the contrary, being tainted with the most pernicious sentiments of a religious kind, and secretly addicted to all sorts of vices. Thus by degrees it came to pass, that any person, who covered heresies, or crimes, under the appearance of piety, was called a *Lollard*. So that it is certain this was not a name to denote any one particular sect, but was formerly common to all persons and all sects, who were supposed to be guilty of impiety towards God and the church, under an external profession of extraordinary piety,

pope JULIUS II. granted them yet greater privileges in the year 1506. Many societies of this kind are yet subsisting at *Cologne*, and in the cities of *Flanders*, though they have evidently departed from their ancient rules [zw].

XXXVII. Among the Greek writers of this century the following were the most eminent.

NICEPHORUS CALLISTUS, whose *Ecclesiastical History* we have already mentioned ;

MATTHÆUS BLASTARES, who illustrated and explained the canon laws of the Greeks ;

BARLAAM, who was a very zealous champion in behalf of the Grecian cause against the Latins ;

GREGORIUS ACINDYNUS, an inveterate enemy of the *Palamites*, of which sect we shall give some account in its proper place ;

JOHANNES CANTACUZENUS, famous for his history of his own time, and his confutation of the Mahometan law ;

NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, who compiled the Byzantine history, and left some other monuments of his genius to posterity ;

THEOPHANES, bishop of *Nice*, a laborious defender of the truth of Christianity against the Jews, and the rest of its enemies ;

NILUS CABASILAS, NILUS RHODIUS, and NILUS DAMYLA, who most warmly maintained the cause of their nation against all the Latin writers ;

PHILOTHEUS, several of whose tracts are yet extant, and seem well adapted to excite devotional temper and spirit ;

[zw] Besides many others, whom it is not proper to mention here, see ÆGID. GELLENIVS, *De admiranda sacra et civili magnitudine urbis Coloniae*, lib. iii. *Syntagm.* li. p. 534. 598. 603.—JO. BAPT. GRAMAYE, in *Antiquit. Belgicis*.—ANTON. SANDERUS, in *Brabantia et Flandria illustratis*.—AUB. MIRÆUS, in *operibus Diplomatico Historicis*, and many other writers of this period in many places of their works. I may add, that those who are styled *Lollards*, are by many called *die Nollbruder*, from *Nollen*, an ancient German word.

Greek writers.

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CENT. GREGORY PALAMAS; of whom more here-
XIV. after.

PART II. XXXVIII. From the prodigious number of the
Latin writers of this century, we shall only select the
most famous. Among the scholastic doctors, who
blended philosophy with divinity, JOHN DUNS
SCOTUS, a Franciscan, and the great antagonist of
Thomas held the first rank, and, though not entitled
to any praise for his candour and ingenuity, was by
no means inferior to any of his contemporaries in
acuteness and subtilty of genius [x].

After him the most celebrated writers of this
class were DURANDUS of St. PORTIAN, who
combated the commonly received doctrine of the
divine co-operation with the human will [y],
ANTONIUS ANDRÆAS, HERVÆUS NATALIS,
FRANCIS MAYRONIUS, THOMAS BRADWARDINE,
an acute ingenious man [z], PETER AUREOLUS,
JOHN BACON, WILLIAM OCCAM, WALTER BUR-
LÆUS, PETER DE ALLIACO, THOMAS of *Strasburg*,
and GREGORY DE RIMINI [a].

Among the mystic divines, JO. TAULERUS
and JO. RUYSBROCKIUS, though not entirely free
from errors, were eminent for their wisdom and
integrity;

[x] The very laborious and learned LUC. WADDINGUS
favoured the public with an accurate edition of the works of
SCOTUS, which was printed at *Lyons*, 1639, in twelve volumes
folio.—Compare WOOD, *Antiqq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 86. *f.* but
especially WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor. fratr.* tom. vi. p. 40.
107.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 70, &c.

[y] See JO. LAUNOIUS, in a small treatise, entitled, *Syllabus
rationum, quibus Durandi causa defenditur*, tom. i. opp.—*Gallia
Christ.* tom. ii. p. 723.

[z] RICH. SIMON, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. iv. p. 232. & *Critique
de la Bibliothèque des Ecclesiast.* par. M. DU PIN, tom. i. p. 360.—
STEPH. SOUCIETUS, in *Observationibus ad b. l.* p. 703.—*Nouv.
Diction. Hist. Crit.* tom. ii. p. 500. *f.* He was archbishop of
Canterbury.

[a] For a full account of all these persons, see *Histoire de
l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xiv. p. 11, 12. *f.*

NICHOLAS LYRANUS acquired great reputation CENT.
 by his *Compendious Exposition of the whole Bible*; XIV.

RAYNERIUS PISANUS is celebrated for his PART II.
Summary of Theology, and ASTESANUS for his
Summary of Cases of Conscience.

CHAPTER III.

Concerning the doctrine of the Christian church during this century.

I. **A**LL those who are well acquainted with The corruption of religion.
 the history of these times must acknowledge, that
 religion, whether as taught in the schools, or incul-
 cated upon the people as the rule of their conduct,
 was so extremely adulterated and deformed, that
 there was not a single branch of the Christian
 doctrine, which retained the least trace of its primitive
 lustre and beauty. Hence it may easily be ima-
 gined, that the *Waldenses* and others, who longed
 for a reformation of the church, and had separated
 themselves from the jurisdiction of the bishop of
Rome, though every where exposed to the fury of the
inquisitors and monks, yet increased from day to day,
 and baffled all the attempts that were made to extir-
 pate them. Many of these poor people having
 observed, that great numbers of their party perished
 by the flames and other punishments, fled out of
Italy, France, and Germany, into *Bobemia* and the
 adjacent countries, where they afterwards associated
 with the *Hussites* and other Separatists from the
 church of *Rome*.

II. NICHOLAS LYRANUS deservedly holds the
 first rank among the commentators on the Holy

CENT. Scriptures, having explained the Books both of the
 XIV. Old and New Testament in a manner far superior to
 PART II. the prevailing taste and spirit of his age. He was
 a perfect master of the Hebrew language, but not
 well versed in the Greek, and was therefore much
 happier in his exposition of the Old Testament, than
 in that of the New [b]. All the other divines, who
 applied themselves to this kind of writing, were
 fervile imitators of their predecessors. They either
 culled choice sentences from the writings of the more
 ancient doctors; or else, departing from the obvious
 meaning of the words, they tortured the sacred
 writers to accommodate them to senses that were
 mysterious and abstruse. They who are desirous of
 being acquainted with this art, may have recourse
 to VITALIS A FURNO, his *Moral Mirrour of the
 Scriptures* [c], or to LUDOLPHUS of Saxony, in his
Psalter Spiritualized [d]. The philosophers, who
 commented upon the sacred writings, sometimes
 proposed subtle questions drawn from what was
 called, in this century, *Internal Science*, and solved
 them in a dexterous and artful manner.

The state of
 exegetical
 or explana-
 tory theo-
 logy.

The didac-
 tic divines.

III. The greatest part of the doctors of this
 century, both Greek and Latin, followed the rules
 of the peripatetic philosophy, in expounding and
 teaching the doctrines of religion; and the Greeks,
 from their commerce with the Latins, seemed to
 have acquired some knowledge of those methods of
 instruction used in the western schools. Even to
 this day the Greeks read, in their own tongue, the
 works of THOMAS, and other capital writers of the
 scholastic class, which in this age were translated and
 introduced into the Greek church by DEMETRIUS

[b] RICH. SIMON, *Histoire des principaux Commentateurs du
 Nos*, p. 447. & *Critique de la Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccles.* par M.
 DU PIN, tom. i. p. 352.—WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p.
 264. f.

[c] *Speculum Morale totius Scripturae.*

[d] *Psalterium juxta Spiritualem sensum.*

CYDONIUS, and others [e]. Prodigious numbers among the Latins were fond of this subtle method, in which JOHN SCOTUS, DURANDUS A S. PORTIAN, and WILLIAM OCCAM, peculiarly excelled. Some few had recourse to the decisions of *Scripture* and *Tradition* in explaining divine truths, but they were overborne by the immense tribe of logicians, who carried all before them.

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IV. This superiority of the schoolmen did not, however, prevent some wise and pious men among the *Mystics*, and elsewhere, from severely censuring this presumptuous method of bringing before the tribunal of philosophy matters of pure revelation. Many, on the contrary, were bold enough to oppose the reigning passion, and to recal the youth designed for the ministry, to the study of the scriptures and the writings of the ancient fathers. This proceeding kindled the flame of discord almost every where; but this flame raged with peculiar violence in some of the more famous universities, especially in those of *Paris* and *Oxford*, where many sharp disputes were continually carried on against the *philosophical* divines by those of the *biblical* party, who, though greatly inferior to their antagonists in point of number, were sometimes victorious. For the *philosophical* legions, headed by Mendicants, Dominicans, and Franciscans, were often extremely rash in their manner of disputing; they defined and explained the principal doctrines of revealed religion in such a way as really overturned them, and fell often into opinions that were evidently absurd and impious. Hence it came to pass, that some of them were compelled to abjure their errors, others to seek their safety by flight; some had their writings publicly

The adversaries of the school divines.
The Biblical divines.

[e] RICH. SIMON, *Creance de l'Eglise Orientale sur la Transubstantiation*, p. 166.

CENT. burnt, and others were thrown into prison [f].

XIV. However, when these commotions were quelled,
 PART II. most of them returned, though with prudence and
 caution, to their former way of thinking, perplexed
 their adversaries by various contrivances, and
 deprived them of their reputation, their profits, and
 many of their followers.

Contentions
 among the
 schoolmen.
 The Scotists
 and Thom-
 ists.

V. It is remarkable, that these *scholastic* doctors,
 or *philosophical* theologians, far from agreeing among
 themselves, were furiously engaged in disputations
 with each other concerning many points. The flame
 of their controversy was, in this century, supplied
 with plentiful accessions of fuel, by JOHN DUNS
 SCOTUS, an Englishman, of the Franciscan order,
 who was extremely eminent for the subtilty of his
 genius, and who, animated against the Dominicans
 by a warm spirit of jealousy, had attacked and
 attempted to disprove several doctrines of THOMAS
 AQUINAS. Upon this, the Dominicans, taking the
 alarm, united from all quarters to defend their
 favourite doctor, whom they justly considered as the
 common leader of the scholastics; while the Fran-
 ciscans, on the other hand, espoused with ardour
 the cause of SCOTUS, whom they looked upon as a
 divine sage sent down from heaven to enlighten
 bewildered and erring mortals. Thus these powerful
 and flourishing orders were again divided; and hence

[f] See BOULAY, *Hisfor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. passim.—
 In the year 1340, several opinions of the schoolmen, concerning
 the Trinity and other doctrines, were condemned, p. 266 —
 In the year 1347, M. JO. DE MERCURIA and NICH. DE UL-
 TRICURIA were obliged to abjure their errors, p. 298. 308 —
 In 1348, one SIMON was convicted of some horrible errors,
 p. 322 — The same fate, A. 1. 54. befel GUIDO of the Augus-
 tine order, p. 329. A. 1362, the like happened to one LEWIS,
 p. 374. to JO. DE CALORE, p. 377. A. 1365, to DION.
 SOULLECHAT, p. 382. Oxford also had its share in transactions
 of this nature. See ANT. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p.
 153. 183. f.

the origin of the two famous sects, the *Scotists* and *Thomists*, which, to this day, dispute the field of controversy in the Latin schools. The chief points about which they disagree are, the *Nature of the divine co-operation with the human will*, the *Measure of divine grace* that is necessary to salvation, the *Unity of form in man*, or personal identity, and other abstruse and minute questions, the enumeration of which is foreign to our purpose. We shall only observe, that what contributed most to exalt the reputation of *Scorus*, and to cover him with glory, was his demonstration and defence of, what was called, the *Immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary*, against the Dominicans, who entertained different notions of that matter [g].

VI, A prodigious number of the people, denominated *Mystics*, resided and propagated their tenets in almost every part of *Europe*. There were, undoubtedly, among them many persons of eminent piety, who endeavoured to wean men from an excessive attachment to the external part of religion, and to form them to the love of *God*, and the practice of genuine virtue. Such, among others, were *TAULERUS*, *RUYSBROCIOUS*, *SUSO*, and *GERARD of Zutphen* [h], who, it must be confessed, have left many writings that are exceedingly well calculated to excite pious dispositions in the minds of their readers; though want of judgment, and a propensity to indulge enthusiastic visions, is a defect common to them all. But there were also some senseless fanatics belonging to this party, who ran about, from place to place, recommending a most unaccountable extinction of all the rational faculties, whereby they

[g] See *WADDINGUS, Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 52.

[h] Concerning these authors, see *PETR. POIRET. Biblioth. Mysticorum*; and *GODOFR. ARNOLD, Histor. et descriptio Theol. Mystica*. Concerning *TAULERUS* and *SUSO*, *ECHARDUS* treats expressly in his *Scriptor. Prædicat.* tom. i. p. 653. 677. See also *Acta Sanctor. Januar.* tom. ii. p. 652.

CENT. idly imagined the human mind would be transfused
 XIV. into the divine essence; and thus led their profelytes
 PART II. into a foolish kind of piety, that in too many cases
 bordered nearly upon licentiousness. The religious
 frenzy of these enthusiasts rose to such a height, as
 rendered them detestable to the soberer sort of
Mystics, who charged their followers to have no
 connexions with them [i].

Moral
 writers.

VII. It is needless to say much concerning those
 who applied themselves to the study of morality,
 seeing their merit is much of the same kind with
 that of the authors whom we have already men-
 tioned; though it may be proper to mention two
 circumstances, by which the reader may ascertain
 the true state of this science. The first is, that,
 about this time, more writers than in any former
 century made it their business to collect and solve,
 what they stiled, *Cases of conscience*; by which
 ASTESANUS, an Italian, MONALDUS, and BAR-
 THOLOMEW of St. CONCORDIA, acquired a repu-
 tation superior to any of their contemporaries. This
 kind of writing was of a piece with the education then
 received in the schools, since it taught people to
 quibble and wrangle, instead of forming them to a
 sound faith and a suitable practice. A second thing
 worthy of notice is, that moral duties were explained,
 and their practice enforced, by allegories and com-
 parisons of a new and whimsical kind, even by
 examples drawn from the natures, properties, and
 actions of the brute creation. These writers began,
 for instance, by explaining the nature and qualities
 of some particular animal, and then applied their
 description to human life and manners, to charac-
 terize the virtues and vices of moral agents. The
 most remarkable productions of this sort are

[i] JOH. RUYSBROCIUS inveighed bitterly against them, as
 appears from his *Work* published by LAUR. SURIUS, p. 50.
 378. as also from his treatise *De vera contemplatione*, cap. xviii.
 p. 608.

NIEDER'S *Formicarius*, a treatise concerning *Bees* by CENT. THOMAS BRABANTINUS, HUGO DE St. VICTOR'S XIV. dissertation upon *Beasts*, and a tract of THOMAS PART II. WALLEY'S, intitled, *The Nature of Brute Animals moralized*.

VIII. The defenders of Christianity in this age were, generally speaking, unequal to the glorious cause they undertook to support; nor do their writings discover any striking marks of genius, dexterity, perspicuity, or candour. Some productions, indeed, appeared from time to time, that were not altogether unworthy of notice. The learned BRADWARDINE, an English divine, advanced many pertinent and ingenious things towards the confirmation of the truth of Christianity in general, in a *Book upon Providence*. The book, intitled, *Collyrium Fidei contra Hæreticos*, or, *Eye-salve of Faith against the Heretics*, shews that its author ALVARUS PELAGIUS was a well meaning and judicious man, though he has by no means exhausted the subject in this performance. NICHOLAS LYRA wrote against the Jews, as did also PORCHETUS SALVATICUS, whose treatise, intitled, *The Triumph of Faith*, is chiefly borrowed from the writings of RAYMOND MARTIN. Both these writers are much inferior to THEOPHANES, whose *Book against the Jews*, and his *Harmony between the Old and New Testament*, contain many observations that are by no means contemptible.

IX. During this century, there were some promising appearances of a reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins. For the former, apprehending they should want the assistance of the Latins to set bounds to the power of the Turks, which about this time was continually increasing, often pretended a willingness to submit to the Latin canons. Accordingly, A. D. 1339, ANDRONICUS, the Younger, sent BARLAAM as his ambassador into the west, to desire a reconciliation in his name. In the year 1349,

Controversialists.

State of the controversy between the Greeks and Latins.

C E N T. another Grecian embassy was sent to CLEMENT
 X I V. VI. for the same purpose, and, in 1356, a third was
 P A R T II. dispatched upon a like errand to INNOCENT VI. who
 resided at *Avignon*. Nor was this all; for, in the
 year 1367, the Grecian patriarch arrived at *Rome* in
 order to negotiate this important matter, and was
 followed, in the year 1369, by the emperor himself,
 JOHN PALÆOLOGUS, who undertook a journey into
Italy, and, in order to conciliate the friendship and
 good-will of the Latins, published a confession of his
 faith, which was agreeable to the sentiments of the
 Roman pontiff. But, notwithstanding these prudent
 and pacific measures, the major part of the Greeks
 could not be persuaded by any means to drop the
 controversy, or to be reconciled to the church of
 Rome, though several of them from views of interest
 or ambition, expressed a readiness to submit to its
 demands; so that this whole century was spent
 partly in furious debates, and partly in fruitless
 negotiations [k].

The con-
 tention be-
 tween the
 university
 of *Paris*
 and the Do-
 minicans.

X. In the year 1384, a furious controversy arose
 at *Paris*, between the University there and the
 Dominican Order. The author of it was JOHN DE
 MONTESONO, a native of *Arragon*, a Dominican friar
 and professor of divinity, who, pursuant to the
 decisions and doctrine of his Order, publicly denied
 that the blessed Virgin MARY was conceived without
 any stain of original sin; and moreover asserted, that
 all who believed the *immaculate conception* were
 enemies of the true faith. The quarrel occasioned
 by this proceeding would certainly have been soon
 compromised, had not JOHN, in a public discourse,
 delivered some time in the year 1387, revived this

Occasioned
 by Monte-
 sonus.

[k] See HENR. CANISII *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 369.
 —LEO. ALLATIUS, *De perpetua consensione eccles. Orient et Occi-*
dent. lib. ii. cap. xvi. xvii. p. 782.—LUC. WADDINGUS, *Annual,*
Minor. tom. viii. p. 29. 40. 107. 201. 289. 303. 312.—
 STEPH. BALUZII *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 348. 380. 388.
 403. 407. 410. 772.

opinion with more violence than ever. For this reason the college of divines, and afterwards the whole university, condemned this, and some other tenets of MONTESONUS. For it may be proper to inform the reader, that the university of *Paris*, principally induced thereto by the discourses of JOHN DUNS SCOTUS, had from the beginning almost of this century, publicly adopted the doctrine of the sinless conception of the holy Virgin [1]. Upon this, the Dominicans, together with their champion MONTESONUS, appealed from the sentence of the university to pope CLEMENT VII. at *Avignon*, and raised an outcry, that St. THOMAS himself was condemned by the judgment passed upon their brother. But, before the pope could decide the affair, the accused friar fled from the court of *Avignon*, went over to the party of URBAN VI. who resided at *Rome*, and thus, during his absence, was excommunicated. Whether or no the pope approved the sentence of the university of *Paris* we cannot say. The Dominicans, however, deny that he did, and affirm, that MONTESONUS was condemned purely on account of his flight [m]; though there are many others, who assert that his opinion was also condemned. And as the Dominicans would not acknowledge the sentence of the university to be valid, they were expelled in the year 1389, and were not restored to their ancient honours in that learned body till the year 1404 [n].

[1] See WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 52. f.

[m] See JAC. ECHARDI *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 691.

[n] CÆS. EGASS. DE BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 599. 618. 638.—STEPH. BALUZII *Vita Pontif. Avinion.* tom. i. p. 521. tom. ii. p. 992.—ARGENTRE, *Collectio judicior. de novis errorib.* tom. i. p. 61.—JAC. DE LONGUEVAL, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xiv. p. 347.

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church during this century.

CENT. I. **W**E must confine ourselves to a general
 XIV. and superficial view of the alterations that were
 PART II. introduced into the ritual of the church during this
 century, since it cannot reasonably be expected we
 should insist largely upon this subject, within the
 narrow limits of such a work as this. One of the
 principal circumstances that strikes us here, is the
 change that was made in the time of celebrating the
 jubilee. In the year 1350, CLEMENT VI. in
 compliance with the requests of the people of *Rome*,
 enacted, that the *jubilee*, which BONIFACE VIII.
 had ordered to be held every hundredth year, should
 be celebrated twice in every century [o]. In
 favour of this alteration, he might have assigned a
 very plausible pretext; since it is well known that the
 Jews, whom the Roman pontiffs were always ready
 to imitate in whatever related to pomp and majesty,
 celebrated this sacred solemnity every fiftieth year.
 But URBAN VI. SIXTUS VI. and other popes, who
 ordered a more frequent celebration of this salutary
 and profitable institution, would have had more
 difficulty in attempting to satisfy those who might
 have demanded sufficient reasons to justify this
 inconstancy.

Festivals. II. INNOCENT V. instituted festivals sacred to the
 memory of the lance with which our Saviour's side
 was pierced, the *nails* that fastened him to the cross;

[o] BALUZII *Vita Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 247. 287.
 312. 887.—MURATORII *Antiquit. Ital.* tom. iii. p. 344. 481.

and the crown of thorns he wore at his death [p]. CENT. XIV. This, though evidently absurd, was nevertheless pardonable upon the whole, considering the gross ignorance and stupidity of the times. But nothing can excuse the impious fanaticism and superstition of BENEDICT XII. who, by appointing a festival in honour of the marks of CHRIST'S wounds, which, the Franciscans tell us, were imprinted upon the body of their chief and founder by a miraculous interposition of the divine power, gave credit to that grossly ridiculous and blasphemous fable. Pope JOHN XXII. besides the sanction he gave to many other superstitions, ordered Christians to add to their prayers those words with which the angel GABRIEL saluted the Virgin MARY. PART II: Prayers.

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the divisions and heresies that troubled the church during this century.

I. DURING some part of this century the *Hesychoasts*, or, as the Latins call them, the *Quietists*, gave the Greek church a great deal of trouble. To assign the true source of it we must observe, that BARLAAM, a native of *Calabria*, who was a monk of St. BASIL, and afterwards bishop of *Gieraci*, in *Calabria*, made a progress through *Greece* to inspect the behaviour of the monks, among whom he found many things highly reprehensible. He was more especially offended at the *Hesychoasts* of mount *Athos*, Controversies excited by the Quietists.

[p] See JO. HENR. A SEELEN, *Diff. de festo Lancee et clavorum Christi.*—BALUZII *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 328. *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 417.

CENT. in *Thessaly*, who were the same with the Mystics, or
 XIV. more perfect monks, and who, by a long course of
 PART II. intense contemplation, endeavoured to arrive at a
 —————
 tranquillity of mind entirely free from every degree
 of tumult and perturbation. These *Quietists*, in
 compliance with an ancient opinion of their principal
 doctors (who imagined that there was a celestial *light*
 concealed in the deepest retirements of the mind),
 used to sit every day, during a certain space of time,
 in a solitary corner, with their eyes eagerly and
 immoveably fixed upon the middle region of the
 belly, or navel; and boasted, that, while they
 remained in this posture, they found in effect, a
divine light beaming forth from the soul, which
 diffused through their hearts inexpressible sensations
 of pleasure and delight [q]. To such as inquired

[q] We have no reason to be surpris'd at, and much less to
 disbelieve, this account. For it is a fundamental rule with all
 those people in the eastern world, whether Christians, Mahome-
 tans, or Pagans (who maintain the necessity of abstracting the
 mind from the body, in order to hold communion with God,
 which is exactly the same thing with the *contemplative* and *mystic*
life among the Latins), that the eyes must be steadily fixed every
 way for some hours upon some particular object; and that he who
 complies with this precept will be thrown into an extasy, in
 which, being united to God, he will see wonderful things, and
 be entertained with ineffable delights. See what is said concerning
 the *Siamese* monks and *Mystics* by ENCEIB KÆMPFER, in his
History of Japan, tom. i. p. 30. and also concerning those of *India*,
 in the *Voyages of Bernier*, tom. ii. p. 127. Indeed, I can easily
 admit, that they who continue long in the abovementioned
 posture, will imagine they behold many things which no man in
 his senses ever beheld or thought of. For certainly the combi-
 nations they form of the unconnected notions that arise to their
 fancy, while they are in this odd and unnatural state, must
 be most singular and whimsical; and that so much the more,
 as the rule itself which prescribes the contemplation of a certain
 object as the means of arriving at a *union of the Soul*, absolutely
 forbids all use of the faculty of reason during that extatic and
 sublime interval. This total suspension of reason and reflection,
 during the period of contemplation, was not, however, peculiar
 to the eastern Quietists; the Latin Mystics observed the same
 rule, and inculcated it upon their disciples. And from hence

what kind of *light* this was, they replied, by way of illustration, that it was the *glory of God*, the same celestial radiance that surrounded CHRIST during his transfiguration on the mount. BARLAAM, entirely unacquainted with the customs and manners of the *Mystics*, looked upon all this as highly absurd and fanatical, and therefore stiled the monks, who adhered to this institution, *Massalians*, and *Euchites* [r], and also gave them the new name of *Umbilicani* [s]. On the other hand, GREGORY PALAMAS, archbishop of *Thessalonica*, defended the cause of these monks against BARLAAM [t].

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PART II.

II. In order to put an end to this dissension, a council was held at *Constantinople* in the year 1341, in which the emperor himself ANDRONICUS the younger, and the patriarch, presided. Here PALAMAS and the monks triumphed over BARLAAM, who was condemned by the council; whereupon he left *Greece*, and returned to *Italy*. Not long after this, another monk, named GREGORY ACINDYNUS, renewed the controversy, and, in opposition to the opinion maintained by PALAMAS, denied that God dwelt in an eternal light distinct from his essence, as also that such a light was beheld by the disciples on mount *Tabor*. The dispute was now no longer concerning the monks, but turned upon the light seen at mount *Tabor*, and also upon the nature and

The state of the controversy between the Helychasts and Barlaamites.

we may safely conclude, that the many surprising visions, of which these fanatics boast, are fables utterly destitute of reason and probability. But this is not the proper place for enlarging upon prodigies of this nature.

[r] The *Massalians* (so called from a Hebrew word which signifies *prayer*, as *Euchites* from a Greek word of the same signification) formed themselves into a sect, during the fourth century, under the reign of CONSTANTIUS. Their tenets resembled those of the Quietists in several respects.

[s] Ουραλόψυχοι.

[t] For an account of these two famous men, BARLAAM and GREGORY PALAMAS, see, in preference to all other writers, JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, *Biblioth. Græca*, tom. x. p. 427. and 454.

CENT. residence of the Deity. Nevertheless, he was
 XIV. condemned as a follower of BARLAAM, in another
 PART II. council held at *Constantinople*. Many assemblies
 were convened about this affair; but the most
 remarkable of them all, was that held in the year
 1351, in which the Barlaamites and their adherents
 received such a fatal wound, in consequence of the
 severe decrees enacted against them, that they were
 forced to yield, and leave the victory to PALAMAS.
 This prelate maintained, that God was incircled, as
 it were, with an *eternal light*, which might be styled
 his *energy* or *operation*, and was distinct from his
 nature and essence; and that he favoured the three
 disciples with a view of this light upon mount
Tabor. Hence he concluded, that this divine
operation was really different from the *substance* of
 the Deity; and further, that no Being could possibly
 partake of the divine *substance* or *essence*, but that
 finite natures might possess a share of his divine
 light, or *operation*. The Barlaamites, on the con-
 trary, denied these positions, affirming, that the
 properties and operations of the Deity were not
 different from his *essence*, and that there was really
 no difference between the attributes and essence of
 God, considered in themselves, but only in our
 conceptions of them, and reasonings upon them [u].

[u] See JO. CANTACUZENUS, *Historia*, lib. ii. cap. xxxix. p. 263. and GREGOR. PONTANUS. NICEPHORUS GREGORAS, *Historia Byzantina*, lib. xi. cap. x. p. 277. and in many other places. But these two writers disagree in many circumstances. Many materials relative to this controversy are yet unpublished (see MONTFAUCON, *Biblioth. Coisliniana*, p. 150. 174. 404.) Nor have we ever been favoured with an accurate and well-digested history of it. In the mean time, the reader may consult LEO ALLATIUS, *De perpetua consensione Orient. et Occid. ecclesie*, lib. ii. cap. xxii. p. 824.—HENR. CANISII *Lectiones Antiquae*, tom. iv. p. 361.—DION. PETAVIUS, *Dogmat. Theol.* tom. i. lib. i. cap. xii. p. 76.—STEPH. DE ALTIMURA, *Panoplia contra Schisma Græcor.* p. 381, &c.

III. In the Latin church the *inquisitors*, those active ministers and executioners of papal justice, extended their vigilance to every quarter, and most industriously hunted out the remains of those sects who opposed the religion of *Rome*, even the *Waldenses*, the *Catharists*, the *Apostolists*, and others; so that the history of these times abounds with numberless instances of persons who were burnt, or otherwise barbarously destroyed, by these unrelenting instruments of superstitious vengeance. But none of these enemies of the church gave the *inquisitors* and bishops so much employment of this bloody kind, as the *Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit*, who went under the common name of *Beghards* and *Beguines* in *Germany* and *Flanders*, and were differently denominated in other provinces. For as this sort of people professed an uncommon and sublime sort of devotion, endeavouring to call off men's minds from the external and sensible parts of religion, and to win them over to the inward and spiritual worship of God, they were greatly esteemed by many plain, well-meaning persons, whose piety and simplicity were deceived by a profession so seducing, and thus made many converts to their opinions. It was on this account that such numbers of this turn and disposition perished in the flames of persecution during this century in *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*.

CENT. XIV.
PART II.
The severity of the inquisition in the western world.

IV. This sect was most numerous in those cities of *Germany* that lay upon the *Rhine*, especially at *Cologne*, which circumstance induced HENRY I. archbishop of that diocese, to publish a severe edict against them, A. D. 1306 [w]; an example that was soon followed by the bishops of *Mentz*, *Triers*, *Worms*, and *Strafburg* [x]. And as there were some subtile acute men belonging to this party, that

Severe edicts against the Catharists, Beggards, Beguines, &c.

[w] See *Statuta Colonienſia*, published in 4to. at *Cologne*, A. D. 1554, p. 58.

[x] JOHANNIS *Scriptor. rerum Moguntinar.* tom. iii. p. 298.
—MARTENE, *Theſaur. Anecdotor.* tom. iv. p. 250.

CENT. eminently keen logician, JOHN DUNS SCOTUS [y],
 XIV. was sent to *Cologn*, in the year 1308, to dispute
 PART II. against them, and to vanquish them by dint of
 syllogism. In the year 1310, the famous MARGA-
 RET PORETTA, who made such a shining figure in
 this sect, was burnt at *Paris* with one of the brethren.
 She had undertaken to demonstrate in an elaborate
 treatise, *That the soul, when absorbed in the love of
 God, is free from the restraint of every law, and may
 freely gratify all its natural appetites, without con-
 tracting any guilt* [z]. Pope CLEMENT V. exasper-
 ated by this and other instances of the pernicious
 fanaticism that had got among this sect, published
 in a general council held at *Vienne*, A. D. 1311, a
 special constitution against the *Beggards* and *Beguines*
 of *Germany*. And though the edict only mentions
 imperfectly the opinions of this sect, yet, by the
 enumeration of them, we may easily perceive that
 the *Mystic brethren and sisters of the free spirit* are
 the persons principally intended [a]. CLEMENT,
 in the same council, issued another constitution, by
 which he suppressed another and a very different
 sort of *Beguines* [b], who had hitherto been con-
 sidered as a lawful and regular society, and lived every
 where in fixed habitations appropriated to their
 order, but were now corrupted by the fanatics
 above mentioned. For the *Brethren and Sisters of
 the free spirit* had insinuated themselves into the
 greatest part of the convents of the *Beguines*, where
 they inculcated with great success their mysterious and
 sublime system of religion to these simple women.
 And these simple women were no sooner initiated

[y] WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 108.

[z] LUC. DACHERII *Spicil. veter. Scriptor.* tom. iii. p. 63—
 JO. BALEUS, *De Scriptor. Britann. Centur.* iv. n. 88. p. 367.
 published in folio at *Basil*, A. D. 1557.

[a] It is extant in the *Corpus Juris Canon. inter Clementinas*,
 lib. v. tit. iii. *De Hereticis*, cap. iii. p. 1088.

[b] *In Jure Canonico inter Clementinas*, lib. iii. tit. xi. *De
 religiosis domibus*, cap. i. p. 1075. edit. Bohmer.

into this brilliant and chimerical system, than they were captivated with its delusive charms, and babbled, in the most absurd and impious manner, concerning the true worship of the Deity [c].

V. The *Brethren of the free spirit*, oppressed by so many severe edicts and constitutions, formed the design of removing from *Upper Germany* into the lower parts of the empire; and this emigration was so far put in execution, as that *Westphalia* was the only province which refused admission to these dispersed fanatics, and was free from their disturbances. This was owing to the provident measures of HENRY, archbishop of *Cologne*, who, having called a council, A. D. 1322, seriously admonished the bishops of his province of the approaching danger, and thus excited them to exert their utmost vigilance to prevent any of these people from coming into *Westphalia*. About the same time the *Beggards* [d] upon the *Rhine* lost their chief leader and champion, WALTER, a Dutchman, of remarkable eloquence, and famous for his writings, who came from *Mentz* to *Cologne*, where he was apprehended and burnt [e].

CENT.
XIV.
PART II.
Nevertheless, the Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit could not be extirpated.

[c] For this reason, in the German records of this century, we often find a distinction of the *Beguines* into those of the *right and approved class*, and those of the *sublime and free spirit*; the former of whom adhered to the public religion, while the latter were corrupted by the opinions of the *Mystics*.

[d] By *Beggards* here Dr. MOSHEIM means particularly the *Brethren of the free spirit*, who frequently passed under this denomination.

[e] JO. TRITHEMI *Annal. Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 155.—SCHATEN, *Annal. Paderborn.* tom. ii. p. 250.—This is that famous WALTER, whom so many ecclesiastical historians have represented as the founder of the sect of the *Lollards*, and as an eminent martyr to their cause. Learned men conclude all this and more from the following words of TRITHEMIUS. *But that same WALTER Lobareus* (so it stands in my copy, though I fancy it ought to have been *Lollhardus*; especially as TRITHEMIUS, according to the custom of his time, frequently uses this word when treating of the sects that dissented from the church) *a native of Holland, was not well versed in the Latin tongue.* I say, from

CENT. The death of this person was highly detrimental to
 XIV. the affairs of the *Brethren of the free spirit*, but did
 PART II. not, however, ruin their cause nor extirpate their
 ————— sect. For it appears from innumerable testimonies,
 that these people, for a long time afterwards, not
 only held their private assemblies at *Cologne*, and in
 many other provinces of *Germany*, but also that
 they had several men among them of high rank and
 great learning, of which number HENRY AYCARDUS,
 or ECCARD, a Saxon, was the most famous: He was a
 Dominican, and also the superior of that order in
Saxony; a man of a subtile genius, and one who had
 acquitted himself with reputation as professor of divinity
 at *Paris* [*f*]. In the year 1330, pope JOHN XXII.
 endeavoured to suppress this obstinate sect by a new
 and severe constitution, in which the errors of the
 sect of the *free spirit* are marked out in a more
 distinct and accurate manner than in the *Clementina*
 [*g*]. But his attempt was

this short passage, learned men have concluded that WALTER'S
 surname was *Lollhard*; from whence, as from its founder
 and master, they supposed his sect derived the name of
Lollards. But it is very evident, not only from this, but
 from many other passages of TRITHEMIUS, that *Lollhard*
 was no surname, but merely a term of reproach applied
 to all heretics whatever, who concealed the poison of
 error under the appearance of piety. TRITHEMIUS,
 speaking of the very same man, in a passage which
 occurs a little before that we have just quoted, calls
 him *the head of the Fratricelli*, or *Minorites*: but the
 term *Minorites* was a very extensive one, including
 people of various sects. This WALTER embraced
 the opinions of the *Mystics*, and was the principal
 doctor among those *Brethren of the free spirit*, who
 lived on the banks of the *Rhine*.

[*f*] See ECHARDI *Scriptor. Predicator.* tom. i. p. 507.—
 ODOR. RAYNALDUS, *Annal.* tom. xv. ad A. 1329. § lxx.
 p. 389.

[*g*] This new constitution of JOHN XXII. was never
 published entire. It began with the following words: *In
 agro Dominico, and was inscribed thus, contra singularia dubia,
 suspecta, et temeraria, quæ Beghardi et Beghine prædicant
 et observant.* We are favoured with a summary of it by
 HERM. CORNERUS, in *Chronico*, in ECCARDI *Corporè Histor.
 medii ævi*, tom. ii. p.

fruitless, the disorder continued, and was combated both by the inquisitors and bishops in most parts of *Europe* to the end of this century.

CENT.
XIV.
PART II.

VI. The *Clementina*, or constitution of the council of *Vienne* against the *Beguines*, or those female societies, who lived together in fixed habitations, under a common rule of pious discipline and virtuous industry, gave rise to a persecution of these people, which lasted till the reformation by LUTHER, and ruined the cause both of the *Beguines* and *Beggards* in many places. For though the pope, in his last constitution, had permitted pious women to live as nuns in a state of celibacy, with or without taking the vow, and refused a toleration only to such of them as were corrupted with the opinions of the *Brethren of the free spirit*; yet the vast number of enemies which the *Beguines* and *Beggards* had, partly among the mechanics, especially the weavers, and partly among the priests and monks, took a handle from the *Clementina* to molest the *Beguines* in their houses, to seize and destroy their goods, to offer them many other insults, and to involve the *Beggards* in the like persecution. The Roman pontiff, JOHN XXII. afforded the *Beguines* some relief under these oppressions, in the year 1324, by means of a special constitution, in which he gave a favourable explication of the *Clementina*, and ordered that the goods, chattels, habitations, and societies of the innocent *Beguines* should be preserved from every kind of violence and insult; which example of clemency and moderation was afterwards followed by other popes. On the other hand, the *Beguines* in hopes of disappointing more effectually the malicious attempts of their enemies, and avoiding their snares, embraced in many places the third rule of St. FRANCIS, and

The persecution of the *Beguines* and its tragical conclusion.

1035, 1036. It is also mentioned by PAUL LANGIUS, in *Chronico Citizenfi*, in JO. PISTORII *Scriptor. rerum German.* tom. i. p. 1206.

CENT. of the AUGUSTINES. Yet all these measures in
 XIV. their favour could not prevent the loss both of their
 PART II. reputation and substance; for from this time they
 were oppressed in several provinces by the magistrates,
 the clergy, and the monks, who had cast a greedy
 eye upon their treasures, and were extremely eager
 to divide the spoil [b].

The sect of
 the Flagel-
 lants ap-
 pears again.

VII. Some years before the middle of this century,
 while *Germany* and many other parts of *Europe* were
 distressed with various calamities, the *Flagellants*, a
 sect forgotten almost every where, and especially in
Germany, made their appearance anew, and,
 rambling through many provinces, occasioned great
 disturbances. These new *Flagellants*, whose enthu-
 siasm infected every rank, sex, and age, were much
 worse than the old ones. They not only supposed
 that God might be prevailed upon to shew mercy
 to those who underwent voluntary punishments, but
 propagated other tenets highly injurious to religion.
 They held, among other things, “ That flagellation
 “ was of equal virtue with baptism, and the other
 “ sacraments: that the forgiveness of all sins was to
 “ be obtained by it from God without the merits of
 “ JESUS CHRIST; that the old law of CHRIST was
 “ soon to be abolished, and that a new law, enjoining
 “ the baptism of blood, to be administered by
 “ whipping, was to be substituted in its place,” with
 other tenets more or less enormous than these;
 whereupon CLEMENT VII. thundered out anathemas
 against the *Flagellants*, who were burnt by the

[b] I have collected a great number of particulars relating to
 this long persecution of the *Beguines*. But the most copious of
 all the writers who have published any thing upon this subject,
 (especially if we consider his account of his persecution at *Basil*,
 and MULBERGIUS, the most inveterate enemy of the *Beguines*)
 is CHRISTIANUS WURSTISEN, or URSTISIUS, in his *Chronicum*
Basiliense, written in German, lib. iv. cap. ix. p. 201. published in
 folio at *Basil*, 1580. There are now in my hands, and also in
 many libraries, MSS. tracts of this celebrated MULBERGIUS,
 written against the *Beguines* in the following century.

inquisitors in several places. It was, however, found CENT. as difficult to extirpate them, as it had been to XIV. suppress the other sects of wandering fanatics PART II. [i].

VIII. Directly the reverse of this melancholy sect The sect of the Dancers was the merry one of the *Dancers*, which, in the year 1373, arose at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, from whence it spread through the district of *Liege*, *Hainault*, and other parts of *Flanders*. It was customary among these fanatics for persons of both sexes, publicly, as well as in private, to fall a dancing all of a sudden, and, holding each others hands, to continue their motions with extraordinary violence, till, being almost suffocated, they fell down breathless together; and they affirmed, that, during these intervals of vehement agitation, they were favoured with wonderful visions. Like the *Flagellants*, they wandered about from place to place, had recourse to begging for their subsistence, treated with the utmost contempt both the priesthood and the public rites and worship of the church, and held secret assemblies. Such was the nature, and such the circumstances of this new frenzy, which the ignorant clergy of this age looked upon as the work of evil demons, who possessed, as they thought, this dancing tribe. Accordingly the priests of *Liege* endeavoured to cast out the devils, which rendered these fanatics so merry, by singing hymns and applying fumigations of incense: and they gravely tell us, that the evil spirit was entirely vanquished by these powerful charms [k].

[i] See BALUZII *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 160. 316. 319. & *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 50.—MATTHÆI *Analec̄ta vet. ævi*, tom. i. p. 50. tom. iii. p. 241. tom. iv. p. 145.—HERM. GYGIS, *Flores tempor.* p. 139.

[k] See BALUZII *Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 485.—ANT. MATTHÆI *Analec̄ta vet. ævi*, tom. i. p. 51. where we find the following passage in the Belgic chronicle, which gives but an obscure account of the sect in question: *A.* 1374. *Gingen* DE

CENT.

XIV.

PART II.

The
Knights
Templars
extirpated.

IX. The most heinous and abominable tribe of heretics that infected this century (if the enormities, with which they stand charged, be true), were the *Knights Templars*, who had been established in *Palestine* about two hundred years before this period, and who are represented as enemies and deriders of all religion. Their principal accuser indeed was a person whose testimony ought not to be admitted without caution. This accuser was PHILIP the Fair, who addressed his complaints of the *Templars* to CLEMENT V. who was himself an avaricious, vindictive, and turbulent prince. The pope, though at first unwilling to proceed against them, was under a necessity of complying with the king's desire; so that, in the year 1307, upon an appointed day, and for some time afterwards, all the knights, who were dispersed throughout *Europe*, and not in the least apprehensive of any impending evil, were seized and imprisoned. Such of them as refused to confess the enormities of which they were accused, were put to death; and those who, by tortures and promises, were induced to acknowledge the truth of what was laid to their charge, obtained their liberty. In the year 1311, the whole order was extinguished by the council of *Vienne*. A part of the rich revenues they possessed was bestowed upon other orders, especially on the knights of St. JOHN, now of *Malta*, and the rest confiscated to the respective treasuries of the sovereign princes in whose dominions their possessions lay.

The intolerable impiety of the Knights Templars is assigned as the cause of this severity.

X. The *Knights Templars*, if their judges be worthy of credit, were a set of men who insulted the majesty of God, turned into derision the gospel of CHRIST, and trampled upon the obligation of all laws human and divine. For it is affirmed, that

DANSERS, and then in Latin, *Geas, impacata cadit, cruciata salvat*. The French *convulsionists* (or prophets), who in our age were remarkable for the vehemence and variety of their agitations, greatly resembled *these brethren and sister Dancers*.

candidates, upon their admission to this order, were CENT. commanded to spit, as a mark of contempt, upon an XIV. image of CHRIST; and that, after admission, they PART II. were bound to worship either a cat, or wooden head covered with gold. It is farther affirmed, that among them, the odious and unnatural act of sodomy was a matter of obligation; that they committed to the flames the unhappy fruit of their lawless amours; and added to these, other crimes too horrible to be mentioned, or even imagined. It will indeed be readily allowed that in this order, as in all the other religious societies of this age, there were shocking examples of impiety and wickedness; but that the whole order of the *Templars* was thus enormously corrupt, is so far from being proved, that the contrary may be concluded even from the acts and records, yet extant, of the tribunals before which they were tried and examined. If to this we add, that many of the accusations advanced against them flatly contradict each other, and that many members of this unfortunate order solemnly avowed their innocence, while languishing under the severest tortures, and even with their dying breath; it would seem probable that king PHILIP set on foot this bloody tragedy, with a view to gratify his avarice, and glut his resentment against the *Templars* [1],

A reflection concerning the crimes laid to their charge.

[1] See the *Acts* annexed to PUTEAN's *Histoire de la Condemnation des Templiers*, and other writings of his, relating to the history of *France*, published in 4to, at *Paris*, 1654. Another edition of this book was printed in 8vo, at *Paris*, 1685: another at *Brussels*, 1713, two volumes in 8vo. The fourth, and most valuable of all, was published in 4to, at *Brussels*, 1751, enlarged by the addition of a great number of proofs, by which every diligent and impartial reader will be convinced that the *Templars* were greatly injured. See also NICOLAI GURTLERI *Historia Templariorum*, *Amstelod.* 1703, in 8vo. If the reader has opportunity, he would do well to consult STEPH. BALUZIUS *Vit. Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 8, 11, 12, &c. GERM. DU BOIS, *Histor. Eccles. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 540. The principal cause of king PHILIP's indelible hatred against the *Templars*, was, that,

CENT. and especially against their grand master, who had
XIV. highly offended him.

PART II.

in his quarrel with BONIFACE VIII. the knights espoused the
cause of the pope, and furnished him with money to carry on the
war ; an offence this, which PHILIP could never pardon.

THE
FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

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CHAPTER I.

Concerning the prosperous events that happened to the Church during this century.

I. **T**HE new subjects, that were added to the kingdom of CHRIST in this century, are altogether unworthy of that sublime title, unless we prostitute it by applying it to those who made an external, though insincere, profession of Christianity. FERDINAND, surnamed the *Catholic*, by the conquest of *Granada* in the year 1492, entirely overturned the dominion of the Moors, or Saracens, in *Spain*. Some time after this happy revolution, he issued out a sentence of banishment against a prodigious multitude of Jews, who, to avoid the execution of this severe decree, dissembled their sentiments, and feigned an assent to the Gospel of CHRIST [a]: and it is well known that, to this very day, there are both in *Spain* and *Portugal* a great number of that dispersed and wretched people, who wear the outward mask of Christianity, to secure them against

CENT.

XV.

PART I.

—————
The Moors and Jews converted in *Spain* by force.

[a] JO. DE FERRERAS, *Hist. Generale d'Espagne*, tom. viii. p. 123. 132, &c.

CENT. the rage of persecution, and to advance their worldly
 XV. interests. The myriads of Saracens, that remained
 PART I. in *Spain* after the dissolution of their government,
 ————— were at first solicited by exhortations and entreaties
 to embrace the Gospel. When these gentle methods
 proved ineffectual to bring about their conversion,
 the famous XIMENES, archbishop of *Toledo*, and
 prime-minister of the kingdom, judged it expedient
 to try the force of the secular arm, in order to
 accomplish that salutary purpose. But even this
 rigorous measure was without the desired effect:
 the greatest part of the Mahometans persisted, with
 astonishing obstinacy, in their fervent attachment
 to their voluptuous prophet [b].

The Samo-
 getæ and
 Indians con-
 verted.

II. The light of the Gospel was also carried in
 this century among the Samogetæ and the neigh-
 bouring nations, but with less fruit than was expected
 [c]. Towards the conclusion of this age, the Por-
 tuguese, who cultivated with ardor and success the
 art of navigation, had penetrated as far as *Æthiopia*
 and the *Indies*. In the year 1492, CHRISTOPHER
 COLUMBUS, by discovering the islands of *Hispaniola*,
Cuba, and *Jamaica*, opened a passage into *America*
 [d], and after him AMERICUS VESPUTIUS, a citizen
 of *Florence*, landed on the continent of that vast
 region [e]. The new Argonauts, who discovered
 these nations that had been hitherto unknown to
 the inhabitants of *Europe*, judged it their duty to
 enlighten them with the knowledge of the truth.
 The first attempt of this pious nature was made by

[b] ESPRIT FLECHIER. *Histoire du Cardinal Ximenes*, p. 89.
 —GEDDES, *History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes*, in his
Miscellaneous Tracts, tom. i. p. 8.

[c] JO. HENRY HOTTINGER. *Hist. Ecclesiast. Sæc. xv.*
 p. 856.

[d] See CHARLEVOIX, *Histoire de l'Isle de St. Domingo*,
 tom. i. p. 64.

[e] See the *Life of Americus Vesputius*, written in Italian by
 the learned ANGELI MARIA BANDINI.

the Portuguese among those Africans, who inhabit the kingdom of *Congo*, and who, together with their monarch, were converted all of a sudden to the Roman faith in the year 1491 [f]. But what must we think of a conversion brought about with such astonishing rapidity, and of a people which all at once, without hesitation, abandon their ancient and inveterate prejudices? Has not such a conversion a ridiculous, or rather an afflicting, aspect? After this religious revolution in *Africa*, ALEXANDER VI. gave a rare specimen of papal presumption, in dividing *America* between the Portuguese and Spaniards; but shewed at the same time his zeal for the propagation of the Gospel, by the ardor with which he recommended to these two nations the instruction and conversion of the Americans, both in the isles and on the continent of that immense region [g]. In consequence of this exhortation of the pontiff, a great number of Franciscans and Dominicans were sent into these countries to enlighten their darkness, and the success of their missions is abundantly known [h].

[f] LABAT, *Relation de l'Ethiophe Occidentale*, tom. ii. p. 366:—JOS. FRANC. LAFITAU. *Histoire des decouvertes des Portugais dans le nouveau Monde*, tom. i. p. 72.

[g] See the *Bull* itself, in the *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. i. p. 466.

[h] See THOM. MARIA MAMACHIUS, *Orig. et Antiquitat. Christianar.* tom. ii. p. 326. where we have an account of the gradual introduction of the Christian religion into *America*.—See also WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. xv. p. 10.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the calamitous events that happened to the Church during this century.

CENT.

XV.

PART I.

The decline
of Christi-
anity in the
East.

I. **I**N the vast regions of the eastern world, Christianity lost ground from day to day, and the Mahometans, whether Turks or Tartars, united their barbarous efforts to extinguish its bright and salutary lustre. *Asiatic Tartary, Mogul, Tangut* and the adjacent provinces, where the religion of JESUS had long flourished, were now become the dismal seats of superstition, which reigned among them under the vilest forms. Nor in these immense tracts of land were there at this time any traces of Christianity visible, except in *China*, where the Nestorians still preserved some scattered remains of their former glory, and appeared like a faint and dying taper in the midst of a dark and gloomy firmament. That some Nestorian churches were still subsisting in these regions of darkness is undoubtedly certain; for in this century the Nestorian pontiff, in *Chaldea*, sent missionaries into *Cathay* and *China*, who were empowered to exercise the authority of bishops over the Christian assemblies, which lay concealed in the remoter provinces of these great empires. [i]. It is at the same time almost equally certain, that even these assemblies did not survive this century.

Constantino-
ple taken
by the
Turks.

II. The ruin of the Grecian empire was a new source of calamities to the Christian church in the greatest part of *Europe* and *Asia*. When the Turks, headed by MAHOMET II. an accomplished prince

[i] This circumstance was communicated to the author in a letter from the learned Mr. THEOPHILUS SIGIFRED BAYER, one of the greatest adepts in Eastern History and Antiquities, that this or any other age has produced.

and a formidable warrior, had made themselves masters of *Constantinople*, in the year 1453; the cause of Christianity received a blow from which it has never, as yet, recovered. Its adherents in these parts had no resources left, which could enable them to maintain it against the perpetual insults of their fierce and incensed victors; nor could they stem that torrent of barbarism and ignorance that rushed in with the triumphant arms of MAHOMET, and overspread *Greece* with a fatal rapidity. The Turks took one part of the city of *Constantinople* by force of arms; the other surrendered upon terms [k]. Hence it was, that in the former the public profession of the Gospel was prohibited, and every vestige of Christianity effaced; while the inhabitants of the latter were permitted to retain their churches and monasteries during the whole course of this century, and to worship God according to the precepts of the Gospel and the dictates of their consciences. This precious liberty was, indeed, considerably diminished under the reign of SELIM I. and the Christian worship was loaded with severe and despotic restrictions [l]. The outward form of the Christian church was not, indeed, either changed or destroyed by the Turks; but its lustre was eclipsed, its strength was undermined, and it was gradually extenuated to a mere shadow under their tyrannic empire. The Roman pontiff PIUS II. wrote a warm and urgent letter to MAHOMET II. to

☞ [k] In this account Dr. MOSHEIM has followed the Turkish writers. And indeed their account is much more probable than that of the Latin and Greek historians, who suppose, that the whole city was taken by force, and not by capitulation. The Turkish relation diminishes the glory of their conquest, and therefore probably would not have been adopted, had it not been true.

[l] DEMET. CANTEMIR, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tom. i. p. 11. 46. 54, 55.

CENT. persuade that prince to profess the Gospel; but
XV. this letter is equally destitute of piety and prudence
PART I. [m].

[m] BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article MAHOMET II.

P A R T II.

The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

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CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.

I. **T**HE Grecian and Oriental Muses languished under the despotic yoke of the Mahometans, their voices were mute, and their harps unstrung. The republic of letters had a quite different aspect in the Latin world, where the liberal arts and sciences were cultivated with zeal and spirit under the most auspicious encouragements, and recovered their ancient lustre and glory. Several of the popes became their zealous patrons and protectors, among whom NICHOLAS V. deserves an eminent and distinguished rank; the munificence and authority of kings and princes were also nobly exerted in this excellent cause, and animated men of learning and genius to display their talents. The illustrious family of the MEDICIS in *Italy* [n], ALPHONSUS VI. king of *Naples*, and the other Neapolitan monarchs of the

Learning flourishes among the Latins.

[n] We have a full account of the obligations which the republic of letters has to the family of MEDICIS, in a valuable work of JOSEPH BIANCHINI DE PRATO, *Del gran Duchi di Toscana della reale Casa de Medici, Protettori della Lettere et delle Belle Arti, Ragionamenti Historici*, published in folio at *Venice*, in 1741.

CENT. house of *Arragon* [o], acquired immortal renown
 XV. by their love of letters, their liberality to the learned,
 PART II. and their ardent zeal for the advancement of science.

Hence the academies that were founded in *Germany*,
France, and *Italy*, the libraries that were collected
 at a prodigious expence, and the honours and
 rewards that were proposed to the studious youth,
 to animate their industry by the views of interest and
 the desire of glory. To all these happy circumstances,
 in favour of the sciences, was now added an admirable
 discovery, which contributed as much as any
 thing else to their propagation, I mean the *art of*
printing, first with wooden, and afterwards with
 metal types, which was invented about the year
 1440, at *Mentz*, by JOHN GUTTEMBERG. By
 the succours of this incomparable art, the productions
 of the most eminent Greek and Latin writers, which
 had lain concealed, before this interesting period,
 in the libraries of the monks, were now spread
 abroad with facility, and perused by many, who
 could never have had access to them under their
 primitive form [p]. The perusal of these noble

[o] See GIANNONE, *Histoire Civile du Royaume de Naples*,
 tom. iii. p. 500. 628.—ANTON. PANORMITANI *Diſta et Facta*
memorabilia Alphonsi I. denuo Edita à JO. GERH. MEUSCHENIO
Vit. Erud. Viror. tom. ii. p. 1.

☞ [p] Dr. MOSHEIM decides here, that GUTTEMBERG of
Mentz was the first inventor of the art of printing; but this notion
 is opposed with zeal by several men of learning. Among the
 many treatises that have been published upon this subject, there
 is none composed with more erudition and judgment than that of
 professor SCHOEPFLIN of *Straßbourg*, in which the learned author
 undertakes to prove, that the art of printing, by the means of
 letters engraven on plates of wood, was invented at *Haerlem* by
 COSTER; that the method of printing, by moveable types, was
 the discovery of JOHN GUTTEMBERG, a discovery made during
 his residence at *Straßbourg*; and that the still more perfect manner
 of printing with types of metal cast in a mould, was the contri-
 vance of JOHN SCHOEFFER, and was first practised at *Mentz*.
 This learned work, in which the author examines the opinions
 of MARCHAND, FOURNIER, and other writers, was published

compositions purified the taste, excited the emulation of men of genius, and animated them with a noble ambition of excelling in the same way [q].

II. The downfall of the Grecian empire contributed greatly to the propagation and advancement of learning in the west. For, after the reduction of *Constantinople*, the most eminent of the Greek *Literati* passed into *Italy*, and were from thence dispersed into the other countries of *Europe*, where, to gain subsistence, these venerable exiles instructed every where the youth in Grecian erudition, and propagated throughout the western world the love of learning, and a true and elegant taste for the sciences. Hence it was, that every noted city and university possessed one or more of these learned Greeks, who formed the studious youth to literary pursuits [r]. But they received no where such encouraging marks of protection and esteem as in *Italy*, where they were honoured in a singular manner in various cities, and were more especially

CENT.
XV.
PART II.
The calamities of the Greeks conduce to the advancement of learning among the Latins.

in the year 1760 at *Strasbourg* under the following title: JO. DANIELIS SCHŒPFLINI *Consil. Reg. ac Franciæ Historiogr. VINDICIÆ TYPOGRAPHICÆ, &c.* *

[q] MICH. MATTAIRE, *Annales Typographici*.—PROSP. MARCHAND, *Histoire de l'Imprimerie, Haye, 1740*.

[r] JO. HENR. MAH *Vita Reuchlini*, p. 11. 13. 19. 28. 152, 153. 165.—CASP. BARTHIIUS *ad Statium*, tom. ii. p. 1008.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad.* tom. v. p. 692.

* So this note stands in the first edition of this History in 4to. Since that time, the very learned and ingenious Mr. GERARD MEERMAN, pensionary of *Rotterdam*, has published his laborious and interesting account of the origin and invention of the art of printing, under the following title: *Origines Typographicæ*, which sets this matter in its true light, by making certain distinctions unknown to the writers who have treated this subject before him. According to the hypothesis of this learned writer (an hypothesis supported by irresistible proofs), LAURENT. COSTER, of *Haerlem*, invented the moveable wooden types.—GENFLEISH and GUTTENBERG carved metallic types at *Mentz*, which, though superior to the former, were still imperfect, because often unequal.—SCHŒFFER perfected the invention at *Strasbourg*, by casting the types in an iron mould, or matrix, engraved with a puncheon. Thus the question is decided.—LAURENT. COSTER is evidently the inventor of printing; the others only rendered the art more perfect.

CENT. distinguished by the family of MEDICIS, whose
 XV. liberality to the learned had no bounds. It was
 PART II. consequently in *Italy* that these ingenious fugitives
 were most numerous; and hence that country
 became, in some measure, the centre of the arts and
 sciences, and the general rendezvous of all who were
 ambitious of literary glory [s].

Philology,
 poetry, and
 languages
 cultivated.

III. The greatest part of the learned men, who
 adorned at this time the various provinces of *Italy*,
 were principally employed in publishing accurate and
 elegant editions of the most eminent Greek and Latin
 authors, illustrating these authors with useful
 commentaries, in studying them as their models both
 in poetry and prose, and in casting light upon the
 precious remains of antiquity, that were discovered
 from day to day. In all these branches of literature,
 many arrived at such degrees of excellence, as it is
 almost impossible to surpass, and extremely difficult
 to equal. Nor were the other languages and sciences
 neglected. In the university of *Paris*, there was
 now a public professor, not only of the Greek, but
 also of the Hebrew tongue [t]; and in *Spain* and
Italy the study of that language, and of Oriental
 learning, and antiquities in general, was pursued
 with the greatest success [u]. JOHN REUCHLINUS,
 otherwise called CAPNION, and TRITHEMIUS,
 who had made a vast progress both in the study of
 the languages and of the sciences, were the restorers

[s] For a farther account of this interesting period of the
 History of Learning, the reader may consult the learned Work of
 HUMPHR. HODY, *De Græcis illustribus literarum Græcarum in
 Italia instauratoribus*, published in 8vo at *Leipsic*, in the year
 1750. To which may be added, SAM. BATTIERII *Oratio de
 instauratoribus Græcarum literarum*, published in the *Museum
 Helveticum*, tom. iv. p. 163.

[t] R. SIMON. *Critique de la Bibl. Eccles. par DU PIN*, tom.
 i. p. 502. 512.—BOULAY, *Histor. Paris.* tom. v. p. 852.

[u] PAULI COLUMESII *Italia Orientalis*, p. 4. et *Hispania
 Orientalis*, p. 212.

of solid learning among the *Germans* [w]; Latin poetry was revived by ANTONIUS PANORMITANUS, who excited a spirit of emulation among the favourites of the Muses, and had many followers in that sublime art [x]; while CYRIAC of *Ancona*, by his own example, introduced a taste for coins, medals, inscriptions, gems, and other precious monuments of antiquity, of which he himself made a large collection in *Italy* [y].

IV. It is not necessary to give here a peculiar and minute account of the other branches of literature that flourished in this century; nevertheless, the state of philosophy deserves a moment's attention. Before the arrival of the Greeks in *Italy*, ARISTOTLE reigned unrivalled there, and captivated, as it were by a sort of enchantment, all without exception, whose genius led them to philosophical enquiries. The veneration that was shewn him degenerated into a foolish and extravagant enthusiasm; the encomiums with which he was loaded surpassed the bounds of decency; and many carried matters so far as to compare him with the respectable precursor of the Messiah [z]. This violent passion for the Stagirite was however abated, or rather was rendered less universal, by the influence which the Grecian sages, and particularly GEMESTIUS PLETHO, acquired among the Latins, many of whom they persuaded to abandon the contentious and subtile doctrine of the Peripatetics, and to substitute in its place the mild

The state of
the Aristot-
telian and
Platonic
philosophy.

[w] R. SIMON, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. i. p. 262. tom. iv. p. 131. 140.

[x] BAYLE'S *Dictionary*, at the article PANORMIT.

[y] See the *Itinerarium* of CYRIAC of *Ancona*, published at *Florence* in the year 1742, in 8vo, by MR. LAWRENCE MEHUS, from the original manuscript, together with a Preface, Annotations, and several letters of this learned man, who may be considered as the first antiquarian that appeared in *Europe*.—See also LEON. ARETINI *Epistole*, tom. ii. lib. ix. p. 149.

[z] See CHRIST. AUG. HEUMANNI *Acta Philosophorum*, tom. iii. p. 345.

CENT. and divine wisdom of PLATO. It was in the year
 XV. 1439, about the time of the famous council of
 PART II. *Florence*, that this revolution happened in the empire
 of philosophy. Several illustrious personages among
 the Latins, charmed with the sublime sentiments
 and doctrines of PLATO, had them propagated
 among the studious youth, and particularly among
 those of a certain rank and figure. The most
 eminent patron of this *divine* philosophy, as it was
 termed by its votaries, was COSMO DE MEDICIS,
 who had no sooner heard the lectures of PLETHO,
 than he formed the design of founding a Platonic
 academy at *Florence*. For this purpose he ordered
 MARSILIUS FICINUS, the son of his first physician,
 to be carefully instructed in the doctrines of the
 Athenian sage, and, in general, in the language and
 philology of the Greeks, that he might translate
 into Latin the productions of the most renowned
 Platonists. FICINUS answered well the expectations,
 and executed the intentions of his illustrious patron,
 by translating successively into the Latin language
 the celebrated works of HERMES TRISMEGISTUS,
 PLOTINUS, and PLATO. The same excellent prince
 encouraged by his munificence, and animated by his
 protection, many learned men, such as AMBROSE of
Camaldoli, LEONARDO BRUNO, POGGE, and others,
 to undertake works of a like nature, even to enrich
 the Latin literature with translations of the best
 Greek writers. The consequence of all this was,
 that two philosophical sects arose in *Italy*, who
 debated for a long time (with the warmest animosity
 in a multitude of learned and contentious produc-
 tions) this important question, which of the two
 was the greatest philosopher, ARISTOTLE or PLATO
 [a]?

[a] BOUVIN, dans *L'Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. iv. p. 381.—LAUNOIS, *De varia fortuna Aristotelis*, p. 225.—LEO ALLATIUS, *De Georgius*, p. 391.—LA CROZE, *Entretiens sur divers Sujets*, p. 384.—JOSEPH

V. Between these two opposite factions, certain eminent men, among both Greeks and Latins, thought proper to steer a middle course. To this class belonged JOHANNES PICUS DE MIRANDOLA, BESSARION, HERMOLAUS BARBARUS, and others of less renown, who indeed considered PLATO as the supreme oracle of philosophy, but would by no means suffer ARISTOTLE to be treated with indifference or contempt, and who proposed to reconcile the jarring doctrines of these two famous Grecian sages, and to combine them into one system. These moderate philosophers, both in their manner of teaching, and in the opinions they adopted, followed the modern Platonic school, of which AMMONIUS was the original founder [b]. Their sect was, for a long time, held in the utmost veneration, particularly among the Mystics; while the scholastic doctors, and all such as were infected with the itch of disputing, favoured the Peripatetics. But, after all, these reconciling Platonists were chargeable with many errors and follies; they fell into the most childish superstitions, and followed, without either reflection or restraint, the extravagant dictates of their wanton imaginations.

VI. Their system of philosophy was, however, much less pernicious than that of the Aristotelians, their adversaries, who still maintained their superiority

CENT.
XV.
PART II.
The Platonic Syncretists.

The followers of Aristotle maintain their superiority.

BIANCHINI, in his account of the protection granted to the learned by the house of MEDICIS, which we have mentioned note [n]. —BRUCKERI *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. p. 62.

☞ It was not only the respective merit of these two philosophers, considered in that point of light, that was debated in this controversy: The principal question was, which of their systems was most conformable to the doctrines of Christianity? And here the Platonic most certainly deserved the preference, as was abundantly proved by PLETHO and others. It is well known, that many of the opinions of ARISTOTLE lead directly to atheism.

[b] See BESSARION'S Letter in the *Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. v. p. 456.—THOMASIUS, *De Syncretismo Peripatetico*, in *Orationibus* ejus, p. 340.

CENT. in *Italy*, and instructed the youth in all the public
 XV. schools of learning. For these subtle doctors, and
 PART II. more especially the followers of AVERROES (who
 maintained that all the human race were animated
 by one common soul) sapped imperceptibly the
 foundations of both natural and revealed religion,
 and entertained sentiments very little, if at all,
 different from that impious pantheistical system,
 which confounds the Deity with the universe, and
 acknowledges but one self-existent being, composed
 of *infinite matter* and *infinite intelligence*. The most
 eminent among this class of sophists was PETER
 POMPONACE, a native of *Mantua*, a man of a crafty
 turn, and an arrogant, enterprising spirit, who,
 notwithstanding the pernicious tendency of his
 writings (many of which are yet extant) to under-
 mine the principles, and to corrupt the doctrines of
 religion [c], was almost universally followed by all
 the professors of philosophy in the Italian academies.
 These intricate doctors did not, however, escape the
 notice of the inquisitors, who, alarmed both by the
 rapid progress and dangerous tendency of their
 metaphysical notions, took cognizance of them, and
 called the Aristotelians to give an account of their
 principles. The latter, tempering their courage
 with craft, had recourse to a mean and perfidious
 stratagem to extricate themselves out of this embar-
 rassing trial. They pretended to establish a wide
 distinction between philosophical and theological
 truth; and maintaining that their sentiments were
philosophically true, and conformable to right reason,
 they allowed them to be esteemed *theologically false*,
 and contrary to the declarations of the Gospel. This
 miserable and impudent subterfuge was condemned
 and prohibited in the following century by LEO X.
 in a council held at the Lateran.

[c] See the very learned BRUCKER'S *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iv, p. 153.

VII. The *Realists* and *Nominalists* continued their disputes in *France* and *Germany* with more vigour and animosity than ever, and finding reason and argument but feeble weapons, they had recourse to mutual invectives and accusations, penal laws, and even to the force of arms; a strange method surely, of deciding a metaphysical question. The contest was not only warm, but also universal in its extent; for it infected, almost without exception, all the *French* and *German* academies. In most places, however, the *Realists* maintained a manifest superiority over the *Nominalists*, to whom they also gave the appellation of *Terminists* [d]. While the famous *GERSON* and the most eminent of his disciples were living, the *Nominalists* were in high esteem and credit in the university of *Paris*. But, upon the death of these powerful and respectable patrons, the face of things was entirely changed, and that much to their disadvantage. In the year 1473, *LEWIS XI.* by the instigation of his confessor the bishop of *Avanches*, issued out a severe edict against the doctrines of the *Nominalists*, and ordered all their writings to be seized, and secured in a sort of imprisonment, that they might not be perused by the people [e]. But the same monarch mitigated this edict the year following, and permitted some of the books of that sect to be delivered from their confinement [f]. In the year 1481, he went much farther; and not only granted a full liberty to the *Nominalists* and their

CENT.
XV.
PART II.
The controversy between the Realists and Nominalists continued.

[d] See BRUCKER'S *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iii. p. 504.—JO. SALABERTI *Philosophia Nominalium Vindicata*, cap. i.—BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. iv. p. 531.—ARGENTRE, *Collectio documentor. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 220.

[e] NAUDE'S *Additions à l'Histoire de Louis XI.* p. 203.—DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. v. p. 678. 705. 708.—LAUNOY'S *Histor. Gymnas. Navarr.* tom. iv. opp. part I. p. 201. 378.

[f] BOULAY, *loc. cit.* tom. v. p. 710.

CENT. writings, but also restored that philosophical sect to
 XV. its former authority and lustre in the university [g].
 PAR II.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the doctors and ministers of the church, and its
 form of government, during this century.

I. **T**HE most eminent writers of this century unanimously lament the miserable condition to which the christian church was reduced by the corruption of its ministers, and which seemed to portend nothing less than its total ruin, if Providence did not interpose, by extraordinary means, for its deliverance and preservation. The vices that reigned among the Roman pontifs, and indeed among all the ecclesiastical orders, were so flagrant, that the complaints of these good men did not appear at all exaggerated, or their apprehensions ill-founded; nor had any of the corrupt advocates of the clergy the courage to call them to an account for the contents of their censures and of their complaints. Nay, the more eminent rulers of the church, who lived in a luxurious indolence, and the infamous practice of all kinds of vice, were obliged to hear with a placid countenance, and even to commend, these bold censors, who declaimed against the degeneracy of the church, declared that there was almost nothing found either in its visible head, or in its members, and demanded the aid of the secular arm, and the destroying sword, to lop off the parts

[g] The proofs of this we find in SALABERT'S *Philosophia Nominal. Vindicata* cap. i. p. 104.—See also BOULAY, *loc. cit.* tom. v. p. 739. 747.

that were infected with this grievous and deplorable contagion. Things, in short, were brought to such a pass, that they were deemed the best Christians, and the most useful members of society, who, braving the terrors of persecution, and triumphing over the fear of man, inveighed with the greatest freedom and fervor against the court of *Rome*, its lordly pontif, and the whole tribe of his followers and votaries.

II. At the commencement of this century, the Latin church was divided into two great factions, and was governed by two contending pontiffs, BONIFACE IX. who remained at *Rome*, and BENEDICT XIII. who resided at *Avignon*. Upon the death of the former, the *Cardinals* of his party raised to the pontificate, in the year 1404, COSMAT DE MELIORATI, who assumed the name of INNOCENT VII. [*b*], and held that high dignity during the short space of two years only. After his decease, ANGELI CORRARIO, a Venetian cardinal, was chosen in his room, and ruled the Roman faction under the title of GREGORY XII. A plan of reconciliation was however formed, and the contending pontiffs bound themselves, each by an oath, to make a voluntary renunciation of the papal chair, if that step were necessary to promote the peace and welfare of the church; but they both violated this solemn obligation in a scandalous manner. BENEDICT XIII. besieged in *Avignon* by the king of *France*, in the year 1408, saved himself by flight, retiring first into *Catalonia*, his native country, and afterwards to *Perpignan*. Hence eight or nine of the cardinals,

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The great western schism formed and continued.

[*b*] Besides the ordinary writers, who have given us an account of the transactions that happened under the pontificate of INNOCENT VII. see LEON. ARETIN. *Epistol.* lib. i. ep. iv. v. p. 6. 19. 21. lib. ii. p. 30. et COLLUC. SALUTAT. *Epistol.* lib. ii. ep. i. p. 1. 18. edit. *Florent.*—We have also an account of the pontificate of GREGORY, in the *Epistles* of the same ARETIN, lib. ii. iii. p. 32. ep. vii. p. 30. 41. 51. lib. ii. ep. xvii. p. 54. 56. 59.—JO. LAMI *Deliciae Eruditorum*, tom. x. p. 494.

CENT. who adhered to his cause, seeing themselves deserted
 XV. by their pope, went over to the other side, and;
 PART II. joining publicly with the cardinals of GREGORY XII.
 they agreed together to assemble a council at *Pisa* on the 25th of March, 1409, in order to heal the divisions and factions that had so long rent the papal empire. This council, however, which was designed to close the wounds of the church, had an effect quite contrary to that which was universally expected, and only served to open a new breach, and to excite new divisions. Its proceedings, indeed, were vigorous, and its measures were accompanied with a just severity. A heavy sentence of condemnation was pronounced the 5th day of June, against the contending pontiffs, who were both declared guilty of heresy, perjury, and contumacy, unworthy of the smallest tokens of honour or respect, and separated *ipso facto* from the communion of the church. This step was followed by the election of *one* pontiff in their place. The election was made on the 25th of June, and fell upon PETER of CANDIA, known in the papal list by the name of ALEXANDER V. [*i*]; but all the decrees and proceedings of this famous council were treated with contempt by the condemned pontiffs, who continued to enjoy the privileges and to perform the functions of the papacy, as if no attempts had been made to remove them from that dignity. BENEDICT assembled a council at *Perpignan*; and GREGORY, another at *Austria* near *Aquileia*, in the district of *Friuli*. The latter, however, apprehending the resentment of the Venetians [*k*], made his escape in a clandestine manner

[*i*] See LENFANT's *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, published in 4to at *Amsterdam*, in the year 1724.—FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Pontif. Romanor.* tom. iv. p. 350.—BOSSUET, *Defensio Decreti Gallicani de Potestate Ecclesiastica*, tom. ii. p. 17, &c.

[*k*] He had offended the Venetians by deposing their patriarch ANTONY PANCIARINI, and putting ANTONY DU PONT, the bishop of *Concordia*, in his place.

from the territory of *Aquileia*, arrived at *Caieta*, where he threw himself upon the protection of LADISLAUS, king of *Naples*, and, in the year 1412, fled from thence to *Rimini*.

III. Thus was the Christian church divided into three great factions, and its government violently carried on by three contending chiefs, who loaded each other with reciprocal maledictions, calumnies, and excommunications. ALEXANDER V. who had been elected pontiff at the council of *Pisa*, died at *Bologna* in the year 1410; and the sixteen cardinals, who attended him in that city, immediately filled up the vacancy, by chusing as his successor BALTHASAR COSSA, a Neapolitan, who was destitute of all principles both of religion and probity, and who assumed the title of JOHN XXIII. The duration of this schism in the papacy was a source of many calamities, and became daily more detrimental both to the civil and religious interests of those nations where the flame raged. Hence it was, that the emperor SIGISMUND, the king of *France*, and several other European princes, employed all their zeal and activity, and spared neither labour nor expence, in restoring the tranquillity of the church, and uniting it again under one spiritual head. On the other hand, the pontiffs could not be persuaded by any means to prefer the peace of the church to the gratification of their ambition; so that no other possible method of accommodating this weighty matter remained, than the assembling of a general council, in which the controversy might be examined, and terminated by the judgment and decision of the universal church. This council was accordingly summoned to meet at *Constance*, in the year 1414, by JOHN XXIII. who was engaged in this measure by the entreaties of SIGISMUND, and also from an expectation, that the decrees of this grand assembly would be favourable to his interests. He appeared in person, attended with a great number of cardinals and bishops, at this

The council of *Constance* assembled by the emperor Sigismund.

CENT. famous council, which was also honoured with the
 XV. presence of the emperor SIGISMUND, and of a great
 PART II. number of German princes, and with that of the
 ——— ambassadors of all the European states, whose
 monarchs or regents could not be personally present
 at the decision of this important controversy [l].

The design
 and issue of
 this grand
 council.

IV. The great purpose that was aimed at in the
 convocation of this grand assembly, was the healing
 of the schism that had so long rent the papacy; and this
 purpose was happily accomplished. It was solemnly
 declared in the fourth and fifth sessions of this council,
 by two decrees, that the Roman pontiff was inferior
 and subject to a general assembly of the universal
 church; and the authority of councils was vindicated
 and maintained, by the same decrees, in the most
 effectual manner [m]. This vigorous proceeding
 prepared the way for the degradation of JOHN
 XXIII. who, during the twelfth session, was unani-
 mously deposed from the pontificate [n], on account
 of several flagitious crimes that were laid to his charge,

[l] The *Acts* of this famous council were published in six
 volumes in folio, at *Francfort*, in the year 1700, by HERMAN
 van der HARDT. This collection, however, is imperfect, not-
 withstanding the pains that it cost the laborious editor. Many
 of the *Acts* are omitted, and a great number of pieces stuffed
 among the *Acts*, which by no means deserve a place there. The
 history of this council by LENFANT is composed with great
 accuracy and elegance. It appeared in a second edition at
Amsterdam, in the year 1728, in two volumes, quarto; the first
 was published in 1714. The Supplement, that was given to
 this history by BOURGEOIS DE CHASTENET, a French lawyer,
 is but an indifferent performance. It is entitled, *Nouvelle Histoire*
du Concile de Constance, où l'on fait voir combien la France a
contribué à l'extinction du Schisme.

[m] For an account of these two famous decrees, which set
 such wise limits to the supremacy of the pontiffs, See NATALIS
 ALEXAND. *Hist. Eccl. Sac. xv. Diss. iv.*—BOSSUET, *Defens.*
Sententie Cleri Gallican. de Poesst. Ecclesiast. tom. ii. p. 2. 23.—
 LENFANT, *Dissert. Historique et Apologetique pour Jean Gerson,*
et le Concile de Constance, which is subjoined to his history of that
 council.

[n] On the 29th of May, 1415.

and more especially on account of the scandalous violation of a solemn engagement he had taken about the beginning of the council, to resign the papal chair, if that measure should appear necessary to the peace of the church; which engagement he broke some weeks after by a clandestine flight. In this same year (1415), GREGORY XII. sent to the council of CHARLES DE MALATESTA to make, in his name, and as his proxy, a solemn and voluntary resignation of the pontificate. About two years after this, BENEDICT XIII. was deposed by a solemn resolution of the council [o], and OTTA DE COLONNA raised, by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals, to the high dignity of head of the church, which he ruled under the title of MARTIN V. BENEDICT, who resided still at *Perpignan*, was far from being disposed to submit either to the decree of the council, which deposed him, or to the determination of the cardinals with respect to his successor. On the contrary, he persisted until the day of his death, which happened in the year 1423, in assuming the title, the prerogatives, and the authority of the papacy. And when this obstinate man was dead, a certain Spaniard, named GILES MUNIOS, was chosen pope in his place by two cardinals, under the auspicious patronage of ALPHONSUS, king of *Sicily*, and adopted the title of CLEMENT VIII.; but this sorry pontiff, in the year 1429, was persuaded to resign his pretensions to the papacy, and to leave the government of the church to MARTIN V.

V. If, from the measures that were taken in this council to check the lordly arrogance of the Roman pontiffs, we turn our eyes to the proceedings that were carried on against those that were called *heretics*, we shall observe in this new scene nothing worthy of applause, but several things, on the contrary, that are proper to excite our indignation

[o] On the 26th of July, 1417.

CENT. and which no pretext, no consideration, can render
 XV. excusable. Before the meeting of this council there
 PART II. were great commotions raised in several parts of
 Europe, and more especially in *Bohemia*, concerning religious matters. One of the persons that gave occasion to these disputes was JOHN HUSS, who lived at *Prague* in the highest reputation, both on account of the sanctity of his manners and the purity of his doctrine, who was distinguished by his uncommon erudition and eloquence, and performed, at the same time, the functions of professor of divinity in the university, and of ordinary pastor in the church of that famous city [p]. This eminent ecclesiastic declaimed with vehemence against the vices that had corrupted all the different ranks and orders of the clergy; nor was he singular in this respect; such remonstrances were become very common, and they were generally approved of by the wise and good. HUSS, however, went still farther; and, from the year 1408, used his most earnest and assiduous endeavours to withdraw the university of *Prague* from the jurisdiction of GREGORY XII. whom the kingdom of *Bohemia* had hitherto acknowledged as the true and lawful head of the church. The archbishop of *Prague*, and the clergy in general, who were warmly attached to the interests of GREGORY, were greatly exasperated at these proceedings. Hence arose a violent quarrel between the incensed prelate and the zealous reformer, which the latter inflamed and augmented, from day to day, by his pathetic exclamations against the court of *Rome*, and

☞ [p] A Bohemian jesuit, who was far from being favourable to JOHN HUSS, and who had the best opportunity of being acquainted with his real character, describes him thus: *He was more subtle than eloquent; but the gravity and austerity of his manners, his frugal and exemplary life, his pale and meagre countenance, his sweetness of temper, and his uncommon affability towards persons of all ranks and conditions, from the highest to the lowest, were much more persuasive than any eloquence could be.* See BOHUS. BALBINUS, *Epitom. Rer. Bohem.* lib. iv. cap. v. p. 431.

the corruptions that prevailed among the Sacerdotal order. CENT.

VI. Such were the circumstances that first excited the resentment of the clergy against JOHN HUSS. This resentment, however, might have been easily calmed, and perhaps totally extinguished, if new incidents of a more important kind had not arisen to keep up the flame, and increase its fury. In the first place, he adopted the philosophical opinions of the *Realists*, and shewed his warm attachment to their cause, in the manner that was usual in this barbarous age, even by persecuting to the utmost of his power their adversaries the *Nominalists*, whose number was great, and whose influence was considerable in the university of *Prague* [q]. He also multiplied the number of his enemies in the year 1408, by procuring, through his great credit, a sentence in favour of the Bohemians, who disputed with the Germans concerning the number of suffrages, that their respective nations were entitled to in all matters that were carried by election in the university of *Prague*. That the nature of this contest may be better understood, it will be proper to observe, that this famous university was divided, by its founder CHARLES IV. into four nations, to wit, the Bohemians, Bavarians, Poles, and Saxons, of which, according to the original laws of the university, the first had *three suffrages*; and the other three, who were comprehended under the title of the *German nation*, only *one*. This arrangement, however, had not only been altered by custom, but was entirely inverted

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The reasons that excited the resentment of the clergy against John Huss.

[q] See the *Littere Nominalium ad Regem Francie Ludovicum VI.* in BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. iv. p. 534, where we read the following passage: *Legimus Nominales expulsos de Bohemia eo tempore, quo heretici voluerunt Bohemicum Regnum suis heresibus inficere.—Quum dicti heretici non possent disputando superare impetraverunt ab Abbisselao (Wenceslao) Principe Bohemie, ut gubernarentur studia Pragensia ritu Parisiensium. Quo edito coacti sunt supradicti Nominales Pragam civitatem relinquere, et se transfulerunt ad Lipsicam civitatem, et ibidem erexerunt universitatem solemnissimam.*

CENT. in favour of the Germans, who were vastly superior
 XV. to the Bohemians in number, and assumed to them-
 PART II. selves the three suffrages, which, according to the
 original institution of the university, belonged, un-
 doubtedly, to the latter. HUSS, therefore, whether
 animated by a principle of patriotism, or by an
 aversion to the *Nominalists*, who were peculiarly
 favoured by the Germans, raised his voice against
 this abuse, and employed, with success, the extraor-
 dinary credit he had obtained at court, by his
 flowing and masculine eloquence, in depriving the
 Germans of the privilege they had usurped, and in
 reducing their three suffrages to one. The issue of
 this long and tedious contest [*r*] was so offensive to
 the Germans, that a prodigious number of them,
 with JOHN HOFFMAN the rector of the university
 at their head [*s*], retired from *Prague*, and repaired
 to *Leipsic*, where FREDERICK, surnamed the *Wise*,
 elector of *Saxony*, erected for them in the year
 1409, the famous academy which still subsists in
 a flourishing state. This event contributed greatly
 to render HUSS odious to many, and, by the
 consequences that followed it, was certainly instru-
 mental in bringing on his ruin. For no sooner had
 the Germans retired from *Prague*, than he began,
 not only to inveigh with greater freedom than
 he had formerly done against the vices and corrup-
 tions of the clergy, but even went so far as to
 recommend, in an open and public manner, the

☞ [*r*] WENCESLAUS, king of *Bohemia*, who was bribed by
 both of the contending parties, protracted instead of abridging
 this dispute, and used to say with a smile, that he found a good
goose, which laid every day a considerable number of gold and silver
 eggs. This was playing upon the word *Huss*, which, in the
 German language, signifies a *goose*.

☞ [*s*] Historians differ much in their accounts of the number
 of Germans that retired from the university of *Prague* upon this
 occasion. *Æneas Sylvius* reckons 5000, *Tritheimius* and others
 2000, *Dubravius* 24,000, *Lupatius* 44,000, *Landa*, a contem-
 porary writer, 36,000.

writings and opinions of the famous WICKLIFF, CENT. XV. whose new doctrines had already made such a noise in *England*. Hence an accusation was brought against him, in the year 1410, before the tribunal of JOHN XXIII. by whom he was solemnly expelled from the communion of the church. He treated, indeed, this excommunication with the utmost contempt, and, both in his conversation, and in his writings, laid open the disorders that preyed upon the vitals of the church, and the vices that dishonoured the conduct of its ministers [t]; and the fortitude and zeal he discovered in this matter were almost universally applauded.

VII. This eminent man, whose piety was truly fervent and sincere, though his zeal perhaps was rather too violent, and his prudence not always equally circumspect, was summoned to appear before the council of *Constance*. Obedient to this order, and thinking himself secured from the rage of his enemies, by the safe-conduct which had been granted him by the emperor SIGISMUND, both for his journey to *Constance*, his residence in that place, and his return to his own country, JOHN HUSS appeared before the council, to demonstrate his innocence, and to prove that the charge of his having deserted the church of *Rome* was entirely groundless. And it may be affirmed with truth, that his religious opinions, at least in matters of moment and importance, were conformable to the established doctrine of the church in this age [u]. He declaimed,

John Huss
is burned
alive.

[t] See LAUR. BYZINII *Diarium Belli Hussitici*, in LUDWIG'S *Reliquie Manuscriptorum*, tom. vi. p. 127.

[u] It was observed in the preceding section, that JOHN HUSS adopted with zeal, and recommended in an open and public manner the writings and opinions of WICKLIFF; but this must be understood of the writings and opinions of that great man in relation to the papal hierarchy, the despotism of the court of *Rome*, and the corruption of the clergy; for, in other respects, it is certain that he adhered to the most superstitious doctrines of the church, as appears by two sermons he had prepared for the council of *Constance*.

CENT. indeed, with extraordinary vehemence against the
 xv. Roman pontiffs, the bishops and monks; but this
 PART II. freedom was looked upon as lawful in these times,
 and it was used every day in the council of *Constance*,
 where the tyranny of the court of *Rome*, and the
 corruption of the sacerdotal and monastic orders,
 were censured with the utmost severity. The
 enemies, however, of this good man who were very
 numerous both in the kingdom of *Bohemia*, and also
 in the council of *Constance*, coloured the accusation
 that was brought against him with such artifice and
 success, that by the most scandalous breach of public
 faith, he was cast into prison, declared a heretic,
 because he refused to obey the order of the council,
 which commanded him to plead guilty against the
 dictates of his conscience, and was burnt alive the
 6th of July, 1415; which dreadful punishment he
 endured with unparalleled magnanimity and resigna-
 tion, expressing in his last moments the noblest
 feelings of love to God, and the most triumphant
 hope of the accomplishment of those transporting
 promises with which the gospel arms the true
 Christian at the approach of eternity. The same
 unhappy fate was borne with the same pious fortitude
 and constancy of mind by *JEROME* of *Prague*, the
 intimate companion of *JOHN HUSS*, who came to
 this council with the generous design of supporting
 and seconding his persecuted friend. Terrified by
 the prospect of a cruel death, *JEROME* at first
 appeared willing to submit to the orders of the
 council, and to abandon the tenets and opinions
 which it had condemned in his writings. This
 submission, however, was not attended with the
 advantages he expected from it, nor did it deliver
 him from the close and severe confinement in which
 he was kept. He therefore resumed his fortitude,
 professed anew, with an heroic constancy, the opinions
 which he had deserted for a while from a principle
 of fear, and maintained them in the flames, in

which he expired on the 30th of May 1416 CENT.
[w].

Many learned men have endeavoured to investigate the reasons that occasioned the pronouncing such a cruel sentence against Huss and his associate; and as no adequate reasons for such a severe proceeding can be found, either in the life or opinions of that good man, they conclude, that he fell a victim to the rage and injustice of his unrelenting enemies. And indeed this conclusion is both natural and well-grounded; nor will it be difficult to shew how it came to pass, that the reverend fathers of the council of *Constance* were so eagerly bent upon burning, as a heretic, a man who neither deserved such an injurious title, nor such a dreadful fate. In the *first place*, JOHN HUSS had excited, both by his discourse and by his writings, great commotions in *Bohemia*, and had rendered the clergy of all ranks and orders extremely odious in the eyes of the people. The bishops, therefore, together with the sacerdotal and monastic orders, were very sensible, that their honours and advantages, their credit and authority, were in the greatest danger of being reduced to nothing, if this reformer should return again to his country, and continue to write and declaim against the clergy with the same freedom that he had formerly done. Hence they left no means unemployed to accomplish his ruin; they laboured night and day, they formed plots, they bribed men in power, they used, in short, every method that could have any tendency to rid them of such a formidable adversary [x]. It may

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The true cause of these violent proceedings against John Huss and Jerome of Prague

☞ [w] The translator has here inserted into the text the large note [a] of the original, which relates to the circumstances that precipitated the ruin of these two eminent reformers: and he has thrown the citations therein contained into several notes.

[x] The bribery and corruption that was employed in bringing about the ruin of JOHN HUSS, are manifest from the following remarkable passages of the *Diarium Hussiticum* of LAUR. BYZINIUS, p. 135. (see LUDEWIGI *Reliquia*, tom. vi.) *Clerus perversus precipue in regno Bohemix et Marchionatu Moravia, condemnationem*

CENT. be observed, *secondly*, that, in the council of *Constance*,
 XV. there were many men of great influence and weight,
 PART II. who looked upon themselves as personally offended
 by JOHN HUSS, and who demanded his life as the
 only sacrifice that could satisfy their vengeance.
 HUSS, as has been already mentioned, was not only
 attached to the party of the *Realists*, but was pecu-
 liarly severe in his opposition to their adversaries.
 And now he was so unhappy as to be brought before
 a tribunal which was principally composed of the
Nominalists, with the famous JOHN GERSON at their
 head, who was the zealous patron of that faction,
 and the mortal enemy of HUSS. Nothing could
 equal the vindictive pleasure the *Nominalists* felt from
 an event that put this unfortunate prisoner in their
 power, and gave them an opportunity of satisfying
 their vengeance to the full; and accordingly, in
 their *Letter* to LEWIS, king of *France* [y], they do
 not pretend to deny that HUSS fell a victim to the
 resentment of their sect, which is also confirmed by
 the history of the council of *Constance*. The animos-
 ities that always reigned among the *Realists* and
Nominalists were at this time carried to the greatest
 excess imaginable. Upon every occasion that offered,
 they accused each other of heresy and impiety, and
 had constantly recourse to corporal punishments to
 decide the matter. The *Nominalists* procured the

*ipsum (Huss) CONTRIBUTIONE PECUNIARUM, et modis aliis
 diversis procuravit et ad ipsum consensit interitum.* And again, p. 150.
*Clerus perversus regni Bohemie et Marchionatus Moravia, et præ-
 cique Episcopi, Abbates, Canonici, plebani, et religiosi ipsius fideles ac
 scholiferas admonitiones, adhortationes, ipsorum pompam, symoniam,
 avaritiam, fornicationem, vitæque detestandæ abominationem detegentes,
 ferre non valendo, PECUNIARUM CONTRIBUTIONE ad ipsum
 extinctionem faciendõ procurarunt.*

[y] See DALUZZI *Miscell.* tom. iv. p. 534, in which we find
 the following passage: *Sustulit Deus Doctores catholicos, Petrum
 de Albyaco, Johannem de Gersono, et alios quam plures doctissimos
 homines Nominales, qui convocati ad Concilium Constantiense, ad
 quod citati fuerunt hæretici, et nominatim Hieronymus et Johannes—
 ditos hæreticos per quadraginta dies disputando superaverant.*

death of HUSS, who was a *Realist*: and the *Realists*, on the other hand, obtained, in the year 1479, the condemnation of JOHN DE WESALIA, who was attached to the party of the *Nominalists* [z]. These contending sects carried their blind fury so far as to charge each other with the sin against the Holy Ghost [a], and exhibited the most miserable spectacle of inhuman bigotry to the Christian world. The aversion which JOHN HUSS and JEROME, his companion, had against the Germans, was a *third* circumstance that contributed to determine their unhappy fate. This aversion they declared publicly at *Prague*, upon all occasions, both by their words and actions; nor were they at any pains to conceal it even in the council of *Constance*, where they accused them of presumption and despotism in the strongest terms [b]. The Germans, on the other hand, remembering the affront they had received in the

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[z] See the *Examen Magistralis, et Theologicale Mag. Joh. de Wesalia*, in ORTUINI GRATHI *Fasciculis rerum expiend. et fugiendar.* Colon. 1535, *Fol.* 163.

[a] In the *Examen* mentioned in the preceding note, we find the following striking passage, which may shew us the extravagant length to which the disputes between the *Nominalists* and *Realists* were now carried: *Quis nisi ipse Diabolus seminavit illam zizaniam inter Philosophos et inter Theologos, ut tanta sit dissensio, etiam animorum inter diversa opinantes? Audeo ut si universalia quisquam Realia negaverit, existimetur IN SPIRITUM SANCTUM PECCAVISSE, immo summo et maximo peccato plenus creditur contra Deum, contra Christianam religionem, contra justitiam, contra omnem bonitatem graviter deliquisse. Unde hec cecitas mentis nisi a Diabolo, qui phantasias nostras illudit?* We see by this passage that the *Realists* charged their adversaries (whose only crime was the absurdity of calling *universal ideas* mere *denominations*) with sin against the Holy Ghost, with transgression against God, and against the Christian religion, and with a violation of all the laws of justice and civil polity.

[b] See THEOD. DE NIEM, *Inventus in Joh. XXIII.* in HASDTH *Actis Concilii Constant.* tom. ii. p. 450. *Improberebat etiam in publico Alamannis, dicens, quod essent perjurissimi & volentes ubique per orbem dominari. . . . Sicque fidem suam saepe in Bohemia, ubi volentes etiam dominari Alamanni violenter a cunctis repulsi & MALE TRACTATI fuissent.*

CENT. university of *Prague* by the means of JOHN HUSS,
 xv. burned with resentment and rage both against him
 PART II. and his unfortunate friend; and as their influence
 and authority were very great in the council, there
 is no doubt that they employed them, with the utmost
 zeal, against these two formidable adversaries. Be-
 sides, JOHN HOFFMAN, the famous rector of the
 university of *Prague*, whom HUSS had been the
 occasion of expelling from that city together with the
 Germans, and who was in consequence thereof become
 his most virulent enemy, was consecrated bishop of
Misnia in the year 1413, and held in this council
 the most illustrious rank among the delegates of the
 German church. This circumstance was also most
 unfavourable to HUSS, and was, no doubt, in the
 event detrimental to his cause.

The circumstances now mentioned, as contributing to the unhappy fate of this good man, are, as we see, all drawn from the resentment and prejudices of his enemies, and have not the least colour of equity. It must, however, be confessed, that there appeared one *mark of heresy* in the conduct of this reformer, which, according to the notions that prevailed in this century, might expose him to condemnation with some shadow of reason and justice; I mean, his inflexible obstinacy, which the church of *Rome* always considered as a grievous *heresy*, even in those whose errors were of little moment. We must consider this man, as called before a council, which was supposed to represent the universal church, to confess his faults and to abjure his errors. This he obstinately refused to do, unless he was previously convicted of error; here, therefore, he resisted the authority of the *catholic church*, demanded a rational proof of the justice of the sentence it had pronounced against him, and intimated with sufficient plainness, that he looked upon the church as *fallible*. All this certainly was most enormously criminal and intolerably

heretical, according to the general opinion of the CENT. times. For it became a *dutiful* son of the church XV. to renounce his eye-sight, and to submit both his JUDGMENT and his will, without any exception or reservation, to the judgment and will of that holy mother, under a firm belief and entire persuasion of the infallibility of all her decisions. This ghostly mother had, for many ages past, followed, whenever her unerring perfection and authority were called in question, the rule which PLINY observed in his conduct towards the Christians. “When they persevered, *says he in his letter to TRAJAN* [c], I put my threats into execution, from a persuasion that whatever their confession might be, their audacious and invincible obstinacy deserved an exemplary punishment.”

VIII. Before sentence had been pronounced against JOHN HUSS and JEROME of *Prague*, the famous WICKLIFF, whose opinions they were supposed to adopt, and who was long since dead, was called from his rest before this ghostly tribunal, and his memory was solemnly branded with infamy by a decree of the council. On the 4th day of May, in the year 1415, a long list of propositions, invidiously culled out of his writings, was examined and condemned, and an order was issued out to commit all his works, together with his bones, to the flames. On the 14th of June following, the assembled fathers passed the famous decree, which took the *cup* from the laity in the celebration of the eucharist, ordered *that the Lord's supper should be received by them only in one kind, i. e. the bread*, and rigorously prohibited the *communion in both kinds*. This decree was occasioned by complaints that had been made of the conduct of JACOBELLIUS DE MISA, curate of the parish of *St. Michael at Prague*.

The council
issue out a
decree
against the
writings
and ashes of
Wickliff.

[c] PLIN. *Epist.* lib. x. ep. 97. *Perseverantes duci jussi. Neque enim dubitabam, qualescumque esset, quod fraterentur, pervincaciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri.*

CENT. who, about a year before this, had been persuaded
 XV. by PETER of *Dresden*, to administer the Lord's
 PART II. supper in *both kinds*, and was followed in this by
 several churches [*d*]. The council, being informed
 of this matter by a certain Bohemian bishop, thought
 proper to oppose with vigour the progress of this
heresy; and therefore they enacted the statute, which
 ordered the *communion to be administered to the laity*
but in one kind, and which obtained the force and
 authority of a law in the church of *Rome*.

The sen-
 tence of the
 council
 against
 John Petit.

IX. In the same year, the opinion of JOHN PETIT,
 a doctor of divinity at *Paris* [*e*], who maintained,
 that every individual had an undoubted right to take
 away the life of a tyrant, was brought before the
 council, and was condemned as an odious and
 detestable heresy; but both the name and person of
 the author were spared, on account of the powerful
 patrons, under whose protection he had defended
 that pernicious doctrine. JOHN, duke of *Burgundy*,
 had, in the year 1407, employed a band of ruffians
 to assassinate LEWIS, duke of *Orleans*, only brother
 of CHARLES VI. king of *France*. While the whole
 city of *Paris* was in an uproar in consequence of
 this horrible deed, PETIT justified it in a public
 oration, in presence of the Dauphin and the princes
 of the blood, affirming, that the duke had done a
 laudable action, and that it was lawful to put a
 tyrant to death, *in any way, either by violence or*
fraud, and without any form of law or justice; nay,
even in opposition to the most solemn contracts and oaths
of fidelity and allegiance. It is however to be observed,
 that by *tyrants* this doctor did not mean the supreme
 rulers of nations, but those more powerful and
 insolent subjects, who abused their wealth and credit
 to bring about measures that tended to the dishonour

[*d*] BYZINI *Diarium Hussiticum*, p. 124.

[*e*] Some historians have erroneously represented PETIT
 as a lawyer. See Dr. SMOLLET'S *History of England*, vol. ii.
 p. 462. in 4to.

of their sovereign and the ruin of their country [f]. CENT. The university of *Paris* pronounced a severe and XV. rigorous sentence against the author of this pernicious opinion; and the council of *Constance*, after PART II. much deliberation and debate, condemned the opinion without mentioning the author. This determination of the council, though modified with the utmost clemency and mildness, was not ratified by the new pontiff MARTIN V. who dreaded too much the formidable power of the duke of *Burgundy*, to confirm a sentence which he knew would be displeasing to that ambitious prince [g].

X. After these and other transactions of a like nature, it was now time to take into consideration a point of more importance than had yet been proposed, even the reformation of the church in its head and in its members, by setting bounds to the despotism and corruption of the Roman pontiffs, and to the luxury and immorality of a licentious clergy. It was particularly with a view to this important object, that the eyes of all *Europe* were fixed upon the council of *Constance*, from an universal persuasion of the necessity of this reformation, and an ardent desire of seeing it happily brought into execution. Nor did the assembled fathers deny, that this reformation was the principal end of their meeting. Yet this salutary work had so many obstacles in the passions and interests of those very persons by whom it was to be effected, that little could be expected, The hopes of a reformation in the church frustrated.

[f] This appears manifestly from the very discourse of PETIT. which the reader may see in LENFANT'S *History of the Council of Pisa*, tom. ii. p. 303 *. See also AUGUST. LEYSER's *Diss. quâ memoriam Job. Burgundi et doctrinam Job. Parvi de cæde perduillum vindicat.* Witteberg. 1735, in 4to.

[g] BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. v. p. 113. et passim. — ARGENTRE, *Collectio Judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. part II. p. 184. — GERSON'S *Opera à Du Pinio edita*, tom. v. — BAYLE, *Diction.* tom. iii. p. 2268.

• See also the same author's *History of the Council of Constance* book iii. § xix.

CENT. and still less was done. The cardinals and dignified
 XV. clergy, whose interest it was that the church should
 PART II. remain in its corrupt and disordered state, employed
 all their eloquence and art to prevent its reformation; and observed, among other artful pretexts, that a work of such high moment and importance could not be undertaken with any prospect of success, until a new pontiff was elected. And, what was still more shocking, the new pontiff MARTIN V. was no sooner raised to that high dignity, than he employed his authority to elude and frustrate every effort that was made to set this salutary work on foot; and made it appear most evidently, by the laws he enacted, that nothing was more foreign from his intention than the reformation of the clergy, and the restoration of the church to its primitive purity. Thus this famous council, after sitting three years and six months, was dissolved on the 22d day of April, 1418, without having effected what was the chief design of their assembling, and put off to a future assembly of the same kind, which was to be summoned five years after this period, that pious design of purifying a corrupt church, which had been so long the object of the expectations and desires of all good Christians.

A council assembled at *Basil*, where the reformation of the church is again attempted in vain.

XI. Five years and more elapsed without a council's being called. The remonstrances, however, of those whose zeal for the reformation of the church interested them in this event, prevailed, at length, over the pretexts and stratagems that were employed to put it off from time to time; and MARTIN V. summoned a council to meet at *Padua*, from whence it was removed to *Sienna*, and from thence to *Basil*. The pontiff did not live to be a witness of the proceedings of this assembly, being carried off by a sudden death on the 21st day of February, in the year 1431, just about the time when the council was to meet. He was immediately succeeded by GABRIEL CONDOLMERUS, a

native of *Venice*, and bishop of *Sienna*, who is known in the papal list by the title of EUGENIUS IV. This pontiff approved of all the measures that had been entered into by his predecessor in relation to the assembling of the council of *Basil*, which was accordingly opened the 23d of July, 1431, under the superintendence of cardinal JULIAN CESARINI, who performed the functions of president, in the place of EUGENIUS.

The two grand points that were proposed to the deliberation of this famous council, were, the *union of the Greek and Latin churches*, and the *reformation of the church universal, both in its head and in its members*, according to the resolution that had been taken in the council of *Constance*. For that the Roman pontiffs, who were considered as the head of the church, and the bishops, priests, and monks, who were looked upon as its members, were become excessively corrupt; and that, to use the expression of the prophet in a similar case, the *whole head was sick, and the whole heart faint*, was a matter of fact too striking to escape the knowledge of the obscurest individual. On the other hand, as it appeared by the very form of the council [b], by its method of proceeding, and by the first decrees that were enacted by its authority, that the assembled fathers were in earnest, and firmly resolved to answer the end and purpose of their meeting. EUGENIUS IV. was much alarmed at the prospect of a reformation, which he feared above all things, and beholding with terror the

[b] By the form of the council, Dr. MOSHEM undoubtedly means the division of the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, &c. into four equal classes, without any regard to the nation or province by which they were sent. This prudent arrangement prevented the cabals and intrigues of the Italians, whose bishops were much more numerous than those of other nations, and who, by their number, might have had it in their power to retard or defeat the laudable purpose the council had in view, had things been otherwise ordered.

CENT. zeal and designs of these spiritual physicians, he
XV. attempted twice the dissolving of the council.

PART II. These repeated attempts were vigorously and
successfully opposed by the assembled fathers, who
proved by the decrees of the council of *Constance*,
and by other arguments equally conclusive, that
the council was superior, in point of authority, to
the Roman pontiff. This controversy, which was
the first that had arisen between the council and the
pope, was terminated, in the month of November
1433, by the silence and concessions of the latter,
who, the month following, wrote a letter from
Rome, containing his approbation of the council,
and his acknowledgment of its authority [i].

The decrees
and acts of
the council
of *Basil*.

XII. These preliminary measures being finished,
the council proceeded with zeal and activity to the
accomplishment of the important purposes for which
it was assembled. The pope's legates were admitted

[i] The history of this grand and memorable council is yet
wanting. The learned STEPHEN BALUZIUS (as we find in the
Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres, tom.
vi. p. 544.), and after him Mr. LENTANT, promised the world
a history of this council; but neither of these valuable writers
performed their promise*. The acts of this famous assembly
have been collected with incredible industry, in a great number
of volumes, from various archives and libraries, at the expence
of RODOLPHUS AUGUSTUS, duke of *Brunswick*, by the very
learned and laborious HERMAN van der HARDT. They are
preserved, as we are informed, in the library at *Hanover*, and
they certainly deserve to be drawn from their retreat, and
published to the world. In the mean time, the curious may
consult the Abridgment of the Acts of this council, which were
published in 8vo at *Paris*, in the year 1512, and which I have
made use of in this History, as also the following authors:
ÆNEÆ SYLVII Lib. duo de Concilio Basiliensi.—EDMUN.
RICHERIUS, *Histor. Concilior. General.* lib. iii. cap. i.—HENR.
CANISII *Lectiões Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 447.

* Dr MOSHEIM has here been guilty of an oversight; for LENTANT
did in reality perform his promise, and composed the *History of the Council
of Basil*, which he blended with his *History of the War of the Hussites*, on
account of the connexion that there was between these two subjects; and
also because his advanced age prevented his indulging himself in the hope
of being able to give a full and complete History of the council of *Basil*
apart.

as members of the council, but not before they had declared, upon oath, that they would submit to the decrees that should be enacted in it, and more particularly that they would adhere to the laws that had been made in the council of *Constance*, in relation to the supremacy of general councils, and the subordination of the pontiffs to their authority and jurisdiction. Nay, these very laws, which the popes beheld with such aversion and horror, were solemnly renewed by the council the 26th of June, in the year 1434, and, on the 9th of the same month in the following year, the *Annats*, as they were called, were publicly abolished, notwithstanding the opposition that was made to this measure by the legates of the Roman see. On the 25th of March 1436, a confession of faith was read, which every pontiff was to subscribe on the day of his election, the number of cardinals was reduced to twenty-four, and the papal impositions, called *Expectatives*, *Reservations*, and *Provisions*, were entirely annulled. These measures, with others of a like nature, provoked EUGENIUS to the highest degree, and made him form a design, either for removing this troublesome and enterprising council into *Italy*, or of setting up a new council in opposition to it, which might fix bounds to its zeal for the reformation of the church. Accordingly, on the 7th of May, in the year 1437, the assembled fathers having, on account of the Greeks, come to a resolution of holding the council at *Basil*, *Avignon*, or some city in the duchy of *Savoy*, the intractable pontiff opposed this motion, and maintained that it should be transferred into *Italy*. Each of the contending parties persevered with the utmost obstinacy, in the resolution they had taken, and this occasioned a warm and violent contest between the pope and the council. The latter summoned EUGENIUS to appear before them at *Basil* the 26th day of July 1437, in order to give an account of

CENT.

XV.

PART II.

CENT. his conduct; but the pontiff, instead of complying
 X V. with this summons, issued out a decree, by which
 PART II. he pretended to dissolve the council, and to assemble
 another at *Ferrara*. This decree, indeed, was
 treated with the utmost contempt by the council,
 which, with the consent of the emperor, the king
 of *France*, and several other princes, continued its
 deliberations at *Basil*, and on the 28th of September,
 in this same year, pronounced a sentence of contu-
 macy against the rebellious pontiff, for having
 refused to obey their order.

The council
 of *Ferrara*
 held by Eu-
 genius.

XIII. In the year 1438, EUGENIUS in person
 opened the council, which he had summoned to
 meet at *Ferrara*, and at the second session thun-
 dered out an excommunication against the fathers
 assembled at *Basil*. The principal business that was
 now to be transacted in the pontiff's council, was
 the proposed reconciliation between the Greek and
 Latin churches; and, in order to bring this salutary
 and important design to a happy issue, the emperor
 JOHN PALÆOLOGUS, the Grecian patriarch JOSE-
 PHUS, with the most eminent bishops and doctors
 among the Greeks, arrived in *Italy*, and appeared
 in person at *Ferrara*. What animated, in a parti-
 cular manner, the zeal of the Greeks in this
 negotiation, was the extremity to which they were
 reduced by the Turks, and the pleasing hope, that
 their reconciliation with the Roman pontiff would
 contribute to engage the Latins in their cause. Be
 that as it may, there was little done at *Ferrara*,
 where matters were carried on too slowly to afford
 any prospect of an end of their dissentions; but the
 negotiations were more successful at *Florence*, whither
 EUGENIUS removed the council about the beginning
 of the year 1439, on account of the plague that broke
 out at *Ferrara*. On the other hand, the council of
Basil, exasperated by the imperious proceedings of
 EUGENIUS, deposed him from the papacy on the
 25th of June, in the year 1439; which vigorous

measure was not approved of by the European kings and princes. It may be easily conceived what an impression this step made upon the affronted pontiff; he lost all patience; and devoted, for the second time, to hell and damnation the members of the council of *Basil* by a solemn and most severe edict, in which also he declared all their acts null, and all their proceedings unlawful. This new peal of papal thunder was held in derision by the council of *Basil*, who, persisting in their purpose, elected another pontiff, and raised to that high dignity AMADEUS, duke of *Savoy*, who then lived in the most profound solitude at a delicious retreat, called *Ripaille*, upon the borders of the *Leman Lake*, and who is known in the papal list by the name of FELIX V.

XIV. This election was the occasion of the revival of that deplorable schism, which had formerly rent the church, and which had been terminated with so much difficulty, and after so many vain and fruitless efforts, at the council of *Constance*. Nay, the new breach was still more lamentable than the former one, as the flame was kindled not only between two rival pontiffs, but also between the two contending councils of *Basil* and *Florence*. The greatest part of the church submitted to the jurisdiction, and adopted the cause of EUGENIUS; while FELIX was acknowledged, as lawful pontiff, by a great number of academies, and, among others, by the famous university of *Paris*, as also in several kingdoms and provinces. The council of *Basil* continued its deliberations, and went on enacting laws, and publishing edicts, until the year 1443, notwithstanding the efforts of EUGENIUS and his adherents to put a stop to their proceedings. And, though in that year the members of the council retired to their respective places of abode, yet they declared publicly that the council was not dissolved, but would resume its deliberations at *Basil*, *Lyons*, or *Lausanne*, as soon as a proper opportunity was offered.

The church
afflicted
with a
schism,

CENT.
XV.
PART II

CENT.

XV.
PART II.

In the mean time, the council of *Florence*, with EUGENIUS at its head, was chiefly employed in reconciling the differences between the Greeks and Latins; which weighty business was committed to the prudence, zeal, and piety, of a select number of eminent men on both sides. The most distinguished among those whom the Greeks chose for this purpose was the learned BESSARION, who was afterwards raised to the dignity of cardinal in the Roman church. This great man, engaged and seduced by the splendid presents and promises of the Latin pontiff, employed the whole extent of his authority, and the power of his eloquence, nay, he had recourse even to promises and threatenings, to persuade the Greeks to accept the conditions of peace that were proposed by EUGENIUS. These conditions required their consent to the following points:—*That the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son, as well as from the Father; that departed souls were purified in the infernal regions, by a certain kind of fire, before their admission to the presence and vision of the Deity;—that unleavened bread might be used in the administration of the Lord's supper;—and lastly, which was the main and principal thing insisted upon by the Latins, that the Roman pontiff was the supreme judge, the true head of the universal church.* Such were the terms of peace to which the Greeks were obliged to submit, all except MARK of *Ephesus*, whom neither entreaties nor rewards could move from his purpose, or engage to submit to a reconciliation founded upon such conditions. And indeed this reconciliation, which had been brought about by various stratagems, was much more specious than solid, and had by no means stability sufficient to assure its duration. We find accordingly, that the Grecian deputies were no sooner returned to *Constantinople*, than they declared publicly, that all things had been carried on at *Florence* by artifice and fraud, and renewed the schism, which had been

so imperfectly healed a little time before. The council of *Florence* put an end to its deliberations on the 26th of April, in the year 1442 [k], without having executed any of the designs that were proposed by it, in a satisfactory manner. For, besides the affair of the Greeks, they proposed bringing the Armenians, Jacobites, and more particularly the Abyssinians, into the bosom of the Roman church; but this project was attended with as little success as the other.

XV. EUGENIUS IV. who had been the occasion of the new schism in the see of *Rome*, died in the month of February 1447, and was succeeded, in a few weeks, by THOMAS DE SARZANO, bishop of *Bologna*, who filled the pontificate under the denomination of NICOLAS V. This eminent prelate had, in point of merit, the best pretensions possible to the papal throne. He was distinguished by his erudition and genius; he was a zealous patron and protector of learned men; and what was still more laudable, he was remarkable for his moderation, and for the meek and pacific spirit that discovered itself in all his conduct and actions. Under this pontificate the European princes, and more especially the king of *France*, exerted their warmest endeavours to restore tranquillity and union in the Latin church, and their efforts were crowned with

[k] The *History* of this council, and of the frauds and stratagems that were practised in it, was composed by that learned Grecian SYLVESTER SGYROPULUS, whose work was published at the *Hague* in the year 1660, with a Latin translation, a preliminary discourse, and ample notes, by the learned ROBERT CREIGHTON, a native of *Great Britain*. This History was refuted by LEO ALLATIUS, in a work entitled, *Exercitationes in Creightoni Apparatum, Versionem et Notas ad Historiam Concilii Florentini scriptam a Sgyropolo*, Romæ, 1674, 4to. See the same author's *Perpetua Consensio Ecclesie Oriental. et Occident.* p. 875. as also MABILLON, *Museum Italicum*, tom. i. p. 243.—SPANHEMIUS, *De perpetua dissensione Eccles. Orient. et Occident.* tom. ii. opp. p. 491.—HERMANN. *Historia concertat. de pace azyrio*, part II. cap. v. p. 124.

CENT. the desired success. For, in the year 1449, FELIX
 XV. V. resigned the papal chair, and returned to his
 PART II. delicious hermitage at *Ripaille*, while the fathers
 of the council of *Basil* assembled at *Lausanne* [1],
 ratified his voluntary abdication, and, by a solemn
 decree, ordered the universal church to submit to
 the jurisdiction of NICHOLAS as their lawful pontiff.
 On the other hand, NICHOLAS proclaimed this
 treaty of peace with great pomp on the 18th of
 June, in the same year, and set the seal of his
 approbation and authority to the acts and decrees
 of the council of *Basil*. This pontiff distinguished
 himself in a very extraordinary manner, by his love
 of learning, and by his ardent zeal for the propa-
 gation of the liberal arts and sciences, which he
 promoted in *Italy*, with great success, by the
 encouragement he granted to the learned Greeks,
 who came from *Constantinople* into that country [m].
 The principal occasion of his death was the fatal
 revolution that threw this capital of the Grecian
 empire into the hands of the Turks; this melan-
 choly event preyed upon his spirits, and at length
 ended his days on the 24th of March, in the year
 1455.

XVI. His successor ALPHONSUS BORGIA, who
 was a native of *Spain*, and is known in the papal list
 by the denomination of CALIXTUS III. was remark-
 able for nothing but his zeal in animating the
 Christian princes to make war upon the Turks; his
 reign also was short, for he died in the year 1458.
 Pius II. ÆNEAS SYLVIUS PICCOLOMINI, who succeeded
 him in the pontificate that same year, under the title

[1] The abdication of FELIX V. was made on the 9th of
 April 1449, and it was ratified the 16th day of the month, by
 the assembled fathers at *Lausanne*.

[m] See DOM. GEORGIUS *vita Nicolai V. ad fidem veterum
 Monumentorum*: to which is added, a treatise, entitled, *Disqui-
 sitio de Nicolai V. erga litteras et literatos viros patrocinio*, published
 in 4to at *Rome*, in the year 1742.

of PIUS II. rendered his name much more illustrious, not only by his extensive genius, and the important transactions that were carried on during his administration, but also by the various and useful productions with which he enriched the republic of letters. The lustre of his fame was, indeed, tarnished by a scandalous proof which he gave of his fickleness and inconstancy, or rather perhaps of his bad faith; for after having vigorously defended, against the pontiffs, the dignity and prerogatives of general councils, and maintained with peculiar boldness and obstinacy the cause of the council of *Basil* against EUGENIUS IV, he ignominiously renounced these generous principles upon his accession to the pontificate, and acted in direct opposition to them during the whole course of his administration. Thus, in the year 1460, he denied publicly that the pope was subordinate to a general council, and even prohibited all appeals to such a council under the severest penalties. The year following, he obtained from LEWIS XI. king of *France*, the abrogation of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which favored, in a particular manner, the pretensions of the general councils to supremacy in the church [n]. But the most egregious instance of impudence

[n] There was a famous edict, entitled, *The Pragmatic Sanction*, issued out by LEWIS IX. who, though he is honoured with a place in the Kalendar, was yet a zealous assertor of the liberty and privileges of the Gallican church, against the despotic encroachments and pretensions of the Roman pontiffs. It was against their tyrannical proceedings, and intolerable extortions, that this edict was chiefly levelled; and though some creatures of the court of *Rome* have thrown out insinuations of its being a spurious production, yet the contrary is evident from its having been registered, as the authentic edict of that pious monarch, by the parliament of *Paris*, in the year 1461, by the states of the kingdom assembled at *Tours* in the year 1483, and by the university of *Paris* 1491.—See, for a farther account of this edict, the excellent *History of France* (begun by the Abbé VELLY, and continued by M. VILLARET,) vol. vi. p. 57.

The edict which Dr. MOSHEIM has in view here, is the *Pragmatic Sanction* that was drawn up at *Bourges*, in the year 1438,

CENT. and perfidy that he exhibited to the world was in
 XV. the year 1463, when he published a solemn
 PART II.

by CHARLES VII. king of *France*, with the consent of the most eminent prelates and grandees of the nation, who were assembled at that place. This edict (which was absolutely necessary in order to deliver the French clergy from the vexations they suffered from the encroachments of the popes, ever since the latter had fixed their residence at *Avignon*) consisted of twenty-three articles, in which, among other salutary regulations, the elections to vacant benefices were restored to their ancient purity and freedom*; the *Annates* and other pecuniary pretensions and encroachments of the pontiffs abolished, and the authority of a general council declared superior to that of the pope. This edict was drawn up in concert with the fathers of the council of *Basil*, and the twenty-three articles it contains were taken from the decrees of that council; though they were admitted by the Gallican church with certain modifications, which the nature of the times, and the manners of the nation, rendered expedient. Such then was the *Pragmatic Sanction*, which pope Pius II. engaged LEWIS XI. (who received upon that occasion, for him and his successors, the title of *Most Christian*) to abolish, by a solemn declaration, the full execution of which was, however, prevented by the noble stand made by the university of *Paris* in favour of the *Pragmatic Sanction*. LEWIS also perceiving that he had been deluded into this declaration by the treacherous insinuations of GREGORY, bishop of *Arras* (whom the pope had bribed with a cardinal's cap, and large promises of a more lucrative kind) took no sort of pains to have it executed, but published, on the contrary, new edicts against the pecuniary pretensions and extortions of the court of *Rome*. So that in reality the *Pragmatic Sanction* was not abolished before the *Concordate*, or agreement, which was transacted between FRANCIS I. and LEO X. in the year 1517, and was forced upon the French nation in opposition to the united efforts of the clergy, the university, the parliament, and the people. See, for a further account of this matter, DU CLOS, *Histoire de Louis XI.* vol. i. p. 115—132.

* That is to say, that these elections were wrested out of the hands of the popes, who had usurped them, and that by the *Pragmatic Sanction*, every church had the privilege of choosing its bishop, and every monastery its abbot or prior. By the *Concordate*, or agreement, between FRANCIS I. and LEO X. (which was substituted in the place of the *Pragmatic Sanction*), the nomination to the bishoprics in *France*, and the collation of certain benefices of the higher class, were veited in the kings of *France*. An ample and satisfactory account of this convention may be seen in bishop BURNET's excellent *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii. p. 3. and in a book, entitled, *Histoire du Droit public Ecclesiastique François*, published in Octavo in 1737, and in quarto in 1752.

retractation of all that he had written in favour of CENT.
the council of *Basil*, and declared, without either shame XV.
or hesitation, that, as *ÆNEAS SYLVIUS*, he was a PART II.
damnable heretic; but, as *Pius II.* he was an orthodox
pontiff. This indecent declaration was the last
circumstance, worthy of notice, that happened during
his pontificate; for he departed this life in the month
of July, in the year 1464 [o].

XVII. *PAUL II.* a Venetian by birth, whose name Paulus II.
was *PETER BARD*, was raised to the head of the
church in the year 1464, and died in the year 1471.
His administration was distinguished by some measures,
which, if we consider the genius of the times, were
worthy of praise; though it must, at the same time,
be confessed, that he did many things, which were
evidently inexcusable; not to mention his reducing
the jubilee circle to twenty-five years, and thus
accelerating the return of that most absurd and
superstitious ceremony. So that his reputation
became at least dubious in after-times, and was
viewed in different lights by different persons [p].
The following pontiffs, *SIXTUS IV.* and *INNOCENT*
VIII. whose names were *FRANCIS ALBESCOLA* and
JOHN BAPTIST SIBO, were neither remarkable for
their virtues nor their vices. The former departed
this life in the year 1484, and the latter in 1492.
Filled with the most terrible apprehensions of the
danger that threatened *Europe* in general, and *Italy*
in particular, from the growing power of the *Turks*,
they both attempted putting themselves in a posture
of defence, and warmly exhorted the European

[o] Besides the writers of Ecclesiastical History, see *Nouveaux
Diction. Historique et Critique*, tom. ii. at the article *ENEE
SYLVIUS*, p. 26.

[p] *PAUL II.* has had the good fortune to find, in one of the
most eminent and learned men of this age (the famous cardinal
LURINI), a zealous apologist. See among the productions of
that illustrious prelate, the piece, entitled, *Pauli II. Vita ex
Codice Anglicæ Bibliothecæ desumpta, præmissis ipsius vindictis
adversus Platinam, aliosque obtrectatores, Romæ, 1740*, in 4to.

CENT. princes to put a stop to the progress of that warlike
 KV. people. But many obstacles arose, which prevented
 PART II the execution of this important design, and rendered
 ————— the exhortations of these zealous pontiffs without
 effect. The other undertakings that were projected
 or carried on, during their continuance at the head
 of the church, are not of importance sufficient to
 require particular notice.

Alexander
 VI.

XVIII. In the series of pontiffs that ruled the church during this century, the last, in order of time, was ALEXANDER VI. a Spaniard by birth, whose name was RODERIC BORGIA. The life and actions of this man shew, that there was a *Nero* among the popes as well as among the emperors. The crimes and enormities that history has imputed to this papal *Nero*, evidently prove him to have been not only destitute of all religious and virtuous principles, but even regardless of decency, and hardened against the very feeling of shame. And, though it may be possible, that the malignity of his enemies may have forged false accusations against him, and, in some instances, exaggerated the horror of his real crimes; yet there is upon record, an authentic list of undoubted facts, which, both by their number and their atrocity, are sufficient to render the name and memory of ALEXANDER VI. odious and detestable in the esteem even of such as have the smallest tincture of virtuous principles and feelings. An inordinate affection for his children was the principal source from whence proceeded a great part of the crimes he committed. He had four sons of a concubine with whom he had lived many years, among whom was the infamous CÆSAR BORGIA. A daughter, named LUCRETIA, was likewise among the fruits of this unlawful commerce. The tenderness of the pontiff for this spurious offspring was excessive beyond all expression; his only aim was to load them with riches and honours; and, in the execution of this purpose, he trampled with contempt upon every

obstacle, which the demands of justice, the dictates of CENT. reason, and the remonstrances of religion, laid in his way [g]. Thus he went on in his profligate career XV. until the year 1503, when the poison, which he and his son CÆSAR had mingled for others who stood in the way of their avarice and ambition, cut short, by a happy mistake, his own days [r]. PART II.

XIX. The monastic societies, as we learn from a multitude of authentic records, and from the testimonies of the best writers, were, at this time, so many herds of lazy, illiterate, profligate, and licentious Epicureans, whose views in life were confined to opulence, idleness, and pleasure. The rich monks, particularly those of the Benedictine and Augustine orders, perverted their revenues to the gratification of their lusts; and renouncing, in their conduct, all regard to their respective rules of discipline, drew upon themselves a popular odium by their sensuality and licentiousness [s]. This was matter of affliction to many wise and good men, especially in France and Germany, who formed the pious design of stemming the torrent of monkish luxury, and excited a spirit of reformation among that degenerate order [t]. Among the German reformers, who undertook the restoration of virtue and temperance in the convents, NICHOLAS DE MAZEN, an Austrian abbot, and NICHOLAS DUNKELSPUHL, professor at Vienna, The monks.

[g] The life of this execrable tyrant has been written in English by Mr. ALEXANDER GORDON, whose work was translated into French, and published at Amsterdam in 1732. The same subject has, however, been handled with more moderation by the ingenious and learned author of the *Histoire du Droit Publ. Eccles. François*, to which History are subjoined the lives of ALEXANDER VI. and LEO X.

[r] Such is the account which the best historians have given of the death of ALEXANDER VI. VOLTAIRE, notwithstanding, has pretended to prove, that this pontiff died a natural death.

[s] See MARTINI SENGING, *Teutones Ordinis S. Benedicti, seu Oratio in Concilio Basiliensi*, A. 1433, contra vitia Benedict. recitata, in BERNH. PEZII *Biblioth. Ascetica*, tom. viii. p. 517.

[t] See LEIBNITII *Presf. ad tom. ii. Scriptor. Brunsvic.* p. 40.

CENT. held the first rank. They attempted, with unparal-
 XV. leled zeal and assiduity, the reformation of the
 PART II. Benedictines throughout all *Germany*, and succeeded
 so far, as to restore, at least, a certain air of decency
 and virtue in the monasteries of *Swabia*, *Franconia*,
 and *Bavaria* [*u*]. The reformation of the same
 order was attempted in *France* by many, and parti-
 cularly by GUIDO, or GUY JUVENAL, a learned
 man, whose writings, upon that and on other
 subjects, were received with applause [*w*]. It is
 however certain, that the greatest part of the monks,
 both in *France* and elsewhere, resisted, with obstinacy,
 the salutary attempts of these spiritual physicians,
 and returned their zeal with the worst treatment that
 it was possible to shew them.

The Men-
 dicants.

XX. While the opulent monks exhibited to the
 world scandalous examples of luxury, ignorance,
 laziness, and licentiousness, accompanied with a
 barbarous aversion to every thing that carried the
 remotest aspect of science, the Mendicants, and more
 especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, were
 chargeable with irregularities of another kind.
 Besides their arrogance, which was excessive, a
 quarrelsome and litigious spirit, an ambitious desire
 of encroaching upon the rights and privileges of
 others, an insatiable zeal for the propagation of
 superstition, and the itch of disputing and of starting
 absurd and intricate questions of a religious kind,
 prevailed among them, and drew upon them justly
 the displeasure and indignation of many. It was this
 wrangling spirit that perpetuated the controversies
 which had subsisted so long between them and the
 bishops, and indeed the whole sacerdotal order; and
 it was their vain curiosity, and their inordinate

[*u*] For an account of these reformers, see MARTIN KROPP: *Bibliotheca Mellicensis, seu de vitis et Scriptis Benedictinor. Mellicensium*, p. 143. 163. 203. 206.

[*w*] See LIRON, *Singularités Historique et Littéraires*, tom. iii. p. 49.

passion for novelty, that made the divines, in the CENT. greatest part of the European academies, complain XV. of the dangerous and destructive errors they had PART II. introduced into religion. These complaints were repeated, without interruption, in all the provinces where the Mendicants had any credit; and the same complaints were often presented to the court of *Rome*, where they exercised sufficiently both the patience and subtilty of the pontiffs and their ministers. The different pontiffs that ruled the church, during this century, were differently affected towards the Mendicants; some patronized them, others opposed them; and this circumstance frequently changed the face of things, and, for a long time, rendered the decision of the contest dubious [*x*]. The persecution that was carried on against the *Beguins* became also an occasion of increasing the odium that had been cast upon the begging monks, and was extremely prejudicial to their interests. For the *Beguins* and *Lollards*, to escape the fury of their inveterate enemies, the bishops and others, frequently took refuge in the third order of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, hoping that, in the patronage and protection of these powerful and respected societies, they should find a secure retreat from the calamities that oppressed them. Nor were their hopes entirely disappointed here; but the storm that hitherto pursued them, fell upon their new patrons and protectors, the *Mendicants*, who, by affording a refuge to a sect so odious to the clergy, drew upon themselves the indignation of that sacred order, and were thereby involved in difficulties and perplexities of various kinds [*y*].

[*x*] See LAUNOII *Lib. de Canone: Omnis Utriusque Sexus*, opp. tom. i. part I. p. 287.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. v. p. 189. 196. 204. 522. 558. 601. 617. 752.—ANT. WOOD, *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 210. 212. 224.

[*y*] See the preceding century.

CENT. XXI. The more austere and rebellious Franciscans, who, separating themselves from the church, renounced their allegiance to the Roman pontiffs, and were distinguished by the appellation of *Fratricelli* or *Minorites*, continued, together with their *Tertiaries*, the *Beghards*, to carry on an open war against the court of *Rome*. Their head-quarters were in *Italy*, in the marquisate of *Ancona*, and the neighbouring countries; for it was there that their leader and chief ruler resided. They were persecuted, about the middle of this century, with the greatest severity by pope NICHOLAS V. who employed every method he could think of to vanquish their obstinacy, sending for that purpose successively against them the Franciscan monks, armed hosts, and civil magistrates, and committing to the flames many of those who remained unmoved by all these means of conversion [z]. This heavy persecution was carried on by the succeeding pontiffs, and by none with greater bitterness and vehemence than by PAUL II; though it is said, that this pope chose rather to conquer the headstrong and stubborn perseverance of this sect by imprisonment and exile, than by fire and sword [a]. The *Fratricelli*, on the other hand, animated by the protection of several persons of great influence, who became their patrons on account of the striking appearance of sanctity which they exhibited to the world, opposed force to force, and went so far as to put to death some of the inquisitors, among whom

[z] MAURITIUS SARTIUS, *De Antiqua Picentum civitate Cupronomana*, in ANGELI CALOGERÆ *Raccolta di Opuscoli Scientifici*, tom. XXXIX. p. 39. 81. 97. where we have several extracts from the *Manuscript Dialogue* of JACOBUS DE MARCHIA against the *Fratricelli*.

[a] ANG. MAR. QUIRINI *Vita Pauli II.* p. 78. — JO. TARGIONIUS, *Pref. ad Claror. Venetor. Epistolas ad Magliabechium*, tom. i. p. 43. where we have an account of the books that were written against the *Fratricelli* by NICHOLAS PALMERIUS and others under the pontificate of PAUL II. and which are yet in manuscript.

ANGELO of *Camaldoli* fell a victim to their vengeance [b]. Nor were the commotions raised by this troublesome sect confined to *Italy*; other countries felt the effects of their petulant zeal; and *Bobemia* and *Silesia* (where they preached with warmth their favourite doctrine, *that the true imitation of Christ consisted in beggary, and extreme poverty*) became the theatre of the spiritual war [c]. The king of *Bobemia* was well affected to these fanatics, granted them his protection, and was, on that account, excommunicated by PAUL II [d]. In *France*, their affairs were far from being prosperous; such of them as fell into the hands of the inquisitors were committed to the flames [e], and they were eagerly searched after in the province of *Tbsloufe* and the adjacent countries, where great numbers of them lay concealed, and endeavoured to escape the vigilance of their enemies; while several of their scattered parties removed to *England* and *Ireland* [f]. The dreadful series of calamities and persecutions that pursued this miserable sect was not sufficient to extinguish it entirely; for it subsisted until the times of the reformation in *Germany*, when its remaining votaries adopted the cause, and embraced the doctrine and discipline of LUTHER.

CENT.
XV.
PART II.

XXII. Of the religious fraternities that were founded in this century, none deserves a more honourable mention, than the *Breibren and Clerks of the common life* (as they called themselves), who lived under the rule of St. AUGUSTIN, and were eminently useful in promoting the cause of religion,

New orders: the Brethren and Clerks of the common life.

[b] See the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. ii. *Maii.* p. 356.

[c] Jo. GEORGII SCHELHORNII *Acta Historica Eccles.* part I. p. 66. 283.

[d] QUIRINI *Vita Pauli II.* p. 73.

[e] I have in manuscript in my possession, the acts, or decrees, of the *Inquisition* against JOHN GUDULCHI DE CASTELLIONE and FRANCIS DE ARCHATA, both of them *Fratricelli*, who were burnt in *France* in the year 1454.

[f] WOOD, *Antiqq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 232.

CENT. learning and virtue. This society had been formed
 XV. in the preceding age by GERARD DE GROOTE, a
 PART II. native of *Deventer* [g], and a man remarkable for
 his fervent piety and extensive erudition; it was not,
 however, before the present century, that it received
 a proper degree of consistence, and, having obtained
 the approbation of the council of *Constance*, flourished
 in *Holland*, the *Lower Germany*, and the adjacent
 provinces. It was divided into two classes, the
Lettered Brethren, or *Clerks*, and the *Illiterate*, who,
 though they occupied separate habitations, lived in
 the firmest bonds of fraternal union. The *Clerks*
 applied themselves with exemplary zeal and assiduity
 to the study of polite literature, and to the education
 of youth. They composed learned works for the
 instruction of their contemporaries, and erected
 schools and seminaries of learning wherever they
 went. The *Illiterate Brethren*, on the other hand,
 were employed in manual labour, and exercised with
 success the mechanic arts. Neither of the two classes
 were under the restraint of religious *vows*; yet they
 had all things in common, and this community was
 the great bond of their union. The *Sisters* of this
 virtuous society lived much in the same manner, and
 employed the hours, that were not consecrated to
 prayer and reading, in the education of young girls,
 and in branches of industry suitable to their sex.
 The schools, that were erected by the *Clerks* of this
 fraternity, acquired a great and illustrious reputation
 in this century. From them issued forth those
 immortal restorers of learning and taste that gave a
 new face to the republic of letters in *Germany* and
Holland, such as ERASMUS of *Rotterdam*, ALEX-
 ANDER HEGIUS, JOHN MURMELIUS, and several

[g] The life of this famous Dutchman, GERARD GROOTE, was written by THOMAS A KEMPIS, and is to be found in his WORKS. It stands at the head of the lives of eleven of his contemporaries, which were composed by this eminent writer.

others [b]. The institution of the order of the Jesuits seemed to diminish the credit of these excellent schools, which, from that period, began to decline, and of which there are, at this time, but very few remaining. The *Brethren of the common life* were frequently called *Beghards* and *Lollards*, appellations that had been given to so many different sects, and were obliged to sustain the insults and opposition of the clergy and monks, who had an inexpressible aversion to every thing that bore the remotest aspect of learning or taste [i].

CENT.
XV.
PART II.

XXIII. Of the Greeks, who acquired a name by their learned productions, the most eminent were,

The Greek
writers.

SIMEON of *Theſſalonica*, the author of several treatises, and, among others, of a book against the *Heresies* that had troubled the church; to which we may add his writings against the Latins, which are yet extant [k];

JOSEPHUS BRYENNIUS, who wrote a book *Concerning the Trinity*, and another against the Latins;

MACARIUS MACRES, whose animosity against the Latins was carried to the greatest height;

[b] Accounts of this order have been given by AUB. MIREUS, in his *Chronicon. ad A. 1384*, and by HELYOT, in his *History of the Religious Orders*, tom. iii. But, in that which I have here given, there are some circumstances taken from ancient records not yet published. I have in my possession several manuscripts, which furnish materials for a much clearer and more circumstantial account of the institution and progress of this order, than can be derived from the books that have hitherto appeared on that subject.

[i] We read frequently, in the records of this century, of schools erected by the *Lollards*, and sometimes by the *Beghards*, at *Deventer*, *Brunſwic*, *Koningſberg*, and *Munſter*, and many other places. Now these *Lollards* were the *Clerks of the common life*, who, on account of their virtue, industry, and learning, which rendered them so useful in the education of youth, were invited by the magistrates of several cities to reside among them.

[k] JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, *Bibl. Græc.* vol. xiv. p. 49.— RICH. SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliothèque Eccleſ. par M. DU PIN*, tom. i. p. 400.

CENT. GEORGE PHRANZA, whose historical talent
 XV. makes a figure in the compilation of the Byzantine
 PART II. historians ;

MARCUS EPHESIUS, who was an obstinate enemy
 to the council of *Florence* [*l*] ;

Cardinal BESSARION, the illustrious protector
 and supporter of the Platonic school, a man of
 unparalleled genius and erudition ; but much hated
 by the Greeks, because he seemed to lean to the
 party of the Latins, and proposed an union of the
 two nations to the prejudice of the former [*m*] ;

GEORGE SCHOLARIUS, otherwise called GEN-
 NADIUS, who wrote against the Latins, and more
 especially against the council of *Florence*, with more
 learning, candour, and perspicuity than the rest of
 his countrymen [*n*] ;

GEORGE GEMISTIUS PLETHO, a man of eminent
 learning, who excited many of the Italians to the
 study, not only of the Platonic philosophy in parti-
 cular, but of Grecian literature in general ;

GEORGE of *Trapezond*, who translated several of
 the most eminent Grecian authors into Latin, and
 supported the cause of the Latins against the Greeks
 by his dexterous and eloquent pen ;

GEORGE CODINUS, of whom we have yet
 remaining several productions relating to the Byzan-
 tine history.

Latin writ-
 ings.

XXIV. The tribe of Latin writers, that adorned
 or dishonoured this century, is not to be numbered.
 We shall therefore confine ourselves to the enume-

[*l*] RICH. SIMON, *l. c.* tom. i. p. 431.

[*m*] For an account of BESSARION and the other learned
 men here mentioned, see BORNERUS and HODY, in their
 histories of the Restoration of Letters in *Italy*, by the Greeks
 that took refuge there after the taking of *Constantinople* ; add to
 these the *Bibliotheca Græca* of FABRICIUS.

[*n*] RICH. SIMON, *Croyance de l'Église Orientale sur la*
Transjubilation, p. 87, & *Critique de M. DU PIN*, tom. i.
 p. 438.

ration of those who wrote upon theological matters, and even of these we shall only mention the most eminent. At their head we may justly place JOHN GERSON, chancellor of the university of *Paris*, the most illustrious ornament that this age can boast of, a man of the greatest influence and authority, whom the council of *Constance* looked upon as its oracle, the lovers of liberty as their patron, and whose memory is yet precious to such among the French, as are at all zealous for the maintenance of their privileges against papal despotism [o]. This excellent man published a considerable number of treatises that were admirably adapted to reform the corruptions of a superstitious worship, to excite a spirit of genuine piety, and to heal the wounds of a divided church: though, in some respects, he does not seem to have understood thoroughly the demands and injunctions of the gospel of CHRIST. The most eminent among the other theological writers were,

NICHOLAS DE CLEMANGIS, a man of uncommon candour and integrity, who lamented, in the most eloquent and affecting strains, the calamities of the times, and the unhappy state of the Christian church [p];

ALPHONSUS TOSTATUS, bishop of *Avila*, who loaded the Holy Scriptures with an unwieldy and voluminous Commentary, and composed also other

[o] See DU PIN, *Gersonianorum Libri* iv. which are prefixed to the edition of the works of GERSON, which we owe to that laborious author, and which was published at *Antwerp* in five volumes folio, in the year 1706. See also JO. LAUNOII *Historia Gymnasii Regii Navarreni*, part III. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 514. tom. iv. part I. opp.—HERM. van der HARDT, *Acta Concil. Constant.* tom. i. part IV. p. 26.

[p] See LAUNOII *Histor. Gymnas. Navarr.* part III. lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 555.—LONGUEVAL, *Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xiv. p. 436.—The Works of CLEMANGIS were published, some pieces excepted, at *Leyden*, with a Glossary, in the year 1631, by LYDIUS.

CENT. works, in which there is a great mixture of good and
XV. bad;

PART II. AMBROSE of *Camalduli*, who acquired a high
degree of reputation by his profound knowledge of
the Greek language, and his uncommon acquaintance
with Grecian literature, as also by the zeal and
industry he discovered in the attempts he made to
effectuate a reconciliation between the Greeks and
Latins;

NICHOLAS DE CUSA, a man of vast erudition,
and no mean genius, though not so famed for the
solidity of his judgment, as may appear from a
work of his entitled, *Conjectures concerning the last
day* [q];

JOHN NIEDER, whose writings are very proper
to give us an accurate notion of the manners and
spirit of the age in which he lived, and whose
voyages and transactions have rendered him famous;

JOHN CAPISTRAN, who was in high esteem at
the court of *Rome*, on account of the ardour and
vehemence with which he defended the jurisdiction
and majesty of the pontiffs against all their enemies
and opposers [r];

JOHN WESSELUS and JEROME SAVANAROLA,
who may justly be placed among the wisest and
worthiest men of this age. The former who was a
native of *Groningen*, and on account of his extraor-
dinary penetration and sagacity was called the *Light
of the World*, propagated several of those doctrines,
which LUTHER afterwards inculcated with greater
evidence and energy, and animadverted with freedom
and candour upon the corruptions of the Roman
church [s]. The latter was a Dominican and a

[q] BAYLE, *Reponse aux Questions d'un Provincial*, tom. ii. cap. cxvii. p. 517.—The works of NICHOLAS were published, in one volume, at *Basil*, in the year 1565.

[r] LENFANT, *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites*, tom. ii. p. 254.—WADDINGI *Annales Breviorum*, tom. ix. p. 67.

[s] JO. HENR. MAII *Vita Reuchlini*, p. 156.

native of *Ferrara*, remarkable for piety, eloquence, and learning, who touched the fores of the church with a heavier hand, and inveighed against the pontiffs with greater severity. This freedom cost him dear; he was committed to the flames at *Florence* in the year 1498, and bore his fate with the most triumphant fortitude and serenity of mind [t];

ALPHONSUS SPINA, who wrote a book against the Jews and Saracens, which he called *Fortalitium Fidei*.

To all these we must join the whole tribe of the scholastic writers, whose chief ornaments were, JOHN CAPREOLUS, JOHN DE TURRECREMATA, ANTONINUS of *Florence*, DYONYSIUS a RYCKEL, HENRY GORCOMIUS, GABRIEL BIEL, STEPHEN BRULIFER, and others. The most remarkable among the Mystics were, VINCENTIUS FERRERINUS, HENR. HARPHIUS, LAURENTIUS, JUSTINIANUS, BERNARDINUS SENENSIS, and THOMAS a KEMPIS, who shone among these with a superior lustre, and to whom the famous book *Concerning the Imitation of Christ*, is commonly attributed [u].

[t] B. JO. FRANC. BUDDEI *Parerga Historico-Theologica*. The life of SAVANAROLA was written by J. FRANCIS PICUS, and published in two volumes, 8vo, at *Paris*, with various Annotations, Letters, and original pieces by QUETIF, in the year 1674. The same editor published also at *Paris*, that same year, the *Spiritual and Ascetic Epistles of SAVANAROLA*, translated from the Italian into Latin. See ECHARD, *Scriptor. Predicator*. tom. i. p. 884.

[u] The late Abbé LANGLET DE FRESNOY promised the world a demonstration that this famous book, whose true author has been so much disputed among the learned, was originally written in French by a person named GERSEN, or GERSON. and only translated into Latin by THOMAS a KEMPIS. See GRANETUS in *Launoianis*, part II. tom. iv. part II. opp. p. 414, 415. The History of this famous book is given by VINCENTIUS THUILLIERIUS, in the *Opera Posthuma Mabillonii et Ruinartii*, tom. iii. p. 54.

CHAPTER III.

Concerning the state of religion, and the doctrine of the church during this century.

CENT. I. **T**HE state of religion was become so
 XV. corrupt among the Latins, that it was utterly
 PART II. destitute of any thing that could attract the esteem of
 the truly virtuous and judicious part of mankind.
 This is a fact, which even they whose prejudices
 render them unwilling to acknowledge it, will never
 presume to deny. Among the Greeks and Orientals,
 religion had scarcely a better aspect than among the
 Latins ; at least, if the difference was in their favour,
 it was far from being considerable. The worship of
 the Deity consisted in a round of frivolous and insipid
 ceremonies. The discourses of those who instructed
 the people in public, were not only destitute of sense,
 judgment, and spirit, but even of piety and devotion,
 and were in reality nothing more than a motley
 mixture of the grossest fictions, and the most extra-
 vagant inventions. The reputation of Christian
 knowledge and piety was easily acquired ; it was
 lavished upon those who professed a profound veneration
 for the sacred order, and their ghostly head
 the Roman pontiff, who studied to render the saints
 (*i. e.* the clergy, their minister) propitious by frequent
 and rich donations, who were exact and regular in
 the observance of the stated ceremonies of the church,
 and who had wealth enough to pay the fines which
 the papal quæstors had annexed to the commission of
 all the different degrees of transgression ; or, in other
 words, to purchase indulgences. Such were the
 ingredients of *ordinary* piety ; but such as added to
 these a certain degree of austerity and bodily
 mortification were placed in the highest order of

The corrupt state of religion.

worthies, and considered as the peculiar favourites of heaven. On the other hand, the number of those who were studious to acquire a just notion of religious matters, to investigate the true sense of the sacred writings, and to model their lives and manners after the precepts and example of the divine Saviour, was extremely small, and such had much difficulty in escaping the gibbet, in an age where virtue and sense were looked upon as heretical.

II. This miserable state of things, this enormous perversion of religion and morality throughout almost all the western provinces, were observed and deplored by many wise and good men, who all endeavoured, though in different ways, to stem the torrent of superstition, and to reform a corrupt church. In *England* and *Scotland*, the disciples of *Wickliff*, whom the multitude had stigmatized with the odious title of *Lollards*, continued to inveigh against the despotic laws of the pontiffs, and the licentious manners of the clergy [*w*]. The *Waldenses*, though persecuted and oppressed on all sides, and from every quarter, raised their voices even in the remote vallies and lurking-places whither they were driven by the violence of their enemies, and called aloud for succour to the expiring cause of religion and virtue. Even in *Italy* many, and among others the famous *Savanarola*, had the courage to declare, that *Rome* was become the image of *Babylon*; and this notion was soon adopted by multitudes of all ranks and conditions. But the greatest part of the clergy and monks, persuaded that their honours, influence, and riches would diminish in proportion to the increase of knowledge among the people, and would receive inexpressible detriment from the downfall of superstition, opposed, with all their might, every thing that had the remotest aspect of a reformation, and imposed silence upon these

Defenders
of the true
religion
raised by
Providence
in several
places.

[*w*] See *WILKINS, Concilia Magnæ Britann. et Hibern. tom. iv.—WOOD, Antiq. Oxon. tom. i. p. 202. 204.*

CENT. importunate censors by the formidable authority of
 XV. fire and sword.

PART II. III. The religious dissensions that had been excited
 in *Bohemia* by the ministry of JOHN HUSS and
 his disciple JACOBELLUS DE MISA, were doubly
 inflamed by the deplorable fate of HUSS and JEROME
 of *Prague*, and broke out into an open war, which
 was carried on with the most savage and unparalleled
 barbarity. The followers of HUSS, who pleaded
 for the administration of the cup to the laity in the
 holy sacrament, being persecuted and oppressed in
 various ways by the emissaries and ministers of the
 court of *Rome*, retired to a steep and high mountain
 in the district of *Bechin*, in which they held their
 religious meetings, and administered the sacrament
 of the Lord's supper *under both kinds*. This moun-
 tain they called *Tabor*, from the tents which they at
 first erected there for their habitation; and in process
 of time they raised a strong fortification for its defence,
 and adorned it with a well-built and regular city.
 Nor did they stop here; but, forming more grand
 and important projects, they chose for their chiefs
 NICHOLAS of *Hussinet*, and the famous JOHN ZISKA,
 a Bohemian knight, a man of the most undaunted
 courage and resolution; and proposed, under the
 standards of these valiant leaders, to revenge the
 death of HUSS and JEROME upon the creatures of
 the Roman pontiff, and obtain a liberty of worship-
 ping God in a more rational manner than that which
 was prescribed by the church of *Rome*. After the
 death of NICHOLAS, which happened in the year
 1420, ZISKA commanded alone this warlike body,
 and had the satisfaction to see his army increase from
 day to day. During the first tumults of this war,
 which were no more than a prelude to calamities of
 a much more dreadful kind, WENCESLAUS, king
 of *Bohemia*, departed this life in the year 1419 [x.]

☞ [x] This prince had no sooner begun to execute the
 decrees of the council of *Constance* against the Hussites, than the

IV. The emperor SIGISMUND, who succeeded him in the throne of *Bohemia*, employed not only edicts and remonstrances, but also the terror of penal laws, and the force of arms, to put an end to these lamentable divisions; and great numbers of the Hussites perished, by his orders, in the most barbarous manner. The Bohemians, irritated by these inhuman proceedings, threw off his despotic yoke in the year 1420, and, with ZISKA at their head, made war against their sovereign. This famous leader, though deprived of his sight, discovered, in every step he took, such an admirable mixture of prudence and intrepidity, that his name became a terror to his enemies. Upon his death, which happened in the year 1424, the plurality of the Hussites chose for their general PROCOPIUS RASA, a man also of undaunted courage and resolution, who maintained their cause and carried on the war with spirit and success. The acts of barbarity that were committed on both sides, were shocking and terrible beyond expression; for, notwithstanding the irreconcilable opposition that there was between the religious sentiments of the contending parties, they both agreed in this one horrible point, that it was innocent and lawful to persecute and extirpate with fire and sword the enemies of the true religion, and such they reciprocally appeared to be in each other's eyes. The Bohemians maintained, that HUSS had been unjustly put to death at *Constance*, and consequently revenged, with the utmost fury, the injury that had been done him. They acknowledged it nevertheless, as an incontestible principle, that *heretics* were worthy of capital punishment;

CENT.
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PART II.
The Hussite war carried on by Ziska and Procopius Rasa.

inhabitants of *Prague* took fire at their proceeding, raised a tumult, murdered the magistrates who published the order, and committed other outrages, which filled the court of Wenceslaus with consternation, and so affected that pusillanimous monarch, that he was seized with an apoplexy, of which he died in a few days.

CENT. but they denied obstinately that HUSS was a *heretic*.

XV. This pernicious maxim, then, was the source of
 PART II. that cruelty that dishonoured the exploits of both
 the parties in this dreadful war; and it is, perhaps,
 difficult to determine, which of the two carried this
 cruelty to the greatest height.

The Calix-
 tines.

V. All those who undertook to avenge the death of the Bohemian martyr, set out upon the same principles, and, at the commencement of the war, they seemed to agree both in their religious sentiments and in their demands upon the church and government from which they had withdrawn themselves. But as their numbers increased, their union diminished, and their army being prodigiously augmented by a confluence of strangers from all quarters, a great dissension arose among them, which, in the year 1420, came to an open rupture, and divided this multitude into two great factions, which were distinguished by the titles of *Calixtines* and *Taborites*. The former, who were so called from their insisting upon the use of the *cup*, or chalice, in the celebration of the eucharist, were mild in their proceedings, and modest in their demands, and shewed no disposition to overturn the ancient system of church-government, or to make any considerable changes in the religion which was publicly received. All that they required, may be comprehended under the four articles which follow. They demanded, *first*, that the word of God should be explained to the people in a plain and perspicuous manner, without the mixture of superstitious comments or inventions; *secondly*, that the sacrament of the Lord's supper should be administered *in both kinds*; *thirdly*, that the clergy, instead of employing all their attention and zeal in the acquisition of riches and power, should turn their thoughts to objects more suitable to their profession, and be ambitious of living and acting as became the successors of the holy apostles; and *fourthly*, that

transgressions of a more heinous kind, or *mortal sins*, CENT. XV. PART II. should be punished in a manner suitable to their enormity. In this great faction, however, there were some subordinate sects, who were divided upon several points. The administration of the Lord's supper was one occasion of dispute; JACOBELLUS DE MISA, who had first proposed the celebration of that ordinance *under both kinds*, was of opinion, Taborites. that infants had a right to partake of it, and this opinion was adopted by many; while others maintained the contrary doctrine, and confined the privilege in question to persons of riper years [y].

VI. The demands of the *Taborites*, who derived their name from a mountain well known in sacred history were much more ample. They not only insisted upon reducing the religion of JESUS to its primitive simplicity; but required also, that the system of ecclesiastical government should be reformed in the same manner, the authority of the pope destroyed, the form of divine worship changed; they demanded, in a word, the erection of a new church, a new hierarchy, in which CHRIST alone should reign, and all things should be carried on by a divine direction and impulse. In maintaining these extravagant demands, the principal doctors among the *Taborites*, such as MARTIN LOQUIS, a Moravian, and his followers, went so far as to flatter themselves with the chimerical notion, that CHRIST would descend in person upon earth armed with fire and sword, to extirpate heresy, and purify the church from its multiplied corruptions. These fanatical dreams they propagated every where, and taught them even in a public manner with unparalleled confidence and presumption. It is this enthusiastic class of the Hussites alone, that we are to look upon as accountable for all those abominable acts of violence, rapine, desolation, and murder, which are too indiscriminately laid to the charge of the

[y] BYZINI *Diarium Hussiticum*, p. 130.

CENT. Hussites in general, and to their two leaders ZISKA
 XV. and PROCOPIUS in particular [z]. It must indeed
 PART II. be acknowledged, that a great part of the Hussites
 had imbibed the most barbarous sentiments with
 respect to the obligation of executing vengeance
 upon their enemies, against whom they breathed
 nothing but bloodshed and fury, without any
 mixture of humanity or compassion.

The com-
 motions in
 Bohemia ter-
 minated.

VII. In the year 1433, the council of *Basil*
 endeavoured to put an end to this dreadful war, and
 for that purpose invited the Bohemians to their
 assembly. The Bohemians, accepting this invitation,
 sent ambassadors, and among others PROCOPIUS
 their leader, to represent them in that council. But,
 after many warm debates, these messengers of peace
 returned without having effected any thing that
 might even prepare the way for a reconciliation so

[z] From the following opinions and maxims of the Taborites,
 which may be seen in the *Diarium Hussiticum* of BYZINIUS, we
 may form a just idea of their detestable barbarity: *Omnes leges*
Christi adversarii debent puniri septem plagis novissimis, ad quarum
executionem fideles sunt provocandi.—In isto tempore ultionis Christus
in sua humilitate et miseratione non est imitandus ad ipsos peccatores,
sed in zelo et furore et justa retributione.—In hoc tempore ultionis,
quilibet fidelis, etiam presbyter, quantumcunque spiritualis, est
maledictus, QUI GLADIUM SUUM CORPORALEM PROHIBET A
SANGUINE adversariorum legis Christi, sed DEBET MANUS SUAS
LAVARE IN EORUM SANGUINE et sanctificare. From men, who
 adopted such horrid and detestable maxims, what could be
 expected but the most abominable acts of injustice and cruelty?
 For an account of this dreadful and calamitous war, the reader,
 may consult (besides the ancient writers, such as SYLVIVS,
 THEOBALDUS, COCHLÆUS, and others) LENFANT, *Histoire*
de la guerre des Hussites, which was published at *Amsterdam* in
 two volumes in 4to, in the year 1731. To this history it will,
 however, be advisable to add the *Diarium Belli Hussitici* of BY-
 ZINIUS, a book worthy of the highest esteem, on account of the
 candour and impartiality with which it is composed, and which
 Mr. LENFANT does not seem to have consulted. This valuable
 production has been published, though incomplete, in the sixth
 volume of the *Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum* of the very learned JOHN
 PETER LUDWIG. See also BEAUSOBRE's supplement to the
Histoire de la guerre des Hussites, *Lausanne*, 1745, in 4to.

long and so ardently desired. The *Calixtines* were not averse to peace; but no methods of persuasion could engage the *Taborites* to yield. This matter, however, was transacted with more success by *ÆNEAS SYLVIUS* and others, whom the council sent into *Bohemia* to renew the conferences. For these new legates, by allowing the *Calixtines* the use of the cup in the holy sacrament, satisfied them in the point which they had chiefly at heart and thereby reconciled them with the Roman pontiff. But the *Taborites* remained firm, adhered inflexibly to their first principles; and neither the artifice nor eloquence of *SYLVIUS*, nor the threats, sufferings, and persecutions to which their cause exposed them, could vanquish their obstinate perseverance in it. From this period, indeed, they began to review their religious tenets, and their ecclesiastical discipline, with a design to render them more perfect. This review, as it was executed with great prudence and impartiality, produced a very good effect, and gave a rational aspect to the religion of this sect, who withdrew themselves from the war, abandoned the doctrines, which, upon serious examination, they found to be inconsistent with the spirit and genius of the gospel, and banished from their communion all those whose disordered brains, or licentious manners might expose them to reproach [a]. The *Taborites*, thus new-modelled, were the same with those *Bohemian brethren* (or *Piccards*, i. e. *Beghards*, as their adversaries called them) who joined *LUTHER* and his successors at the reformation, and of whom there are at this day many of the descendants and followers in *Poland* and other countries.

[a] See *ADRIANI REGENVOLSCHII Historia Eccles. provinciar. Sclavonicar.* lib. ii. cap. viii. p. 165.—*JOACH. CAMERARII Historica Narratio de fratrum Ecclesiis in Bohemia, Moravia, et Polonia, Heidelberg. 1605, in 4to.*—*JO. LASITII Historia fratrum Bohemicorum*, which I possess in manuscript, and of which the eighth Book was published in 8vo. at *Amsterdam*, in the year 1649.

CENT.

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PART II.

Commen-
tators.

VIII. Among the greatest part of the interpreters of scripture that lived in this century, we find nothing worthy of applause, if we except their zeal and their good intentions. Such of them as aimed at something higher than the character of bare compilers, and ventured to draw their explications from their own sense of things, did little more than amuse, or rather delude, their readers, with *mystical* and *allegorical* fancies. At the head of this class of writers is ALPHONSUS TOSTATUS, bishop of *Avila*, whose voluminous commentaries upon the sacred writings exhibit nothing remarkable but their enormous bulk. LAURENTIUS VALLA is entitled to a more favorable judgment, and his small collection of *Critical and Grammatical Annotations upon the New Testament* is far from being destitute of merit, since it pointed out to succeeding authors, the true method of removing the difficulties that sometimes present themselves to such as study with attention the divine oracles. It is proper to observe here, that these sacred books were, in almost all the kingdoms and states of *Europe*, translated into the language of each respective people, particularly in *Germany, Italy, France, and Britain*. This circumstance naturally excited the expectations of a considerable change in the state of religion, and made the thinking few hope, that the doctrine of the church would be soon reformed by the light, that could not but arise from consulting the genuine sources of divine truth.

The scho-
lastic di-
vines and
moralists
hated and
opposed.

IX. The schools of divinity made a miserable figure in this century. They were filled with teachers, who loaded their memory, and that of their disciples, with unintelligible distinctions and unmeaning sounds, that they might thus dispute and discourse with an appearance of method, upon matters which they did not understand. There were now few remaining, of those who proved and illustrated the doctrines of religion by the positive declarations of the holy scriptures, and the sentiments

of the ancient fathers, and who, with all their defects, were much superior to the vain and obscure pedants of whom we now speak. The senseless jargon of the latter did not escape the just and heavy censure of some learned and judicious persons, who looked upon their method of teaching as highly detrimental to the interests of true religion, and to the advancement of genuine and solid piety. Accordingly various plans were formed by different persons, some of which had for their object the abolition of this method, others its reformation, while, in the mean time, the enemies of the *schoolmen* encreased from day to day. The Mystics, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more largely hereafter, were ardently bent upon banishing entirely this scholastic theology out of the Christian church. Others, who seemed disposed to treat matters with more moderation, did not insist upon its total suppression, but were of opinion, that it was necessary to reform it, by abolishing all vain and useless subjects of debate, by restraining the rage of disputing that had infected the seminaries of theology, and by seasoning the subtilty of the schoolmen with a happy temperature of mystic sensibility and simplicity. This opinion was adopted by the famous GERSON, who laboured with the utmost zeal and assiduity in correcting and reforming the disorders and abuses that the scholastic divines had introduced into the seminaries [b], as also by SAVANAROLA, PETRUS DE ALLIACO, and NICHOLAS CUSANUS, whose treatise concerning *Learned Ignorance* is still extant.

X. The litigious herd of schoolmen found a new class of enemies equally keen, in the restorers of Eloquence and Letters, who were not all, however,

Principally by the restorers of polite literature and eloquence;

[b] RICH. SIMON, *Lettres Choïses*, tom. ii. p. 269. & *Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclesiastique* M. DU PIN, tom. i. p. 491. — THOMASII *Origines Histor. Philos.* p. 56. and principally GERSONIS *Methodus Theologiam Studendi*, in LAUNOII *Historia Gymnas. Navarreni*, tom. iv. opp. part I. p. 330.

CENT. of the same opinion with respect to the manner of
 XV. treating these solemn quibblers. Some of them
 PART II. covered with ridicule, and loaded with invectives,
 the scholastic doctrine, and demanded its suppression, as a most trifling and absurd system, that was highly detrimental to the culture and improvement of the mind, and every way proper to prevent the growth of genius and true science. Others looked upon this system as supportable, and only proposed illustrating and polishing it by the powers of eloquence, thus to render it more intelligible and elegant. Of this class was PAULUS CORTESIUS, who wrote, with this view, a commentary on the *Book of Proverbs*, in which, as we learn from himself, he forms a happy union between eloquence and theology, and cloaths the principal intricacies of scholastic divinity with the graces of an agreeable and perspicuous style [c]. But after all, the scholastic theology, supported by the extraordinary credit and authority of the Dominicans and Franciscans, maintained its ground against its various opposers, nor could these two religious orders, who excelled in that litigious kind of learning, bear the thoughts of losing the glory they had acquired by quibbling and disputing in the pompous jargon of the schools.

and also by
 the Mystics.

XI. This vain philosophy, however, grew daily more contemptible in the esteem of the judicious and the wise, while, at the same time, the *Mystics* gathered strength, and saw their friends and abettors multiply on all sides. Among these there were, indeed, certain men of distinguished merit, who are chargeable with few of the errors and extravagancies that were mingled with the discipline and doctrine of that famous sect, such as THOMAS A KEMPIS, the author of the Germanic theology, so highly commended by LUTHER, LAURENTIUS, JUSTINIANUS,

[c] This work was published in folio at *Rome* in the year 1512, and at *Basel* in 1513.

SAVANAROLA, and others. There are, on the other hand, some writers of this sect, such as VINCENTIUS FERRERIUS, HENRICUS HARPHIUS, and BERNARD SENENSIS, in whose productions we must carefully separate certain notions which were the effects of a warm and irregular fancy, as also the visions of DIONYSIUS, whom the *Mystics* consider as their chief, from the noble precepts of divine wisdom with which they are mingled. The *Mystics* were defended against their adversaries, the Dialecticians, partly by the Platonics, who were every where held in high esteem, and partly by some even of the most eminent scholastic doctors. The former considered DIONYSIUS as a person whose sentiments had been formed and nourished by the study of Platonism, and wrote commentaries upon his writings; of which we have an eminent example in MARCILIUS FICINUS, whose name adds a lustre to the Platonic school. The latter attempted a certain sort of association between the scholastic theology and that of the *Mystics*; and in this class were JOHN GERSON, NICHOLAS CUSANUS, DIONYSIUS the Carthusian, and others.

XII. The controversy with the enemies of Christianity was carried on with much more vigour in this than in the preceding ages, and several learned and eminent men seemed now to exert themselves with peculiar industry and zeal in demonstrating the truth of that divine religion, and defending it against the various objections of its adversaries. This appears from the learned book of MARCILIUS FICINUS, *Concerning the Truth of Christianity*, SAVANAROLA's *Triumph of the Cross*, the *Natural Theology* of RAYMOND DE SABUNDE, and other productions of a like nature. The Jews were refuted by PEREZIUS and JEROME DE St. FOI, the Saracens by JOHANNES DE TURRECREMATA, and both these classes of unbelievers were opposed by ALPHONSUS DE SPINA, in his work entitled,

The state of
polemic or
controver-
sial divinity.

CENT. *The Fortrefs of Faith.* Nor were these pious labours
 XV. in the defence of the Gospel at all unseasonable or
 PART II. superfluous; on the contrary, the state of things at
 this time rendered them necessary. For, on the one
 hand, the Aristotelian philosophers in *Italy* seemed,
 in their public instructions, to strike at the founda-
 tions of all religion; and, on the other hand, the
 senseless subtilties and quarrels of the schoolmen,
 who modelled religion according to their extravagant
 fancies, tended to bring it into contempt. Add to
 all this, that the Jews and Saracens lived in many
 places promiscuously with the Christians, who were
 therefore obliged, by the proximity of the enemy,
 to defend themselves with the utmost assiduity and
 zeal.

The schism
 between
 the Latins
 and Greeks
 not yet
 healed.

XIII. We have already taken notice of the
 fruitless attempts that had been made to heal the
 unhappy divisions that separated the Greek and
 Latin churches. After the council of *Florence*, and
 the violation of the treaty of pacification by the
 Greeks, NICHOLAS V. exhorted and intreated them
 again to turn their thoughts towards the restoration
 of peace and concord. But his exhortations were
 without effect; and in about the space of three years
 after the writing of this last letter, *Constantinople*
 was besieged and taken by the Turks. And from
 that fatal period to the present time, the Roman
 pontiffs, in all their attempts to bring about a
 reconciliation, have always found the Grecian
 patriarchs more obstinate and intractable than they
 were when their empire was in a flourishing state.
 Nor is this circumstance so difficult to be accounted
 for, when all things are duly considered. This
 obstinacy was the effect of a rooted aversion to the
 Latins and their pontiffs, that acquired, from day to
 day, new degrees of strength and bitterness in the
 hearts of the Greeks: an aversion, produced and
 nourished by a persuasion that the calamities they
 suffered under the Turkish yoke might have been

easily removed, if the western princes and the Roman pontiffs had not refused to succour them against their haughty tyrants. And accordingly, when the Greek writers deplore the calamities that fell upon their devoted country, their complaints are always mingled with heavy accusations against the Latins, whose cruel insensibility to their unhappy situation they paint in the strongest and most odious colours.

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XIV. We pass over in silence many trifling controversies among the Latins, which have no sort of claim to the attention of our readers. But we must not omit mentioning the revival of that famous dispute concerning the *kind* of worship that was to be paid to the blood of CHRIST, which was first kindled at *Barcelona*, in the year 1351, between the Franciscans and Dominicans, and had been left undecided by CLEMENT VI. [*d*]. This controversy was now renewed at *Brixen*, in the year 1462, by JACOBUS à MARCHIA, a celebrated Franciscan, who maintained publicly, in one of his sermons, that the *blood*, which CHRIST shed upon the cross, did not belong to the *divine nature*, and of consequence was not to be considered as an object of *divine* and immediate *worship*. The Dominicans rejected this doctrine; and adopted, with such zeal, the opposite side of the question, that JAMES of *Brixen*, who performed the office of inquisitor, called the Franciscan before his tribunal, and accused him of *heresy*. The Roman pontiff PIUS II. having made several ineffectual attempts to suppress this controversy, was at last persuaded to submit the matter to the examination and judgment of a select number of able divines. But many obstacles arose to prevent a final decision, among which we may reckon as the principal, the influence and authority of the contending orders, each of which had embarked with zeal in the cause

The intestine divisions and contests of the Latins.

[*d*] LUG. WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. viii. p. 58.—JAC. ECCHARDI *Scriptor. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 650.

CENT. of their respective champions. Hence, after much
 XV. altercation and chicane, the pontiff thought proper
 PART II. to impose silence on both the parties in this miserable
 ——— dispute, in the year 1464; declaring, at the same
 time, “That both sides of the question might be
 “lawfully held, until CHRIST’s *Vicar* upon earth
 “should find leisure and opportunity for examining
 “the matter, and determining on what side the
 “truth lay.” This *leisure* and *opportunity* have not
 as yet been offered to the pontiffs [*e*].

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies used in the church
 during this century.

Rites of the
 Greek
 church.

I. **T**HE state of religious ceremonies among
 the Greeks may be learned from the book of
 SIMEON of *Theſſalonica*, *Concerning Rites and*
Ceremonies [*f*], from which it appears, that the
 substance of religion was lost among that people;
 that a splendid shadow of pomp and vanity was
 substituted in its place by the rulers of the church;
 and that all the branches of divine worship were
 ordered in such a manner as to strike the imagi-
 nations and captivate the senses of the multitude.
 They pretended, indeed, to alledge several reasons
 for multiplying, as they did, the external rites and
 institutions of religion; and casting over the whole
 of divine worship such a pompous garb of worldly

[*e*] WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. xiii. p. 206.—NAT.
 ALEXANDER, *Hist. Eccles. Sac.* xv. p. 17.

[*f*] J. A. FABRICIUS gives us an account of the contents
 of this book in his *Biblioth. Græca.* vol. xiv. p. 54.

splendor. But in these reasons, and in all the explications they give of this gaudy ritual, there is much subtilty and invention, without the least appearance of truth or good sense to render them plausible. The origin of these multiplied rights, that cast a cloud over the native beauty and lustre of religion, is often obscure, and frequently dishonorable. And such as, by force of ill-applied genius and invention, have endeavoured to derive honour to these ceremonies from the circumstances that gave occasion to them, have failed egregiously in this desperate attempt. The deceit is too palpable to seduce any mind that is void of prejudice and capable of attention.

II. Though the more rational and judicious of the Roman pontiffs complained of their overgrown multitude of ceremonies, festivals, temples, and the like, and did not seem unwilling to have this enormous mass somewhat diminished, they nevertheless distinguished, every one his own pontificate, by some new institution, and thought it their duty to perpetuate their fame by some new edict of this nature. Thus CALIXTUS III. to immortalize the remembrance of the deliverance of *Belgrade* from the victorious arms of MAHOMET II. who had been obliged to raise the siege of that city, ordered, in the year 1456, the festival in honour of the *Transfiguration of CHRIST* (which had been celebrated in some places by private authority before this period) to be religiously observed throughout all the western world. And SIXTUS IV. in the year 1476, granted *Indulgences*, by an express and particular edict, to all those who should devoutly celebrate an annual festival in honour of the *immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin*, with respect to which none of the Roman pontiffs before him had thought proper to make any express declaration, or any positive

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PART II.

Rites increased in the Latin church.

CENT. appointment [g]. The other additions that were
 XV. made to the Roman ritual, relating to the worship
 PART II. of the Virgin MARY, public and private prayers,
 the traffic of *Indulgences*, and other things of that
 nature, are of too little importance to deserve an
 exact and circumstantial enumeration. We need
 not such a particular detail to convince us, that in
 this century religion was reduced to mere show, to
 a show composed of pompous absurdities and splendid
 trifles.

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the heresies sects and divisions that troubled the
 church during this century.

I. **N**EITHER the severe edicts of the
 pontiffs and emperors, nor the barbarity and vigi-
 lance of the unrelenting *inquisitors*, could extirpate
 the remains of the ancient heresies, or prevent the
 rise of new sects. We have already seen the Fran-
 ciscan order at open war with the church of *Rome*.
 In *Bosnia*, and the adjacent countries, the Mani-
 cheans, or Paulicians, who were the same with the
 sect named in *Italy*, *Catharists*, propagated their
 doctrines with confidence, and held their religious
 assemblies with impunity. It is true, indeed, that
 the great protector of the Manicheans, STEPHEN
 THOMASCUS, king of *Bosnia*, abjured their errors,
 received baptism by the ministry of JOHN

Manicheans
 and Wal-
 denfes.

[g] See RAPH. VOLATERRANI *Comment. Urlani*, lib. viii. f. 289.—ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, *De Statu Europa sub Frederico III.* cap. x. in FREHERI *Scriptor. rerum Germanicar.* tom. ii. p. 104.

CENT. the *Huffites* and the votaries of *Rome* broke out in
 XV. *Bohemia* in the year 1418, a troop of these fanatics,
 PART II. with a person at their head whose name was JOHN,
 repaired thither, and held secret assemblies, first at *Prague*, and afterwards in different places, from whence they, at length, retired to a certain island, where they were less exposed to the notice of their enemies. It was, as we have already had occasion to observe, one of the leading principles of this sect, that the tender instincts of nature, with that bashfulness and modesty that generally accompany them, were evident marks of *inherent corruption*, and shewed, that the mind was not sufficiently *purified* nor rendered conformable to the divine nature, from whence it derived its origin. And they alone were deemed perfect by these fanatics, and supposed to be united to the Supreme Being, who could behold, without any emotion, the naked bodies of the sex to which they did not belong, and who, in imitation of what was practised before the fall by our first parents, went stark naked, and conversed familiarly in this manner with males and females, without feeling any of the tender propensities of nature. Hence it was that the *Beghards*, (whom the Bohemians, by a change in the pronunciation of that word called *Picards*) when they came into their religious assemblies, and were present at the celebration of divine worship, appeared absolutely naked, without any sort of veil or covering at all. They had also constantly in their mouths a maxim, which indeed, was very suitable to the genius of the religion they professed, *viz. that THEY WERE NOT FREE (i. e. sufficiently extricated from the shackles of the body) who made use of the garments, particularly such garments as covered the thighs and the parts*

Beghards and *Lollards*; as 1st, the *Tertiaries*, or third order of the more austere *Franciscans*; 2^{dly}, the *Brethren of the free spirit*; and 3^{dly}, the *Cellite* or *Alexian* friars. Many writers have fallen into the same error.

adjacent. These horrible tenets could not but cast a deserved reproach up this absurd sect; and though nothing passed in their religious assemblies that was contrary to the rules of virtue, yet they were universally suspected of the most scandalous incontinence, and of the most lascivious practices. ZISKA, the austere general of the Hussites, gave credit to these suspicions, and to the rumours they occasioned; and, falling upon this miserable sect in the year 1421, he put some to the sword, and condemned the rest to the flames, which dreadful punishment they sustained with the most cheerful fortitude, and also with that contempt of death that was peculiar to their sect, and which they possessed in a degree that seems to surpass credibility [i]. Among the various titles by which these extravagant enthusiasts were distinguished, that of *Adamites* was one; and it was given them on account of their being so studious to imitate the state of innocence in which the first man was originally created. The ignominious term of *Beghards*, or *Picards*, which was at first peculiar to

[i] See JO. LASITH *Historia Fratrum Bobemorum*, MS. lib. ii. § lxxvi. who proves, in a satisfactory and circumstantial manner, that the *Hussites* and the *Bohemian Brethren* were entirely distinct from these *Picards*, and had nothing at all in common with them. The other authors that have written upon this subject are honourably mentioned by ISAAC DE BEAUSOERE in his *Dissertation sur les Adamites de Boheme*, which is subjoined to LENFANT'S *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites*. This learned author is at vast pains in justifying the *Picards*, or Bohemian *Adamites*, whom he supposes to have been the same with the *Waldenses*, and a set of men eminent for their piety, whom their enemies loaded with the most groundless accusations. But this is manifestly endeavouring to wash the Æthiopian white. For it may be demonstrated, by the most unexceptionable and authentic records, that the account I have given of the matter is true. The researches I have made, and the knowledge they have procured me of the civil and religious history of these times, entitle me perhaps to more credit in such a point as this, than the laborious author from whom I differ, whose acquaintance with the history of the middle age was but superficial, and who was, by no means, exempt from prejudice and partiality.

CENT. the small sect of which we now treat, was afterwards
 XV. applied to the *Hussites*, and to all the Bohemians
 PART II. who opposed the tyranny of the Roman church.
 ——— All these were called by their enemies, and indeed
 by the multitude in general, *Picard friars*.

The White
 Brethren.

III. A new sect, which made a great noise, and infected the multitude with the contagion of their enthusiasm, arose about the beginning of this century. A certain priest, whose name is not known, descended from the *Alps* [*k*], arrayed in a white garment, and accompanied with a prodigious number of persons of both sexes, who, after the example of their chief, were also clothed in white linen, from whence they were distinguished by the name of *Fratres Albati*, i. e. *White Brethren*. This enthusiastic multitude went in a kind of procession through several provinces, following a cross, which their leader held erected like a standard, and by the striking appearance of their sanctity and devotion, captivated to such a degree the minds of the people wherever they went, that persons of all ranks and orders flocked in crowds to augment their number. The new chief exhorted his followers to appease the anger of an incensed Deity, emaciated

☞ [*k*] THEODORIC DE NIEM tells us, that it was from *Scotland* that the sect came, and that their leader gave himself out for the prophet ELIAS. SIGONIUS and PLATINA inform us, that this enthusiast came from *France*; that he was clothed in white, carried in his aspect the greatest modesty, and seduced prodigious numbers of people of both sexes, and of all ages; that his followers (called *penitents*), among whom were several cardinals and priests, were clothed in white linen down to their heels, with caps which covered their whole faces, except their eyes; that they went in great troops of ten, twenty, and forty thousand persons, from one city to another, calling out for mercy, and singing hymns; that wherever they came, they were received with great hospitality, and made innumerable profelytes; that they fasted, or lived upon bread and water during the time of their pilgrimage, which continued generally nine or ten days. See *Annal. Mediol.* ap. MURATORI—NIEM. Nb. ii. cap. xvi.

his body by voluntary acts of mortification and penance, endeavoured to persuade the European nations to renew the war against the Turks in *Palestine*, and pretended, that he was favoured with divine visions, which instructed him in the will and in the secrets of Heaven. BONIFACE IX. apprehending that this enthusiast or impostor concealed insidious and ambitious views [1], had him seized and committed to the flames; upon which his followers were dispersed, and his sect entirely extinguished. Whether a punishment so severe was inflicted with reason and justice, is a point that has been debated, and yet remains uncertain; for several writers of great credit and authority maintain the innocence of the sectary, while others assert that he was convicted of the most enormous crimes [m].

IV. In the year 1411, a sect was discovered in *Flanders*, and more especially at *Brussels*, which owed its origin to an illiterate man, whose name was ÆGIDIUS CANTOR, and to WILLIAM of HILDENISSEN, a Carmelite monk, and whose members were distinguished by the title of *Men of understanding*. There were many things reprehensible in the doctrine of this sect, which seemed to be chiefly derived from the theology of the Mystics. For they pretended to be honoured with celestial visions, denied that any could arrive at a perfect knowledge of the Holy Scriptures without the extraordinary

The men of
understand-
ing.

☞ [1] What Dr. MOSHEIM hints but obscurely here, is farther explained by SIGONIUS and PLATINA, who tell us, that the pilgrims, mentioned in the preceding note, stopped at *Viterbo*, and that BONIFACE, fearing lest the priest, who headed them, designed by their assistance to seize upon the pontificate, sent a body of troops thither, who apprehended the false prophet and carried him to *Rome*, where he was burnt.

[m] See LENFANT, *Hist. du Concile de Pise*, tom. i. p. 102. — POGGIA, *Historia Florentina*, lib. iii. p. 122. — MARC. ANTON. SABELLICUS in *Enneadibus Rhapsodiæ Historicæ*, *Ennead.* ix. lib. ix. tom. ii. opp. p. 839. published in folio at *Basil* in the year 1560.

CENT. succours of a Divine illumination; declared the
 XV. approach of a new revelation from heaven, more
 PART II. complete and perfect than the Gospel of CHRIST;
 maintained, that the resurrection was already accomplished in the person of JESUS, and that no other resurrection was to be expected; affirmed, that the inward man was not defiled by the outward actions, whatever they were; that the pains of hell were to have an end, and that, not only all mankind, but even the devils themselves, were to return to God, and be made partakers of eternal felicity. This sect seems to have been a branch of that of the *Brethren and sisters of the free spirit*; since they declared, that a new dispensation of grace and spiritual liberty was to be promulgated to mortals by the Holy Ghost. It must however be acknowledged, on the other hand, that their absurdities were mingled with several opinions, which shewed, that they were not totally void of *understanding*; for they maintained, among other things, “1st, that CHRIST alone had merited
 “eternal life and felicity for the human race, and
 “that therefore men could not acquire this inestimable privilege by their own actions alone; 2^{dly},
 “that the priests, to whom the people confessed
 “their transgressions, had not the power of absolving
 “them, but that it was CHRIST alone in whom this
 “authority was vested; and 3^{dly}, that voluntary
 “penance and mortification were not necessary to
 “salvation.” These propositions, however, and some others, were declared *heretical* by PETER D’AILLY, bishop of *Cambray*, who obliged WILLIAM of HILDENISSEN to abjure them [n], and opposed with the greatest vehemence and success the progress of this sect.

A new sect of Flagellantes, or Whippers.

V. The sect of the *Flagellantes*, or *Whippers*, continued to excite commotions in *Germany*, more especially in *Thuringia* and the *Lower Saxony*; but

[n] See the records of this transaction in STEPH. BALUZ, *Miscellan.* tom. ii. p. 277.

these fanatics were very different from the ancient heretics of the same name, who ran wildly in troops through various provinces. The new *Whippers* rejected not only the sacraments, but also every branch of external worship, and placed their only hopes of salvation in *faith* and *flagellation*; to which they added some strange doctrines concerning the *evil spirit*, and other matters, which are not explained with sufficient perspicuity in the records of antiquity. The person that appeared at the head of this sect in *Thuringia* was CONRAD SCHMIDT, who, with many of his followers, was apprehended and committed to the flames [o], in the year 1414, by HENRY SCHONEFELD, who was, at that time, inquisitor in *Germany*, and rendered his name famous by his industry and zeal in the extirpation of heresy. NICHOLAS SCHADEN suffered at *Quedlingburg* for his attachment to this sect. BERTHOLD SCHADE, who was seized at *Halberstadt* in the year 1481, escaped death, as appears most probable, by abjuring their doctrine [p]; and we find in the records of

[o] *Excerpta Monachi Pirnenfis*, in JO. BURCH. MENKINI *Scriptor. rerum Germanicar.* tom. ii. p. 1521.—*Chron. Monaster.* in ANTON. MATTHÆI *Analect. vet. ævi*, tom. v. p. 71.—*Chron. Magdeb.* in MEIBOMII *Scriptor. rerum German.* tom. ii. p. 362.—From xvi articles of faith adopted by this sect, which were committed to writing by a certain inquisitor of *Brandenborch* in the year 1411, and which CONRAD SCHMIDT is said to have taken from the papers of *Walkenried*, we may derive a tolerable idea of their doctrine, of which the substance is as follows: *That the opinions adopted by the Roman church, with respect to the efficacy of the sacraments, the flames of purgatory, praying for the dead, and several other points, are entirely false and groundless; and that the person, who believes what is contained in the Apostles' Creed, repeats frequently the Lord's Prayer, and the Ave Maria, and at certain times lashes his body severely, as a voluntary punishment of the transgressions he has committed, shall obtain eternal salvation.*

[p] See the account of this matter which is given by the learned JO. ERNEST KAPPIUS, in his *Relat. de rebus Theologicis Antiquis et Novis*, A. 1747, p. 475.

CENT. these unhappy times a numerous list of the *Flagel-*
XV. *lantes*, whom the *German* inquisitors devoted to the
PART II. flames.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.



