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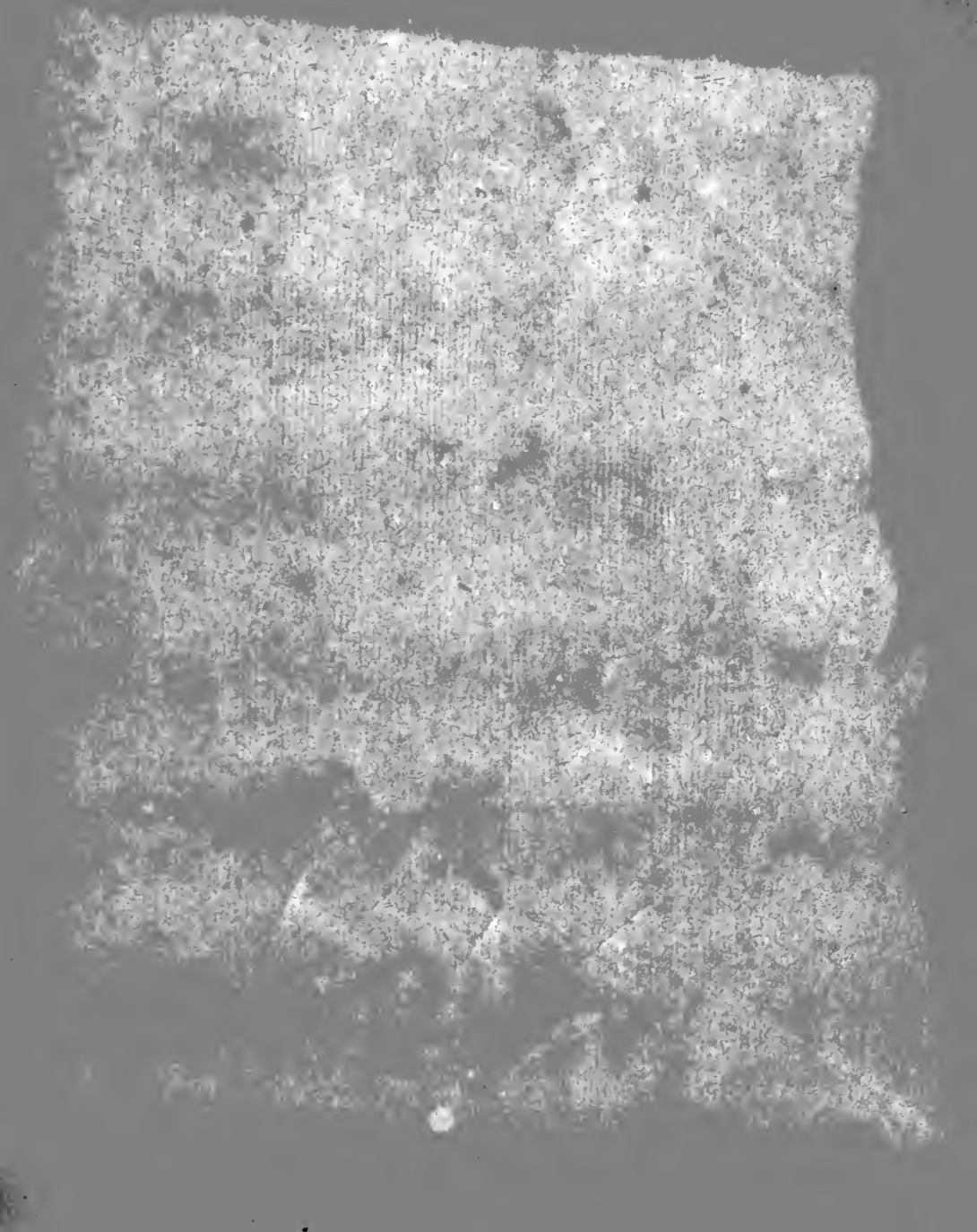
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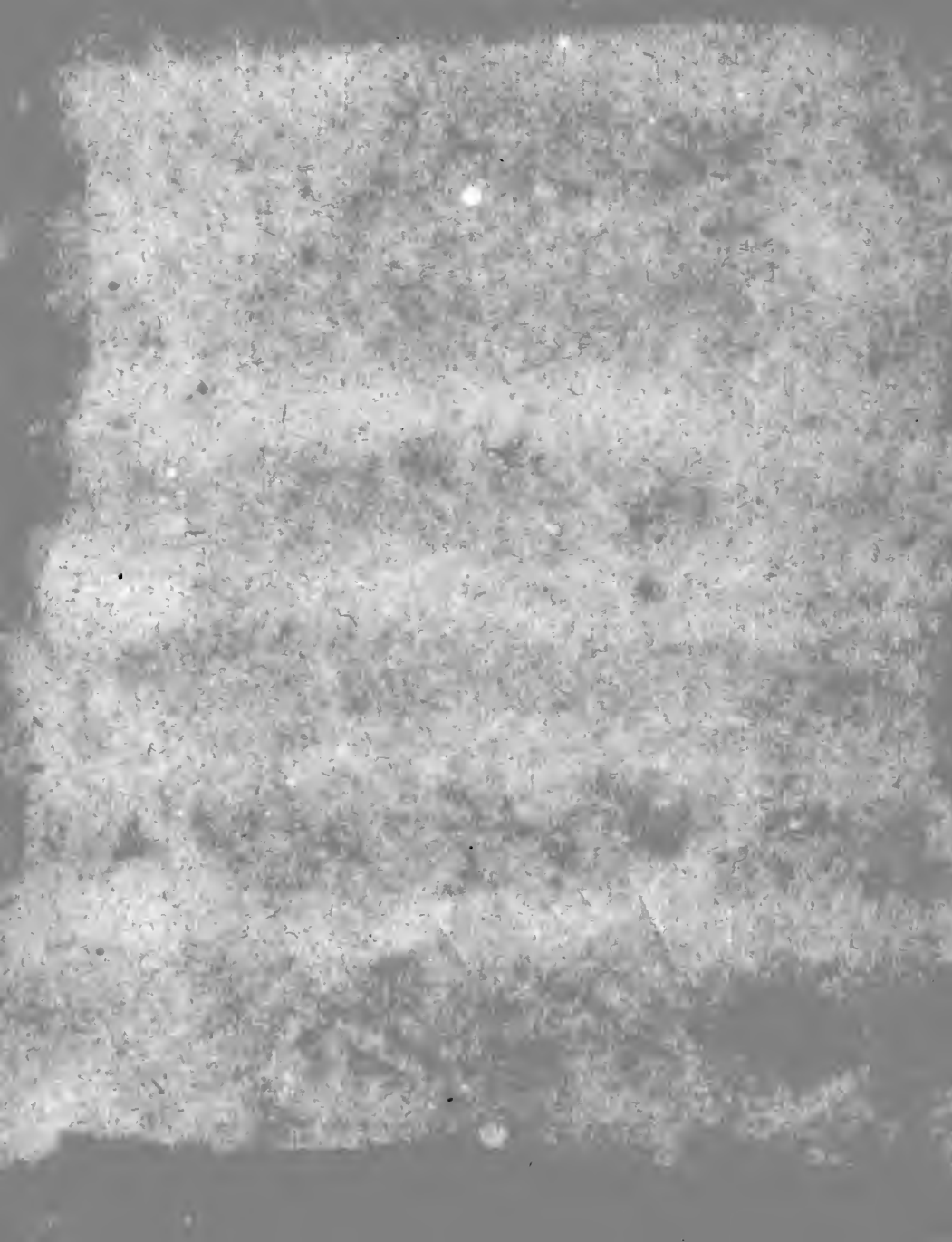
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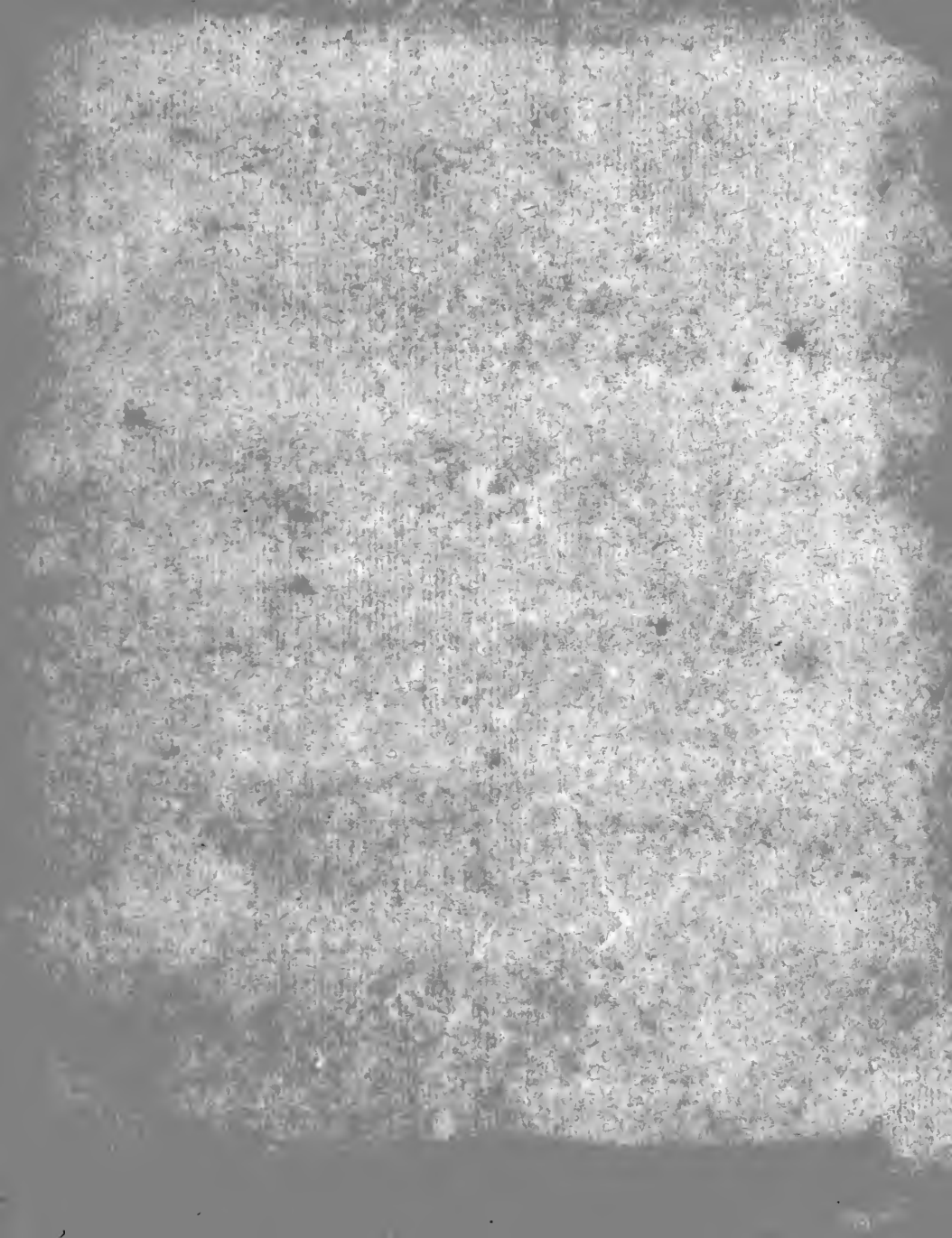
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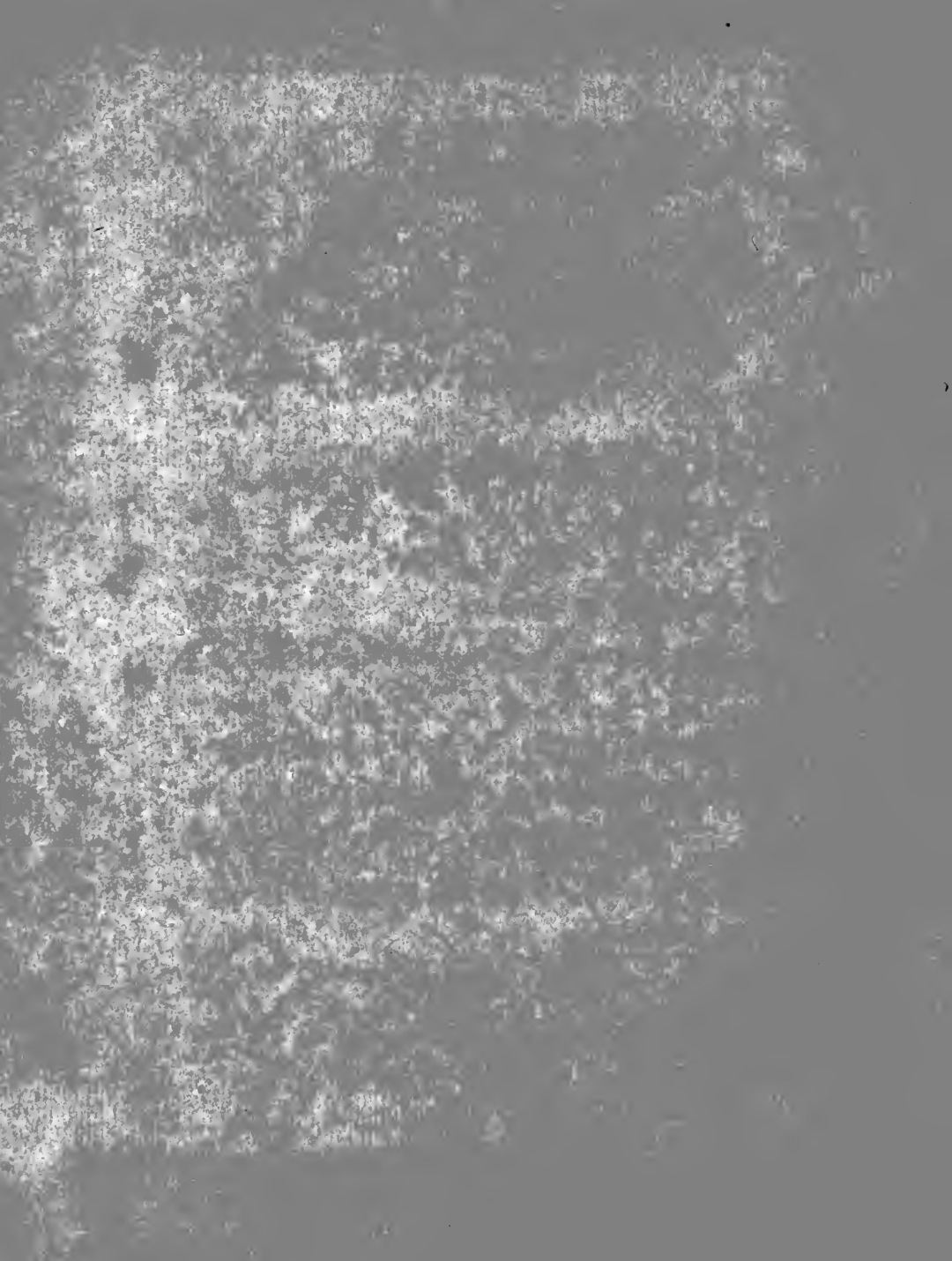
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REMARKS
UPON *Sam^r Miller*
The Ecclesiastical History
OF THE
Antient Churches
OF THE
ALBIGENSES.

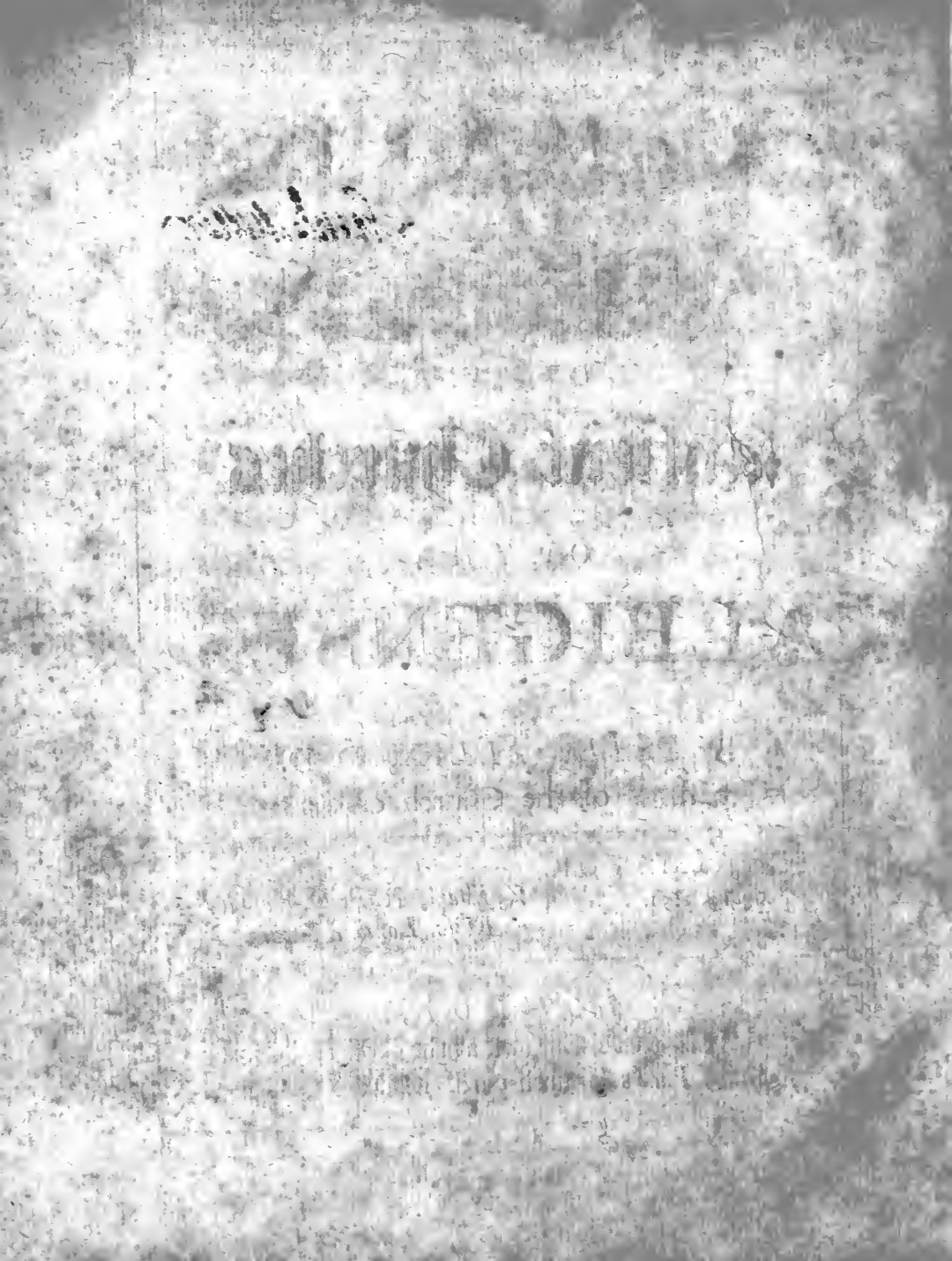
By *P*ETER *A*LLIX, D. D.
Treasurer of the Church of Sarum.

IMPRIMATUR.

August 3. 1691.

Z. Isbam, R. P. D. Henrico
Episc. Lond. à Sacris.

L O N D O N,
Printed for Richard Chiswell at the Rose and Crown
in St. Paul's Church-yard, MDCXCII.



T O T H E
Q U E E N .

May it please your Majesty,

THIS Defence of the *Albigenses*, the Antient and Illustrious Confessors, who some Ages ago enlightned the Southern Parts of *France*, is laid down at your Majesty's Feet for Your Protection, as well as their Successors do now fly into your Dominions for Relief. That Charity which moves your Majesty to protect them by your Gracious Favour, and support them by your Royal Bounty, makes me presume to offer this Historical Apology to your Sacred Majesty.

Their Faith was in most things the same with that which our Reformers taught in opposition to the Church of *Rome* ; and after all the Endeavours that have been used to blacken them by the most horrid Calumnies, as well as to destroy them by the cruellest Inquisitions and Croisades, the Innocency of their Lives, and the Exemplariness of their Deaths, makes them to be justly gloried in as the true Authors of the Reformation.

It was from them that this Church (now so happy in your Majesty) receiv'd the first Beams of that heavenly Light, which it now enjoys, and which it of late maintained with such vast Advantages, that it is deservedly esteemed the chief Body, as well as the justest Glory, of the whole Reformation. The Persecutions of those earliest Restorers of the
Doctrinē

Doctrines of Jesus Christ, drove them out of their Country, and forced many to fly into this Kingdom for shelter, who brought with them the first Seeds of those Truths which have since yielded so plentiful an Increase. There is nothing in this History that will either strike or charm. Those true Disciples of their crucified Master, were considerable for nothing but the Purity of their Doctrine, the Innocency of their Lives, and the Patience as well as the Constancy of their Sufferings. But the Glories of this World which surround your Majesty, do not darken or lessen in your Esteem these distinguishing Characters of the Religion of Christ our Saviour, and of those his Suffering Members, in whose Afflictions you are pleased to take so great a share, that you do very much diminish

nish their own sense of them, and make them so much the easier by those vast Supports you give them.

May that God who has raised up your Majesty to support Religion, and protect its Confessors in their lowest Circumstances, and who has so miraculously preserved and prospered the King and your Majesty in Opposition to the Enemies and Persecutors of his Truth, still pour down the richest of his Blessings upon your Majesties; May You perfect what You have so gloriously begun; May You be Long, Great and Happy here, and infinitely Greater and Happier for ever. These are the daily Wishes and most earnest Prayers of,

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesties most Dutiful, most Faithful,

and most Obedient Subject,

PETER ALLIX.

T H E
P R E F A C E.

I*T was no hard matter for us to justify the Waldenses from the Accusation of Schism, which the Bishop of Meaux thought fit to charge upon them; for by shewing the Antiquity, Purity, and Succession of those Churches, I have made it appear, that what the Bishop calls Schism, ought in Justice to be look'd upon as a vigorous Opposition to the false Worship and Usurpations of the Romish Faction; and by consequence, that there is no more reason to call the Waldenses Schismatics, because of their refusing Subjection to the Pope, and rejecting the Errors of the Church of Rome, than there is to call the Church of England Schismatical for the same Reasons.*

But it is so long since the heads of the Church of Rome have founded their Design of an Universal Monarchy, and so have fitted their Stile to their Pretensions, that it is now become a very familiar thing with them, to treat those as Rebels and Schis-

Schismatics, who will not submit to their Authority : so that we need not wonder if they, who have espoused the Interest of the Church of Rome, and who defend her against the Protestants, do boldly charge those with Schism against whom they write, without giving themselves the trouble of proving their Charge.

Nay, perhaps we are to think our selves obliged to the Bishop of Meaux, who raising himself a little above the common Method of the Doctors of his own Communion, has limited himself to accuse the Waldenses of Schism only, whereas he might with as much reason, have charg'd them with Heresy, if he had followed the Writers of Controversy of his own Party, or the Legends of the Saints of his Communion. For it is certain, that the Writers of Controversy in the Church of Rome, and those who have writ the Lives of those Inquisitors that have been canoniz'd, have never look'd upon the Waldenses as any other than Manichees ; so thorowly rooted is the Spirit of Calummy in the Members of that Church : the Character of Father of Lies, being very necessary to support that of Murtherer honourably, whereof they have been in Possession so very long.

I cannot tell whether the Bishop of Meaux has forgiven himself for his Tenderness towards the Waldenses, whom he only treats as Schismatics. For seeing one Day informs another, and that thus Men come to refine their Notions to the utmost, who knows but the Bishop, who when he writ his Book of Variations, had only obscurely hinted, that to accuse the Pope of being Antichrist, was a Character of Manicheism; who knows, I say, but that now he sees so clearly, that the Waldenses have formally declared that the Pope is Antichrist, he will not a-new make them Manichees once more, the better to accommodate himself with the Maxims of his New System? If he should not do it himself, to avoid the shame of being guilty of a Variation, at least it's very obvious to believe, that some of those who are engaged with him in the same Cause, will not fail of taking that Course; and therefore I am glad I have prevented him, by showing, that the Waldenses were no Manichees, though they took the Pope to be Antichrist.

Be it as it will, I hope it will not be harder for us to justify the Albigenes from the Accusations brought against them by the Bishop of
a Meaux.

Meaux. He uses his utmost Endeavours to maintain a most abominable Calumny raised by his Predecessors, and strives, by representing the Albigenes as a People who had revived the Errors of the Manichees, to make them equally odious to those of the Church of Rome, and the Protestants of France, whom his Violence, together with that of his Colleagues, have forc'd to take upon them the external Profession of Popery.

The Jews built the Tombs of those Prophets, whom their Fathers slew; process of Time having cur'd them of their Fury, that enrag'd their Forefathers against the Ambassadors of Heaven. Those of the Church of Rome only, know not what it is to disown the Rage and Slanders of their Predecessors. She has accused the Albigenes of Manicheism, and has done it on purpose to inspire her Votaries with a barbarous Cruelty, against a People, who refus'd to bear the Yoak of her Tyranny: And 'tis to please her, that her Ministers must still go on to tear the Memory of those faithful Servants of God, for the utter Extirpation of whom she formerly armed the Hands of all the furious Zealots of her Communion.

And as in handling the *History of the Waldenses*, I thought needful for the Satisfaction of the Reader, to make some Remarks on their Original, their Succession, their Separation from the Church of Rome, and their Ministry; so I intend now to follow the same Method exactly in these Observations on the *History of the Albigenes*; and I hope this will be equally useful to shew what care God hath taken to preserve these other illustrious Witnesses of his Truth, notwithstanding all those Corruptions that overspread the Churches of the West.

I have set down the Character of the Manichees, both Antient and Modern, in my Remarks upon the History of the Churches of Piedmont, so fully, that it will not be necessary to repeat what I say there in this Treatise.

I. Because it is certain, that it was rather Humour in the Bishop of Meaux, that he did not accuse them of Manicheism, than any due regard to Truth, the Waldenses having been as much accused of Manicheism, as the Albigenes; neither are there any more solid Proofs to convict the Albigenes of those Errors, than the Waldenses:

2. Because this new Hypothesis of the Bishop of Meaux, wherein he asserts, that to accuse the Pope of being Antichrist, is a Character of Manicheism, is so excessively ridiculous, that it is hard to guess, how even the Bishop himself, could ever give Entertainment to it.

It is a very surprizing thing to see the Bishop maintain, in his new Commentary upon the Revelation, that the Prophecies of St. John concerning Antichrist, were actually accomplished above 1200 Years since. Antichrist then must have made his escape in the Crowd, without being at all perceiv'd; for the greatest Lights of the Church, and those who had their Eyes most open to discover him, never perceiv'd any thing of all this. Vega and Ribera, who have written on the Revelations with as much Learning as the Bishop of Meaux, were never able to make any Discovery in antient History that could be applicable to the Apocalypse; and all the Romish Writers of Controversy, must have been a Company of Asses, not to stumble upon so easy an Answer, which would eternally have stopp'd the Mouths of the Protestants in so ticklish and tender a Point.

But

But 'tis no matter, since two Protestant Authors, and those of the first Rank too, Grotius and Hammond, have handed this Notion to the Bishop: it being very probable, that the Bishop did for this Reason, hinder the Clergy from putting the Works of Grotius in the Catalogue of Books, which they forbid a little before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes: and he would have been as civil to Dr. Hammond too, if his Commentary upon the New Testament had been known to him, any where else than in Pool's Synopsis. And really these great Men very well deserv'd, that a particular Regard should be had to them; their Mistake in the point of Antichrist having prov'd as advantageous to the Church of Rome, as their learned Works can be profitable to the Protestants.

But it is yet a more surprizing thing to see the Bishop make this Charge of the Albigenes against the Pope, a Character of their being Manichees, which none that have ever writ against them before, have taken the least notice of.

Whatever the Success may be of so groundless a Charge, I shall make it appear, that the Bishop of Meaux could not accuse the Albigenes, without making great Numbers of his best Catholicks suspected,
and

and Abettors of the Manicheism of the Albigenſes in this Point.

I thought it was my Duty to clear Wicklef and his Diſciples from the Slanders caſt upon them by the Biſhop of Meaux : I know very well, that he has done nothing, but repeat the old Calumnies wherewith the Papiſts formerly endeavoured to blacken that great Man, without taking the leaſt notice of the Apologies that have been made in his behalf. But either Men muſt reſolve never to write againſt theſe Gentlemen, or be content to undergo the Drudgery of repeating publickly thoſe ſolid Anſwers that have been returned to their Accuſations before ; which the Writers of the Romiſh Party always think fit to diſſemble.

*I hope however, that ſeeing the Matter I undertake to treat of, naturally engaged me to take notice of great Numbers of Matters of Fact, which were neceſſary to be examined towards the clearing of this Subject ; and that the Malice and Cruelty of the Enemies of theſe antient Chriſtians have robb'd us of what might be moſt material for their Juſtification : the Reader will not expect, I ſhould put theſe Remarks into any other form, than that in which I wrote my Remarks upon the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Churches
of*

of Piedmont. For I could neither write a continued History, nor dispense with the Examination of several Matters of Fact, which could not be cleared so well as they ought, without some critical Enquiries, that will be unpleasant to all those who search for any thing else but Truth. I have confined my self here entirely to the enquiry after, and illustration of that alone; and I am persuaded, that those who will take the pains to weigh what I have said in these following Sheets with care, will be of the same Opinion. And I heartily wish, that it may triumph over Falshood, and Innocence prevail against all the Assaults of Obloquy and Slander.

CORRIGENDA.

THE Reader is desired to make Allowances for these Alterations in the first 100 Pages; because the Publisher had not the Original *French* Copy till those Sheets were wrought off; and he thinks, that all Men will sooner excuse him for annexing them to the Preface, where they may appear not so beautiful, than if he should have suffered them to pass unregarded, since that might have led the Reader into Mistakes, and at last reflected upon himself. He says this the more willingly, because he is confident that no Man will charge the Author with it in the least, since his Unacquaintedness with our Language, easily justifies him from any manner of Imputation upon that Account.

Page 6. Line 20. read *Gauls, which they remained.* p. 7. l. 21. for *Photinus* r. *Pothinus.* p. 10. l. penult. r. by *Fenardentius.* p. 19. l. 31. r. *preserved us one of his Books.* p. 24. l. 24. r. *trusting Chastity with any.* p. 27. l. 20. r. *Pope Syricius to Hymerius.* p. 30. l. 1. r. *But the pleasanter thing of all is, that St. Jerome.* — l. 11. f. *Deum* r. *Diem.* p. 31. l. 11. for *Deo* read *alio.* p. 33. l. 22. r. *Ecclesie Catholice,* cap. 34. p. 37. l. 24. r. *being ill advised.* p. 39. l. 7. from the bottom, for *That great Emperor,* r. *Maximus the Emperor.*

Page 47. l. 19. after *mentem,* add, *Nam taliter sermo omnes agunt, ut eos non tam patēs antea penitentiam criminum egisse, quam postea ipsius penitentiaē penitere: nec tam prius penituisse quod male vixerint, quam postea quod se promiserint bene esse victuros: Novum profus conversionis genus! licita non faciunt, & illicita committunt. Temperant à concubitu, & non temperant à rapina. — Quid agis stulta persuasio? Peccata interdixit Deus non Matrimonia; non conveniunt studiis vestris facta vestra: non debetis esse amici criminum, qui dicitis vos sectatores esse virtutum.*

“ Who under a shew of Religion, are Slaves to the Vices of this World; who
“ having taken upon themselves a Title of Holiness, after the Reproaches and
“ Scandals of former Crimes, do not alter their Lives by a new Conversation,
“ but change their Names by a new Profession; and thinking that the Sum of
“ the Worship of God lies more in their Clothes than their Actions, they have
“ only changed their Garments, not their Minds: for they do almost all things, &c.
P. 62. l. 4. from bott. for *the Prayer* r. *Prayers.* p. 69. l. 3. r. *use of again.* p. 70.
l. 4. r. *find solved in.*

P. 78. l. 32. *once mentioned* should be in Italick. p. 81. l. 19. from *concerning Expositors* to *which sort of Writings,* must be struck out; and these Words put in;
“ The blessed Father *Augustin* has told us, that we ought to have quite another
“ Opinion of Expositions, than that which you hold; who in his Book against
“ *Faulstas* the *Manichee,* speaks not only of those which have been blamed by
“ Learned Men, but also of those which have been approved of, after this manner. Which sort of Writings, &c. P. 88. l. 11. dele *giving that account of.*
p. 113. l. 18. r. *continual.* p. 141. l. 5. dele *of.* p. 156. l. 18. f. *Hours* r. *Times.*
p. 180. l. 7. r. *the conduct.* p. 183. l. 13. r. *Heresies.* p. 206. col. 1. l. 17. for
Anglicā, which seems to be a Mistake either in the Copy, or in the Original
MS. r. *Angelicā.* — l. 26. f. *five* r. *sive.* p. 208. col. 1. l. 5. f. *enim* r. *eum.*
p. 227. l. 15. dele. P. 248. l. 10. r. *Stere* of * * * *

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REMARKS
 UPON THE
 Ecclesiastical History
 OF THE
Ancient Churches
 OF THE
 Country of the Albigenfes.

C H A P. I.

*Concerning the Original of the Churches of Gallia
 Narbonensis and Aquitain.*

BEfore the Gauls were entirely reduc'd by *Cesar* under the Power of the Roman Empire, and after that under the said Emperor, *Gallia* was commonly divided into two Parts, whereof the one was called *Braccata*, the other *Comata*. *Gallia Braccata* contained not only that part of *Italy*, which is beyond the *Alps*, and was nam'd *Cisalpina*, but also *Gallia Narbonensis*, whereof *Vicenna* was

B the

the Capital City. The other, to wit, *Gallia Comata*, was divided into three parts; the first whereof was called *Belgica*, the other *Celtica*, and the third *Aquitain*. But *Augustus* being absolute Master of *Gaule*, made some Alteration in this Division; for he extended the Bounds of *Aquitain*, by restraining those of *Celtica*, and distinguished *Aquitain* into three Provinces, whereof the first and second were on this side of the *Garonne*, and reached to the *Loyre*; the third reached from the *Garonne* to the Pyrenean Mountains. *Bourges* and *Bourdeaux* were the Mother-Cities of the first and second of these Provinces; and *Eulfe* or *Eaulse* was the Metropolis of the third, which City having been destroyed by the Wars, *Ausch* succeeded her in that Dignity.

As for *Gallia Narbonensis*, which at first was only a Province, whereof *Vienna* was the Capital City, *Augustus* was pleased to take that Honour from her, to bestow it upon *Lions*, which seemed to him more commodious to be made the Seat of Government. This Province was afterward changed, by being divided into four Parts, viz. into *Narbonensis*, *Viennensis*, the *Maritime Alps* and the *Greek Alps*. And after this Division, *Narbonensis* was again subdivided into two parts, the first and second, as may be seen since the fourth Century.

It was needful at the entrance of this Discourse, to give the Reader this short Draught of the Countries that went under the Name of *Gallia*, to give him an Idea of that part of them, where we intend to shew him the Continuation of that Church which gave birth to the Albigenes, and furnished the West with Witnesses of so great weight against the Corruptions of the Romish Party; and indeed though the *Visi-Gothes*, who cut off these Provinces from the Roman Empire; and afterwards the French, who destroyed the *Visi-Gothes* in the time of *Clovis*, made very great Changes in this Division of *Gallia Narbonensis* and *Aquitain*, yet we may exactly observe, that the Church of these Provinces, hath well nigh always made a distinct Body by her Synods and Canons.

It is a matter of Difficulty precisely to fix the first Rise of these Churches. I own that some Greek Fathers have believ'd, that *St. Luke* and *Crescens*, Disciples of *St. Paul*, did preach the Gospel

Gospel in *Gallia*; but that which engaged them in this Opinion, ſeems of little or no ſolidity. And the *Galatia* mention'd by *St. Paul* in the ſecond of *Timothy*, doth not ſignify *Gallia*, but a Province of the leſſer *Asia*, as the learned *Petavius* acknowledgeth.

Others have believed, that *St. Paul* himſelf preached the Gospel in theſe Provinces, as he paſſed through them in his way to *Spain*, where the fourth Century took it for granted that he preached the Gospel: but neither doth this ſeem grounded upon ſufficient Authority; and we do not find that the antient Authors of theſe Countries did ever maintain any ſuch thing.

Should we indeed, as to this Point, give credit to the moſt part of the Romiſh Legends, to which *Baronius* in his Annals pays too great a Deference, it would be an eaſy matter to give to the moſt part of theſe Churches a moſt auſt Original. We might ſuppoſe that *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* were the Founders of them by the Miniſtry of their Diſciples, or that *Clement* Biſhop of *Rome* ſent them thither almoſt immediately after the Martyrdom of the Apoſtles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*. They tell us that *Paul* was the firſt Biſhop of *Narbon*, *Saturninus* of *Tolouſe*, *Martialis* of *Limoges*, *Frontinus* of *Perigueux*, *Vincentius* of *Daegs*, *Georgius* of *Puy*, *Eutropius* of *Xaintes*: Much like as for ſome Ages ſince, in moſt of the other Churches of *France*, they ſuppoſe that the firſt Biſhops were ſent them by the ſame Apoſtles, or by their firſt Succeſſors.

But we meet with nothing but Falſities in theſe pretended Traditions: and it is impoſſible to reconcile them with what *Sulpicius Severus* and *Gregorius Turonenſis* tell us concerning the Riſe of Chriſtian Religion among the Gauls. The former of theſe diſtinctly aſſures us, that *Gaule* never had any Martyrs before the Empire of *Aurelius* Son of *Antoninus*, Hiſt. lib. 2. *Sub Aurelio Antonini filio Perſecutio quinta agitata; ac tunc primum inter Gallias Martyria viſa, ſerius trans Alpes Dei Religione ſuſcepta.* “ The fifth Perſecution was carried on under *Aurelius*, *Antonine*’s “ Son; and then firſt were Martyrdoms ſeen among the Gauls, “ the Divine Religion having been later entertained beyond “ the *Alps*. This ſingle Period of *Severus* gives Sentence againſt

all those pretended Martyrs wherewith the Churches of *France* have fill'd their Breviaries. The latter tells us plainly, that it was not till the Empire of *Decius*, about the year 250, that the City of *Tholouse* had for her first Bishop *Saturninus*, who was sent from *Rome* in company of six others, into the Country of the Gauls, to preach the Gospel, to wit, *Gatian* at *Tours*, *Trophimus* at *Arles*, *Paul* at *Narbon*, *Dionysius* at *Paris*, *Austremoine* at *Clermont*, and *Martialis* at *Limoges*. This is that which is clearly proved from the Acts of the Martyrdom of St. *Saturninus*, cited by *Gregory* Bishop of *Tours*.

These Testimonies of two antient Authors, the one of the 5th Century, and the other more antient, viz. the same who wrote the Martyrdom of St. *Saturninus*, have made such an Impression upon some of the Learnedest Men of the Roman Communion, viz. upon *Bosquet* Bishop of *Montpelier*, *Sirmond*, and *Launoy* the famous Doctor of the Faculty of *Paris*, as to make them with Scorn reject those Legends, which ascribe more antient Founders to these Churches, notwithstanding that they are the greatest Ornament of the Breviaries of the Gallican Church, and that they cannot lose their Credit, without shaking the belief of abundance of Miracles, and the Authority of a great number of Devotions.

And indeed, what reason is there to own a Tradition for authentick, which we scarcely find back'd with any Witness for the space of above 700 years? Besides, don't we know, that it was the Dispute about Precedency between the Churches in the 8th and 9th Century, and which we find lasted till the 12th, that engaged the several Parties to devise this great Antiquity, and boldly change that, which before had been the current Belief of their Churches, because it did not answer their Pretensions, nor comport with their Vanity, to substitute instead thereof fabulous Originals, under whose shelter they might maintain a Dispute with more advantage against those that were on even ground with them?

But however it be difficult to fix the certain Original of these Churches, for the Gothick Liturgy, which was used in these Provinces, assures us that St. *Saturninus* came from *Smyrna*, from whence it should seem that the first Founders of the Churches
of

of *Lions* and *Vienna* came likewise, yet thus much we may assert that the Gospel soon took deep root there.

My Design is not to refute here what the Authors of the Legends have inserted in their fabulous Relations, concerning the Establishment of the Christian Religion in these Provinces, and the Character of the Piety of those first Founders of Christianity, of their Precepts and of their Miracles. Indeed there is reason to deplore either the boundless Impudence of the Pastors of the Roman Communion, in obtruding such palpable Falsties, or the prodigious Stupidity of the People of that Church, who feed themselves with Stories more fabulous than those of *Amadis* of *Gaul*, and make them the Subject of their Devotion. We read in the Life of *St. Martial*, that after the Saint had converted *Limoges*, he there consecrated Churches to the Honour of Jesus Christ, of the *H. Virgin*, and *St. Stephen*, whose Cousin he was. We read that he raised to Life the Priests of the Idol, whom God had struck dead with a Clap of Thunder, for their poisoning *St. Martial*; and that, after their Resurrection, he converted them. We find that he admitted to the Vow of Virginity a Person called *Valeria*, who some time after having had her Head cut off, by order of the Duke of *Guienne*, whose Courtship she had slighted, immediately took up her Head, and carried it to *St. Martial*, as he was saying Mass. We find him there going to *Rome* to give an account to *St. Peter* of his Commission: all this is very gravely related by the *Legendaries*; yea, the Impudence of these Knaves proceeded to that Point, as in the ninth Century, to conciliate Authority to these fabulous Relations. Several Councils were assembled at *Limoges*, where with intolerable Impudence they imposed two Epistles upon *St. Martial*, the one as writ to those of *Tholouse*, and the other to those of *Bourdeaux*, and which bear much a like Resemblance to the Apostolical Writings of those times, as Asses do to *Lions*: and all that these insipid Authors tell us about it, is so entirely framed according to the Manners, Notions and Customs of the later Ages, that we can find nothing in their Writings but what some stupid Monks have insolently invented and patch'd together, with so little regard to Reason, that one of these extravagant Fellows maintains that
the

the Blessed Virgin was saying her Rosary at the time she was visited by the Angel *Gabriel*.

It is not certainly known whether the Books which *St. Irenaeus* has written against the *Valentinians*, ought to persuade us that those Hereticks had then already spread themselves among the *Gauls*; for seeing he writ them in Greek, this Work seems to have been designed against the Hereticks of the East; for though we have a Translation of these Books, more ancient than the time of *S. Austin*, yet we have no Proof that it was done with Design to refute Persons who had endeavoured to corrupt the Faith from the very Beginning of its Establishment in *Gaul*.

True it is, that in the fourth Century, *Arianism* had considerably corrupted and infected the Purity of these Diocesses: *Saturninus* Bishop of *Arles*, and those of his Cabal, having condemned *St. Hilary* Bishop of *Poitiers*, for an Heretick, because he opposed *Arianism* with all his Might; but soon after we find that Truth raised her self again from under its Ruins: For though at the beginning of the fifth Century the *Visigothes* who were *Arians*, had made themselves Masters of these Provinces of the *Gauls*, and which they remain possess'd of till they were taken from them by *Clovis* King of *France*; yet we do not find that *Arianism* ever prevailed there, the Vigilance of the Pastors having prevented the Peoples yielding so far to the Authority of these *Arian* Kings, as to follow them in their Error, the very Nature of these Disputes engaging the Enemies of the Church to maintain such Maxims, as put a stop to the Peoples Superstition, with respect to the Veneration of Martyrs.

I am not ignorant that *St. Gaudentius* takes notice that several *Priscillianists* were scattered up and down these Provinces, and *Priscillianism* was nothing else but *Masichism* in Perfection, as appears from the Writings of *St. Astin*. But this evil Plant withered soon after; both the *Arians*, who were Masters, and the *Orthodox*, equally joining their Endeavours to confound that Heresy. Neither indeed do we find after the sixth Century, any mention made of *Priscillianists* in these parts; so that we may affirm that Christianity was preserved there with much Purity in those primitive times, and arrived to such a Degree

gree of Strength and Vigor, as to baniſh both thoſe Heresies, whereof the one attack'd the Father of our Saviour, and the other denied the Divinity of the Son.

But what I have already ſaid in general, is not ſufficient to give us a competent and juſt Idea of the Chriſtianity which was planted in theſe Provinces, and which the *Albigenſes* have ſo happily aſſerted, both by their Preachings and Sufferings. We muſt therefore take a Review of theſe Primitive Ages, and conſider a little wherein conſiſted that Religion which theſe Dioceſſes received from thoſe firſt Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, who conveyed thither the Doctrines of the Goſpel, and transmitted the ſame to Poſterity, as a ſacred Truſt committed to them.

C H A P. II.

The Faith of the Church of the Gauls in the Second Century.

WE have no *Gallick* Author, whoſe Name is ſo famous as *St. Irenæus*; he was a Diſciple of *St. Polycarp* Biſhop of *Smerna*; and being ſent into *Gaul* by that Apoſtolic Man, he was firſt Prieſt of the Church of *Lions*, and afterwards ſucceeded *Photinus*, firſt Biſhop of that City; it was in his time that the Church ſuffered the fifth Perſecution under the Government of the Emperors *Verus* and *Marcus Aurelius*. *Eusebius* has preſerved the Relation of the Martyrdom of the Believers of *Lions* and *Vienna*, which according to all Probability is judged to have been made by *St. Irenæus* in the Name of both theſe Churches.

*Euseb. l. 4.
c. 20.*

This Relation tells us firſt of all, that the Roman Preſident having cauſed ſome Slaves to be apprehended that belong'd to Chriſtians, made them confeſs, at the Sight of Tortures prepared

pared for them, that the Christians did eat Children in their Assemblies, and that they there promiscuously polluted themselves by abominable Incests; which was afterwards confirmed by weak Christians, who for fear of Torments abjured their Religion.

2. That the Christians having confuted this Calumny, by their Constancy in enduring the Torments, and above all the rest *Blandina*, who after a whole day's suffering Tortures, having cried with a loud Voice, *I am a Christian: there is no Wickedness committed amongst us:* (which was seconded by *Byblis*, who before had abjured) *How*, said she, *should the Christians, to whom it is not lawful to eat the Blood of Beasts, devour Infants?*

3. *Blandina* is represented to us in these Acts, as praying to God with great Affection, and as it were conversing with Jesus Christ in Prayer. *Attalus* being set in a Chair of Iron, to be there burnt, and perceiving the smell of his broiled Flesh, said to the Spectators in Latin; *In hoc demum est homines vorare quod agitis; nos verò neque homines voramus, neque omnino quicquam mali facimus.* "This that ye do here is indeed to devour Men; but as for us, we neither devour Men, nor do any thing at all that is evil.

Lastly; The Church was desirous to bury what remained of their Bodies, as the Relation informs us, but the Fury of the Pagans who burnt them to Ashes, hindered them: These are the chiefest Heads of this Relation, where we find nothing but God and Jesus Christ called upon, where we do not see the Believers troubling themselves to explain or qualify the corporal Manducation of the Body of Jesus Christ, as it became them to have done, had they believed their eating of him with their bodily Mouth; and where there is not the least Word that might give us to understand that these Churches took care to preserve these so precious Relicks, to honour them with their Adorations, as in latter times has been done.

We find here also the Spirit of Calumny transporting the Heathens against the Disciples of Jesus Christ; and how far the Cruelty of Torments may prevail to make Men confess the most enormous Calumnies to be true. The Reader must not forget these two Characters of old *Rome*, because the In-

quiſitors have renewed theſe very ſame Slanders againſt the Albigenſes, and have pretended to confirm them by Confeſſions which the Cruelty of their Tortures have forced from them.

Neither is it only in this Work of his, that St. *Irenæus* informs us, what in his time was the Faith of theſe Churches planted in *Gaul*, for he hath left us five Books, and *Eusebius* has preſerved for us ſome Epiſtles of that ancient Biſhop, altogether reſulgent with the Purity of the Faith delivered by the Apoſtles.

1. St. *Irenæus* gives us this for one Character of the Gnoſticks, that they embraced Doctrines which were not to be found in the Writings of the Prophets or the Apoſtles, *Lib. I. cap. 1. p. 33.*

And 'tis with the ſame Spirit that he attributes to Hereticks, the accusing of the Scripture for being unintelligible, without the Help of Tradition, whereas he maintains that that which had been preached, was committed to Writing by the ſpecial Will of God, to the end it might be the Ground and Pillar of our Faith, *Lib. 3. c. 1, & 2.* And that it is to make the Apoſtles Hypocrites, to ſuppoſe that they taught ſome things in publick, and others in private; whence it appears clearly, that when he makes uſe of Tradition, he only does it with reſpect to thoſe ſcriptural Doctrines which the Hereticks oppoſed, and whereof they pretended that the Apoſtles had left the contrary to thoſe that ſucceeded them, *Lib. 3. c. 2.* 'Tis upon this occaſion that he alledgeth the Teſtimony of the Church of *Rome*, founded by the Apoſtles St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, as of one that was moſt known: *Ad hanc enim Eccleſiam* (ſaith he) *propter potentiorem Principalitatem, neceſſe eſt omnem convenire Eccleſiam, hoc eſt eos qui ſunt undique fideles, in quo ſemper ab his qui ſunt undique conſervata eſt ea, quæ eſt ab Apoſtolis Traditio;* " For to this " Church, becauſe of its more powerful Superiority, it be- " hoves the whole Church to come, that is, the Believers " of all Parts, for as much as therein the Tradition from the " Apoſtles has always been preſerved by the Believers of all " parts. It is apparent that whatſoever Deſign he may have had to raiſe the Authority of the Church of *Rome*; he makes no other uſe of it, than to make out, that it was impoſſible thoſe Doctrines which the Hereticks gave out for Apoſtolic, ſhould

should be really so, seeing they were unknown to a Church which had had the Apostles and their Successors for her Guides, more especially seeing that Church was placed in the very Seat of the Empire, which continually drew to *Rome* a vast number of Believers from all the different places of the Empire, from whence they brought not along with them a different Tradition from that which they found in the Bosom of the Church of *Rome*.

That St. *Irenaeus* had no other aim but this, is owned by *F. Quesnel* in his Notes upon the tenth Epistle of St. *Leo*, pag. 809. And this appears evidently, because after all that Esteem which he had for the Church of *Rome*, he was not afraid to write to her Bishop very censuring Letters, upon the account of his having excommunicated the Churches of *Asia*, that celebrated Easter the fourteenth of the Moon of *March*, as also because he continued in the Communion of those Churches of *Asia*, without being concerned at the Excommunication of the Pope of *Rome*.

2. He reduces the whole Faith of Christians throughout the World, to that which we call the Apostles Creed, without mentioning so much as a Word of those Doctrines which the Church of *Rome* has superadded to it, pretending to confirm them by Tradition, *Lib. 1. c. 2.*

3. He maintains the Scriptures to be both clear and perfect, *Lib. 2. c. 47.*

4. He rejects the Doctrines which the Hereticks grounded upon the Explication of some Parables, maintaining that nothing ought to be established, but upon clear and evident places of Scripture, *Lib. 2. c. 46.*

5. It appears by his Writings, that Penance at that time was publick, without dispensing with Women that were overtaken with the Sins of Uncleanness, by which means being exposed to extream Confusion, it made some of them abjure Christianity, *Lib. 1. c. 9.*

6. He makes it appear that *Calibat* was not yet known in *Asia*, whence these first Christians of the *Gauls* derived their Original, which is acknowledged by the *Fevardentins*, *Lib. 1. c. 9.*

7. He

7. He aſſigns to the *Marcoſians* the cuſtom of anointing thoſe they received into their Communion, with Balm, [*Opo-baſamo*] which ſhews, that at that time extream Uction was not known: And we may make the ſame Obſervation from his imputing to other Hereticks the anointing of Perſons at the Point of Death, with Oil and Water, *Lib. 1. c. 18.*

8. He attributes to the Gnoſticks, the Imitation of the Heathens, becauſe they had the Images of Jeſus Chriſt, *Lib. 1. c. 24.* which makes it evident that the Chriſtians had no Images, much leſs that they gave to them any religious Worſhip. And indeed we find him reaſoning, *lib. 2. c. 6.* after ſuch a manner, as ſhews that the Chriſtians were yet in full Poſſeſſion of a Right to reproach the Heathens with all thoſe Abſurdities that ariſe from the Uſe of Images. The ſame may alſo be gathered from *lib. 2. c. 42.* where he divides the Law into two Tables, in a manner very different from that of the Doctours of the Roman Church, and altogether conformable to the Judgment of *Joſephus* and other Jewiſh Doctours.

9. He makes it appear that he knew nothing of the Separability of Accidents from their Subjects, which is the ſole Support of Tranſubſtantiation, *lib. 2. c. 14.*

10. He in plain terms rejects the Invocation of Angels, inſtead thereof recommending that of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *lib. 2. c. 57.*

11. He aſſerts that the Bleſſed Virgin had unſeaſonable Motions, *intempetiſtam feſtinationem*, *John 2. 3.* ſo far was he from believing her wholly free from Sin, *lib. 2. c. 18.* This ſhews that when he ſaith, *cap. 33. Quod alligavit Virgo Eva per incredulitatem, hoc Virgo Maria ſolvit per fidem;* "What the Virgin *Eve* bound up by her Unbelief, that the Virgin *Mary* ſet free by her Faith; he doth not own the Virgin for the Perſon that ſaved Men, but his meaning is like that of *Heſchius*, who ſaid, ſpeaking of the Women to whom Jeſus Chriſt appeared after his Reſurrection; *Invenere enim*, ſaith he, *mulieres, quod olim amiſere per Evam, lucrum invenit ea, qua damni occaſionem prabuera.* "For the Women found what formerly they loſt by *Eve*; ſhe found the Gain, who had been an occaſion of the Loſs, *T. 15. B. P. p. 823. col. 1.*

And this is the sense likewise of that other Passage of St. *Irenæus*, which we find, *lib. 5. c. 19.* for though he calls the Virgin, *Eve's Advocate*, it plainly appears that he meant nothing else but what is express'd by St. *Chrysostom* in *Pf. 44. T. 3. p. 221.* *Virginos Paradiso expulit, per Virginem vitam aeternam invenimus.* "A Virgin drove us out of Paradise, and by a Virgin we have found eternal Life."

12. That he did not believe we ought to have recourse to the Intercession of Saints, can be invincibly demonstrated from hence, because he did not believe that the Faithful should see the Face of God before the Day of Judgment, *lib. 5. c. 3.*

13. He plainly asserts that the Apostolical Succession is of no Consideration without the Truth of Doctrine. *Lib. 4. c. 43.* so far was he from making it a bar to hinder Believers from examining the Doctrine propounded to them.

14. He maintains that the Gates of Heaven were open'd to Jesus Christ, because of the Assumption of his Flesh; so far was he from believing that his glorified Body could penetrate Bodies. *Lib. 3. c. 18. & lib. 4. c. 66.*

He asserts that Jesus Christ, at his being born, opened the Blessed Virgin's Womb, *lib. 4. c. 66.* which the Church of *Rome* condemns for divers Reasons.

And for as much as he holds the Holy Ghost to be the Food of Life, *lib. 4. c. 75.* accordingly he maintains, *c. 2. lib. 5.* that our Bodies are nourished by the Creatures of God received in the Eucharist, and that they receive growth by them.

He distinctly asserts that the Sacrament of the Eucharist, as to its Substance, consists of Bread and Wine, which are the Creatures of God, which he receives as Oblations of a different kind from the Sacrifices of the old Testament; and indeed in case he had otherwise conceived the matter, he would have favoured the Opinion of the Gnosticks, who pretending that the Work of the Creation was not the Work of the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, could never have lighted upon a more comfortable Doctrine than that of Transubstantiation, by means of which the Nature of Bread and Wine would be destroyed by Jesus Christ in the Sacrament, and nothing left but the Accidents, that is to say, meer Fantomes, without any thing of Reality. *L. 4. c. 34, & 57.* In

In like manner we find him aſſerting, *lib. 5. c. 33.* that what Jeſus Chriſt gave to his Diſciples in the Cup, was the Generation or Product of the Vine.

15. We ſee clearly from what *Eusebius* has preſerved of *St. Irenæus*, that the Variety in obſerving a Faſt before Eaſter was very great, and that there was no Law of the Apoſtles, or of Jeſus Chriſt injoining it, every one uſing it according to his own free Will and Devotion. We find alſo that whatſoever Reſpect *St. Irenæus* had for the Church of *Rome*, he was no more inclined to be led by her ſole Authority, than *St. Polycarp* was, whom he much commends; and if he conſidered her as an Apoſtolick Church, yet he never attributed to her any Authority over the other Flocks of the Lord.

I will not diſſemble that *St. Irenæus* ſeems ſomewhat at a loſs, about the ſtate of Believers after Death; but to this it is ſufficient to ſay; 1. That we find in *St. Irenæus* an Abridgment of the Faith almoſt in the ſame form that we find it in the Apoſtles Creed, as it is called. 2. That if we do not agree to all the Opinions of *St. Irenæus*, about the State of Souls after Death; 'tis certain that the Doctōrs of the Church of *Rome* do at leaſt reject as many Articles as we do, yea and more too.

From what I have ſaid, we may however perceive what was the State of the Chriſtian Religion in *Gaul*, a little after the middle of the ſecond Century, which is the time wherein *St. Irenæus* lived and flouriſhed.

I wiſh I could produce for the following Century as Authentick a Witneſs concerning the State of the Churches in this part of *Gaul*; but indeed though there were diverſe famous Writers, whoſe Works are cited by *St. Jerome*, yet there is in a manner nothing of them left to us. I know there are ſome who believe that *Victorinus* was Biſhop of *Poitiers* in the third Century: but this is not found true, for it is certain that he was Biſhop of *Paſſau Patavionenſis*, and not *Pictavienſis*; ſo that we muſt proceed to thoſe who can inform us of the State of this part of *Gaul*, during the fourth Century.

C H A P. III.

The Faith of Gallia Aquitanica, and Narbonensis, in the Fourth Century.

ST. Hilary Bishop of *Poitiers*, a famous Confessor in the Persecution which the *Arians* stirr'd up against the Orthodox, can afford us much Light concerning the State and Faith of these Diocesses: This great Man was married. as he who published his Works at *Paris* owns, after the famous *Baptista Mantuanus*, observing that the Law for the Celibacy of the Clergy was not yet introduced, and that before that time, as *St. Jerom* expresseth it, they rather made choice of married Persons, than unmarried, because the former were judged more proper for the Functions of the Holy Ministry.

But this is not the only Article wherein he differ'd from *Po*pery, as well as the Church of *Aquitain*.

1. He counts the Canonical Books as we do, and plainly holds them for Apocryphal, which we reject, as we find in the Preface to his Commentary upon the Book of *Psalms*.

2. He lays it down for an Error and piece of Impiety to look upon the Scripture as imperfect, in *Psalms* 118. *Lit. Van.*

3. He asserts that Ignorance is not capable of excusing Men, seeing the Scripture is propos'd to us as the Rule of our Faith and Manners: *Non habet veniam ignorantio voluntatis; quia sub scientia facultate nescire, repudiata magis, quam non reperta scientia est reatus: Ob id enim longe à Peccatoribus salus, quia non exquisierint Justificationes Dei: Nam utique non ob aliud consignata literis manent, quam ut ad universorum scientiam, notionemque defluerent.*

“ Ignorance of the Divine Will gives no Excuse; because to be ignorant when we may learn, makes us guilty of rejecting

“ Knowledg, rather than missing of it: For therefore is Salvation far from Sinners, because they search not after that

“ which

“ which juſtifies before God, and which indeed is for no other
 “ reaſon preſerv'd in Writing, but that it might be derived
 “ to the Knowledge and Underſtanding of all. This is a Stile,
 and theſe are Maxims very different from thoſe of the Church
 of Rome.

4. He affirms that we are to be ignorant of whatſoever the
 Scripture doth not teach us: and after having aſſerted, that it
 is the Character of Hereticks to conceal the Holy Scripture,
fol. 204. he maintains that it is another Mark of Hereſy to
 believe beyond what the Goſpel teacheth us. *Tu qui ultra E-*
vangelium ſapis, neceſſe eſt ut aliis alibi arcanorum doctrinis, cogniti-
onem Paterni nominis adeptus ſis. “ Thou who art wiſe beyond
 “ the Goſpel, it muſt needs be that thou haſt elſewhere by
 “ other ſecret Doctrines, attained the Knowledge of God the
 “ Father, *fol. 132.*

5. He aſſerts, that it was the Will of God, that the
 Scripture ſhould be plain and clear. *Quanta enim potuit Domi-*
nus, verborum ſimplicitate evangelicam fidem locutus eſt, & in tantum
ad intelligentiam noſtram ſermones aptavit, in quantum natura noſtra
ferret infirmitas, non tamen ut quicquam minus dignum natura ſua
majeſtate loqueretur. “ The Lord hath expreſs'd the Faith of
 “ the Goſpel in the greateſt Simplicity of Words he could,
 “ and ſo far accommodated his Speech to our Underſtanding,
 “ as the Weakneſs of our Nature would bear, yet ſo as not to
 “ ſpeak any thing unbecoming the Majeſty of his Nature.

6. He there alſo confirms the Fulneſs of Scripture after a
 moſt Authentick manner: *Lib. 8. de Trin. Non eſt humano aut*
ſeculi ſenſu in Dei rebus loquendum; “ In the things of God we
 “ are not to ſpeak according to a humane or worldly ſenſe and
 “ meaning. And a little after; *Qua ſcripta ſunt legamus, &*
qua legerimus intelligamus, & tunc perfecta fidei officio fungemur.
 “ Let us read what is written, and underſtand what we read,
 “ ſo ſhall we diſcharge the Duty of perfect Faith. So likewiſe,
lib. 5. p. 46. Non eſt de Deo humanis judiciis ſentiendum, neque in
nobis ea natura eſt, ut ſe in cœleſtem cognitionem ſuis viribus efferat;
à Deo diſcendum eſt, quid ex Deo intelligendum ſit; quia non niſi ſe
authore cognoscitur. “ We muſt not think of God according to
 “ humane Judgment, for neither is our Nature ſuch, to be
 “ able:

“ able to raise it self by its own Strength to Heavenly Know-
 “ ledg; we must learn of God whatsoever is to be under-
 “ stood of him, because he is not to be known any further
 “ than as he is the Author of our Knowledge. And a little
 “ after; *Loquendum ergo non aliter de Deo est, quam ut ipse ad intel-*
ligentiam nostram de se locutus est: “ Wherefore we are no
 “ otherwise to speak of God, than as he in Compliance with
 “ our Understanding, hath spoke to us concerning himself.

7. He owns no other Foundation of the Church, besides the
 Confession of the Divinity of our Saviour, made by St. *Pe-*
ter, instead of referring it to the Person of St. *Peter*, or to
 the Functions of his Apostleship; *lib. 2. Unum igitur hoc est*
immobile fundamentum, una hac est fœlix fidei Petra, Petri ore
confessa, Tu es filius Dei vivi. “ This is the only immoveable
 “ Foundation, this is the only happy Rock of Faith confess’d
 “ by the Mouth of *Peter*, Thou art the Son of the living
 “ God. And so likewise, *lib. 6. p. 77. Super hanc igitur Con-*
fessionis Petram Ecclesia adificatio est: “ Wherefore upon the
 “ Rock of this Confession the Church is built.

9. He overthrows all the Exceptions of the Church of *Rome*
 in favour of the Adoration of Angels, by maintaining that
 the Angel who appeared to *Abraham* was Jesus Christ; *de Trin.*
lib. 4. & lib. de Synodis contra Arianos.

10. He was so little of the Belief, that the Faith of the Peo-
 ple depends upon that of their Pastors, that he asserts and
 proves in his Book against the *Arians* or *Auxentius*, that the
 People may continue Orthodox under Heretical Pastors.

11. He overthrows all Worshipping of Creatures, which is
 practis’d by the Church of *Rome*, by maintaining, that if any
 should worship Jesus Christ, believing him to be a Creature, he
 would be accursed. *Lib. 12. de Trinit.*

12. He dream’d so little of the Infallibility of the Pope,
 which a great part of the Church of *Rome* owns as the greatest
 Article, into which the Faith of all Christians must be resolv’d,
 that he pronounces many Anathema’s against *Librius*, because
 he had subscribed to an Arian Confession of Faith; as may be
 seen in the Fragments of St. *Hilary*, published by *Pithæus*.

13. He lays it down for a Maxim, that Jeſus Chriſt alone was without Sin, in his Diſcourſe upon *Pſalm* 58, and 138.

14. He owns God only to have the Power of forgiving Sins, *Can.* 8. in *Matth.* ſo far was he from attributing this Power to Miniſters, as the Church of *Rome* doth at this day.

15. He formally aſſerts that the good Works of one Man are of no avail to deliver another from Punishment, which overthrowes the great Foundation of Satisfactions and Purgatory, after the manner that the Church of *Rome* makes uſe of them, *Can.* 27. in *Matth.* The wiſe Virgins tell the fooliſh, that they cannot give to them of their Oil; *Quia non ſit forte quod omnibus ſatis ſit, alienis ſcilicet operibus & meritis neminem adjuvandum, quia unicuique lampadi ſuae emere oleum ſit neceſſe.* “ Left perhaps there might not be enough for them all, to intimate that no Body can be helped by the Works and Merits of another, becauſe it is neceſſary for every one to buy “ Oil for his own Lamp.

16. He was ſo far from believing the Merit of Works, as the Church of *Rome* at preſent doth, that he diſcourſeth thus upon *Pſal.* 118. *lit. Coph.* *In operibus quidem Bonitatis totus perfectus eſt, ſed ſatis eſſe hoc ſibi non putat ad ſalutem, niſi ſecundum miſerationem Dei & judicia, miſerationem conſequatur.* “ He is “ indeed wholly perfect in all the Works of Goodneſs, but “ he doth not think this ſufficient for his Salvation, except according to the Mercy of God and his Judgments, he obtain “ Mercy. And it is the ſame Notion he gives us, ſpeaking of the Parable of the Labourers, upon *Pſal.* 130. *Mercedem non operis ſed miſericordiae, undecima horae operarii conſequentur.*

17. We cannot deny but that St. *Hilary* believed a Purgatory, but yet in that Point he differed much from the Church of *Rome*: He owns a Baptiſm of Fire after this Life, but ſuch a Baptiſm as was to be conferred at the laſt Day, *viz.* the Day of Judgment, *Matth. Can.* 2. And that which muſt needs greatly ſcandalize the Papiſts, is, that St. *Hilary* maintains that all Believers, without excepting ſo much as the Bleſſed Virgin, muſt endure the Fire, which he expreſly affirms on *Pſal.* 118.

18. If we have a Mind to know whether he allowed the Notion of the Church of *Rome*, which believes that we can

perfectly fulfil the Law of God; we may easily be resolved by his manner of treating the young Man, who boasted himself before Jesus Christ, as if he had done it: He accuses him of Insolence in several places of his Works, for pretending to be justified by his Works. *De Trinit. lib. 9. Can. 19. in Matth. & Lib. de Patris & Filii unitate.*

19. He overturns the common Notion of the Church of Rome, which is, that when Jesus Christ entred in to his Disciples, the Doors being shut, he had not lost the Solidity of his Body, and consequently that there was a Penetration of Dimensions: St. *Hilary* rejects this Notion as absurd, accounting this Penetration of Dimensions impossible, *lib. 3. de Trinit.*

20. He asserts that the Eucharist is celebrated in breaking of Bread, and that the Disciples of Jesus Christ did drink of the Fruit of the Vine at the Lord's Supper, and mentions not so much as one Word of Transubstantiation, in a place where he particularly explains the Institution of the Eucharist, *Can. 30. in Matth.* To speak the Truth, how could he have any other Thoughts, who maintains that Jesus Christ is no longer on the Earth, in respect of his Body, because it is impossible for a Body to be in more places than one? *Adest enim & cum fideliter invocatur per naturam suam presens est; spiritus enim est omnia penetrans & continens; non enim secundum nos corporalis est, ut cum alicubi adsit, absit aliunde, sed virtute presenti, & se quacunque est, porrigenti, cum replente omnia ejus spiritu in omnibus sit, tamen ei, qui in eum credat adsistit.* " For he is present by his Nature, " when he is call'd upon with Faith, he being a Spirit penetrating and containing all things: for he is not like us corporeal, so as that when he is in one place, he should be absent from another, but he is in all places by the Presence of his Power which extendeth it self where-ever he is, and his Spirit that filleth all things; yet he is in a more peculiar manner with him that believes in him.

21. He was so far from approving the Romish Inquisition, that he calls the Emperor *Constantius* Antichrist, for persecuting those that were not of his Opinion, *lib. in Constant. August.* Yea he judg'd all Force to be so contrary to the Spirit of the Christian Religion, that he maintains that there can be no Religion where Force is made use of.

Lastly;

Laſtly; He was ſo far from believing that the Antichriſt, whereof St. *John* ſpeaks, was already come; that he maintains that he would be revealed in the Churches that were then poſſeſſed by the Arians, and that the Faith being thus attack'd, the true Believers would be forced to look out for Shelter amongſt the Mountains in Woods and Caves, leaving the Antichriſt Maſter of the publick Places conſecrated to the Worſhip of God.

This is the Sum of what may be gathered from the Writings of St. *Hilary*. I make no mention of ſome Errors of this great Man, becauſe *Claudianus Mamertus* having confuted them about the end of the fifth Century, has made it appear that they were only ſome particular Opinions of this great Confeſſor, and that we cannot look upon them as the common Faith of the Dioceſs where he was ſetled. But the ſame cannot be ſaid of the Articles I have noted; *Claudianus* is ſo far from blaming them, that he approves them by his Silence, and ſhews that his Doctrinè in this Reſpect, was the Doctrinè of the Church of *Gaul*.

We have nothing left us of the Works of *Rhodanius* Biſhop of *Tholonſe*, who was contemporary with St. *Hilary*: But it appears clear to us, that this Holy Confeſſor having been ſent into Banishment with St. *Hilary*, after the Council of *Beziers*, by the Cabal of *Saturninus* Biſhop of *Arles*, Favourer of the *Arians*; we are to conſider *Rhodanius* as a Defender of the ſame Faith, and an illuſtrious Witneſs of the Belief of his Dioceſs: And we ought to make the ſame Judgment of *Phabadus* Biſhop of *Agen*, who was ſo much engaged in the ſame Quarrel, and who acquired ſo great a Name by the vigorous Oppoſition he made againſt the Errors of *Arius*: But Providence has preſerved us none of his Works.

In effect, this great Man, who wrote in the Year 357. as appears by his Book againſt the Arians, gives us ſufficiently to underſtand what his Faith was in divers Articles, and what was the Doctrinè of the Dioceſs.

1. He maintains that the Catholick Faith is found with thoſe who ſpeak according to the Holy Scripture, and not amongſt thoſe who only make uſe of Prejudices. After having quoted

several places of Scripture, to prove against the *Arians* the Eternity of the Son, he concludes in this manner, *B. Patr. T. 4. p. 174. Volentes igitur à Patre Filium scindere, & infra Deum ponere, de Evangelio præscribunt*: “ Those therefore who would
 “ rend the Father from the Son, and place him below God,
 “ give Law to the Gospel. He expresseth himself yet more strongly to this purpose, towards the end of his Book, *ib. p. 180. Hoc credimus, hoc tenemus, quia hoc accepimus à Prophetis; hoc nobis Evangelia locuta sunt, hoc Apostoli tradiderunt, hoc Martyres in passione confessi sunt; in hoc mentibus fidei etiam heremus, contra quod si Angelus de Cælo annuntiaverit, Anathema sit. — Ergo ut supra diximus, præjudicata opinionis autoritas nihil valebit, quia contra semetipsam, ipsa consistit.* “ This we believe, this we
 “ hold fast, because ’tis this we have received from the Prophets, this the Gospels have declared to us, this the Apostles have left us, this the Martyrs in their Sufferings have
 “ confessed, and to this we adhere with our Minds by Faith,
 “ so that if an Angel from Heaven should preach contrary to
 “ this, let him be accursed. — Wherefore, as was said before,
 “ the Authority of a prejudicate Opinion can be of no force,
 “ because it stands against it self.

2. He makes it appear that the Name of Catholick was not sufficient to be a true Christian, when he represents that *Arianism* had so far seized the Minds of all the World, that it was necessary to espouse the *Arian* Heresy, to procure the Name of being Catholicks, *ib. p. 169. Sed quia aut Heresis suscipienda est ut Catholici dicamur, aut verè Catholici non futuri; si Heresin non repudiamus, ad hanc tractatus conditionem, necessitate descendimus.* “ But because we are either to become Hereticks, that we may be called Catholicks, or cease to be Catholicks indeed; by becoming Hereticks we are necessitated
 “ to write this Treatise.

3. He asserts that the Revelation of Holy Scripture is so perfect, with respect to the Divinity of our Saviour, that Anathemas are to be pronounced against all those that advance any other Doctrine. This appears from the great number of Passages which he quotes from thence, *p. 173, & 178.* to which he joins the Anathema, whereof I have already spoke before.

4. He

4. He observes exprefly that the fame Honours rendred to Jesus Christ in the Liturgy, as to God, do demonftrate his Equality with God, p. 174. *Quod fi ita eft, faith he, quotidie blafphemamus in gratiarum actionibus & oblationibus facrificiorum, communia hac Patri & filio confitentes, &c.* " If it be fo, we " blafpheme daily in our Thankfgivings and Offerings of Sacri-
" fice, in confefling thefe things common to Father and Son.

Thus doth he implicitly overthrow the firft Principles of the Church of *Rome*, viz. the Imperfection of the Holy Scripture in Matters of Faith, the Authority and Necessity of Traditions, which are the compleating of it, and other fuch like Doctrines. We fhould now proceed to examine what the State of thefe Dioceffes was in the following Century, but that the Bishop of *Meaux* ftops us, to reflect upon the History and Doctrine of *Vigilantius*, whole Name is too famous, and his Memory too unworthily torn by that Bishop, not to afford him that Defence which his Zeal againft Superftition doth juftly deserve.

C H A P. IV.

An Examination of the Opinions of Vigilantius.

V*igilantius* was born in *Aquitain*, as is proved by *de Marca*, in a Difertation of his which is not yet published, and Priest in the Diocefs of *Barcelona*; he had contracted a particular Friendship with St. *Paulinus*, who was ordained Priest at *Barcelona*; St. *Paulinus* recommended him in particular to St. *Jerome*, as he paffed through *Campania*, where St. *Paulinus* was Bishop, in his way to *Jerusalem*; St. *Jerome* received him with all the Affection poffible, in the Year 394. and calls him the Holy Priest *Vigilantius*, in his 13th Epiftle to St. *Paulinus*. He made no long ftay in the *Holy Land*; it is probable that the Difputes about *origenifm*, which troubled that Province, obliged him.

him to return the sooner. *St. Jerom* seems to insinuate that *Vigilantius* had been gained by *Rufinus*, Enemy to *St. Jerom*, and that after *Vigilantius* was come into *Egypt*, and in some other Provinces, he accused *St. Jerom* for having too great a Liking for the Writings of *Origen*, &c. decrying him every-where as an *Origenist*. This was the true Cause of the Hate and Rage of *St. Jerom* against *Vigilantius*, whereof we have a very sensible Instance in his 75th Epistle, which he wrote against *Vigilantius* about the Year 397. where he treats him with the greatest Indignity. *Vigilantius* being returned into *Gaul*, seems to have made his abode there, and to have published a certain Treatise, about the Year 406. against the worshipping of Relicks, which about 60 Years before, was introduced into the Church. *St. Jerom* being informed hereof, had an Occasion offered him of defending the Superstition of the common People against the Censures of *Vigilantius*, and of unloading against him the most injurious Language that Hatred could inspire.

The Writers of the Church of *Rome* have not been wanting long since, to draw their Advantage from these Invectives of *St. Jerom* against the Protestants, and never speak of *Vigilantius* but as a Heretick. The Bishop of *Meaux* hath carefully traced their Steps: he tells us therefore after his manner very confidently, that even in the fourth Century, the most clear-sighted of all the rest, there was found but one only, *Vigilantius*, who opposed himself against the Honours given to the Saints, and the worshipping of their Relicks, yet he is look'd upon by the Protestants, as the Person who has preserved the *Depositorium*, that is to say, the Succession of the Apostolical Doctrine, and is preferred by them to *St. Jerom*, who hath the whole Church for him.

This of Necessity obligeth us to take a particular view of the Opinions of *Vigilantius*. I shall not make a stop to invalidate what the Bishop saith that *Vigilantius* wrote in the fourth Century, nor at his endeavouring to cloak the Notion of his Church concerning the religious Worship they give to Saints and to Relicks, under the indeterminate Expression of the Honours of Saints, and the Worship of Relicks: But to come to the thing it self, I maintain, that if *Vigilantius* had the Misfortune
of

of falling under the Diſpleaſure of St. *Jerom*, by the Censure he pronounced againſt the popular Superſtition of rendring various Honours to the Relicks of Saints, yet was he never condemned by the Church that then was, nor treated as an Heretick. *Gennadius* owns that *Vigilantius* had an elegant Stile, and that his Zeal for Religion had engaged him to write. I own that he charges him with a Miſtake in his Explication of the ſecond Viſion of *Daniel*, and in ſome other Articles for which he reckoneth him amongſt Hereticks. But we are to take notice, *1ſt*, that *Gennadius* wrote an hundred Years after *Vigilantius*, and ſo follows the Judgment St. *Jerom* had given before of him. *2dly*, That he calls theſe Articles Heretical, after the manner of ancient Authors, who very frankly beſtowed the Name of Hereſy on every thing that diſpleaſed them, though it had never been condemned by the Scripture, nor rejected by the Body of the Church. *3dly*, That he look'd upon theſe pretended Hereſies as of very ſmall Importance, becauſe he ſpeaks of an abſurd Explication of the ſecond Viſion of *Daniel*, which St. *Jerom* had revived, as of an Error more conſiderable than thoſe of *Vigilantius*, which he does not expreſs, and mentions them as Trifles. However be it as it will if the Biſhop of *Meaux* maintains theſe two things; *1ſt*. That *Vigilantius* was the only Man that oppoſed the Honours of the Saints, and the Worſhip of Relicks; and *2dly*. That St. *Jerom* had the whole Church on his ſide in his Answer; I maintain againſt the Biſhop, that either he is deceived himſelf, or was willing to deceive his Reader, in both theſe things.

The Falſity of the firſt will appear to every one that can read St. *Jerom*'s Book againſt *Vigilantius*; St. *Jerom* himſelf witneſſeth, that the holy Biſhop, in whoſe Diocels *Vigilantius* was a Prieſt, that is to ſay, the Biſhop of *Barcelona*, was of *Vigilantius*'s Opinion: ſo that we have already diſcovered one Biſhop, whom St. *Jerom* endeavoured to conceal from us; but we ſhall find a greater number whom St. *Jerom* himſelf owns to have approved *Vigilantius*'s Opinion, leſt we ſhould imagine that *Vigilantius* and his Biſhop were Schiſmaticks: "O horrible! ſaith St. *Jerom*, ſome Biſhops alſo are ſaid to be Partakers of his Crimes: And we may judg of St. *Jerom*'s Moderation by that which

which follows; *Si tamen Episcopi nominandi sunt, qui non ordinant Diaconos nisi primo uxores duxerint, nulli calibi credentes pudicitiam*:
 “ If we may call them Bishops, who ordain none to be
 “ Deacons except they be married, not trusting the Chastity
 “ of any unmarried Person. What then shall we conclude
 that so many Churches whose Bishops and Priests were all married, had no lawful Bishops or Priests? Can any thing be conceived more extravagant than this? To this Acknowledgment of St. *Jerom* we may add what he saith himself on the 65th Chapter of *Isaiab*; for he owns that *Vigilantius*'s blaming of that popular Superstition, had induced divers Persons in *Gaul*, to abstain from frequenting the Churches of the Martyrs, and to withdraw themselves from the Prayers that were made there. The Falsity of the second Article will be no less evident, if we examine the manner of St. *Jerom*'s defending himself against *Vigilantius*; for though he had undertaken to run down *Vigilantius*, yet after all he agrees with him in the main.

St. *Jerom* owns in his 53^d Epistle, which he writes to *Riparius*, that *Vigilantius* had writ twice against the Worship of Relicks, and that he called those that adored them, *Cinerarii* and Idolaters, *qui mortuorum hominum ossa venerarentur*, who did honour the Bones of dead Men; for which St. *Jerom* calls him a Samaritan and a Jew, because he counted dead Bodies to be unclean, as if Christians still lived under the Law.

Whereas *Vigilantius* blamed the Custom of honouring them in the Churches, because it was a piece of Superstition in a Place dedicated to religious Worship, to bestow any Veneration upon Creatures, though the most holy and most excellent that might be. St. *Jerom* is forced to prevaricate upon this Charge; his way of defending this matter is such as would never please the Palat of the Church of *Rome*.
Nos autem non dico Martyrum reliquias, sed ne Solem quidem & Lunam, non Angelos, non Archangelos, non Cherubin, non Seraphim, & omne nomen quod nominatur, & in presenti saculo & in futuro, colimus & adoramus, ne serviamus Creatura potius quam Creatori, qui est Benedictus in sacula. Honoramus autem reliquias Martyrum, ut eum, cujus sunt Martyres adoremus, honoramus servos, ut honor servorum redundet ad Dominum, qui ait, qui vos suscipit, me suscipit.

pit. Ergo Petri & Pauli immunda ſunt Reliquia, ergo Moysi corpusculum immundum erit, quod juxta Hebraicam veritatem, ab ipſo ſepultum eſt Domino; & quotieſcunque Apoſtolorum & Prophetarum & omnium Martyrum Baſilicas ingredimur, toties Idolorum templa veneramur; accenſique ante tumulos eorum cerei Idololatria inſignia ſunt.

“ But we neither worship nor adore, I do not ſay the Relicks
 “ of Martyrs, but not ſo much as the Sun and Moon, &c.
 “ nor any Name that is named in this World, or in that which
 “ is to come, leſt we ſhould ſerve the Creature rather than
 “ God, who is bleſſed for ever: But we honour the Relicks
 “ of the Martyrs, in worſhipping him whoſe they are; we
 “ honour the Servants, that their Honour may redound to the
 “ Lord, who ſaith, He that receives you, receives me: What
 “ are the Relicks then of *Peter* and *Paul*, unclean? Is the Body
 “ of *Moſes* unclean? which according to the Hebrew Truth
 “ was buried by the Lord himſelf; and as often as we enter
 “ the Churches of the Apoſtles, Prophets, and Martyrs, do
 “ we worſhip the Temples of Idols? and ſhall we ſay that the
 “ Tapers which burn before their Monuments are the Marks
 “ of Idolatry?

What a fine Application doth *St. Jerom* make here of that Paſſage? *He that receives you, receives me*; and how ſolid an Answer doth he return to a ſolid Objection, when he tells us, *We honour the Servants in worſhipping him whoſe they are*? What a Conſequence is this? Is there any other Honour due to Relicks, beſides that of being interred? Was not this the Cuſtom uſed to the Chriſtians of old, before the time of *Conſtantius*? It is well enough ſeen, that the good Father ſkips over the Difficulty, and under a general Proteſtation of worſhipping nothing but God, he endeavours to ſhelter a Cuſtom which had been introduced after the Emperor *Conſtantius*'s time, that is to ſay, about 60 Years before. *Vigilantius* blamed the Cuſtom which but a little before had been introduced of lighting Tapers before the Tombs of Martyrs, and paſſing the Night by them in Prayer, wherein he followed the Maxims of the Council of *Elvira*, held under the Empire of *Conſtantine*, about 90 Years before. After what manner doth *St. Jerom* refute theſe Complaints of *Vigilantius*? he tells us of the Preſence of the

Angels at the Grave of Jesus Christ; he relies upon the Example of the Apostles, who buried the Body of St. Stephen: He produceth the Custom of *Daniel* and the Apostles, who spent the Night in Prayer; and all this, without doubt extreamly to the purpose, and the Protestants are much in the wrong, to prefer the Opinions of *Vigilantius* to such solid Reasonings as these.

But it may be replied, That St. *Jerom* disputed only slightly, and for Argument's sake, in his Epistle to *Riparius*, not having then seen the Writing of *Vigilantius*, and therefore handled the matter only as a Declaimer.

This indeed is the best Excuse that can be alledged to make the Reader digest the furious Transports and Invectives of this famous Monk, who treats *Vigilantius* no otherwise than as another *Julian the Apostate*, and seems very willing to have had him destroyed by the Law mentioned in the 13th of *Deuteronomy*. And after all this, St. *Jerom* is the same in his Book against *Vigilantius*, which follows this Epistle.

After a Preface which out-does all the Monsters that either the Scripture or Fables speak of, he begins thus; *Exortus est subito Vigilantius, seu verius Dormitantius, qui immundo spiritu pugnet contra Christi spiritum, & Martyrum neget sepulcra veneranda, damnandas dicat esse Vigiliis, nunquam nisi in Pascha Alleluja cantandum, continentiam Haresin, Pudicitiam Libidinis seminarium; & quomodo Euphorbus in Pythagora renatus esse perhibetur; sic in isto Joviniani mens prava surrexit, ut in illo, & in hoc Diaboli respondere cogamur insidiis.* " Here is suddenly started up one *Vigilantius*, or rather *Dormitantius*, who with an unclean Spirit fights against the Spirit of Christ, and denies that any Veneration ought to be given to the Sepulchres of Martyrs, condemns the Watchings at them, affirms that Alleluja's ought to be sung at no time except Easter, calls Contience Herefy, and Chastity the Nursery of Lust; so that as *Euphorbus* was said to be born again in *Pythagoras*, in like manner in him seems to be revived *Jovinianus*'s Wickedness, in whom as we were forced to oppose our selves against the Wiles of the Devil, so likewise are we now equally obliged to oppose this Man's Errors. What *Ciceronian* Eloquence is this? What a strange Account of things is here?

But

But there is ſomething worſe behind, ſee what Stories he tells of *Joſovian*: *Eccleſia Authoritate damnatus inter Phafides aves & carnes ſuillas, non tam emiſit ſpiritum, quam eructavit, iſte Campo Callaguritanus, & in perverſum propter nomen viculi, mutus Quintilianus: Miſcet aquam vino, & de priſtino artificio, ſua venena perſidia Catholica fidei ſociare conatur, impugnare virginitatem, odiſſe pudicitiam, in convivio ſecularium contra ſanctorum Azemia proclamare, dum inter phialas philoſophatur, & ad placentas liguriens, Pſalmorum modulatione mulcetur, ut tantum inter Epulas David & Idithum & Aſaph & filiorum Core cantica audire dignetur.* Surely the good St. *Jerom* did not think of what he ſaid, ſo extremely was he tranſported with an inconfiderate Zeal for Celibacy; but however, this Zeal of his had a reaſonable Motive: *Proh nefas!* ſaid he. This is the firſt Hereſy of *Vigilantius*; he would have it allowed to Miniſters to marry, whereas in the ten Provinces ſubject to the Pope, in the ſeventeen Provinces of the Jurisdiction of *Ephesus*, and in the five Provinces of *Egypt* they followed a contrary Cuſtom.

This without doubt was a crying Hereſy, and yet it appears from the Decretal of Pope ——— to *Fymerius* Biſhop of *Tarracona*, that it had made ſo little Impreſſion upon the Minds of Men, that *Innocent I.* was ſain to write A. D. 405. to *Exuperius* Biſhop of *Tholonſe*, upon the ſame Subject of the Celibacy of the Clergy, ſo much oppoſition did that Buſineſs every where meet with at that time. We muſt conſider further the manner how St. *Jerom* applies the Paſſage, which only regards Adultery, to the Celibacy of the Clergy: But this is only by way of Preface.

St. *Jerom* tells us at firſt, that he had received *Vigilantius's* Book, by the Care of *Riparius* and *Deſiderius*, who lived near the Countries that *Vigilantius* had infected with his Opinions, and that he had been informed by them, that there were ſome there who favoured his Vices, and were pleaſed with his Blaſphemies: After having branded his Book for a ſtupid piece of Ignorance, and which did not deſerve to be diſcuſs'd, were it not for the ſake of ſome ſilly Women, laden with Sins, of whom St. *Paul* ſpeaks, 2 *Tim.* 3. 6. he aſſaults *Vigilantius* upon the account of the place of his Birth; he was born at *Calaguri*,

whereupon St. *Jerom* makes a learned Disquisition into the Original of that People, from *Pompey's* time: *Nimirum*, saith he, *respondet generi suo, ut qui de Latronum & Convenarum natus est semine, quos Cn. Pompeius, edomitâ Hispaniâ, & ad Triumphum redire festinans, de Pyrenæi jugis deposuit, & in unum oppidum congregavit, unde & Convenarum urbs nomen accepit, hucusque latrocinetur contra Ecclesiam, & de Vætonibus, Arrebacis, Celtiberisque descendens, incurset Galliarum Ecclesias, portetque nequaquam vexillum Christi, sed insigne Diaboli. Fecit hoc idem Pompeius etiam in Orientis partibus, ut Cilicibus & Isauris Piratis, Latronibusque superatis, sui nominis inter Ciliciam & Isauriam conderet civitatem. Sed hac urbs hodie servat scita Majorum, & nullus in ea ortus est Dormitantius: Gallie vernaculum hostem sustinet, & hominem moti capitis, atque Hippocraticis vinculis alligandum, sedentem sinit in Ecclesia & inter cætera verba Blasphemia, &c.* “ He indeed (saith he) every way answers his Extraction; for being descended from Robbers, and a mix'd Rabble drawn together from several parts, “ whom *Pompey* after he had conquered *Spain*, and hasting to “ his Triumph, removed from the tops of the *Pyrenean Hills*, “ and gathered them into one City, which therefore was called “ the City of Strangers; what wonder is it then, if being such “ a one, he ravage and spoil the Church, and if deriving his “ Pedigree from the *Vætones, Arrebaci* and *Celtiberi*, he make “ Incurfions upon the *Gallick Churches*, fighting not under “ *Christ's* but the *Devil's Banner*? *Pompey* also did the same in “ the East, where after he had overcome the Pirates and Robbers of *Cilicia* and *Isauria*, he built a City bearing his own “ Name, between *Cilicia* and *Isauria*: but to this day that City observes their Fore-fathers Customs, and never produced “ any *Dormitantius*; whereas *Gaul* maintains an home-bred “ Enemy, and suffers a Man that is half mad, one fit to be “ bound in *Hippocrates's Bands*, to sit in the Church, &c. Here is a violent Transport of Rage: What horrid thing then is it that this Robber hath attempted? Why he said; *Quid necesse est te tanto honore, non solum honorare, sed etiam adorare illud nescio quid, quod in modico vasculo transferendo colis? Et rursus in eodem libro: Quid pulverem linteamine circumdatum adorando secularis? Et in consequentibus, prope ritum Gentilium videmus sub pratextu Religionis,*

Religionis, introductum in Ecclesias; Sole adhuc fulgente, moles cereorum accendi, & ubicunque pulvisculum nescio quod, in modico vasculo, pretioso linteamine circumdatum osculantes adorare. Magnum honorem prebent hujusmodi homines beatissimis Martyribus, quos putant de vilissimis cereolis illustrandos, quos Agnus qui est in medio Throni, cum omni fulgore Majestatis sue illustrat. “What need is there
 “ for thee, not only to venerate, but also adore something
 “ I know not what which thou worshippest, carrying it about
 “ in a little Box. And again in the same Book; why dost
 “ thou kiss by way of Worship, a little Dust wrapt up in
 “ Linnen? And afterwards; We have almost seen a heathenish Rite introduced into the Churches; whole heaps
 “ of wax Tapers lighted in the Face of the Sun, and Men
 “ every where kissing a little Dust, shut up in a small Box,
 “ with religious Reverence; which is wrapt about with fine
 “ Linnen. These Men must need render a great Honour to
 “ the most Blessed Martyrs, whom they suppose to stand in
 “ need of the Illustration of vile Candles, whereas the Lamb
 “ that is in the midst of the Throne, doth illuminate them with
 “ all the Brightness of his Majesty. This is a dreadful Crime
 in *Vigilantius* beyond all controversy.

Who is there, replies St. *Jerom* to this, that ever adored the Martyrs? And he proves that it may not be done by the Example of *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and of *St. Peter*. The Church of *Rome*, and the Bishop of *Meaux*, are concerned to enquire whether St. *Jerom* was very Orthodox, in denying a thing which at present cannot be so absolutely denied, without the Imputation of Herefy. After St. *Jerom* has shewn his Indignation against this Expresssion, *Illud nescio quid*, as if *Vigilantius* therein had spoke Blasphemy, and derogated from the Honour due to the Martyrs, he defends his Judgment by the Examples of *Constantine*, that is to say, of *Constantinus*, who had transported to *Constantinople* the Relicks of *St. Andrew*, *St. Luke* and *Timothy*, and of the Emperour *Arcadius*, who had caus'd the Bones of the Prophet *Samuel* to be brought out of *Judea* to *Thrace*, with the Approbation of the Bishops and People of that time. This is a very solid Defence, if we may believe St. *Jerom*, for it seems there is no more to be said, when once a Superstition comes to be 60 years old. That:

That which displeaseth, is, that St. *Jerom* goes about to support this popular Worship, by this curious way of arguing. *Mortuum suspicaris, & idcirco blasphemus; lege Evangelium, Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob; non est Deus mortuorum, sed vivorum. Si ergo vivunt, honesto juxta te carcere non clauduntur: Ais enim vel in sinu Abraham, vel in loco refrigerii, vel subter Aram Dei, animas Apostolorum & Martyrum consedisse, nec posse suis tumulis & ubi voluerint adesse presentes; senatoria videlicet dignitatis sunt, ut non inter Homicidas teterrimo carcere sed in liberâ honestâque custodiâ in Fortunatarum Insulis & in Campis Elysiis recludantur. Tu Deo Leges ponis, tu Apostolis vincula injicis, ut usque ad Deum judicii teneantur custodiâ; nec sint cum Domino suo, de quibus scriptum est, sequuntur Agnum quocunque vadit. Si Agnus ubique, ergo & hi qui cum Agno sunt, ubique esse credendi sunt. Et cum Diabolus & Damones toto vagentur orbe, & celeritate nimîâ ubique presentes sint, Martyres post effusionem sanguinis, sui arcâ operientur inclusi, & inde exire non poterunt?*

“ Thou supposedst him to be dead, and therefore thou blasphemest; Read the Gospel, *I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob*; he is not the God of the Dead, but of the Living. But if they be alive, say you, they ought not to be shut up in such narrow Prisons; and you own that the Souls of the Apostles and Martyrs have taken up their abode either in the Bosom of *Abraham*, or in a Place of Refreshment, or under the Altar of God, and they cannot be present at their Tombs, or where-ever they please: for by your account, they are Persons of the first Quality, and so ought not to be shut up amongst Murderers in a filthy Dungeon, but to enjoy a free and honourable Custody in the fortunate Islands, and the Elysian Fields. Thus you limit and fet Laws to God, and bind the Apostles in Chains, and keep them in custody till the Day of Judgment; so that they cannot be with their Lord, of whom it is written, that they follow the Lamb whithersoever he goes. Now seeing the Lamb is every where, they who are with the Lamb must be supposed to be every-where also; and when the Devil and Spirits do wander throughout the whole World, and by their over great Nimbleness, are
“ present

“ preſent every-where, ſhall we ſay that the Martyrs after
 “ the ſhedding of their Blood, are ſhut up in their Coffins
 “ without being able to ſtir from thence?

Theſe fine Reaſonings of St. *Jerom* againſt *Vigilantius* have two Characters. The 1^{ſt}, is, that they are contrary to the Sentiments of moſt of the Antients; The 2^d, is, that they have been deſpiſed by St. *Auſtin*: And in fine, have diſpleaſed all the Schoolmen; ſo that it is not worth while to contradict them. St. *Jerom* handles the reſt of his Matter much at the ſame rate. *Dicis in libello tuo, quod dum vivimus, mutui pro nobis orare poſſumus poſtquam autem mortui fuerimus, nullius ſit pro Deo exaudiendâ oratio: præſertim cum Martyres ultionem ſui obſecrantes impetrare non quiverint.* “ You ſay in your Book, That whilſt
 “ we are alive we may mutually pray for one another, but
 “ that after we are once dead, no Man’s Prayer can be
 “ heard for another; and the rather, becauſe even the Mar-
 “ tyrs themſelves begging of God that he would avenge their
 “ Blood, have not been able to obtain their requeſt.

What is it St. *Jerom* answers to this? he ſaith, That if the Saints, when alive, procured Favours for others, they may obtain them much rather now when they are with *Chriſt*, ſeeing they are not dead, but aſleep, as the Scripture tells us.

As to the wax Tapers, the uſe of which is blamed by *Vigilantius*, St. *Jerom* tells us ſomething that will not over-well agree with the Church of *Rome*. *Cereos autem non clara luce accendimus, ſicut fruſtra calumniaris, ſed ut noctis tenebras hoc ſolatio temperemus, & vigilemus ad Lumen, ne tecum dormiamus in tenebris. Quod ſi aliqui propter imperitiam & ſimplicitatem ſecularium hominum, vel certè religioſarum feminarum, de quibus vere poſſumus dicere conſiteor Zelum Dei habent, ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam, hoc pro honore Martyrum faciunt, quid inde perdis? Cauſabantur quondam & Apoſtoli, quod periret unguentum, ſed Domini voce correpti ſunt, neque enim Chriſtus indigebat unguento, nec Martyres Lumine Cercorum, & tamen illa Mulier in honore Chriſti hoc fecit, devotio; ne mentis ejus recipitur: & quicumque accendunt cereos, ſecundum fidem ſuam habent mercedem, dicente Apoſtolo, Unusquisque ſuo ſenſu abundet.* “ Neither do we light wax Tapers at
 “ Noon-day, as you cauſeſly complain, but only to allay the
 “ Dark-

“ Darkneſs of the Night with the help of Candles, and to be
 “ kept waking by the Light of them, leſt being in Dark-
 “ neſs we ſhould fall aſleep as well as you : But, and if ſome
 “ out of Ignorance and Simplicity amongſt the Lay-men or de-
 “ vout Women, of whom we may truly ſay, that they have
 “ a Zeal for God, but not according to Knowledge, ſhould do
 “ this in honour to the Martyrs, what is the loſs or hurt of all
 “ this ? So the Apoſtles alſo murmur’d of old, that the Wo-
 “ man made waſte of her Ointment ; but were reprov’d by
 “ our Lord himſelf ; neither did the Lord want the Oint-
 “ ment any more than the Martyrs ſtand in need of Wax
 “ Tapers ; and yet becauſe the Woman did it in honour to
 “ Chriſt, her Devotion is accepted of ; and ſo they who light
 “ wax Tapers, receive a reward according to their Faith ; for
 “ the Apoſtle tells us, *Let every one abound in his own Senſe.*

One cannot avoid taking notice how St. *Jerom* abuſeth this
 Paſſage of St. *Paul*, and the Pretence he gives for adjudging
 Rewards, to all ſorts of Superſtition ; however we muſt ac-
 knowledg that in this Article St. *Jerom* hath many more Ap-
 provers than *Vigilantius*.

Vigilantius call’d them Idolaters, who by lighting Wax Ta-
 pers by Day-light, did imitate the Cuſtoms of the Heathens.
 How does St. *Jerom* answer him. Firſt, He tells him, that what
 was done of this kind to Idols, was deteſtable, but that the
 ſame thing when done out of reſpect to the Martyrs, is very
 commendable. 2^{ly}, That the Eaſtern Churches lighted Candles
 at the reading of the Goſpel, though there be no Relicks of
 the Martyrs. 3^{ly}, That Jeſus Chriſt assigns to the wiſe Vir-
 gins Lamps lighted. 4^{ly}, He oppoſeth to *Vigilantius* the Exam-
 ple of the Biſhop of *Rome*, who celebrated the Maſs upon the
 Tombs of the Apoſtles, as upon an Altar. I fear I ſhould tire
 the Patience of my Reader, ſhould I go about to examine this
 Piece of St. *Jerom*’s throughout. this Specimen may ſuffice to
 judg of the whole Work.

I ſhall therefore only reduce to ſome few Articles, what I
 have further to add, in order to the full clearing of this
 Queſtion.

1. I affirm, that the Biſhop of *Meaux* had no reaſon to ſay that *Vigilantius* oppoſed himſelf againſt the Honours done to Saints. St. *Jerom* does not accuſe him of it in any part of his Works, he only blames him becauſe he was not for giving them ſo great Honour as other Men did. *Quid neceſſe eſt tanto honore, non tantum honorare, ſed etiam adorare illud neſcio quid?* “ What neceſſity is there not only to honour, but even to adore “ and worſhip I know not what, with ſo very great Honour ?

2. 'Tis for the Biſhop of *Meaux* to tell us, whether he believes with St. *Jerom*, that *Vigilantius* was an Heretick for denying that the Souls of Saints are preſent at their Graves; and whether St. *Jerom* doth ſolidly prove, that we ought to believe them to be every where, where Jeſus Chriſt is; becauſe it is ſaid in the Revelations, that *the Virgins follow the Lamb whithersoever he goes*.

3. The truth is, *Vigilantius* ſtretch'd the Point too far, in maintaining, that after we are dead, the Prayer of any one for another cannot be heard. Probably alſo he might be too rigid, in reſuſing to enter into the Churches of the Apoſtles and Martyrs, to ſignify his Averſion to the Superſtition which then began to be introduc'd, as St. *Auſtin* complains, *De moribus Eccleſ.* — cap. 34.

1. But it is falſe, that becauſe *Vigilantius* found fault with the Adoration of Relicks; therefore St. *Jerom* maintain'd the ſame to be lawful: he was ſo far from that, that he upbraids *Vigilantius* with calumniating the Church by this his Accuſation. *Quis. O inſanum caput! aliquando Martyres adoravit? Quis hominem putavit Deum?* “ Who ever, O fooliſh Man, adored “ the Martyrs? Who ever took a Man to be God? It is evident that St. *Jerom* takes Adoration to be an Act due to God alone, and which he does not divide in two ſorts, as the Church of *Rome* does at this day, which indeed makes three different ſorts of it.

2. It is falſe, that St. *Jerom* maintains that the Church prayed to Saints, whereof *Vigilantius* accuſeth thoſe againſt whom he had writ. He agrees with *Vigilantius*, that the Saints ought not

to be prayed to even as Friends to Christ, and Intercessors with God; *Ne ut Amici quidem Dei & comprecatores ad Deum.* Is it not manifest that the Bishop of *Meaux* abuses the World, when he quotes St. *Jerom* in favour of the Church of *Rome*, which prays to Saints on both these accounts, which are so expressly rejected by St. *Jerom*; and when he upbraids the Protestants for following of *Vigilantius* in an Article which St. *Jerom* owns as well as he, and the whole Church at that time? But to speak the truth, The whole of *Vigilantius* his Crime, consists: 1st, In that he was willing to bring the Discipline of the Council of *Elvira* in force again, which was assembled at the beginning of the 4th Century; the Constitutions whereof were undervalued towards the end of the same Age, after the Christian Religion began to bear down all its Opposers, under the Reign of *Constantine* and his Children. 2^{ly}, Because he attributes to the Church some Customs, which were not all of them authorized, though they were already generally received and maintained by the Ignorant and Superstitious sort of People. 3^{ly}, Because he opposed some Customs as general, which were capable of being explained in a tolerable Sense. But indeed at the bottom, St. *Jerom* and *Vigilantius* were very well agreed upon the Point we condemn in the Church of *Rome*; neither do we find that the Church, to which *Vigilantius* did belong, did ever except against him. Thus it is evident, that the Protestants may look upon *Vigilantius* as a zealous Defender of the Christian Purity, and one of those who oppos'd themselves against Superstition in its first rise.

C H A P. V.

*The State of the Churches of Aquitain and Narbon
in the Fifth Century.*

THIS Age furnisheth us with several considerable Witneſſes. St. *Jerom*, whom the Biſhop of *Meaux* has endeavour'd to repreſent as our Antagoniſt, is the firſt of them.

He ſaith, ſpeaking of *Exuperius* Biſhop of *Thouſe*, that this holy Biſhop carried the Eucharift in a Wicker-Basket, a way by no means agreeable to the Cuſtom of the Church of *Rome*, where it is accompanied with quite different Ceremonies. 1^{ſt}, Becauſe it is made the Object of Adoration, and that in the very Streets. 2^d, Becauſe People dare not touch the leaſt Crumb of it, as being perſuaded that the Body of Jeſus Chriſt which is in the Hoſt, multiplies according to the number of the Crumbs, into which the Hoſt may be broken. 3^d, Becauſe by this means it might come to be trod under foot or loſt, upon which a thouſand Inconveniencies muſt follow.

*Præfat. in Ze-
chariam.*

It is worth obſerving here concerning this Cuſtom of carrying the Eucharift about, which was in uſe in the 2^d Century, as appears from the Writings of *Juſtin Martyr*; that it differ'd very much from what we find in the Romiſh Church, ſince the 12th Century. For indeed ſince that time, *Rome* has taken great care to obtain Laws whereby all that walk in the Streets, whether Jews, Heathens or Chriſtians, might be compelled to adore, what ſhe looks upon as her God. But we find nothing like this in any Law of the Emperors or Chriſtian Princes in favour of the Adoration of the Eucharift.

The 2^d Witneſs whom we may conſult about the State of theſe Dioceſſes, is *Sulpitius Severus*, Monk of *Primuliacum* in *Guienne*. And ſince he wrote at a time, when the Zeal for that kind of Life did tranſport the beſt Men, we need not wonder that he hath inſerted ſo many Fables in the Books

we have of his, though setting those aside, nothing was finer in that Age than his Writings.

But after all, it is certain, that notwithstanding all this leaven of a Monastick Spirit, we find many Characters of a very pure Divinity in his Books; this will appear from the following Observations: whence it is obvious to conclude, that he was not engaged in Popish Maxims.

T. 7. B. P.
pag. 170.

1. He maintains, That it was Jesus Christ that wrestled with *Jacob*; which Passage the Doctors of the Church of Rome corrupt, to have an occasion thence to conclude that a meer Angel had blessed *Jacob*; *Pridie*, saith he, *quam inter se fratres convenirent, Dominus, humanâ specie assumptâ, colloctatus cum Jacob refertur. Et cum adversus Dominum prævaluisset, tamen non esse mortalem non ignoravit; benedici sibi ab eo flagitabat.*

“ The day before the Brothers met, the Lord is said to have
“ wrestled with *Jacob* in a humane Form; and though he pre-
“ vailed against the Lord, yet he knew him not to be mortal,
“ and desired to be blessed by him.

Pag. 173.

2. He owns the second Commandment, and distinguisheth it from the first. *Non erunt tibi Dii alieni præter me. Non facies tibi Idolum.* “ Thou shalt have no other Gods but me. Thou shalt not make to thy self a Graven Image. Neither doth he split the last Command into two, as the Church of Rome does at present: for he concludes the Decalogue in this Manner, *Non falsum testimonium dices adversus Proximum tuum. Non concupisces quidquam Proximi tui?* “ Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy Neighbour. Thou shalt not covet any thing that is thy Neighbours.

3. He was so little persuaded that the Name of Catholick was a solid Character of the true Church, that he confesses that *Arianism* had infected all the World. See how he expresseth himself, *Eoque his certaminibus processum, ut istiusmodi piaculis orbis terrarum implicaretur, nam Italianam, Illyricum atque Orientem Valens & Ursacius, caterique, quorum nomina edidimus, infecerant.* “ And these Contests proceeded so far, that the whole World became involv'd in this Wickedness: for *Valens* and *Ursacius*, with the rest, whose Names we have mentioned, had infected *Italy, Illyricum, and the East.*

4. He

4. He minded the Pope's Power of suppressing Heresy so little, that he owns St. *Hilary* to have preserved *Gaul*: *Illud*, saith he, *apud omnes constitit, unius Hilarii beneficio, Gallias nostras piaculo Heresis liberatas*: " Thus much was known to all, that by the sole Endeavours of *Hilary*, our *Gaul* was delivered from the Infection of Heresy. Pag. 210.

5. He shews so violent an Aversion to the Spirit of Persecution, that he very sharply reproves *Ithacius*, for using the *Priscillianists* hardly, who were a Branch of the *Manichees* that had settled themselves in *Spain*. and for persuading the Emperor *Gratian* to banish them: *Is*, saith he, *viz. Ithacius, vero sine modo & ultra quam oportuit, Idacium sociosque ejus laceffens, facem quandam nascenti incendio subdidit, ut exasperaverit malos potius quam compresserit.*—*Tum verò Idacius atque Ithacius acrius instare--- arbitrantes posse inter initia malum comprimi; sed parum sanis consiliis seculares iudices adeunt, ut eorum decretis atque executionibus, Heretici urbibus pellerentur. Igitur post multa & fœda Idacio supplicante, elicitur à Gratiano tum Imperatore rescriptum, &c.* But he above measure, and beyond what ought to have been done, provoking *Idacius* and his Fellows, help'd to blow the Flame, and exasperate these wicked Men, rather than suppress them.—Whereupon *Idacius* and *Ithacius* began to double their Endeavours, supposing that the Mischief might be suppress'd in its beginning; but being all advis'd, they address themselves to secular Judges, that by their Decrees and Executions, the Hereticks might be banished the Cities. Thus after many and base Intrigues upon *Idacius's* petitioning, an Order was drawn from *Gratian* the then Emperor, &c. Pag. 211.

6. He draws such a Parallel between St. *Ambrose* and Pope *Damasus*, that he attributes to them the supreme Authority in the Church, which doth not at all agree with the Notion of Papacy. After having said that it was impossible for the *Priscillianists* to justify themselves before *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*, and St. *Ambrose*, because both these Bishops refused to hear them; he proceeds thus; *Tum vertere consilia, ut quia duobus* Pag. 212.
Episcopis, quorum eâ tempestate summa auctoritas erat, non illuserat, &c. " Then they began to change their Measures, and be-
cause

“ cause they could not delude the two Bishops, whose Authority was supreme at that time, &c.

Pag. 219.
cap. 8.

7. He informs us what the Tendency is of the Worship given to Martyrs, by the History he gives us of an Altar, which the popular Superstition had rendred famous, because they pretended that some Martyrs had been buried in that place. St. *Martin* whose Life is described by our Author, not being able to make any certain Discovery of the Name of this Martyr, and the Circumstances of his Sufferings, and being loth absolutely to doubt of the Truth of it, thought fit himself to go to this famous Sepulchre, in Company of some of his Brethren: Being come to the place, he earnestly begg'd of God to reveal to him the Name and Merit of the Martyr; and afterwards turning himself towards the left, *Vidit prope assistere umbram sordidam trucem*; “ He sees standing near him a hideous
“ and terrible Ghost: They command him to declare himself, the Ghost obeys: *Nomen edicit, de crimine confitetur, Latronem se fuisse, ob scelera percussus, vulgi errore celebratum; sibi nihil cum Martyribus esse commune; cum illos gloria, se poena retineret.* “ Tells
“ his Name, confesseth his Crime, that he had been executed
“ for Robbery, that it was only the Error of the People
“ caused him to be canoniz'd; that he was in nothing like the
“ Martyrs who were in Glory, whereas he was in Pain. The good St. *Martin* being troubled to hear this account, caused the Altar to be carried to another place: and so saith our Author, delivered the People from a superstitious Error.

Ibid. cap. 9.

8. He declares that the Custom of carrying the Images of the Saints through the Parishes, was no better than a Custom derived from the Heathens. The same Saint, saith he, once by Accident saw a Company of Heathens at a Distance, who accompanied the Body of an Heathen to the Grave; but finding himself too far off to discover what they were about, and perceiving the Winds to wave the Linnen wherewith the dead Body was covered, he imagined they were employed about the prophane Ceremonies of their Sacrifices, and the reason he gives of it is this; *Quia esset hæc Gallorum Rusticis consuetudo, simulacra Dæmonum, candido tecta velamine, miserâ per agros suos circumferre dementiâ.* “ Because it was the Custom of the
“ Coun-

“ Country People of *Gaul*, to carry madly about their Grounds the Images of *Demons*, covered over with a white Vail.

9. He lays down a very remarkable Maxim for the *Albigenses*: *Ecclesiam auro non strui, sed potius destrui*; “ That Gold was not the means of building, but rather of destroying the Church; which those of the Church of *Rome* could never forgive him, as appears by their Censures in the Margin.

Pag. 234.
Dial. c. 1.

10. He severely blames the Conduct of those who employ Violence against such as do not acquiesce in their Decisions. He went, saith he, to *Alexandria*, but would not make any stay in a place: *Ubi recens fraternæ cladis fervebat invidia; nam etsi fortasse videantur parere Episcopis debuisse, non ob hanc tamen causam multitudinem tantam sub Christi confessione viventem, præsertim ab Episcopis oportuisset affligi.* “ Where the Reproach of their intestine Slaughters was yet fresh; for though perhaps it was their Duty to have obeyed the Bishops, yet such a vast number of Persons living in the Confession of Christ, ought not to have been afflicted in that manner, especially by the Bishops.

Pag. 235. Dia.
c. 3. ad finem.

11. He acquaints us with the unjust Proceedings of the *Spanish* Bishops against the *Priscillianists*, and the ridiculous Marks they had to discover them: *Maximus Imperator, alias satis bonus, depravatus consiliis sacerdotum, post Priscilliani necem, Ithacium Episcopum Priscilliani accusatorem, ceterosque illius socios, vi Regiæ tuebatur, ne quis ei crimini daret, operâ illius cujuscunque modi hominem fuisse damnatum. Et jam pridie Imperator ex illorum sententia decreverat, tribunos summâ potestate armatos ad Hispanias mittere qui Hereticos inquirerent, deprehensis vitam & bona adimerent: Nec dubium erat quin sanctorum etiam maximam turbam, tempestas ista depopulatura est, parvo discrimine inter hominum genera: etenim tum solis oculis judicabatur, cum quis pallore potius aut veste, quam fide Hereticus estimaretur.* “ This great Emperor, otherwise a very good Man, being spoiled by the Counsel of the Priests, after *Priscillian's* Death, did by his Kingly Power defend *Ithacius* the Bishop, *Priscillian's* Accuser, and the rest of his Associates, that no body might reflect on him, as if by his Procurement any Man had been condemned.—The Day before the Emperor had already according to their liking, resolved

Pag. 253.

“ to.

Pag. 254.

“ to send Tribunes with full Power into *Spain*, to examine those
 “ that were Hereticks, and being found such, to take away
 “ their Lives and Estates: Neither was it to be doubted but
 “ that this Storm would have reach'd the greatest part of Be-
 “ lievers, because of the small Distinction made between them
 “ and the other: for then they judg'd Persons only by the Eye,
 “ esteeming them Hereticks from their pale Looks or Habit,
 “ rather than by their Faith. He afterwards shews the Horror
 that *St. Martin* had conceived against these kind of Proceed-
 ings: There was nothing he was more concerned about; *Illa*
precipua cura ne Tribuni cum jure gladiatorum ad Hispanias mitterentur:
 “ Than to prevent the Tribunes being sent into *Spain*, with the
 “ Power of the Sword. He renounced Communion with these
 sanguinary Bishops; but not long after, to avoid a greater Mis-
 chief, he was obliged to give up that Point, though he still re-
 fused to subscribe to the Condemnation of the *Priscillianists*; *Hu-*
jus diei communionem Martinus iniiit, satius asinans ad horam cedere,
quam his non consulere, quorum cervicibus gladius imminabat; verun-
tamen summâ vi Episcopis nitentibus, ut communionem istam subscrip-
tionæ firmaret, extorqueri non potuit. “ *Martin* communicated
 “ with them at that time, thinking it better for a while to give
 “ way to them, than not to provide for their Safety, who had
 “ the Sword hanging over them: But yet though the Bishops
 “ used their utmost Endeavours to make him ratify his commu-
 “ nicating with them by his Subscription, they could never
 “ bring him to it.

Ibid.

If we consult *Vincentius Lirinensis*, and *Cassian*, they will afford us much Light as to the State of these Diocesses.

Vincentius a Priest of the Monastery of *Lerins*, is one of those who can best inform us what was esteemed Orthodox in these Churches: Indeed we find all the peculiar Doctrines of the Church of *Rome* are condemned in the Maxims that he solidly asserts in the 28th Chapter of his *Commonitorium*, where he maintains that the Church may every day make a further Progress in the Knowledge of Truth, and all this without making any Innovation: *Crescat igitur oportet, & multum vehementerque proficiat, tam singulorum quam omnium, tam unius hominis, quam totius Ecclesie, atatum ac seculorum gradibus intelligentia,*
scientia

T. 4. B. P. pag.
72, & 73.

ſcientia ſapientia, ſed in ſuo duntaxat genere, in eodem ſe dogmate, eodem ſenſu, eademque ſententia. “ The Underſtanding, Knowledge and Wiſdom, as well of every ſingular Perſon as of the whole Church, ought to grow and greatly increaſe, according to the ſeveral Degrees of Times and Ages, but every one in his own way, that is to ſay, in the ſame Doctrines, in the ſame Senſe, and the ſame Judgment.

2. He in the ſame place exclaims againſt all new Doctrines and new Names, and yet owns that the Church acquires daily more Light in matters of Religion; *Sed ita tamen ut vere proſectus ſit ille fidei non permutatio:* “ But yet ſo that this is really an Advancement, not a Change of Faith.

3. He reduces all that we ought to believe to the Rule of Faith, and declares what is the true uſe, and the true Authority of the Doctours of the Church: *Qua tamen antiqua ſanctorum Patrum conſenſio, non in omnibus divina legis quaſtiunculis, ſed ſolum certe præcipue in fidei regula, magno nobis ſtudio & inveſtiganda eſt & ſequenda.* — *Quibus tamen (Patribus) hæc lege credendum eſt, ut quicquid vel omnes vel plures, uno eodemque ſenſu manifeſtè frequenter perſeveranter, velut quodam conſentiente ſibi magiſtrorum conſilio, accipiendo, tenendo, tradendo firmaverint, id pro indubitato certo, ratoque habeatur.* “ But yet this primitive Conſent of the Holy Fathers is not to be inquired after and followed as to the leſſer Queſtions of Divine Law alike, but eſpecially, if not only, in the Rule of Faith.— Which Fathers we may give full Credit to, on this Condition, that whatſoever all or the moſt of them do in the ſame ſenſe, manifeſtly, frequently and conſtantly maintain, as in a Council of Maſters agreeing together, by their receiving, holding and delivering the ſame, that ought to be eſteemed unqueſtionable, certain and firm. Pag. 73. cap. 39.

4. He lays down a Method how we may diſpute with the Church of Rome, about the Errors ſhe has drawn from Antiquity, by reducing the whole Diſpute to the Scripture: *Atque ideo quaſcunque illas antiquiores, vel Schiſmatum vel Hæreſeum profanitates, nullo modo nos oportet, niſi aut ſola, ſi opus eſt, Scripturarum auctoritate convincere, aut certe jam antiquitus univerſalibus Sacerdotum Catholicorum Conciliis convictas damnataſque vitare.* Ibid.

“ Wherefore we are no other way to convict all ancient Errors of Schism or Heresy, but either, if need be, by the sole Authority of Scripture, or else to avoid them as already condemned by the universal Councils of Catholick Priests.

Pag. 79. c. an-
tepenult.

5. He excellently explains the Use of Tradition, without derogating any thing from the Sufficiency of Scripture: *Diximus in superioribus hanc fuisse semper, & esse hodieque Catholicorum consuetudinem, ut fidem veram duobus istis mediis adprobent: primum Divini Canonis autoritate; deinde Ecclesia traditione: non quia Canon solus non sibi ad universa sufficiat, sed quia verba Divina pro suo plerique arbitrato interpretantes, varias opiniones erroresque concipiant; atque ideo necesse sit ut ad unam Ecclesiastici sensus regulam; scripturae caelestis intelligentia dirigatur, in iis duntaxat precipue quaestionibus, quibus totius Catholici dogmatis fundamenta nituntur.*

“ We have said before, that this hath been and still is the Custom of Catholicks, to prove the true Faith two ways; 1st, by the Authority of the Divine Canon: And 2^{dly}, by the Churches Tradition; not as if the Canon were not of it self sufficient, but because most Men interpret Scripture according to their own private Fancy, which has given occasion to various Opinions and Errors: Wherefore it is needful that the Understanding of Holy Scripture be regulated by one single Determination of the Church, and particularly in those Questions on which the Foundations of all Catholick Doctrine rest.

Ibid.

Lastly; He desires that universal Consent may be taken only from such a Tradition as he authorizeth. *Item diximus in ipsa rursus Ecclesia, universitatis pariter ac antiquitatis consensionem spectari oportere, ne aut ab unitatis integritate in partem schismatis abruptamur, aut à vetustatis religione, in Haresen novitates precipitemur.* “ We have said also that in the Church we are to have an Eye to the Consent of Universality and Antiquity, that we be not rent from the entire Union into a Schism, or be cast headlong from the Religion of the Ancients into the Novelties of Heresy.

There needs little more than these Maxims to secure a Church where they are taught from those Corruptions, into which the Church of Rome is fallen by her continual Practice of

of the contrary, as well in reſpect of the Doctrines of Faith, as of religious Worſhip.

Caffian a Priest, the Diſciple of *Chryſoſtom*, hath writ much concerning the Inſtitutes of Monks, and accordingly we find in his Writings ſeveral Inſtances of their Folly and Pride. He ſaith the young Monks obſerved the Rules preſcribed to them ſo exactly, *Ut non ſolum non audeant abſque Præpoſiti ſui ſcientia, vel permiſſu, non ſolum cellâ progredi, ſed ne ipſi quidem communi & naturali neceſſitati ſatisfacere ſuâ autoritate præſumant.* “ That
 “ without leave obtained from their Abbot, they dare not on-
 “ ly not ſtir out of their Cells, but what is more, not ſo much
 “ as ſatisfy the common Neceſſities of Nature. He ſhews
 that Covetouſneſs began already to reign amongſt the Monks
 of his time. *Tertius*, ſaith he, *nobis eſt conſtitus adverſus Phi-* Ibid. lib. 7.
laryriam, quam nos amorem pecuniarum poſſumus appellare; pere- cap. 1.
grinum bellum & extra naturam, nec aliunde in Monacho ſumens
principium, quam de corrupta & torpida mentis ignaviâ, & plerum-
que initio abrenuntiationis male arrepto, & erga Deum tepido amore.
 “ Our third Conſtit is with the Love of Money, a foreign
 “ and unnatural War, and which ariſes in Monks from the
 “ Sluggiſhneſs from a corrupt and benumm’d Mind, and very
 “ oft is grounded upon an inconfiderate Entrance upon a Self-
 “ denying Life, and a luke-warm Love towards God. He
 cannot bear the Impudence of thoſe covetous Monks, who Lib. 7. cap. 16.
 defended themſelves with thoſe Words of Jeſus Chriſt, *It is*
more glorious to give than to receive. He cenſures the impertinent
 Interpretation which ſome Monks put upon theſe Words of
 Chriſt, *Whoſoever doth not take up his Croſs and follow me, is not* Collat. 8. cap. 3.
worthy of me: Quod quidam diſtictiſſimi Monachorum, habentes qui-
dem Zelum Dei, ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam, ſimpliciter intelligentes,
fecerunt ſibi Cruces ligneas, eaſque jugiter humeris circumferentes, non
edificationem, ſed riſum cunctis videntibus intulerunt. “ Which
 “ ſome of the ſtricteſt Monks having a Zeal for God, but not
 “ according to Knowledge, taking too literally, made them-
 “ ſelves wooden Croſſes, and by carrying them about upon
 “ their Shoulders, inſtead of edifying, provoked thoſe that
 “ ſaw them to Laughter.

Inf. Cænob. 1.
5. cap. 14.

2. He informs us that the Monks of *Egypt* were no scrupulous Observers of their Fasts, and that they made no Difficulty of breaking them, in order to discharge some Duty which appeared of more Importance to them. *Cassian* tells us he was surprized at it, but one of the eldest Monks returned him this excellent Answer : *Jejunium semper est mecum, vos autem continuo dimissurus, mecum jugiter tenere non potero. Et Jejunium quidem, licet utile sit, ac jugiter necessarium, tamen voluntarii muneris est oblatio: opus autem charitatis impleri, exigit præcepti necessitas.*
 “ To fast is always in my power, but you being ready to depart,
 “ I cannot have you always with me. Besides, to fast, though
 “ it be useful and always necessary, yet it is but a Free-Will-
 “ Offering : whereas Acts of Charity are required of us upon
 “ the account of their being commanded.

Ibid. lib. 5. cap.
34.

3. It appears that they did not believe the Scriptures to be so obscure, as at this day they are supposed to be. We may see what Abbot *Theodorus* thought of this matter, as we find it set down by *Cassian*. *Monachum ad scripturarum notitiam pertinere cupientem, nequaquam debere labores suos, erga commentatorum libros impendere, sed potius omnem mentis industriam & intentionem cordis, erga emundationem vitiorum carnalium detinere, quibus expulsi confestim cordis oculi, sublato velamine Passionum, sacramenta scripturarum velut naturaliter incipient contemplari. Siquidem nobis non ut essent incognita vel obscura, sancti spiritus gratia promulgata sunt: sed nostro vitio, velamine Peccatorum cordis oculos obnubente, redduntur obscura, quibus rursus naturali redditis sanitati, ipsa scripturarum sanctarum lectio, ad contemplationem vera scientia abunde etiam sola sufficiat, nec eos commentatorum institutionibus indigere.*
 “ That a Monk who desires to attain to the Knowledge of
 “ Scripture, ought not to spend his time upon Commentators,
 “ but rather bend and apply his utmost Industry and Attention
 “ to the purging himself from fleshly Lusts, which if they are
 “ once expelled, then immediately the Eyes of the Heart, upon
 “ removing of the Vail of Passions, will as it were naturally
 “ begin to contemplate the Mysteries of Scripture ; since
 “ we may be sure that the Grace of the Holy Spirit never gave
 “ them forth that they should continue unknown or obscure ;
 “ but they are darkned by our own Fault, because the Vail of
 “ Sin

“ Sin covers the Eyes of the Soul, which when once reftored
 “ to their natural Soundnefs, the very reading of the Holy Scrip-
 “ ture is alone abundantly fufficient for their Contemplation
 “ of true Knowledg; neither do they further need the In-
 “ ftructions of Commentators.

4. It is evident that he did not believe Tranfubftantiation, becaufe he faith, *Nemo in terris fitus, in cœlis effe poteft*; “ No
 “ body placed on the Earth can be in Heaven.

De incar. lib.
7. cap. 4.

5. We find that he did not own Auricular Confeflion, no more than *Chryfoftom* his Mafter, becaufe where he gives an account of the means whereby we may obtain the Forgivenefs of Sins, he doth not mention one Word of it. True it is that he fpeaks indeed of a Confeflion of Sins, but of fuch an one as is to be made to God alone. *Nec non*, faith he, *per peccatorum confeflionem, eorum abolitio conceditur; dixi enim, ait, pronuntiabo adverfum me injuftitiam meam Domino, & tu remisifti impietatem peccati mei.* “ And alfo by the Confeflion of Sin their Forgivenefs
 “ is granted; for faith he, I faid, I will confefs my Transgreffi-
 “ ons unto the Lord, and thou forgaveft the Iniquity of my
 “ Sin.

Collat. 20. c. 8.

6. He acknowledges that the Faft of *Lent* was no Apoftolical Law. *Sciendum fanè hanc observationem quadragefima, quam-
 diu Ecclefia illius primitiva perfectio illibata permansit, penitus non
 fuiffe.---Verum cum ab illa Apoftolica devotione descendens quotidie cre-
 dentium multitudo fuis opibus incubaret, nec eas ufui cunctorum, fecun-
 dum Apoftolorum inftituta divideret; fed privatim impendiis. fuis con-
 fulens, non fervare tantum, fed etiam augere contenderet, Anania
 & Sapphira exemplum non contenta feftari; id tunc univerfis sacer-
 dotibus placuit, ut homines curis fæcularibus illigatos, & penè, ut
 ita dixerim, continentia vel compunitionis ignaros, ad opus sanctum
 Canonica indictione revocarent.* “ We are to know that as long
 “ as the Perfection of that Primitive Church remained un-
 “ tainted, there was no fuch Observation of *Lent*. — But
 “ when the Multitude of Believers daily declining from that
 “ Apoftolical Devotion, fet their Hearts upon their Riches,
 “ not diftributing them for the ufe of all, according to the
 “ Rule of the Apoftles, but applying themfelves to private Ex-
 “ pences, endeavoured not only to keep what they had, but to
 “ increafe

Collat. 21. cap.
30.

“ increase it, being not content to follow the Example of
 “ Ananias and Sapphira; then was it thought good by the U-
 “ niversality of Priests, to recal Men that were intangled in
 “ secular Business, and in a manner ignorant of what Conti-
 “ nence or Compunction meant, to this holy Work by the
 “ Canonical Injunction of a Fast.

I proceed to other considerable Authors who have lived in these Diocesses. *Salvian* a Priest at *Marseilles* informs us what their Faith was, in several important Articles.

Lib. 3. pag. 64.
T. 5. B. P.

1. He refers all Faith to the Scriptures: *Si scire vis, faith he, quid tenendum sit, habes literas sacras: perfecta ratio est hoc tenere, quod legeris. — Cum legimus quod regat cuncta que fecit; hoc ipso approbamus quod regit, quia se regere testatur. Cum legimus quod presenti judicio omnia dispenset; hoc ipso est evidens quod judicat, quia se judicare confirmat. Alia enim omnia, id est humana dicta argumentis ac testibus egent; Dei autem sermo ipse sibi testis est: quia necesse est quicquid incorrupta veritas loquitur, incorruptum sit veritatis Testimonium.* “ Wouldst thou know what thou art to believe; thou hast the holy Scripture: ’tis the perfection of Reason, to hold whatever thou readest there. — When we read that he rules every thing that he hath made; by this we approve of his governing of every thing, because he says it. For all other, that is, humane Sayings, stand in need of Proofs and Witnesses; but God’s Word is its own Witness, because whatsoever incorrupt Truth speaks, must needs be an incorrupt Witness of Truth.

Ibid. pag. 68.

2. He seems to approve of the difficulty which some of the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses* made to swear, when he saith, *Iussit Salvator noster, ut Christiani homines non jurarent.* “ Our Saviour commanded that Christians should not swear.

Pag. 72.

3. He absolutely forbids Pride to those who believe themselves righteous. See how he expresseth himself; *Et hoc intolerabilis superbia atque immanis piaculi crimen est, si tam bonum se aliquis esse credat, ut etiam malos existimet per se posse salvari. Loquens Deus de terra quadam, vel de populo peccatore, sic dicit: Si fuerint tres viri in medio ejus, Noe & Daniel & Job, non liberabunt filios & filias, ipsi soli salvi erunt. Neminem tamen reor tam impudentem*

dentem fore qui ſe his talibus viris audeat comparare : quia quamvis placere nunc aliquis Deo ſtudeat, hoc ipſum tamen genus maximum injuſtitia eſt, ſi ſe juſtum preſumat.

“ This alſo is intolerable
 “ Pride, and the higheſt Wickedneſs, for any one to think
 “ himſelf ſo good, as that wicked Men may be fav'd by his
 “ means, &c. and concludes ; For though a Man may do his
 “ endeavour to pleaſe God, yet is it the higheſt kind of Un-
 “ righteouſneſs, if he preſume himſelf to be righteous. He
 “ paſſeth the ſame Judgment upon thoſe who believe they merit
 “ by their Prayer. *Neque enim unquam nos ita vivimus ut exaudiri mereamur.* “ Neither do we ever live ſo as to deſerve to have
 “ our Prayers heard.

Lib. 6. pag. 103.

4. He gives us a perfect Picture of the Hypocriſy of the Monks of his time. *Qui, ſaith he, ſub ſpecie Religionis, vitiis ſecularibus mancipati : qui ſcilicet poſt veterum flagitiorum probra & crimina, titulo ſanctitatis ſibi inſcripto, non converſatione aliis, ſed profeſſione nomen tantum denotaverunt, non vitam : & ſummam divini cultus habitum magis quam actum exiſtimantes, veſtem tantummodo exuere non mentem.* — “ For they do almoſt all things in

Lib. 5. pag. 94.

“ ſuch a manner, that you would not ſo much think that they
 “ had repented of their former Crimes, as that afterwards
 “ they had repented of their Repentance ; nor that at firſt
 “ they repented of their wicked Lives, ſo much as afterwards
 “ that they had ever promis'd to live well. — A new kind
 “ of Conversion this is ; What is lawful they don't do, and
 “ commit what is unlawful. They abſtain from Women,
 “ but not from Rapine. He adds to his ſharp Censure of
 “ them, that God never forbid Marriage ? O fooliſh Perſua-
 “ ſion, what doſt thou ? God forbids Sin, not Marriage ; your
 “ Actions do not agree with your Profeſſion ; you muſt not
 “ be Friends to Crimes, who pretend to be Followers of
 “ Vertues. He ſhews alſo that at Carthage they were ex-
 “ tremely deſpiſed. “ And if at any time any Servant of God,
 “ from the Monaſteries of Egypt, or the holy Places at Jeruſa-
 “ lem, or from the holy and venerable Retirements of the
 “ Wilderneſs, happened to come to that Town to perform
 “ ſome divine Office ; he was no ſooner ſeen by the People,
 “ but they 'all loaded him with opprobrious Language, Sacri-
 “ ledg and Curſes.

Lib. 8. pag. 125.

5. He

5. He shews that it is in vain for any one to bear the Name of Catholick, if he doth not answer that Character; and he prefers the *Goths* and *Vandals*, that were *Arians*, to the Orthodox Christians of his time. “ They, saith he, are humble towards God, we rebellious; they believed Victory to be in God’s Hand, we in our own. — What can the Priviledg of a religious Name avail us, that we call our selves Catholicks, that we boast our selves to be Believers, that we despise the *Goths* and *Vandals*, by reviling them as Hereticks, whilst we our selves live as ill as Hereticks? — If we be not found doing these things (*viz.* the Duties of true Christians) it is in vain that we flatter our selves with the empty Presumption of the Name of Catholicks.

6. He sufficiently shews that Prayer for the Dead, was at that time thought to be a very uncertain thing, when he saith; “ But if either the violence of the Disease be such, or the carelesness of the Sick hath been so great as to continue in their spiritual Infection till they are a dying, then I don’t know what to say, or what to promise. — It is better indeed to leave nothing unattempted, than to neglect a dying Person; especially, because I do not know, whether to endeavour any thing at the last Gasps may be a Medicine; sure it is, that to try nothing, is certain Perdition.

7. He expressly excludes the Doctrine of Merits. “ For this alone what Equivalent can Man pay, for whom Christ gave himself, by the suffering of most extream Pains? Or what will he render to the Lord worthy of him, who owns God himself to be God, by whom he was deemed?”

I ought in this Place to mention a Canon of the first Council of *Orange* held in the year 441, at which 15 of the Bishops of *Gallia Narbonensis*, and the Country about *Lions* assisted. ’Tis the XVII Canon; the first Words are these, *Cum Capsa & Calix offerendus est* (other MSS. have *inferendus*, which seems more agreeable to reason) & *admixitione Eucharistia consecrandus*.

We find that this Canon does hint at these two things very clearly. 1st, That at that time they kept the Bread of the Eucharist in a Casket or Coffer, so far were they from making

Lib. 7. pag. 114.

Pag. 142. ad Ec.
Cath. Lib. 1.

Pag. 148. ad Ec.
Lib. 2.

making it an Object of their Adoration. *2d*, That the mingling only of the Bread that was conſecrated before, with the Wine that was not conſecrated, made them look upon the Wine, though not conſecrated by the Words of Jeſus Chriſt, as the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt; which is the moſt extravagant and ſenſleſs Notion in the World, if we ſuppoſe that theſe Fathers were ſeaſon'd with the Doctrines of Tranſubſtantiation, which attributes to the Words of Chriſt, only the Virtue of changing the Subſtance of the Wine into the Subſtance of the Blood of Chriſt. *Allatius* takes a great deal of pains to avoid this Argument, which ſhews, that the Greek Church, that believes the ſame, cannot be of the Faith of the Church of *Rome*. In the mean time, the thing is certain, and *Mabilion* has ingenuouſly acknowledged, that this is the true ſenſe of that Canon. And indeed there are many Proofs that make it evident, that both the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers were of this Opinion.

Comment. de
Ordine Rom.
pag. 139.

Salonius one of the moſt famous Biſhops of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, owns no other Doctrine but that of the Old and New-Teſtament. *Drink Waters out of thine own Cifterns; and running Waters out of thine own Well.* *S.* “By Cifterns he means the Catholick Doctrine, that is, that of the Old and New-Teſtament; and “by the Well, he underſtands the Depth and Height of the “ſame Catholick Doctrine, that is, the various meanings of “holy Scripture: For in theſe Words, he teacheth us to be- “ware of the Doctrine of Hereticks, and to attend to the read- “ing of Holy Scripture.

B. P. T. I.
pag. 134.

He will have the Author's Meaning, and not Tradition, to be the Explication of Scripture. *Do not remove the antient Land-marks or Bounds which thy Fathers have ſet.* *S.* “By the antient Bounds he underſtands the Bounds of Truth and Faith, “which Catholick Doctours have plac'd from the beginning. He would have no Man therefore receive the Truth of Holy Faith and Goſpel-Doctrine, any otherwiſe than it hath been handed down to them by the Holy Fathers; and likewiſe commands that no Man interpret the Words of Holy Scripture, otherwiſe than according to the Intention of each Writer.

Pag. 141.

Pag. 147. He doth not own the *Apocrypha*. How many Books did *Solomon* publish? *S.* " Three only, according to the number of their Titles, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and *Canticles*. *V.* What doth *Solomon* say in the *Proverbs*, or what doth he teach in *Ecclesiastes*, and his *Songs*?

Pag. 157. He assigns but two Places whither the Soul goes immediately. " For, by the Tree, Man is understood, because every Man is as it were a Tree in the Wood of Mankind; by the South, which is a warm Wind, is signified the Rest of Paradise; and by the North, which is cold, is signified the Pain of Hell: and the meaning of it is, Wheresoever Man prepares a Place for his future abode, if to the South, when he falls (that is, dies) he shall abide to all Eternity in the Rest of Paradise, and the glory of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Pag. 153. He makes it the greatest Absurdity, that a Man should eat his own Flesh; which yet follows from the Doctrine of Transubstantiation. " But that Expression, He eats his own Flesh, is spoke by an Hyperbole. *V.* What is an Hyperbole? *S.* When any thing is exprest that is incredible. *V.* How is this exprest hyperbolically, he eats his own Flesh? *S.* Because it is incredible that any Man should eat his own Flesh; but to aggravate the slothfulness of this Fool, he saith, that he eats his own Flesh, to shew that a Fool rather desires his Flesh should waste by Hunger, and be consumed by the Misery of Want, than to support it by the labour of his Hands. These are all Maxims concerning divers important Articles, very different from the present Maxims of the Church of *Rome*.

I grant that *Prosper*, who was a Native of *Aquitain*, was no more than a Lay-man, but he was in so great a Reputation, that there were but few Bishops of his time, that have shewn more Knowledg, or exprest more Zeal for the defence of Truth, than he did. This Testimony is given of him by *Cassiodorus*, *Photinus* and *Vasquez*. Wherefore his Testimony concerning the Faith of his Country, must be of great weight with us.

Would we know the Opinion of the Church of this Diocesis? He tells us of a small part of the Body of Jesus Christ, thereby

Cod. 54.
T. I. disp. 91.
cap. 11.

Dimid. Temp.
cap. 6.

thereby meaning the Eucharift or the Sacrament, which was given in little Bits. And it is in the ſame ſenſe that he ſpeaks of a ſmall part of the Sacrifice; Expreſſions that are utterly inconſiſtent with the Notion of the Church of *Rome*, concerning the carnal Preſence. And indeed it is plain in all his Writings, that he follows the ſteps of *St. Auguſtin*, in his Expreſſions and Judgments of things which are contrary to thoſe of the Church of *Rome*.

This we may ſee in his Extract of the Sentences of *St. Auguſtin*, where he repeats what that Father had ſaid upon *Pſalm* 33. upon occaſion of theſe Words of the vulgar Verſion, which ſays, that *David ferebatur in manibus ſuis*, in the preſence of *Achiſh*. Where it clearly appears, that he underſtood thoſe Words as well as *St. Auguſtin* did, of the Sacrament of his Body, which may be called his Body in ſome ſenſe; that is to ſay, by way of Likeneſs, as *St. Auguſtin* expreſſeth himſelf concerning it.

I cite nothing here from thoſe other Works, which are attributed to him, becauſe indeed they are none of his.

I ſhall only obſerve two things: The firſt is, that in his Epiſtle to *Demetrius* he plainly ſhews, that he knew nothing of the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, concerning the Neceſſity of the Miniſters Intention for the Validity of the Sacraments: for there he attributes all to the Work of God, and not to that of the Miniſter, according to the Doctrines of *St. Auguſtin*, upon the Queſtion of the Validity of Baptiſm conferred by Hereticks.

The other is, that as he follows *St. Auguſtin* in the Matter of Free-Grace, as one may ſee in his Poems gathered from the Opinions of *St. Auguſtin* and his Sentences, ſo he rejects the Doctrines of Merit and Works, as a pure *Pelagian* Doctrines, in ſeveral Places of his Writings.

Laſtly, We muſt join with theſe Authors, *Arnobius* the Rhetorician (ſince it is very probable that he lived in *Gallia Narbonenſis*, becauſe he has dedicated ſome of his Works to *Leontius* Biſhop of *Arles*, to the Biſhop of *Narbonne*, and *Fauftus* Biſhop of *Riez*, who died about the year 485.) *Arnobius* explains his Belief in the Matter of the Eucharift after this

manner. *We have received*, saith he upon the 4th Psalm, *Wheat in the Body, Wine in the Blood, and Oil in Chrisme.* So likewise on Psalm. 104. he saith of Jesus Christ, that he administers, *not only the species of Bread, but also of Wine and Oil.* Thus it is he describes the Eucharist and Baptism. We may observe likewise, that as he recommends to Believers the consideration of these Words, *sursum Corda*, at the Moment of their receiving these Mysteries, so he doth not own that any receive the Body of Christ besides those that fear him, and who by Faith are made the Sanctuary of God: thus he argues in his Commentaries upon Psalm. 21, & 132.

Upon Psalm. 120.

As for *Faustus* Bishop of *Riez*, whatever Contests he had with those who defended the Doctrine of St. *Augustin* in the matter of Grace, which made Pope *Gelasius* condemn his Writings; yet certain it is, that *France* has always had the highest esteem for him possible; and his Name is registred in the Catalogue of her Saints, in the Roman Martyrology, till it was expunged by *Molanes* in the last Century. Neither hath this hindred, but that to this Day he is honoured, and prayed unto as a Saint in the Diocess of *Riez*. His Doctrine is as follows.

T. 2. B. P.
pag. 148.

1. He rejects the Merits of good Works, and Works of Supererrogation, as particularly, as if he had had an Eye to the Papists: "Wherefore (saith he) though we endeavour with
" all Labours of Soul and Body; though we exercise our
" selves with all the might of our Obedience; yet nothing of
" all this is of sufficient Worth to be rendred or offer'd up by
" us as a deserving Recompence for Heavenly-good Things.
" No temporal Obedience whatsoever can be equivalent to
" the Joys of Eternal Life. Though our Limbs may be wearied with Watchings, and our Faces discolour'd with Fasting, yet when all is done, the Sufferings of this time
" will never be worthy to be compared with that Glory
" which shall be revealed in us. He discourseth much at the same rate concerning Grace and Free-will.

Rom. 8.
Book 2. chap. 4.
Pag. 726.

2. We see clearly that he did not own the Existence of the Body of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, in the manner of a Spirit, because he maintains all Creatures to be corporeal; and that

that the Soul is diſtinctly in a certain place, becauſe if it were otherwiſe, we muſt conclude it to be every where. That which is very ſtrange, is, that *Mamertus*, who hath refuted him, doth yet more directly thwart this Doctrine of *Rome*, by the various Hypotheſes which he propoſeth when he confutes this *Fauftus* Biſhop of *Riez*. But this Century hath detain'd me too long; I proceed now therefore to conſider the State of theſe Dioceſſes in the Sixth Century.

Lib. de Creat.
Pag. 598.

C H A P. VI.

The State of theſe Dioceſſes in the Sixth Century.

WE do not find ſo many Authors of theſe Dioceſſes in the Sixth Century, as we have had in the foregoing: but however, thoſe we have of them, are ſufficient to inform us what their State was. I begin with *St. Caſarius* Biſhop of *Arles*, who aſſiſted at the Council of *Agde* in the year 502, and died in 542; ſo that he reach'd almoſt the middle of this Century.

This great Man fully repreſents the Notion that he had of the Eucharift, when he ſhews, that in Baptiſm there is the ſame Change, and the ſame Prefence of the Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt* which he owns in the Eucharift; as appears in his 4th and 5th *Homily*. But in his 7th *Homily*, he ſpeaks in ſuch a manner as needs no Commentary: “ And therefore ſince he was now
“ about to withdraw his aſſumed Body from our Eyes, and
“ carry it up to Heaven, it was needful that the ſame day he
“ ſhould confecrate for us the Sacrament of his Body and
“ Blood, that he might continually be remembred by the
“ Myſtery which was once offer'd up for our Redemption: that ſo ſeeing his Interceſſion for the Salvation of Man was daily and continual, the offering up of our Redemption might be perpetual alſo, that this everlaſting Sacrifice might live in our Memory, and be always preſent by Grace.

Pag. 278.

2. Though

2. Though he speaks of the Eucharist as changed into the Body of Jesus Christ by the Power of God, yet he maintains that it is by Faith, and by the Acts of Understanding, that we can partake thereof. See how he speaks to a Christian who hath been regenerated by Baptism. "Wherefore as without any bodily feeling, having laid aside what before thou esteemedst advantageous, thou art suddenly become clothed with a new Dignity: and as it is not thy Eyes, but thy Understanding that persuades thee that God hath healed what was wounded in thee, blotted out thy Sins, and wash'd away thy Stains; so when thou goest up to the venerable Altar to be satisfied with Food, thou may'st see the sacred Body and Blood of thy God by Faith, admire it with Reverence, reach it with thy Mind, receive it with thy Heart, and above all, take it in with thy Soul.

3. He expressly asserts, that the Body which the Priest distributes, is as well in a little Part as in the Whole; which agrees only with the Sacrament, and not with the natural Body of Jesus Christ.

4. He maintains, that the Oblation of the Bread and Wine made by *Melchizedeck*, did typically signify the Sacrifice of Jesus Christ; which is absolutely false, if it be true that the Consecration destroys the Nature of the things offered, as the Church of *Rome* believes. Hear what he saith: "He therefore, in *Melchizedeck* (whose Genealogy or Original was unknown to those of that time) by the offering of Bread and Wine did foreshew this Sacrifice of Christ: of whom the Prophet pronounceth, Thou art a Priest for ever, according to the order of *Melchizedeck*. And Blessed *Moses* also speaking of this Mystery, signifies the Wine and Blood with one Word; *Long before*, (pointing at the Lord's Passion) *in the Blessing of the Patriarch, he shall wash his Garment in Wine, and his Clothes in the Blood of the Grape*. Mark how evidently it appears, that the Creature Wine is called the Blood of Christ. Consider what thou art further to enquire concerning this twofold Species, seeing the Lord himself witnesseth. "Except, saith he; you shall eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you; which Testi-
mony

“mony is a moſt evident and ſtrong Argument againſt the
 “Blasphemies of *Pelagius*, who impiouſly preſumes to main-
 “tain that Baptiſm ought to be conferred upon Infants, not
 “to obtain Life, but to attain the Kingdom of Heaven: For
 “by theſe Words of our Lord pronounced by the Evangelift,
 “*You ſhall not have Life in you*, is plainly underſtood, that eve-
 “ry Soul that hath not been baptized, is not only deprived of
 “Glory, but Life alſo.

Laſtly, In the ſame Sermon, he ſaith, in Conformity with
 the Notion of *St. Cyprian*, about the Mixture of the Water
 with the Wine in the Chalice, that by the Water is repreſented
 the Figure of the Nations, and by the Wine the Blood of the
 Paſſion of our Saviour, which ſuppoſeth the Subſiſtence of the
 Wine, as well as of the Water, and utterly overthrowes the
 Doctrin of Tranſubſtantiation.

2. He overturns the Notion of the Romiſh Purgatory, and
 follows here alſo the Sentiments of thoſe of the Ancients, who
 removed Purgatory to the laſt Day of Judgment. “But if
 “neither in our Tribulations we bleſs God, nor redeem our
 “Sins by good Works, we ſhall ſo long abide in that Purga-
 “tory, till all our leſſer Sins be conſumed, like Wood, Hay,
 “and Stubble. But ſome body may ſay, What matter is it
 “how long I ſtay there, ſo I may but at laſt paſs through into
 “eternal Life? Let no Man ſay ſo, moſt dear Brethren, for
 “as much as this Purgatory Fire is more painful than any thing
 “that can be thought, ſeen or felt in this World. And ſeeing
 “it is writ of the Day of Judgment, that it ſhall be one Day,
 “how can any one know whether he may be Days, Months,
 “or even Years, in paſſing through it?

Homil. 8. pag.
282.

3. In his 12th Homily he exhorts the People, not to go out
 of the Church on Sundays, before the Celebration of the Eu-
 chariſt; and makes the Prayers of the Prieſt to appear ridicu-
 lous, when there are no Communicants to receive: *To whom*,
 ſaith he, *ſhall the Prieſt ſay, Surſum corda?* But we are eſpecially
 to obſerve, that when he preſſes the Greatneſs of the Sacrifice of
 the Maſs, and the Adoration due to the Sacrament, he ſays never
 a Word of what ſome Popiſh Orator would repreſent to us on
 the like Occaſion.

4. In the 20th Homily he exhorts the Country People to read the Scriptures, and removes all Excuses which they might make to avoid this Duty, with as much Earnestness as those of the Church of *Rome* express'd, when they would dissuade their Auditors from the reading of it.

5. The 38th Homily is a Collection of several places of Scripture, treating of the means by which Remission of Sins is granted to us. He reckons up there twelve several means, where we are to take notice, 1st, That he doth not speak one Word of confessing to a Priest, nor of the Power God hath bestowed on them to pardon Sins, as Judges, which at present is the great and only mean to obtain the Pardon of Sin; those other whereof *St. Casarius* speaks, being of no use without the Pardons pronounced by the Priest, in the Tribunal of Confession. That which is here peculiar is, that tho he has said a very great deal about the Efficacy of Contrition for the Remission of Sins, in his 29th Homily, he has not been able to avoid the *cautè lege* of the *Romish* Censors, as we may see in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, of the *Paris Edition*. 2^{dly}, We are to observe that whereas the Church of *Rome* pretends to find the Sacrament of Extreme Unction and Auricular Confession, in the 5th Chapter of *St. James's* Epistle; *Casarius* discovers nothing there, but the Christian Duty of praying one for another, proceeding from the Charity we owe to our Neighbour.

Ruricius was Bishop of *Limoges* from the Year 535. in which he assisted at the first Council of *Auvergne*: He assisted also at the 4th Council of *Orleans*, in 541. and at the 5th, in 549.

We have nothing left us of this Prelate, save his two Books of Epistles, though even there we can inform our selves about several very important Matters, which demonstrate what the Faith was that was then received and imbraced in *Aquitain*.

1. He takes for granted that dying Persons are immediately taken up into Heaven, so far is he from mentioning Purgatory. See in what manner he comforts *Namacius* and *Cerannia*, for the Loss of their Son. " Indeed you have reason to take a
" great deal of Comfort from the Will of Christ, since un-
" timely Death was his Lot, that he has been pleased to take
" him away in that State, to which he pronounceth the King-
" dom

“ dom of Heaven to belong, that at the ſame time you might
 “ have a Patron inſtead of a Son, and leave off deploring him
 “ as loſt, whom you ſee the Lord hath taken to himſelf.
 And in another place: “ Wherefore let your Faith wipe off
 “ your Tears, ſince we believe that thoſe who are dear to us,
 “ do not loſe their Life, but change it, they leave this World
 “ full of Sorrows, and haſten to the Region of the Bleſſed,
 “ and take their leave of this painful Pilgrimage, that they may
 “ arrive at the Land of Reſt.

Pag. 382.

2. He ſuppoſeth *Abraham's Boſom* and *Heaven* to be the ſame
 thing, when he brings in a young Woman that enjoyed the
 Glory of Heaven, ſpeaking after this manner: “ Wherefore
 “ my loving Parents, rather bewail your own Sins, and ſeri-
 “ ouſly think of redeeming your own Crimes, that if you
 “ love me in Chriſt, you may be thought worthy to be admit-
 “ ed into the Patriarch's Boſom, where the Lord according to
 “ the Purity of my Innocence, and his great Kindneſs has
 “ placed me, &c.

Pag. 383. E-
piſt. 4.

3. He exhorts a Lady of his Acquaintance to the reading of
 Holy Scripture, when he ſent her a Painter. “ But, ſaith he, you
 “ ought to look for more perfect and great Inſtruments in thoſe
 “ Divine Writings from whence theſe are taken, if ever you
 “ deſire to perfect what you have begun, or attain what is
 “ promiſed you. If you thus ſeek, the Lord will give you
 “ both Knowledge and Strength to underſtand what you read,
 “ and keep what you underſtand.

St. *Ferreolus* Biſhop of *Uzez*, muſt not be forgot by us, he was
 choſen in the Year 553. and died in 581. We find in the
 Rule that he writ for Monks, that he ſetled in his Dioceſs an
 uncommon Strain of Piety.

1. We do not find him to demand the Approbation of this
 his Rule at *Rome*, as has been done for ſome Ages ſince. He
 ſends to the Biſhop of *Die*, to deſire his Advice, and afterwards
 publiſhed it with the Approbation only of that Biſhop, with-
 out troubling himſelf about any other Authority.

2. He orders his Monks to work with their Hands, that they
 might not be chargeable to the Publick, as all the Orders of
 Mendicants are at this time.

Cap. 5. Regul.

Cap. II.

3. He receives none but such as are come to Mens Estate, and will have them tried before they be admitted, whereas St. *Bennet* ordained, that those whom their Parents had presented to a Monastery, should from their Infancy be received and abide there.

4. He will have the great Employment of the Monks to be the reading of the Psalms, which he will have them go through every Week.

F. 6. 18.

5. He will have them on Anniversary Days of the Martyrdom of the Saints, to read the Acts of their Martyrdom, for a worthy Celebration of the Memory of their Passion; but not a Word of encouraging the Monks to offer up Prayers to them on these solemn Days.

6. Above all he requires of every Monk daily to read the Scripture, and not to dispense with it, upon any Pretence, or because of any other Business whatsoever.

Fortunatus was born in *Italy*, but coming into *France* in the Year 570. he stayed there in the Service of St. *Radegunda*, and was ordained Priest at *Poitiers*, where he lived in great Reputation till the end of that Century. Some will have him to have been raised to the Episcopal Dignity in the same City, but this appears to be wholly uncertain. *Gregorius Turonensis*, who often mentions him as his Friend, never gives him any other Title but that of Priest. However it be, it appears by his Writings, that he was very far from Popery; in these following Articles.

Book 2. pag.
764. Bib. Patr.

1. He never in the Life of St. *Martin* attributes to that holy Man, that upon any occasion he prayed to the Saints for the working of his Miracles. This we may see in his Relation of St. *Martin's* raising a Child to Life.

2. He looks upon all Bishops as the Vicars of St. *Peter*; accordingly he saith to the Bishop of *Metz*; *Apparet Petri vos meruisse vices*: It appears you have deserved to be St. *Peter's* Vicar.

3. We meet with nothing more commonly in the Epitaphs which he made, than this Notion, that deceased Believers are in Heaven; from such Expressions as these; *Hunc tenet ulna Dei. Inter Apostolicos credimus esse choros. Non hanc flere decet, quam*

quam Paradifus habet. Accordingly alfo he maintains that *Abram's* Bosom is the Heavenly Glory.

Pag. 796.

Laftly; It appears from an Exposition he hath made on the Apostles Creed, that he owned no Doctrines, besides those contained in that ancient Formulary, as Articles of his Faith, because he makes no mention at all of those new Articles which the Church of *Rome* hath added to that Creed, and which she imposeth on her People, as another part of that which makes the Object of Faith.

It cannot be denied but that the Spirit of Superstition had already made a considerable Progress in all places; we meet with an illustrious Example thereof in the Diocess of *Marfeilles*, which joined to *Gallia Narbonensis*: The People there began to render a religious Worship to Images, whereupon *Serenus* the Bishop of *Marfeilles* was forced to follow the Method of *St. Epiphanius*, in breaking the Images to pieces, which drew upon him the Censures of *Gregory I.* who exhorts him to erect them again, though he commends him for having opposed himself to their Adoration, and exhorts him carefully to instruct the People, to prevent their falling again into Idolatry. And it is natural to conclude, that this Excess of the People met with the same Checks in many other places.

Lib. 9. Ep. 9.

C H A P. VII.

The State of the Diocesses of Aquitain, and Narbon, in the Seventh Century.

I am come to the Seventh Century, of which I have two pieces of great Authority to produce: The first concerns the Purity of these Diocesses, in regard to their Faith. There was a Council held at *Toledo* in the Year 633, whereat *Silva* Bishop of *Narbon* assisted, in the Name of the Bishops of *Gallia Narbonensis*, and they began the Synod with a Confession of Faith, which shews beyond all Controversy, that nothing was look'd upon by them as an Article of Faith, that was not received for such in the Creed of the ancient Christians; for there was not so much as one Word to be found there of all those Articles which the *Church of Rome* imposeth upon those of her Communion, as an Addition to the primitive Faith.

The second regards the Practice of the publick Acts of Religion, and that is the *Gothick* Liturgy, which of a long time was used in these Diocesses; wherefore to make a fuller Discovery of the Religion of these Provinces, it will be of Importance to make some Remarks upon this Liturgy, which was in use there.

It is not probable that all the Parts of it are of equal Antiquity, as may be seen by the Office of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin in Soul and Body, which was rejected in *France*, as a thing uncertain, towards the end of the 9th Century, according to the Testimony of *Usuardus*. One may make the same Judgment of divers other Offices, which are found in this *Gothick* Liturgy; the Barbarism which appears in all its parts, sufficiently shows its Age: In the mean time such as it is, it does not want the Marks of a considerable Purity, which it seems, obliged *Gregory VII.* to abolish and suppress it with all his Might.

1. We find in it the Recital of the Apoſtles Creed, as the only Profeſſion of Faith, which the Churches of theſe Provinces required of thoſe who would be Partakers of her Communion

2. We don't find in it any Prayer addreſs'd to Saints. It ſuppoſeth all along from one end to the other, that the Saints pray in general for the Church, and on this Ground it is, that therein they deſire God to have regard to their Prayers, and to receive their Interceſſion, their Suffrages, and ſo forth. There is no greater ſtreſs laid upon the Power of the Bleſſed Virgin with God, than on that of the Patriarchs and Apoſtles, yea, of the Anchorets and Virgins. True it is, that there is a ſolemn Commemoration of divers Saints, but it may eaſily be perceived, that it is only done out of a Deſign to glorify God, by repreſenting to themſelves their Examples, and forming or diſpoſing themſelves to imitate them. This is done in the Office of *St. Forreſtus* and *Ferucio*.

Patrocinia.

We find divers Confeſſions to God before the Liturgy, but none at all made to Angels, to the Bleſſed Virgin or Saints, as at this day is done in the Romiſh Maſs.

Pag. 271.

3. We find there no particular Diſtinction for the Biſhop of *Rome*, only that the Biſhop of the City of *Rome* is called the firſt of Biſhops. *Mabillon* in his Preface triumphs, becauſe of this Title, but he is extreamly out in his account; for hath the firſt Biſhop any Jurisdiction over the ſecond? the ſecond over the third? We find there the Prayer for the Feaſt of *St. Peter*, but with a Clause which *Mabillon* owns to be found in all the ancient Miſſals, and is ſtruck out of the Roman Liturgy, in order to extend the Papal Monarchy over all the Earth.

Pag. 276.

Pag. 266.

We do not find therein the leaſt Foot-ſtep of Prayers for the Pope, which ſhews that the Decree of the Council of *Vaiſon*, wherein it was ordained that Prayers ſhould be made to God for the Biſhop of *Rome*, was not obſerved throughout *Gaul*; yea what is more, the ſame Liturgy gives the Title of Head of the Church to *St. Paul*, as well as to *St. Peter*.

We find therein no Adoration of the Croſs on Good-Friday.

4. We find therein an Office for *St. Saturninus* Biſhop of *Tholonſe*, who is looked-upon as come from the Eaſtern Parts
in

in the place of *St. Peter*, which shews that all the Bishops of *France* considered themselves as the Vicars of *St. Peter*, as well as the Bishop of *Rome*: *Si quidem ipse Pontifex tuus ab Orientis partibus in urbem Tolosatium destinatus, Roma, Garona invicem Petri tui, tam Cathedram, quam Martyrium consummavit.* “ For this your Bishop being sent from the East to *Tholouse*, instead of *Rome*, has now upon the *Garonne* filled the Chair, and consummated the Martyrdom of your *Peter*.

5. We find therein that the Confession of *St. Peter* was the Foundation of the Church; and the Festival of his Chair is therein referred to his Bishoprick. *Testis est dies bodierna Beati Petri Cathedra Episcopatus exposita: in qua fidei merito revelationis mysterium, filium Dei confitendo, Pralatus Apostolus ordinatur. In cujus confessione est fundamentum Ecclesie; nec adversus hanc Petram porta inferi prevalent.* “ *St. Peter's* Episcopal Chair, which is shewn to this Day, can testify this: wherein by reason of his Faith, when he confessed that Mystery that was then revealed, even the Son of God, he was ordained a Bishop. In whose Confession is the Foundation of the Church; neither shall the Gates of Hell prevail against this Rock.

6. We read there that the Gates of Hell do not signify Errors, as the Church of *Rome* will have it, but the State of the Dead, from whence the Faith which *St. Peter* hath professed, delivers those who imitate him: “ Let us pray, saith he, that the Souls of the deceased being brought up out of Hell, the infernal Gates may not prevail over the Dead, because of their Crimes which the Church believes are overcome by the Faith of the Apostle.

7. We find there, as in the Romish Mass, an high Abjuration of the Doctrine of the Merit of Works: And though we find the Word *Merit* often used in it, yet we also meet with those necessary Explications of it, as are sufficient to hinder any wrong Impression that may be made by a Word of an ambiguous sense.

8. I do own that we find in it the Prayer for the Dead, but there are a hundred other Passages which speak them to be in *Peace*, in the *Peace of God*, that they are at rest; and other Expressions which very plainly import that they had not received the

the Notion of Purgatory, no more than the Authors of the Roman Liturgy had at that time.

I know there are ſome Paſſages in it, which ſeem to ſuppoſe the Souls departed to be in a place of Torment; but I have two things to ſay to this Point; the one is, that thoſe Miſſals, whoſe Style comes near to the Belief of the Church of *Rome*, are of a later Date: the other is, that the ordinary Article, *pro paſſantibus, for thoſe who are at reſt*, imports nothing like a place of Torment. To theſe two Conſiderations we may add, That what is ordinarily requeſted for them, is either that they may have a part in the firſt, that is to ſay, a more early Reſurreſtion, which is the ſame with the Opinion of the *Mil-lennium*: or that they may be written in the Book of Life, or carried into *Abraham's Boſom*: which ſhews that the State of Souls after Death, was not more certainly determined by thoſe who governed theſe Churches at this time, than by the Members of the Catholick Church any where elſe.

We read that there are divers Flocks, whereof each Biſhop is the Paſtor, as well *St. Cyprian* as *Cornelius*. Indeed we find that to every Biſhop is given the Title of *ſummus Pontifex*, and *ſummus Sacerdos*. “ Grant unto us, Lord, who this Day are
“ celebrating the Anniverſary of the Deceafe of thy high Prieſt
“ and our Father, *Biſhop Martin*. Pag. 279.

We ſee there the manner of adminiſtring Baptiſm, with the Unction or anointing called the *Chriſmation*; but we do not find that they made two Sacraments of them, as the Church of *Rome* has ſince done. Pag. 290.

We find there alſo the Conſecration of Wax Tapers, but yet without aſcribing to them all thoſe Virtues which the Church of *Rome* attributes to her conſecrated Tapers in the *Roman Order*. Pag. 241.

But I go on to that which is moſt conſiderable in this Liturgy. *Mabillon*, who hath publiſhed it in *France*, according to the Copy printed at *Rome*, pretends that it expreſſy ſhews, that the Churches which made uſe of this Liturgy, held the Doctrin of the Real Preſence. If inſtead of ſome Paſſages that he quotes, we could find there a precise Order for adoring the Sacrament after Conſecration, as being become the Body
of.

of Jesus Christ, which we do not find in any part of it, there would indeed be some ground for his Pretension; but there is not so much as a Word to this purpose: which makes it evident, that in these Diocesses, they had not received this Doctrine, nor the natural Consequences of it any more than in any other part of the Catholick Church; for we find that as soon as ever this Opinion was entertained, it was immediately followed with supreme Adoration.

Neither do we find any thing therein of the Sacrifice of the Mass, any more than of the Adoration of the Sacrament, which is another Consequence of the Real Presence.

We do not find any Masses there without Communicants. *St. Casarius*, whom I have already cited, would have accounted them ridiculous and a mere Profanation.

Lastly; We do not find that the Communion under one kind was there thought to be a Consequent, as it hath been in the Church of *Rome*, of the Real Presence: And yet one would think that the Fear of prophaning the Blood of Jesus Christ, as being very subject to be spilt, ought to have obliged them to take the same Precautions, as the Church of *Rome* has since done to prevent such dreadful and yet such common Inconveniencies.

If *Mabillon* had well considered these essential Defects, which a Papist cannot but naturally meet with in this *Gothick* Liturgy, in all Appearance he would not have been so lavish of his Judgment. But without making use of these just Anticipations, upon the matter in hand, let us consider a little whether the attentive Examination of the Liturgy, be not sufficient to clear these Prejudices, and oblige him to put another sense upon the Words which he hath wrested to confirm his Assertion.

The Characters we meet with in this Liturgy are these:

1. It makes a great Distinction between that which is taken with the Mouth, and that which is received by the Heart. *Grant, O Lord, that what we have taken with our Mouths, we may receive with our Minds, and that the temporal Gift may be to us an eternal Remedy.* This Observation is decretory, for the Transubstantiators own that both Good and Bad receive the Body of Christ. *Goffridus Vindocinensis* expressly asserts it, notwithstanding

ſtanding that St. *Auguſtin* has rejected it as a great Abſur- Tr. 26. in Joan.
dity.

2. It ſuppoſeth likewiſe that Jeſus Chriſt is above the Heavens, and that he is no otherwiſe near to us than by the Communion of our Nature which he hath taken to himſelf. Pag. 191.

Ut qui te confortem in carnis propinquitate letantur, ad ſummorum Civium unitatem, ſuper quos corpus aſſumptum evexiſti, perducantur :

“ That they who rejoice to ſee thee their Brother, in the “ Nearneſs of thy Fleſh, may be brought up to the Unity of “ thoſe higheſt Citizens, above whom thou haſt carried up thy “ aſſumed Body.

3. It ſuppoſeth the Sacrament to be only a Commemoration ; *We remember thy Suffering, and thy Body broken for the Remiſſion of our Sins.* Which is a plain Alluſion to the Words of St. *Paul*, 1 Cor. 11. 24. and ſhews that the Authors of this Liturgy, did underſtand them of the Croſs, and not, as the Church of *Rome* doth, of the Eucharift. The *Ambroſian* and *Gallican* Liturgies have followed the Senſe of the *Gothick* Liturgy, which deſerves ſome Obſervation. We meet with the ſame thing again : Pag. 192.

“ Thou didſt command by *Moſes* and *Aaron* thy “ Servants, that the Paſſover ſhould be celebrated by the of- Pag. 255.

“ fering of a Lamb for ever, until the Coming of Chriſt ; and “ haſt commanded the ſame Cuſtom to be obſerved for a Me- “ morial.

4. It ſuppoſeth that we receive the Body of Jeſus Chriſt ſpiritually : “ Let us, deareſt Brethren, who have been fed Pag. 193.

“ with the Food of Heaven, and reſreſhed with the Cup of “ the Eternal Wine, render never-ceaſing Praises and Thanks “ to our God, begging of him that we who have ſpiritually “ receiv’d the Sacred Body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, being “ freed from fleſhly Vices, may deſerve to be made Spiritual.

What it means by the word Spiritual is very plain, where it calls the Dove that appeared at the Baptiſm of Jeſus Chriſt, *Spiritualis Columba.* And the ſpiritual Dove deſcending upon his Head by the Holy Ghoſt, that cameſt thy ſelf. Thus it calls the Pag. 207.

Eucharift ſpiritual Sacrifices, *He hath reſreſhed us with the Heav- Pag. 231.*

by Bread and the Spiritual Cup. P. 296, & 300.

Pag. 229.

5. It takes for granted, that the Believers of old did eat the same Living Bread, which Jesus Christ gives us: " For he himself is the living and true Bread that came down from Heaven, and always dwells in Heaven, who is the Substance of Eternity, and the Food of Power. For thy Word, by which all things were made, is not only the Bread of humane Souls, but of the very Angels themselves. By the Nourishment of this Bread, thy Servant *Moses* was enabled to fast 40 Days and Nights, when he received the Law, and abstained from carnal Food, that he might be the more capable of tasting thy Sweetness, living on thy Word. Let this living and true Bread which came down from Heaven, that he might give Food to the Hungry, yea that he himself might be the Food of the Living, become to us such Bread as that our Hearts may be strengthened thereby; that so in the Power of this Bread, we may be enabled to fast these 40 Days without any impediment from Flesh and Blood.

P. 234, & 237.

6. It calls the Sacrament, Gifts laid upon the Altar. " Be pleased to sanctify, O Lord, these Gifts which we offer upon thy Altar, offering immaculate Sacrifices upon the Holy Altar. Let us beseech the Almighty through his only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath vouchsafed to bless and sanctify these Gifts by the offering up of his Body and Blood, that he would be pleased also to bless the Gifts offered by his Servants.

7. It calls the Sacrament, *Salutiferam Dominica immolationis effigiem, in sacrificio spiritali Christo offerente transfusam*. " The salutiferous Representation of our Lord's offering up of himself transfused into the spiritual Sacrifice, whereof Christ himself is the Sacrificer or Offerer.

8. We find there a Prayer, whose Title is, A Collect for the Breaking of the Bread after Consecration. Which scarce proves, that they were persuaded that the Substance of the Bread was destroyed by the Consecration.

9. The same which in some Places it calls the Body of Christ, it elsewhere calls the Sacrament of the Body.

10. It reduceth all to the virtue of the Eucharift. “ Keep within us, Lord, the Gift of thy Glory, and let us by the Virtue of the Eucharift, which we receive, be armed againft all the Pollutions of the World. Pag. 296.

11. It fuppofeth that the Body of Jesus Chrift abides within us, and prays that it may continue there incorruptible. “ Hear the Prayers of thy Family, Almighty God, and grant that thefe holy Things which we have received of thy Gift, we may by thy Gift keep incorrupted within us. And again; let us with unanimous Prayer entreat the Divine Mercy, that thefe faving Sacraments being received into our inward Parts, may purify our Soul, and fanctify our Body, and confirm our Hearts and Minds in the hope of heavenly Things. Ibidem.

12. It calls the Eucharift *Holy Bread*: “ Bearing in mind the moft glorious Paffion of our Lord, and his Refurrection from the lower Parts of the Earth; We offer up unto thee, O Lord, this unspotted Sacrifice, this holy Bread, and this faving Cup, befecching thee, &c. Pag. 298.

13. It calls the Sacrament, *Holy Myfteries*, in feveral Places.

Thefe many Instances one would have thought might have obliged *Mabillon* to believe that the Authors of this Liturgy, did fpeak figuratively in fome other Places, where they feem to fpeak more ftrongly, and to give us another Notion; efppecially confidering the manner of their expreffing themfelves, when they fpeak of the Feaft of St. *John Baptift*. “ It it worthy and juft, equal and faving, for us always to give Thanks to thee Almighty, and merciful God, and in this Banquet of thy Sacrament, to join the Head of thy Martyr by an Evangelical Commemoration, and to offer it upon thy Propitiatory Table, as in a Dish of fhining Metal. And we may add feveral others upon each of thofe Paffages which feem the moft likely to deceive us. Pag. 275.

If we had the Canon of this Liturgy, which thefe Gentlemen did not think fit to give us, we fhould there eafily find the Solution of thefe Difficulties; for it is very probable, it was like that of the *Ambrofian* Liturgy, where it was fo clear-

ly specified, that the Bread was the Figure of the Body of Jesus Christ, as that it put an end to all manner of Cavillings on the Point. Indeed these Words, *The Figure or Representation of the Sacrifice of our Lord*, do plainly shew, that this was their meaning. But we must make a shift to help our selves with what they have been pleased to give us. It is easy to judg what those Passages were, which *Mabillon* judg'd to be most favourable to his Cause; for he hath caus'd them to be Printed in great Characters, that no Body might pass them by.

Thus the word *Truth*, seem'd to him to determine the Question of the Real Presence; the Words are these: "We beseech thee, Almighty God, that like as we do now perform the Truth of the Heavenly Sacrament, so we may cleave to the Truth of the Body and Blood of our Lord. But this learned *Benedictine* has suffer'd himself to be overtaken by his own Prejudice. The Author of the Liturgy distinguisheth two times; the one before the Death of Jesus Christ, which was only an obscure Image of a Thing that was to come; this is that which is express't in these Words: "Or that the Living Bread, by denying of himself, should not afford Life; but for the Redemption of his Passion, and the Praise of his Glory, what before he vouchsaf'd in a Parable, he may now vouchsafe in Truth. The other, wherein the Death of Jesus Christ hath authoriz'd the Signification of the Eucharist; upon which account, he calls it *the Truth of the Heavenly Sacrament*. We have a like Expression of Baptism, alluding to the Passage of the *Red-Sea*, in one of *St. Augustin's* Homilies, upon *Nicodemus's* coming to Jesus Christ, related by *Paulus Diaconus*, *In inventione S. Crucis*; and 'tis the same we find also in several Passages of *St. Casarius*.

We find that the word *Transformation* has perfectly charm'd him. "We therefore, Lord, keeping these Institutes and Precepts, do most humbly beseech thee that thou wouldst be pleased to receive, bless and sanctify this Sacrifice, that it may be to us a true Eucharist, in thy own and Son's Name, and of the Holy Ghost; that so there may be

“ a Transformation of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus
 “ Chriſt, thy only Begotten, &c. And in a Marginal Note
 he obſerves, that the ſame Word is made uſe of in this Litur-
 gy: “ That it may pleaſe thee to ſend down thy Holy Spirit
 “ upon theſe Solemnities, that it may be to us a true Eucha-
 “ riſt, in thy own and Son’s Name, and of the Holy Ghoſt, for
 “ a Transformation of the Body and Blood of our Lord Je-
 “ ſus Chriſt, thy only Begotten; that it may beſtow upon us,
 “ who eat it, eternal Life, and the everlaſting Kingdom to
 “ thoſe that ſhall drink it. And alſo, “ That thy Bleſſing may
 “ come down upon this Bread and Wine, for the Transfor-
 “ mation of thy Holy Spirit; that bleſſing thou may’ſt bleſs
 “ them, and ſanctifying thou may’ſt ſanctify them, &c. And
 the like in other Miſſals as antient as this; which he obſerves
 alſo in his Preface. Pag. 228.

But this after all, ſignifies nothing elſe but the Change
 which the Holy Ghoſt produceth in making the Elements
 after Conſecration, to become the Sacrament of the Body
 of Jeſus Chriſt. This is that which our Authors have fully
 juſtified by an infinite number of Examples borrowed from
 Baptiſm, and other things conſecrated by Prayer. *Boethius* in
 his Books, *De conſolatione Philoſophia*, ſaith, *Converſi in malitiam, hu-*
manam quoq; amiſere naturam. Evenit ergo, ut quem transformatum
vitiis videas, hominem exiſtimare non poſſis. “ Being turn’d into
 “ Malice, they at the ſame time loſe humane Nature: So
 “ that if you ſee one transformed by Vice, you cannot look
 “ upon him as a Man. And *Ratramnus* in his Book of the
 Body and Blood of our Lord, ſaith, That Jeſus Chriſt in for-
 mer times could change the Manna, and Water out of the
 Rock in the Wilderneſs, into his Fleſh and Blood: the ſame
Ratramnus that oppoſ’d *Poſchafius*, who was the firſt Publiſher
 of the Doctrine of a real Change. Pag. 285.

We find there the Notion of *Vertere and convertere in carnem*:
 “ Beſeeching that he who then changed the Water into Wine,
 “ would be pleaſed now to change the Wine of our Obla-
 “ tions into his Blood. And again, “ Let us entreat him, that he
 “ who as at this day, by his Son, turned the Species of Water
 “ into Wine, would be pleaſed in like manner, to change
 “ the Pag. 208.
Pag. 209.

“ the Oblations and Prayers of us all, into a Divine Sacrifice,
 “ and to accept them as he did accept the Offering of *Abel*
 “ the Just, and the Sacrifice of *Abraham* his Patriarch. But the
 appearance of this seeming Difficulty, we find in the following
 Leaf. Besides, that it is ridiculous to suppose the real Change of
 the Prayers of Believers into the Body and Blood of our Savi-
 viour, which is suppos'd of the Oblations.

Pag. 240.

We meet with an Expression which seems somewhat
 strange: “ O Jesu Christ, who in the Evening of the World,
 “ wast made an Evening-Sacrifice on the Cross, vouchsafe to us,
 “ that we may become new Sepulchres for thy Body. Tho
 indeed these Expressions plainly shew that they are only inten-
 ded for the prefiguring the Death of Christ, according to the
 Notion of *Rabanus Maurus*.

Lib. 1. cap. 33.
 de institut.
 Cleric.

We find there frequently, that the Sacrament is said to be a
 Remedy for the Body, and an Expiation for the Soul; but
 this doth no more suppose the carnal Presence, or the Expiati-
 on, which is the fruit of a Propitiatory Sacrifice, than that
 which we find in the *Roman Order*, in blessing a Grave, that
 it may be a saving Remedy to the Party resting in it, for the
 Redemption of his Soul.

Pag. 207.

In the same Liturgy, they say to God, “ Do thou therefore
 “ so come down into the present Oblation, that it may afford
 “ Healing unto the Living, and Refreshment unto those who
 “ are Dead. But this regards only the Presence of Vertue, as
 in the *Roman Order*; they beg of God that he would afford his
 Presence and Majesty in Baptism.

Pag. 143.

There is mention likewise made of the Immolation of the
 Body of Jesus Christ; but this is only said by way of Resem-
 blance, as St. *Augustin* explains it in his 23^d Epistle to *Bonifacius*;
 for in other places this Liturgy speaks of Bread offered up.

There is also mention made of a Sacrifice. But 1st, He
 gives that Name to the Eucharist, which every-where through-
 out this Liturgy, is termed a Sacrifice of Praises and Thankf-
 givings. 2^{ly}, It compares the Sacrifice with that of *Melchize-
 deck*, wherein every one knows, there was nothing of Transub-
 stantiation. This is that which *Rabanus* explains, *Lib. 1. de instit.
 clericor. cap. 31.*

Mabillon particularly triumphs, when he takes notice of a Paſſage which is found in the 78th Office. “ He offer’d up “ himſelf firſt to thee a Sacrifice, and firſt taught himſelf to “ be offer’d. Theſe words, *offer’d up himſelf*, ſeem to him to be applicable to the Act of Jeſus Chriſt in the Eucharift: but he muſt not take it ill, if we tell him, that it is not true, that he then offer’d up any Sacrifice: the Sacrifice of Jeſus Chriſt conſiſting only in his Death on the Croſs; the Eucharift, where he had only his Death before his Eyes, was only the Memorial of his Sacrifice, his Offering conſiſting only in his Death. If he did offer up himſelf in the Eucharift, then was he already dead, which is a Notion attributed to *Gregory Niſſen*, but is refuted by the Divines of the Church of *Rome*, as impertinent.

Some it may be will imagine, that the Authors of the *Gothick* Liturgy, take away all Equivocation, when they ſay; “ Let us receive that in the Wine which flow’d from “ thee on the Croſs. But indeed, here we have reaſon to admire how far ſtrong Prejudices will carry Men, ſo as even to hinder common Senſe from acting; for really there can be no Notion more oppoſite to Tranſubſtantiation: ſince this Notion repreſents the State in which Chriſt was given to us, that is, a State of Death, which is contrary to the Popiſh Notions, by which they believe him alive in the Eucharift. Beſides, it is abſolutely falſe, that Jeſus Chriſt did after his Reſurrection, retake the ſame Blood which he loſt on the Croſs. The Church of *Rome* pretends that ſhe hath it in her keeping, and it is ſhown in I don’t know how many places. This Expreſſion, is well known to be St. *Auguſtin*’s, whoſe Doctrine is vaſtly oppoſite to that of Tranſubſtantiation, as *De Marca* hath been forc’d to acknowledg.

This is what I thought might be obſerv’d concerning this *Gothick* Liturgy, which was uſed amongſt the *Viſi-goths*, and which mentions no Saint of later ſtanding than St. *Leodegarins*, who died in the year 677. Now becauſe Pope *Adrian* the Firſt, engag’d *Charlemain* to abolish the *Gallican* Liturgy, which was very different from the *Roman*, endeavouring

deavouring by this means to subject the *Gallican Churches* to himself, under the plausible pretence of making them more uniform with the Church of *Rome*; *Gregory VIIth*, undertook to suppress the *Gothick* Liturgy, which was not less but rather more different; because the Popes after *Adrian I.* had made great Changes in the *Roman* Liturgy, and had enrich'd it with many Novelties, which the Ages after *Gregory the First*, had produc'd in Religion. However it be, thus much is evident from what I have observed at the beginning of this Chapter, that in the *VIIth* Century in which this Liturgy was in use in these Diocesses, there was nothing less known than the *Romish* Religion, as it concerns those Articles which the *Protestants* reject as Novelties. But let us proceed to take a view of the State of these Diocesses in the *8th* Century.

C H A P. VIII.

The Opinion of the Churches of Aquitain and Narbon in the Eighth Century.

THere was no part of *Gaul* so shaken and laid waste by the Wars, as *Aquitain* and *Gallia Narbonensis* were in the *8th* Century: Though all *France* suffer'd in some measure, yet these two Provinces were, during a long series of Years, the Theatre of War and Calamity. However, we may say that these Mishaps serv'd only to awaken the Zeal of these People, and to make them the more sensible of the Aversion they ought to have to the Idolatry which reigned in the East; and which it seems God was willing to punish with the Scourge of the *Saracens*, the great Enemies of Images and Idolatry. For not only did the Bishops of these Diocesses preserve their Purity in the Faith, which they made appear at the end of this Century, by their opposing the Opinions of *Felix* Bishop of *Urgel*, and of *Elippandus* Arch-bishop of *Toledo*, who revived

Nestori

Nestorianiſm; but they alſo gave a publick Teſtimony of their Averſion to the worſhipping of Images, which the Popes aſſerted in Conjunction with thoſe of the Eaſt.

The Judgment of theſe Dioceſſes concerning Images appear'd in Publick, when their Deputies aſſiſted at the Council of *Francfort*, which condemned the 2d Council of *Nice*, notwithstanding that it had been approved by the Pope. The 2d Council of *Nice* had in the year 787, ordain'd the Adoration of Images, under the Penalty of being Anathematiz'd. The Eaſt was entirely over-run with this Superſtition; and what we have already ſeen of *Serenus* Biſhop of *Marſeille*, makes it evident, that it had likewiſe made great Progreſs in the Weſt. *Charlemain* and the whole Body of the Weſtern Churches, if we except *Rome* and ſome Partifans of the Pope in *Italy*, were deſirous to ſtop this torrent: *England* condemned the Decrees of the *Nicene* Council, and cenſured them by the Pen of the famous *Alcuin*. His Writings were ſubſcribed by all the Biſhops of *England*, and ſent to *Charlemain*. This great Emperor thereupon, in the year 794, aſſembled at *Francfort* a Council of the Biſhops under his Government; that is, thoſe of *Italy*, *Aquitain*, and *Provence*, as well to condemn *Elipandus* Arch-biſhop of *Toledo*, and *Felix* Biſhop of *Urgel*, as to make an enquiry into the Acts of the 2d Council of *Nice*. They were examin'd in preſence of the Pope's Legats. And this Council finding that the 2d Council of *Nice* had Anathematized all thoſe who refuſed to render to the Images of the Saints, the Worſhip and Adoration which are only due to the Trinity; ſhe denied the Service and Adoration of Images, deſpiſed the *Nicene* Acts, and condemned thoſe who received them.

Now that we may exactly know the Opinions which obtain'd in theſe Dioceſſes, whoſe Biſhops approved the Book of *Charlemain*; the Reader needs only conſider carefully the Poſitions of *Charlemain* againſt ſeveral Opinions which have ſince prevailed in the Church of *Rome*.

1. In his Preface, he expreſly rejects Traditions; when he ſaith, " That as for themſelves, they were content with Prophetical, Evangelical and Apoſtolick Writings.

L

2. He

Lib. 1. cap. 13.
pag. 84.

2. He maintains; " That we are principally to believe the truth of the *Hebrew Original*; *Hebraeae veritati potissimum fides adhibenda est.* Thus he expresseth himself by way of opposition to Translations, and the vulgar Latin in particular.

Pag. 32.

3. He lays it down for a Rule, that God alone is the lawful Object of religious Worship. " It is no small Error to serve any thing with religious Worship besides him who saith, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.* And he repeats this afterwards; Nei-

Lib. 2. cap. 5.
pag. 184.

ther do we read that any thing is to be worshipped besides God; because it is written, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.*

4. Would we know his Opinion concerning the Worship which at this day is given to Angels and Saints? We may find it, *Lib. 1. cap. 9. p. 69.* " Moreover, saith he, for as much as we see that *John* in the Revelation is restrain'd by the Angel from worshipping him; and that *Peter* the Pastor of the Church forbid the Worship of the Centurion; and that the chosen Vessel, together with *Barnabas*, with a strong Opposition, rejected the Adorations of the *Lycanians*; we are without doubt to conclude from these Examples, that Adoration, which only belongs to God, who alone is to be worshipp'd and alone to be serv'd, is not to be rendred to any Creature whatsoever, except only by way of Salutation, to express our Humility. So afterwards; " The Gospel-Rule of the Doctrine of the Prophets and Apostles; which is sometimes recommended to us in the Words of our Lord himself, and sometimes by Examples, sometimes is represented to us by Oracles either more obscure, or more plain and open; sometimes is taught in plain, and other-times in figurative Expressions, rejecting the Adoration of all other things whatsoever, save only the Adoration whereby we mutually salute one another, enjoins the Adoration of God alone. And again; " Neither Men nor Angels are in the least to be ador'd, save only by that Adoration which is given to express our Charity, and as a Salutation.

Lib. 6. cap. 25.
pag. 227.

Pag. 228

5. He diſtinguiſheth very well between the Honour we give to Saints, and that which we render to God, when he ſaith; “ God alone is to be worſhipp’d, God alone is to be adored, God alone is to be glorified; of whom it is ſaid by the Prophet, The Name of him alone is exalted; and to the Saints, who having triumphed over the Devil, do reign with him, Veneration is to be rendered, either becauſe they have fought courageouſly for the Preſervation of the State of the Church, or becauſe they are known to aſſiſt it with their continual Patronage and Interceſſion. So likewiſe, We venerate the Saints who are dead with the triumph of Merits, but they are not to be ador’d with Divine Worſhip, for that very reaſon, becauſe it is Divine Worſhip. Seeing therefore, ſaith he, that God alone is to be worſhipp’d, the Martyrs and all other Saints are rather to be venerated than worſhipped, as we have ſaid before in this Book. And the ſame thing we meet with alſo, *cap.* 28. towards the end.

Lib. 2. cap. 21.
Pag. 218.

Lib. 4. cap. 23.

Lib. 4. cap. ult.

Pag. 248.

6. It appears clearly from what he ſaith concerning the means whereby we obtain Remiſſion of Sins, that he own’d no other Sacraments of the Church beſides Baptiſm and the Eucharift; for indeed he mentions only theſe two.

Lib. 3. cap. 6.

7. He was ſo far from owning either the Infallibility of the Pope; or of a Council which the Pope hath approved, that he maintains it was a piece of Folly to look upon the Council of *Nice* as univerſal, and calls it a Council of one Part of the Church only; and he afterwards cenſures the Fathers of that Council for giving it the Title of Univerſal, whereas it had been conven’d, without the Participation and Conſent of many Catholick Churches. This Remark made ſuch an Impreſſion upon the Learned Jeſuit *Sirmondus*, that he ſeems not to own the ſecond Council of *Nice* as a general Council.

Lib. 3. cap. 11.
pag. 340.

Pag. 340.

T. 2. Concil.
Gall. pag. 91.

8. The Fathers of the ſecond *Nicene* Council having made a Compariſon between the Eucharift and Images, and uſed theſe following Expreſſions, which are not to be found at preſent in the Copies of that Council: *As the Body of our Saviour paſſeth from the Fruits of the Earth, into an excellent Myſtery; ſo*

Images formed by the Industry of Artificers, pass to the Veneration of those Persons, according to whose Likeness they have been wrought. Charlemain doth censure those who had made a Parallel between Images and the Eucharist, in such a manner as shews that he knew nothing of *Romish* Transubstantiation. He saith, " That
 " the Eucharist is made by the Hand of the Priest, and by
 " calling upon the Name of God, both Priest and People
 " joining their Prayers in the Consecration thereof; whereas
 " Images stand in no need of Consecration, but are made at
 " the Discretion of the Painter. He saith that *Melchizedeck*,
 " did not present an Image as a Type of the Body and Blood,
 " but Bread and Wine: that *Moses* commanded a Lamb to be
 " eaten as a Type of our Saviour, wholly rejecting the Custom
 " of worshipping Images. That the Psalmist who sang that
 " Men should eat the Bread of Angels, that is, Jesus Christ;
 " hath also declared, that the Makers of Images are like unto
 " the Images they have made. That the Sacrament is of Di-
 " vine Institution; whereas the insolent Use of Images, is not
 " only without Scripture, but also directly contrary to the
 " Writings of the Old and New Testament. That our Savi-
 " our never instituted the Memory of his Suffering to be kept
 " up by the Works of Artificers and worldly Arts, but by
 " the Consecration of his Body and Blood: that he was not
 " willing that his Faith and his Confession should be express'd
 " by Pictures, but by the Mouth and the Heart.

We are carefully to take notice, that the Authors of this Book, who desired to exalt the Sacrament of the Eucharist with all their Might, never give the least hint that Jesus Christ had instituted it, to make it an Object of Adoration. " They say
 " that the Eucharist, according to the Judgment of *St. Paul*, is
 " preferable almost to every other Sacrament; that it is made
 " invisibly by the Spirit of God, and consecrated by the Priest,
 " who calls upon God; that it is carried by the Hands of An-
 " gels, and laid upon the Altar of God in Heaven; that it
 " can neither increase nor be diminished; that it is confirm-
 " ed by the Old and New Testament; that it is the Life
 " and Nourishment of Souls, that by its Manducation it
 " leads to the Entrance of the Heavenly Kingdom; that it
 " can.

“ can never be aboliſhed, no not in the time of Perſecution ;
 “ and that no body can be ſaved without receiving of it.
 “ Whereas Images are viſibly made by the Hand of the Work-
 “ man, painted by the Art of the Painter, placed on the Walls
 “ by the Hands of Men, that by them, if Men inconfiderate-
 “ ly abuſe them, Sins are increaſed ; that they can increaſe
 “ and diminiſh in Beauty, according to the Ability of the
 “ Workman ; that Age ſpoils them ; that they only feed the
 “ Eye ; that they only bring to remembrance things paſt, by
 “ looking upon them ; that they may be ſpoiled by taking
 “ wet ; that they who keep to the true Faith are ſaved, with-
 “ out having any Regard to Images. And to exaggerate the
 “ Folly of their Anathema’s pronounced againſt thoſe that
 “ did not worſhip them, they conclude that this Anathema
 “ ſtrikes at the Saints of old, of whom we never read that
 “ they adored them ; that the ſame was levell’d at the Martyrs,
 “ who from the Baptiſmal Font paſſed immediately to the
 “ Kingdom of Heaven, without any Adoration of Images ;
 “ and laſtly, that it is darted againſt little Infants, who cannot
 “ worſhip them, and of whom notwithstanding, the Son of
 “ God ſaith, *Suffer little Children to come to me, &c.* I own
 that *Charlemain* cenſureth *Gregory* Biſhop of *Neocaſaria*, for
 giving to the Eucharift the Name of the true Image of Jeſus
 Chriſt : For after having made out, that no Artificer can form
 a true Image of Jeſus Chriſt ; he adds, when he ſpeaks of the
 Eucharift ; “ That Jeſus Chriſt did not offer up to God the
 “ Father for us in Sacrifice, any Image or Prototype but him-
 “ ſelf ; and that he who of old had been foretold by viſible
 “ Reſemblances under the Shadow of the Law, in the Immo-
 “ lation of the Lamb, and in ſome other things, as being the
 “ Sacrifice that was to be offered, by truly accompliſhing the
 “ things that had been propheſied of him in the Oracles of the
 “ Prophets, did offer up himſelf to God the Father, for a ſa-
 “ ving Sacrifice, and beſtowed upon us (the Shadows of the
 “ Law being paſt away) not ſome imaginary Sign, but the Sa-
 “ crament of his Body and of his Blood. For the Myſtery of
 “ the Blood and Body of our Lord, muſt not now be called
 “ an Image, but the Truth ; not the Shadow, but the Body ;
 “ not

“ not a Type of things to come, but that which had been pre-
 “ figured by the Types of old: For now (according to the
 “ Song of Songs) the Day is risen, and the Shadows are gone;
 “ now Jesus Christ, the End of the Law for Righteousness to
 “ every one that believes, is come, he hath now fully ac-
 “ complished the Law. Now upon those who sat in the Re-
 “ gion of the Shadow of Death, a great Light is risen. Now
 “ the Vail is taken off from the Face of *Moses*; and the Vail of
 “ the Temple being rent, hath opened to us all Secrets and
 “ Things hid. Now the true *Melchizedeck*, Christ the King of
 “ Righteousness and King of Peace, hath bestowed upon us
 “ not Sacrifices of Beasts, but the Sacrament of his Body and
 “ of his Blood, and hath not said, This is the Image of my
 “ Body and of my Blood; but, This is my Body which shall
 “ be given for you, and this is my Blood which shall be shed
 “ for many for the Remission of Sins.

But it is plain that *Charlemain* understands by the Word
 Image, a Prototype, like the Shadows of the Law, with re-
 spect to which it is true, what many of the Fathers have said,
 that the Sacraments of the New Testament are the Body and
 the Truth; though otherwise considered as Sacraments, they
 are sacred Signs, which cannot be confounded with the things
 signified by them, without renouncing the Light of common
 sense. Moreover, we are to observe that *Charlemain* never said
 that the Eucharist is properly the Body of Jesus Christ. If he
 denies Jesus Christ to have said concerning the Eucharist, this
 is the Image of my Body, taking the Word as a Prototype, and
 a Shadow of things to come; yet he always holds that it is his
 Body in a Sacramental Sense, for he never speaks of the Eu-
 charist as the Body of our Lord, without adding the Restricti-
 on of Sacrament, or of Mystery. If, saith he, he hears the *My-*
stery of the Body and of the Blood, once mentioned, and twice to-
 gether, he hath bestowed upon us the Sacrament of his Body and of
 his Blood: And lastly, the *Mystery of the Body and of the Blood*,
 cannot be called an Image. Now the Word *Mystery*, according
 to the constant Use of the Church, properly signifies the *Symbol*,
 the *Figure*, the *sacred Sign* of the Body and Blood of our Sa-
 viour.

Lastly;

Laſtly; We ought to obſerve, that though he ſays that the Sacrament is the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, yet he never ſaith that it ought to be adored. Indeed he ought to have drawn up an Impeachment againſt theſe Worſhippers of Images, upon this Article, and a very important one too, becauſe it is very evident that the *Greek* Worſhippers of Images did not adore the Eucharift, but gave only a ſimple Veneration to it, like to that which they beſtowed upon the Croſs, the Altar and the Goſpel, as one of their Authors tells us, in a Book which they call, *An Invektive of the Orthodox againſt the Oppoſers of Images*, Scriptores poſt Theophanem, p. 309. printed at the *Louvre* in 1685. in the Collection of Authors, who have writ ſince *Theophanes*.

C H A P. IX.

The Faith of the Churches of Aquitain and Narbon, in the Ninth Century.

Charlemain, that great Man, who lived till the Year 814. maintained the Spirit of Oppoſition againſt the Errors and Superſtitions of the Church of *Rome*, that eſpouſed the Intereſt of the Image-Worſhippers, by approving the ſecond Council of *Nice*. This Council having eſtabliſhed the Authority of Tradition, as being a neceſſary Principle to ſupport the Worſhip of Images; we find that the Churches of *Aquitain* and *Narbon*, kept themſelves firmly to the Authority of the Scriptures, grounding their Faith thereon, and regulating their Worſhip according to the ſame.

Of this we have an illuſtrious Example in the Council of *Arles*, aſſembled in the Year 813. by the Order of *Charlemain*, whereat the Arch-biſhop of *Narbon* aſſiſted with his Suffragans. For the Fathers of this Council thought fit to begin it with a Profeſſion of their Faith, which is nothing but an Extract of that Creed, which bears the Name of *Athanaſius*, and.

and this is that which they ordain should be preached to the People for the Catholick Faith, without so much as mentioning one Word of those Articles of Faith that the Church of Rome now imposeth.

Charlemain had ordered a Collection of Homilies to be made out of the Works of *Origen*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Chrysostom*, *St. Jerom*, *St. Augustin*, *St. Leo*, *St. Maximus*, *St. Gregory* and *Bede*, which he caused to be published in these Diocesses, as well as the rest of his Empire; now these Homilies do so strongly oppose the most part of those Novelties, which were then endeavoured to be introduced, that this Book for a long time served as a Bar, to hinder People from leaning too much towards those things that incline Men to Superstition. There is no *Protestant* in the least versed in the Matters of Controversy, who seeing the Names of those ancient Doctors comprized in this Collection, will not remember how much these Fathers have opposed themselves to a Multitude of Corruptions which prevailed at last, by the factious Endeavours of some of the latter Popes; wherefore I may excuse my self from making an Extract of this Collection, choosing rather to produce other Witnesses, which the same Diocess affords us concerning the Faith of these Diocesses in the ninth Century.

I can only produce three or four; but to recompense the smallness of their Number, they are Men against whose Authority the most contentious Adversaries will have nothing to oppose. In the first place it is certain, that as the Bishops of *Aquitain* and *Narbon* had set themselves against the Superstition and Idolatry of the *Greeks* and the Pope in the matter of Images at the Council of *Francfort*; so their Successors imitated their Zeal and Vigor in the Synod at *Paris* in 824, upon the same Question; where they determin'd that Pope *Adrian*, who had writ an Answer to the Book of *Charlemain*, and therein undertaken the Defence of the second Council of *Nice*, had made use of in the said Reply, *superstitious Testimonies*, and not at all to the purpose, answering what he thought fit, and not what was agreeable. And besides they drew up a new Collection of great Numbers of Arguments against this superstitious Worship, to recal Pope *Paschal* and those of his Party from their doating on Images.

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We can shew further, that the same Zeal was continued in this Diocess. *Baluzius* hath acknowledged, and so has *Massonus* before him, that the Book of *Agobardus* Arch-bishop of *Lions*. concerning Pictures, expresseth no more than the general Opinions of the Bishops of *France* and *Germany*, concerning this Point. But it may not be amiss to quote it in particular, not only to shew what were the Opinions of the Churches of *Aquitain* and *Narbon* (because though he was born in *Spain*, yet he had continued for a long time in *Aquitain*, whither he was invited, because of the general Esteem he had gained, to be the Coadjutor to *Leidradus* Arch-bishop of *Lions*, to whom he succeeded;) but also because it appears by his Works, that the most illustrious Bishops of *Gallia Narbonensis* carefully consulted him in Matters of Difficulty, as their Master, being indeed a most famous Doctor, able to instruct and inform them.

1. He declares, as *St. Augstin* did before him, that we can never equalize the Authority of any Interpreter whatsoever, to that of the Apostles: Concerning Expositors also *St. Austin* T. 9. B. P. P. 2-
15. pag. 1245. hath delivered; "That we are to hold far otherwise than you do, whom not only in his Book, which he hath writ against *Faustus* the *Manichee*, concerning those who have been blamed by the Doctors, yea the best of them, speaks thus; which sort of Writings, that is to say Expositions, are not to be read with a Necessity of believing, but with a Liberty of judging; for those Books only, that are of Divine Authority, are to be read not with a Liberty of judging, but with a necessity of believing, which form the Apostle himself delivered, saying, *Quench not the Spirit, despise not Prophecies, try all things, hold fast what is good, abstain from every Appearance of Evil.* Which is absolutely false, if an infallible Principle has continued in the Church; whether in the Person of the Pope, or in Councils, or that we must of Necessity explain Scripture according to the Sense of the Fathers, as the Church of *Rome* has defined.

2. We see with what force he maintains the Canons of the *Gallican* Church, against the Contempt which some cast upon them, because they had been made without the Pope's Concurrence.

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Epist. ad Imperat. p. 1222.

3. We do not find, that in his time, they applied to the Blessed Virgin the Words of the first Promise, by reading, *Ipsa tuum conteret caput*, She shall bruise thy Head; for he reads, *Ipsa tuum*, He shall bruise, &c. when he disputes against *Felix* Bishop of *Urgel*.

4. He maintains in the same place, that the Notion of a Peoples being without Sin, who yet confess themselves to be Sinners out of Humility, is pure *Pelagianism*. "That if this is the Property of humble Saints, why then doth *John* the Apostle say, *If we say that we have no Sin, we deceive our selves, and the Truth is not in us; but if we confess our Sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our Sins?* Who if like you, he had been inclined to have not mean, but great Thoughts of himself; he had whereof he might glory, because he lay in the Bosom of his Lord, and was beloved of him above the rest of his Disciples. *James* the Apostle also saith, *In many things we offend all;* which if any shall imagine not to be spoke in Truth, but by way of Humility, let him know that therein he follows *Pelagius*.

5. He plainly declares that our Communion in the Sacrament is the same with that of the Believers of old, when he applies that Passage of the 1st to the *Corinthians*, chap. 10. ver. 1, and 2. of the drinking of the Holy Ghost, and maintains in these terms that there is no other Difference between the Believers of the Old and New Testament, but this, "That the great Sacraments of Salvation which are wrought by the Mediator for us and for them, save us as being already past, but them as yet to come, because we believe and hold what is past, they believed and held what was to come; they held them only in their Minds, as Figures of future things, but we in an open Profession, Vows and Declaration of things past, under the Signification of sensible Sacraments, as those two who carried one Cluster of Grapes upon a Staff, did indifferently do the same Work, only that the one of them had it behind his Back, and the other before his Face.

I should be obliged to transcribe his whole Book against Pictures and Images, if I should go about to extract all that it contains in Opposition to the Opinions of the Church of *Rome*.

It will be ſufficient for us to obſerve, that the *Romiſh Index Expurgatorius*, hath forbid this Book, as well as the reſt, till its Errors be expunged : and indeed it did deſerve no leſs ; for it maintains, according to the Doctrine of St. *Auguſtin*, that we ought not to adore any Image of God, but only that which is God himſelf, even his eternal Son ; and that it is a piece of Folly and Sacriledg, to vouchſafe any Worſhip to Images, and to call them Holy, as the ſecond Council of *Nice* had done. He refutes the Excuse of the Council of *Trent*, which only conſiders thoſe as Idolaters, that attribute ſomething of Divinity to the Image. He maintains it to be mere Paganism to have Images for any other uſe than that of a Memorial ; and at the ſame time aſſerts, that Images are of as little Uſe and Advantage as the Picture of a Mower, or of ſome Hero in Armour, can advantage a Mower or Souldier, who looks upon thoſe Pictures. In a Word, he ſpeaks exactly like a true *Iconoclaſt* ; for after he had ſaid, that it was impoſſible any longer to bear with the Abuſes againſt which he had taken Pen in hand, he adds : “ From whence we may plainly infer, that
 “ if *Hezekiah*, a Godly and Religious King, brake the brazen
 “ Serpent, made by God’s expreſs Command, becauſe the
 “ miſtaken Multitude began to worſhip it as an Idol, for which
 “ his Piety was very much commended ; much more religi-
 “ ouſly may and ought the Images of the Saints (they them-
 “ ſelves approving it) be broken and ground to Pouder, which
 “ were never ſet up by God’s Command, but are abſolutely
 “ human Inventions.

But beſides this, there are four other Articles, which are as diſreliſhing to the Church of *Rome* as theſe :

1. He maintains that there is no other Mediator between God and Men, ſave Jeſus Chriſt God and Man, which he proves by the Authority of St. *Auguſtin*, *de Civ. Dei*, l. 9. c. 15.

Pag. 1267.

2. He looks upon thoſe as worthy to be anathematized and excommunicated from the Church of God, who ſhould undertake to dedicate a Church to the moſt excellent of Saints or Angels. “ If any of us, ſaith he, ſhould make a Temple of
 “ Wood or Stone to any, though the moſt excellent of Saints,
 “ we ought for doing that to be anathematized from the Truth

Pag. 1272.

“ of Christ, and from the Church of God, because by so doing we should give that Worship to the Creature, which is only due to the Creator.

Pag. 1275.

3. Having given a Relation of the manner how the Faithful gathered up the Bones of St. *Polycarp*, and interr'd them in a place where they intended to meet and celebrate his Memory, to encourage Believers to imitate the constancy of that Martyr; he declares that all manner of Worship or Honour done to them over and above this, is unlawful, religious Worship being due to God alone.

Pag. 1281, &
1282.

4. He proves that his Judgment concerning these Points is founded upon the Example of the antient Doctors, upon their Opinions, and upon the Book of the Sacraments of the Church of *Rome*, that it was the ground of the antient Doctors of the Church, who rejected the Worship which the *Arians* gave to Jesus Christ as idolatrous, tho they owned him to be no more than a Man.

The Reader needs not take much pains to apprehend why *Rome* thought fit to condemn these Books of *Agobardus*; tho he may be at a loss, how it comes to pass, that notwithstanding all this, he is at this day held for a Saint, and publickly ador'd at *Lions* under the Name of St. *Agobo*. This is a Riddle which has strangely perplexed the Learned Jesuit, *Theophilus Raynaldus*, as well as *le Cointe*, in his *Annals of the Church of France*. But he is not the only Person that has oppos'd the Belief and Worship of the Church of *Rome*, and is publickly ador'd by her.

I have another Author to produce, who gives us so clear an Idea of the belief of this Diocess, wherein he was born, concerning the Eucharist, that the Papists have never been able to return any pertinent Answer to it, save only this, that the Passage we quote is supposititious. The Person we speak of, is *Christianus Druthmarus*, Monk of *Corbie*, whom it seems God was willing to oppose to the corrupt Notions of *Paschasius Radbertus*, his Abbot. The Passage is this, [*And as they were at supper, Jesus took Bread, and blessed it and brake it.*] “ After that he had fulfilled the Command concerning the old Passover, “ and put an end to the old Shadows, he makes a beginning of “ new

“ new Grace, and of a new Sacrifice. He took Bread which
 “ ſtrengthens the Heart of Man, and which doth moſt of all
 “ ſupport Mens Bodies, and in it placeth the Sacrament of his
 “ Love :: but much more doth that ſpiritual Bread fully
 “ ſtrengthen and comfort all ſorts of Creatures ; becauſe in
 “ him we move and have our Being : Firſt, he bleſſed it, be-
 “ cauſe in himſelf *who was Man*, he bleſſed all Mankind ; for
 “ having taken humane Nature upon him from the Bleſſed
 “ Virgin, he thereby demonſtrated that the Bleſſing and Po-
 “ wer of the Divine Immortality, was really therein. He
 “ brake the Bread himſelf, becauſe he voluntarily offer’d up
 “ himſelf to ſuffer ; and that he might fill and ſatisfy us, he
 “ made no difficulty to break the Manſion of his Soul, as him-
 “ ſelf ſaid : I have Power to lay down my Life, and have
 “ Power to take it up again. [*And gave it to his Diſciples, and*
 “ *ſaid, Take, eat, this is my Body.*] He gave to his Diſciples the
 “ Sacrament of his Body for the Remiſſion of Sins, and Pre-
 “ ſervation of Charity, that they remembring this Act of his,
 “ might always perform that in a Figure, which he was now
 “ about to do for them, and might not forget that, *This is*
 “ *my Body*, that is in the Sacrament. [*And he took the Cup, and*
 “ *gave Thanks, and gave it to them, ſaying ;*] Forasmuch as a-
 “ mongſt all ſorts of Food, Bread and Wine are found to be
 “ the moſt effectual to ſtrengthen, and reſreſh our weak Bo-
 “ dies ; he with good reaſon thought fit by theſe two, to ra-
 “ tify and confirm the Miniſtry of his Sacrament ; for Wine
 “ not only exhilarates, but alſo encreaſes Blood, and therefore
 “ is the Blood of Chriſt very properly typified thereby ; be-
 “ cauſe whatſoever comes to us from him, doth enliven us
 “ with a true Joy, and encreaſeth all our good. And laſtly,
 “ As when a Perſon that is to take a far Journey, leaves to
 “ his Friends that love him, ſome Pledg or Token of his Love
 “ upon this Condition, that they uſe it every day, that they
 “ may not forget him : So likewiſe hath God commanded
 “ us, having ſpiritually changed his Body into Bread, and
 “ the Wine into Blood, by theſe two, to remember what he
 “ hath done for us with his Body and Blood, and not to
 “ be unthankful to his moſt endearing Love and Charity:
 “ And :

“ And because Water is mingled with the Sacrament of his
 “ Blood, it represents his People, for whom he was pleased
 “ to die. And neither is the Wine without Water, nor the
 “ Water without Wine; because as he died for us, so must
 “ we die for him, or for our Brethren, that is, for the Church.
 “ Wherefore also Water and Blood came forth from his Bo-
 “ dy. And whereas he saith, *This is my Blood of the New Testa-*
 “ *ment*; this is added in contradistinction to that of the Old
 “ Testament, which by the Blood of Goats, could not
 “ purge away Sin from those who were still in bondage to
 “ Sin. [*But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this Fruit*
 “ *of the Vine, until that day when I shall drink it new with you in*
 “ *my Father's Kingdom.*] The Vine is *Judaea*, the Wine that of
 “ the Patriarchs, Prophets, and other Elect. For till that
 “ time, *Judaea* had brought forth Clusters of Grapes, from
 “ whence Wine flowed forth, that is, Works done in Faith;
 “ but from the Death of our Lord wild Grapes only, until the
 “ time that *Enoch* and *Elias* shall carry them up into the
 “ Kingdom, that is, the Church of Christ, at the end of the
 “ World. Or else more simply the Words may be thus
 “ taken, That from the hour of his supping with his Disciples,
 “ he would drink no more Wine, until he was become im-
 “ mortal and incorruptible after his Resurrection. Where-
 “ as also he was pleased not to administer the Sacrament of his
 “ Body and Blood to his Disciples till after they had supp'd,
 “ and that we are not commanded to take it Fasting; this
 “ may be the reason, the Lord had a mind to shew that
 “ the figurative Testament was only commanded till the
 “ true was come, and he had now put an end to the Old
 “ Testament, and instituted a New One, and therefore it
 “ was that he celebrated the Old before the New. The
 “ Apostles also for a long time continued the same Custom,
 “ and after their other Food, took this by the Lord's Ap-
 “ pointment; but afterwards when many Jews came to com-
 “ municate, it was enjoined in a Synod, that every one (if he
 “ was cleansed from other Sins) should first take the Repast
 “ of Spiritual Bread, before he took that of the Tem-
 “ poral.

This

This place, which contains an exact Commentary upon the Inſtitution of the Holy Supper, has much enrag'd the Papiſts; and they have wreſted it into all Senſes, to avoid the threatening Blow. *Sixtus Senenſis* tells us, that in another Copy, after the words, *This is my Body, that is in a Sacrament*, was added, *truly ſubſiſting*. But this Copy was never yet produc'd, though they who reprinted the Work of *Druthmarus* in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* of the Cologne Edition, have been pleas'd to put this Falſification of *Sixtus Senenſis* in the Margin.

Cardinal *Perron*, who was as able as any Man of France to juſtify the fair dealing of *Sixtus Senenſis* in the buſineſs of this Manuſcript of *Lions*, but did not care to concern himſelf about it, hath boldly maintained, that he might with the more eaſe ſlip his Neck out of the Collar, that this Paſſage of *Druthmarus* had been corrupted by the *Proteſtants*. But it hath already ſhewn, that the Edition published in 1514, by *Wimſelingius*, before *Luther* begun to write againſt *Leo X.* of which the Reverend Dr. *Tenison* hath a Copy in his Library, with the Priviledg of the Emperor *Maximilian*, and the Arms of Pope *Leo X.* contains this Paſſage whole and entire. So that it is obvious to judge, that *Druthmarus* who was born in *Aquitain*, taught nothing at *Corbie*, but what he had learn'd from his Infancy, and that which was the common Doctrin, before *Paschaſius* had undertaken to publiſh his Extravagancies, which he did not till the year of our Lord 835.

We ought alſo here, to take notice of an Action that happened in this Century concerning the Eucharift. In the year 844, *Bernard* Earl of *Barcelona* and Duke of *Septimania*, made a Treaty with King *Charles the Bald*, near the City of *Thouloſe* in the Abby of *St. Saturninus*, where they mingled the Blood of the Eucharift with ſome Ink, to ſign the Treaty. they had agreed upon. The thing has been publiſhed by the famous *Baluzius*, in his Notes upon *Agobardus*, and is lately reprinted by the ſame Author. The words of *Odo Aripertus*, who relates the matter, tranſlated, run thus: " The Peace therefore being ſeverally ratified and ſealed by the King and Earl with the Blood of the Eucharift; *Bernard* Count of *Thouloſe*,

Marcæ Hiſpan.
Lib. 4. pag.
533, & 534.

" came

“ came from *Barcelona* to *Tholouse*, and did Homage to King

“ *Charles* in the *Abby* of *St. Saturninus* near *Tholouse*.

De Re Diplom.
L. 2. c. 22. §. 21.

Mabillon acknowledges that this was not a Fact without Example. Now let any Man imagine if he can, whether People that believe Transubstantiation, would ever have been capable of such a Profanation of the Blood of *Jesus Christ*, or whether the Monks, in whose *Abby* the thing was done, would ever have suffer'd it, had the thing appear'd as horrible unto them, as it must of necessity appear to those who defend the Opinion of the Church of *Rome*.

I shall conclude this Chapter, with giving an account of that courageous Opposition which the Bishops of *Aquitain* and *Narbon* made in the year 876, in the Council of *Pontyon*, against the Enterprizes of Pope *John VIII*; who being back'd by the Emperor *Charles the Bald*, had a mind to subject all the Bishops of *France* and *Germany* to *Ansegisus*, Archbishop of *Sens*, as their Primate; but at the same time as to his Vicar, that he might execute his Decrees, and inform him of the most important Affairs of those Churches, which he pretended, ought to be decided and ended at *Rome*, which if so, would have abolished the Power of Synods and Metropolitans. This was in a manner the last considerable Effort they ever made, to preserve their antient Discipline; for soon after the Popes knew to manage the Kings, that stood in need of them in *Italy*, so well, that by little and little they at last gained the Point, and so made themselves absolute, the Synods and Metropolitans retaining only an empty Name, without almost any Authority at all.

C H A P. X.

The State of theſe Dioceſſes in the Tenth Century.

WE are now come to the Tenth Century, in which Ignorance and Barbariſm overwhelm'd well nigh all the Weſt; and the Church of *Rome* fell at the ſame time into ſuch monſtrous Corruptions, that thoſe who have wrote the Hiſtory thereof, do not mention it without Horror. I don't intend to make any ſtop here, in alledging Proofs for what I ſay, from the concurrent Teſtimonies of *Genebrard*, *Baronius*, and other Doctours of the Church of *Rome*. 'Tis a thing not deny'd by any one, that hath ever heard ſpeak of the Hiſtory of the Church; and hath been particularly ſet forth by *Gerbertus* Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, who was afterwards advanced to the Papacy.

But yet in the mean time, whatever the Corruption may have been, which was ſcatter'd elſewhere; we have good ground to believe, that it had not quite ſtifed the antient Doctrine and Religion of theſe Dioceſſes, which may be eaſily made out by the following Obſervations.

1. I own that we find in the Writings of *Odo*, the firſt Abbot of *Clugny*, who was born in *Aquitain*, ſome Expreſſions which import that he inclin'd to the Opinions of *Paschaſius*, as appears in his Collations; which might make one judge that this Notion began then already to be propagated in *Aquitain*, whoſe Duke *William* was the Founder of *Clugny*. But we muſt here take notice of two things: The firſt is, That the antient Cuſtoms of this Monaſtry do plainly ſhow, that when this Congregation was founded, thoſe who were the Authors of theſe Cuſtoms, were not of *Paschaſius's* Opinion. This is evident from *chap. 30.* of the ſecond Book, and from *chap. 28.* of the third. The ſecond is, That though *Odo* might have entertained this Opinion of *Paschaſius* concerning the carnal Preſence of Jeſus Chriſt, yet we may eaſily obſerve that

he never owned the Consequences of it. For we find in the Relation of the Death of this *Odo*, who died at *Rome* in the year 942, that he received the Eucharist, but there is no mention made of any Adoration that he paid at his receiving it.

2. We are to observe, that in this Description of *Odo's* Departure, which was made by one of his Disciples, we meet with neither Confession before the receiving of the Eucharist, nor the receiving of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, which are sufficient Proofs that he knew nothing of these Sacraments.

3. It appears by the Writings of *Gerbertus*, who was educated in the Monastery of *Aurillac*, what was the Faith of this Diocess. He had been the Tutor of *Robert* Son to *Hugh Capet*, who raised him to the Archbishoprick of *Rheims* in the year 991, in the room of *Arnulphus*, who was deposed. He hath writ an Apology for the Council which deposed *Arnulphus*, wherein he gives full evidence what esteem he had for the Pope, and how little he believ'd the Papacy necessary to the Church, not only because of the Vices of the Popes of his time, but also for several political Reasons, which engage every Church not to subject themselves to a foreign Power. " Suppose, saith he, that by the warlike Incurfions of barbarous Nations, there be no way open for us to go to *Rome*; or that *Rome* it self, being become subject to some barbarous Prince, be at his Pleasure made part of his Kingdom, shall we in this case be reduc'd to the necessity of having no Councils at all? or shall the Bishops of the World, to the loss and ruin of their own Kings, expect the Advice and Counsels of their Enemies; for the Management of the Affairs of Church and State.

Tom. 10. Baron.
Pag. 899. n. 30.

Pag. 505.

We may see another Assertion of his in a Letter to *Severinus* Archbishop of *Sens*: " I do resolvedly affirm, That if the Pope of *Rome* himself should sin against his Brother, and being often admonished, should not hear the Church, that this same Pope of *Rome* ought to be look'd upon as a Heathen and Publican. Whereupon *Baronius* exclaims, *Here is a Sentence indeed, worthy only to proceed from the Mouth of some great Heretick, or of some most impudent Schismatick, which abrogates all sacred*

sacred Councils at once, cuts the Throat of Canons, ſtrangles Traditions, and treads under foot all the Rights of the Church, that it ſeems impoſſible that a Catholick ſhould ever dream of ſuch things, much leſs, ſo ſaucily utter and aſſert them. We may alſo gather from the ſubſequent Words, whether or no he conceiv'd Communion with the Church of *Rome*, to be of abſolute neceſſity. “ If he (the Pope of *Rome*) do therefore judg us

“ unworthy of his Communion, becauſe none of us will comply with him in his Anti-evangelical Sentiments; yet he cannot ſeparate us from the Communion of Chriſt; ſeeing a Prieſt ought not to be removed from his Function, except he have confeſt, or be convict of the Crime laid to his charge: eſpecially when the Apoſtle ſaith, *Who ſhall ſeparate us from the Love of Chriſt?* And again, *I am certain that neither Death nor Life, &c.* And what greater Separation can there be, than to debar any Believer from the Body and Blood of the Son of God, which is daily offer'd up for our Salvation? And if he be a Murtherer, that takes away the Bodily Life from himſelf or his Neighbour, he that robs himſelf or another of Eternal Life, by what Name ſhall we call him?

Ibidem.

We find in another Letter which he wrote to *Wilderodus* Biſhop of *Strasburg*, what work he makes with thoſe falſe Decretals, which were ſoiſted in on purpoſe to make the whole Church ſubmit to the Papal Yoak, as if before *Syricius* all the Eaſt and Weſt had belonged to the Papal Jurisdiction; wherein he exactly follows the Foot-ſteps of *Hincmar*, who confuted them with all his Might.

If we enquire into the reſt of his Opinions, we ſhall find, that he did not believe that the Popes had received the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, in any other manner, than all other Biſhops. See how he explains himſelf in a Diſcourſe to Biſhops, when he was Biſhop either of *Rheims* or *Ravenna*.

“ And as wo is me if I do not preach the Goſpel, or if I hide long in my Heart the Treafure that I have received, burying it in the Ground; or if I keep the Candle of the Divine Word cover'd under a Buſhel, and do not expoſe it on a Candleſtick to the Eyes of all: ſo likewiſe if I do

Anaeſt. T. 2.
Pag. 217.

- “ not open the Locks of human Ignorance, with those Keys
 “ of the Kingdom of Heaven, which all of us, who are Priests,
 “ have received in the Person of *St. Peter*; so that upon this
 “ account, I may deserve according to my small measure,
 “ to hear that, *Well done good and faithful Servant, because thou*
 “ *hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many.*
 Pag. 219. And again; “ *For so the Lord said to St. Peter, Simon Peter,*
 “ *lovest thou me? and he, Thou knowest, Lord, that I love thee.*
 Pag. 220. “ And when he had ask'd this a third time, and had been as
 “ often answered, the Lord repeated a third time, *Feed my*
 “ *Sheep.* Which Sheep, and which Flock, *St. Peter* not only
 “ received at that time, but also hath received them with us,
 “ and all of us have received them with him.
 He shews that he did not believe the necessity of the
 Priests Intention in the Sacraments, when he saith in the
 same piece, speaking to those that were guilty of Simony,
 Pag. 233. “ I do once more enquire of my Brother Bishop, lest we
 “ should seem to have omitted any thing that belongs to a
 “ true Proof and Trial, Who is it, Brother Bishop, that con-
 “ fers Episcopal Grace? is it God or Man? God without
 “ doubt, but yet by Man. Man lays on his Hand, and God
 “ confers Grace; the Priest serves God with his suppliant
 “ Hand, and God blesteth with his powerful Right-hand:
 “ The Bishop admits thee into the Order, but God makes
 “ thee worthy of it. O Justice! O Equity! If Money be gi-
 “ ven to a Man, who in Ordination does no more but dis-
 “ charge a piece of Service laid upon him, why is the whole
 “ denied to God, who bestows the Order it self upon thee?
 “ Doth it seem just to thee, to honour the Servant, whilst
 “ thou dost affront the Lord? And whilst the Priest unright-
 “ eously takes Money, shall God be injured by Man? And
 “ seeing God expects nothing from thee, for the Order be-
 “ stowed upon thee, why doth the Priest impudently look
 “ for Money? God is willing to bestow it upon Man for no-
 “ thing, but the ravenous Bishop demands Money. God of his
 “ Kindness and Love vouchsafes it for nought, but the mali-
 “ cious Priest captivates him and ties him to Terms: For
 “ what hast thou that thou hast not receiv'd? And if thou
 “ have

“ have received it, why doft thou boast as if thou hadft not received it?

Laftly, We fee in his 26th Epiftle the Confefſion of Faith that he makes, which contains nothing beſides the Symbol or the Apoſtles Creed, to which he adds only what follows: “ I do not forbid Marriage I do not condemn ſecond Marriages; I do not blame the eating of Fleſh; I own that reconciled Penitents ought to be admitted to the Communion. I believe that in Baptiſm all Sins whether original or actual, are forgiven; and do profeſs that out of the Catholick Church no Body can be ſaved; and I confirm and ratify the four holy Univerſal Synods, which the Mother-Church confirms and approves of.

’Tis worth obſerving, that he doth not ſpeak one word concerning the Romiſh Traditions; ſo far was he from authorizing the Definitions of the ſecond Council of *Nice*, which the Church of *Rome* hath been pleaſed to authorize in the Council of *Trent*.

Laftly, We may take notice, that *Leuthericus* Archbiſhop of *Sens*, who died in the year 1032, had been the Diſciple of this *Gerbertus*, which is atteſted by the Continuator of *Aimoinus*: and *Clarius* Monk of *St. Peter le Viſ* at *Sens*, has accuſed *Leuthericus* of having laid the Beginning, and caſt the Seeds of *Berengarius’s* Hereſy. Lib. 5. cap. 45.

I don’t believe any one will think ſtrange that I have quoted *Gerbertus* amongſt the Writers of *Aquitain*, under pretence, that probably he might have chang’d his Opinions, after that he was elevated to the Papacy, under the Name of *Sylveſter II*. It is but too well known to be cuſtomary, for thoſe who uſ’d to ſpeak according to their own Judgment, and the Opinions of the Place where they were educated, as ſoon as they have been elevated to the Papal Dignity, to change their Notes. Of this we have an illuſtrious Example in *Aneas Sylvius*, whom we find quite transform’d into another Man as ſoon as he had taken upon him the Name of *Pius II*. the Papal Diadem having chang’d him from White to Black. And I am much miſtaken if the 11th Century doth not furniſh us an Example every whit as remarkable, in the Perſon of *Gregory* the 7th, who having been

been before Prior of the Monastery of *Clugny*, the Customs whereof, as I have hinted, did not suit well with the Doctrine of *Paschasius*, seems thence to have deriv'd his Opinions concerning the Eucharist; for *Urspergenfis* takes notice that the Council of *Bresse*, where he was deposed by 30 Bishops, laid to his charge, That he was of *Berengarius's* Opinion, as being his antient Disciple; and we shall find this Accusation not to be without ground, if we cast our Eyes on his Commentary on *St. Matthew*; of which I have elsewhere given an Extract. Yet for all this, we see, that this Pope, complying with his own Interest, became afterwards one of the most furious Persecutors of *Berengarius*.

I suppose these few Remarks will be sufficient for my purpose: tho I might add, that *St. Fulbert* as well as *Leutherick*, having been the Disciple of *Gerbert*, had deriv'd the same Doctrine concerning the Eucharist from him; this is so certain, that a Doctor of the *Sorbonne* named *Villiers*, found no other means, about the beginning of this Century, to make him speak to his mind, in publishing of his Works, than by inserting some Words in the Text, which might make it to be look'd upon as the Objection of Hereticks; whereas indeed it is an Answer of his own, wherein he sets down his Opinion, and he doth it in the self-same Terms us'd by *St. Augustin*. But I keep my self within the Bounds of what concerns those Diocesses, whose History I am upon.

I shall only take leave to add one thing, which is, that tho *Gerbertus* seems in his 26th Letter, which contains his Confession of Faith, to make an Allusion to some of the Opinions of the *Manichees*; yet we may be sure, that he did not express himself in this manner, to show, that he held nothing of their Tenets; no, he had other Reasons for it, which it is not necessary to unfold here. Besides, it is notorious that the *Manichees* did not spread themselves in *Aquitain*, till he was a very old Man; at least, it is true, that *Ademarus* doth not make them to appear in *Aquitain* till the year 1011, and that the first Synod held against them, did not meet at *Tholouse* till the year 1019, that is to say, 16 years after his Death, which hapned in 1003.

C H A P. XI.

*The beginning of the Manichees in Aquitain,
and the State of thoſe Churches as to
Religion in that Age.*

HERE appeared in *Lombardy* and in *France* ſome *Manichees* chaſed from the Eaſt by the Emperors of *Conſtantinople*. *Ademarus Cabanneniſis* Monk of *St. Eparque* at *Limoges*, ſays, that they firſt were taken notice of in *Aquitain*, a little after the Year 1010. and he afterwards ſpeaks of a Council aſſembled at *Charoux*, againſt them. The Biſhop of *Meaux* makes no Queſtion, but that this gave riſe of the *Albigenſes*; and to evidence the Solidity of his Conjecture, he accuſeth, beſides ſome Writers of the 11th Century, the Canons whom *Robert* cauſed to be burnt at *Orleans*, to have been the firſt Diſciples of theſe *Manichees*, ſuppoſing all this while that the *Albigenſes* derive themſelves from the ſame ſource, and that they defended the ſame Opinions.

Now becauſe it is a matter of ſmall Importance to the Hiſtory of the *Albigenſes*, whether the Canons of *Orleans* were *Manichees* or not, I might very well excuſe my ſelf from entering upon that Enquiry. They may have been *Manichees*, and yet the Churches of *Aquitain* and *Narbon* not the leaſt concerned in the matter. Neither do I think my ſelf obliged to repeat here, what I have already delivered, concerning the differing Opinions of the ancient and modern *Manichees* in the 15th, 16th, and 17th Chapters of my Remarks upon the Hiſtory of the Churches of the Vallies of *Piedmont*, ſuppoſing that my Reader may eaſily have Recourſe to them. Our Buſineſs is to ſee what was the Faith of theſe Dioceſſes, and queſtion not but we ſhall make it appear in the Sequel, that thoſe whom the Biſhop pretends to conſiſt of *Manicheiſm*, are falſly charged therewith; the Romiſh Party having beſtowed that Name upon

on them, only to make them the more execrable to those of their Communion.

Nevertheless, because *Ademarus Cabannensis* testifies, that these Canons of *Orleans* had been instructed, not by a Woman, come from *Italy*, as their History records the Story, but by a Country-fellow (as some MS. Copies of *Ademarus* tell us) of *Perigueux*, I am not unwilling to enquire a little into the Authority of this History. *Glaber* relates it, *Lib. 3. cap. 8. pag. 308.* but besides his Relation *D' Achery* hath given us, though not the very Acts of the Synod that condemned them, but the account of a private Man of *Chartres*, who professeth that he set down in Writing what pass'd in that Synod, which seems to be of sufficient Authority. Be it as it will, they suppose from these Proofs, that these Canons were *Manichees*, and I own they are very like them, in the Relation that is given of this Synod, as well as in *Ademarus*.

But yet after all, there are several things which seem to give us ground to doubt of the Truth of this whole Relation. *1st*, It scarcely seems probable, that a Woman, who was a Stranger, or a Peasant, should have been able in so short a time to make so many Profelytes amongst the Canons and Citizens of *Orleans*, as to be able to form secret Conventicles amongst them, and to propagate such monstrous Doctrines as those of the *Manichees* were. Neither can we, with any appearance of reason, suppose, that one of these Canons, who formerly had been Confessor to the Queen, was so stupid a Fellow, as all on a sudden to fall into the Enthusiasm of the *Manichees*. *2^{dly}*, It is evident, that in perusing these pretended Acts, we find that all the Witnesses which are produc'd against them, are reducible to one only, and he too of no credit, because himself had been engag'd once of their Communion. I say all their Proceedings were founded upon the Depositions of one single Man, and then afterwards they make the Men once executed, speak what they please. It will be objected perhaps, that the Interrogatories were made in publick, in the Presence of the People; but then let us consider, that all this was writ after the Death of *Robert*, to justify so bloody an Execution. *3^{dly}*, We do not find in these Acts the same Accusations,

tions, one accuſeth them of one thing, and another of another, though it be evident that the Deſign of all theſe Authors is equally to deſame them, and make them execrable. 4thly, We find in thoſe Acts, that theſe pretended *Manichees* juſtify themſelves againſt the capital Accuſations of *Manicheiſm*, chiefly upon the Article of the Creation. 5thly, We find that they expreſs at their Martyrdom a Hope directly oppoſite to the Principles of *Manicheiſm*. 6thly, Their very Enemies themſelves are oblig'd to give them a moſt illuſtrious Teſtimony, as to the Sanctity of their Lives and Manners.

It is certain that the accuſing them of denying Tranſubſtanti-ation, and rejecting Baptiſm, cannot juſtly be look'd upon as a Badg of *Manicheiſm*, if we conſider on the one hand, that the Queſtion, Whether the Bread be changed into the Body of Jeſus Chriſt? hath no relation to the Doctrines of the *Manichees*, but reſpects only thoſe novel Doctrines which *Paschaſius* had introduc'd: and on the other hand, that the Church of *Rome* accuſeth all thoſe for being Enemies to Baptiſm, who in that Point do not eſpouſe all the Opinions ſhe teacheth, in holding, as ſhe did at that time, the abſolute neceſſity of that Sacrament.

And as for their being charged with celebrating horrible Feſtivals, full of Inceſt and Abominations, we know that the ſame hath been imputed to ſome Hereticks of old, but falſly. It was laid to the charge alſo of the *Waldenſes*, but was never prov'd to be other than a meer Calumny: Our firſt Reformers have been accuſed of the ſame, but with an Impudence, for which the Church of *Rome* ought ſtill to bluſh, if that were a poſſible thing.

In a word, I find nothing in all this Relation that makes it look probable, but only two or three Characters, which agree with the barbarous Maxims of the Church of *Rome*. The firſt is, That it attributes to Queen *Conſtance* an unuſual Action, that with a Stick ſhe put out the Eye of *Stephen*, who had been her Confefſor. The ſecond is an Action, much reſembling the courſe that is taken now adays to ſurprize Hereticks, and to diſcover them; for according to the Practice of the Inquiſition, we cannot find fault with the Method made uſe of by this

Arefastus, who feigned himself willing to become a *Manichee*, that he might the better discover their Opinions. It seems this Casuist of *Chartres* had not much studied *St. Paul*, who tells us, *We ought not to do Evil, that Good may come of it.* The third is, The manner of their taking up the dead Body of *Theodatus* the Canon, out of his Grave, who died three years before, and examining it by the trial of Water, that they might be certain whether he was an Heretick when he was alive. This is an Action well becoming this barbarous Age, very like the Inquisitors; and accordingly this was the com- pendious Method which *St. Peter of Luxemburg* put in practice for the trial and discerning of Hereticks. I don't remember ever to have read any thing that might authorize this barbarous and extravagant Custom, save only the second Canon of the 2d Council of *Sarragossa*, held in the year 592, where it is ordained, *That the Relicks which should be found in the Churches that had been possessed by the Arians, should be carried to the Bishop, that he might try them by Fire.*

The Bishop of *Meaux* might have been as sensible of most of these things as we, in perusing these Acts, and then it would have been easy for him to judg whether the Authority of *Vignier*, who simply relates what he met with in Historians did deserve to be pressed against us. But it seems it was enough for him to delude his Reader, and the Name of *Vignier* (though other wise he does not accuse these Persons of *Manicheism*) seem'd to make for his purpose.

But whatsoever Judgment a Prudent Reader may pass on this Accufation of *Manicheism*, upon which these Canons of *Orleans* were burnt in the year 1017, it will be easy for us to show that the Diocesses of *Narbon* and *Aquitain*, where some of those Eastern *Manichees* took refuge, did never quit the Faith or Worship of their Ancestors. This is what we shall easily make out in the sequel of this Discourse.

Ademarus a Monk of *St. Eparque* at *Limoges*, hath writ a Chronicle from the beginning of the *French* Monarchy until the year 1030, wherein he informs us, what was the Faith of the Churches of *Aquitain* at the Beginning of the Eleventh Century.

1. He relates, without paſſing any Censure upon it, the Synod held at *Gentilly* under *Pepin*, about Images that are ſet up in Churches, and ſhews that the Biſhops of *Aquitain* aſſiſted at the ſame, and that they oppoſ'd themſelves to the Church of *Rome*, and to the *Greeks*.

T. 2. N. Bibli-
oth. MS.
Pag. 157.

2. Though he groſſly miſtakes in his Chronology about the Age of *Bede*, yet he makes it plain enough who they were whom he look'd upon as the Preſervers of the true Theology. He makes this Encomium of *Rabanus*; *A moſt Learned Monk, the Maſter of Alcuinus*; for *Bede* taught *Simplicius*, and *Simplicius*, *Rabanus*, (whom the Emperor *Charles* ſent for from beyond *Sea*, and made a Biſhop in France,) who inſtructed *Alcuinus*, and *Alcuinus* informed *Smaragdus*, *Smaragdus* again taught *Theodulphus* of *Oſleons*, and *Theodulphus*, *Elias* a *Scotſman*, Biſhop of *Angoulefem*; this *Elias* inſtructed *Heiricus*, and *Heiricus* left two Monks, *Remigius* and *Vebaldus*, ſurnamed the *Bald*, his Heirs in *Philofophy*.

Ibid. pag. 159.

This is a moſt convincing Proof of the Judgment of the Churches of *Aquitain*, concerning the Controverſies that *Pafchaſius* had kindled.

1. We find here that they followed the Opinions of *Bede*, whoſe Homilies *Paulus Diaconus* had inſerted in his Collection, for the uſe of the Paſtors of *Gaul*, together with thoſe of *St. Ambroſe*, *St. Chryſoſtom*, *St. Auguſtin*, *St. Maximus*, and ſeveral others. Now the Opinions of *Bede* are diametrically oppoſite to thoſe of the Church of *Rome*. This has been formerly proved by a vaſt number of Paſſages. I ſhall content my ſelf with ſetting down one or two of them: The firſt, is upon the third *Pſalm*, where he extols the Patience of our Saviour to *Judas*, becauſe he did not exclude him from his moſt Holy Supper; wherein, ſaith he, *He delivered the Figure of his moſt ſacred Body and Blood to his Diſciples*. The ſecond, is upon the Evangelifts, in that part of them which ſpeaks of the Inſtitution of that Sacrament, where he declares, that *becauſe Bread ſtrengthens the Body, and Wine produceth Blood in the Fleſh, the Bread is myſtically refer'd to the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Wine to his Blood*.

2. They followed *Alcuinus's* Notions who had a great hand in all the Writings of *Charlemain*, and especially in that concerning Images, where we find also his Judgment concerning the Eucharist, opposite to that of *Paschasius*.

3. We find they followed the Opinions of *Theodulphus* Bishop of *Orleans*, in whom we see a hundred things that are contrary to the Opinions of the present Church of *Rome*.

4. They followed the Opinions of *Rabanus Maurus*, whom Abbot *Herigerus* has cry'd down, for maintaining, that the Eucharistical Body of Jesus Christ goes to the Draught, together with our other Food; and whom one *Waldensis*, in his Epistle to *Martin*, placeth with *Heribaldus*, amongst the number of those Hereticks who have dishonour'd *Germany*.

Page. 177.

5. *Ademarus* proves beyond contest, that they did not adore the Eucharist in their Communion; when on the one hand, speaking of those of *Narbon*; he saith, "That to prepare themselves to oppose the *Mores* of *Corduba*, who had invaded their Coasts, they received the Eucharist at the hands of their Priests, without mentioning any Adoration paid to the Sacrament, in so extream and threatenng a Danger: and on the other, speaking of the Death of Earl *William*; Whereupon, saith he, the Earl accepting of the Penance laid upon him by the Bishops and Abbots, and disposing of all his Goods, and particularly bequeathing his Estate and Honour amongst his Sons and his Wife; he was reconciled and absolved, and the whole time of Lent frequented Mass and Divine Worship, till the Week before Easter, when after he had received the holy Oil and Viaticum, and ador'd and kiss'd the Cross, he yielded up the Ghost in the Hands of the Bishop of *Roan* and his Priests after a very laudable Manner. It is a thing singular and observable, that this Earl pays his Adoration to the Cross, though at the same time he forgets to worship the Sacrament, which yet is the chief Object of Adoration. Moreover, We are to observe, that the Latin word *Adorare*, when spoken of the Cross, imports only a Reverence, which we own was practis'd on these Occasions long before this time, because the Cross being no Image, there was no fear of incurring the Sin of Idolatry in saluting of it. This Count died in the year 1028.

Page. 183.

But

But ſince this Eleventh Century was in a manner wholly taken up by the Papiſts, in oppoſing *Berengarius*, who, upon ſeveral Attaques maintained the Interſt of Truth, againſt *Paschaſius* and his Followers; it will be our Buſineſs to repreſent how far theſe Diſputes were ſerviceable in hindring the Opinions of *Paschaſius* from getting the upper-hand in the Dioceſſes of *Aquitain* and *Narbon*, and how this prepar'd their Minds for a Separation from the Church of *Rome*.

Never was any Man ſo often condemned as *Berengarius*, never was any Man more back'd than he, nor ever did any Man give more trouble to thoſe who endeavour'd to crush him, than he did. An Author of the 12th Century hath writ a Book, *Concerning Berengarius's manifold Condemnation*; and *Mabillon* hath taken care to collect the Names, and the Times of all thoſe Aſſemblies wherein he was condemned; but withal we may aſſert, that the Reaſons and Authorities he produc'd, gave his Enemies a terrible deal of Trouble. His Adverſaries have employ'd their utmoſt Efforts to a-boliſh the Memory of his Works; but a ſufficient part of them have been preserv'd by their own care, to enable us to judg of the Injuſtice of their Calumnies againſt him, and of the Purity of his Faith in the Matter of the Eucharift. And for as much as he was of conſiderable uſe to the *Albigenſes*, in their oppoſing of the Doctrine of the Carnal Preſence, which the Faction of *Paschaſius* and his Followers endeavour'd to introduce and eſtabliſh under the ſtelter and favour of that groſs Ignorance, which reign'd at this time, I ſuppoſe I may affirm, that his Works, whereof *Lanfrank* hath given us an Extraſt, were of no ſmall Service to oblige thoſe, who undertook his Defence, to ſeparate themſelves from the Communion of the Pope, or rather, to hinder him from ſubjecting them to his Yoak; ſeeing it was at this very time, that the Popes began to make themſelves Maſters of the Churches of the Weſt.

It will be of great moment to prove that the Popes had not as yet made themſelves abſolute Maſters of this Part of the Church, which was always careful to maintain its Rights againſt their Encroachments and Uſurpations. My intent there-

De Multiplici
Berengarij
Condemna-
tione.

therefore, is to employ the following Chapter upon this Subject, before I proceed to enquire how the Faith was preserved in these Diocesses in the next Age, when they refused to submit themselves to the Authority of the Popes of *Rome*.

C H A P. XII.

That these Diocesses continued independent of the Popes, until the Beginning of the Twelfth Century.

I Acknowledg, that were the business to be decided by the modern Pretensions of the Popes of *Rome*, to the Empire of all the Churches of the World, and in particular to a Patriarchate over all the Churches of the West, we should be forced to own, that they had been subject to them ever since the time that the Gospel was first preached in *Gaul*, in both these respects. They have made it their business to persuade Mankind that the whole World is but the Pope's Parish; and that more particularly, the Churches of the West, which have been founded by their Ancestors, who sent them the first Preachers of the Gospel, do belong to their Patriarchate; as if these Envoys of the antient Popes, in their Endeavours to propagate the Gospel of Jesus Christ throughout the World, had design'd to establish the Papal Empire over all the New Conquests that they acquired to the Kingdom of Jesus Christ.

But notwithstanding all these new-found Claims and Pretensions of the Popes, we can prove, that nothing can be imagin'd more vain, or more destitute of any Ground or Foundation than they are. For it is not true that those Churches, which have received the Gospel from another, are therefore subject to it, as we can demonstratively evince by the Examples of the Churches of *Vienna* and *Lions*, which were founded by

by Perſons ſent from the Churches of *Aſia*; upon which account it was, that St. *Irenæus* ſent them a Relation of the Perſecution they ſuffered. Neither is it true, that the ancient Popes, how careful ſoever otherwiſe they might be to promote their own Authority, did ever pretend to be the Patriarchs of all the Weſt, or of *Gaul* in particular.

This is a Truth we can unanſwerably prove, by the Teſtimony of the firſt Council of *Nice*, which aſſigns no other Jurisdiction to the Pope, ſave that which he enjoyed in thoſe which *Rufinus* calls the *Suburbicarian Regions*, and which the Learned Men of the Church of *Rome* at preſent own to have been comprehended within the ten Provinces of *Italy*, to which the Papal Ordination did belong, as we ſee it was under *Honorius*, and which were diſtinguiſh'd from the Dioceſs of *Italy*, properly ſo called, that is to ſay, the ſeven Provinces, which conſtituted the Dioceſs of *Milan*. This Canon therefore looks upon it as a thing not to be queſtioned, that *Gaul* was a Dioceſs diſtinct from that of the Popes, having its Authority within it ſelf, governed by its own Synods, without having the Ordination of its Clergy, the Determination of its Affairs, or the Authority of its Aſſemblies ſubjected to the Pope's Authority, as their Superiour.

If we had not this Canon of the firſt Council of *Nice*, which diſtinctly determines the Pope's Dioceſs, yet would it be very eaſy to prove it by other Arguments, ſuch as theſe;

1. We find that the Churches of *Gaul* convoked a Synod, upon the conteſt about *Eaſter*; towards the end of the 2^d Century, without receiving any Orders from Pope *Victor* for ſo doing.

2. We find, that when the *Donatiſts* were condemned by the Pope, they deſired the Emperour that they might be judged by the Biſhops of *Gaul*: and accordingly we find that *Marinus* Biſhop of *Arles*, preſided in the great Council of *Arles* in the year 314, at which were preſent 83 Biſhops, twenty One of *Italy*, eleven of *Spain*, eleven of *Africa*, five of *Britain*; and thirty five of *Gaul*.

Optat. Lib. 1.

Since

Since the Council of *Nice*, we find the Churches of *Gaul* governing themselves with the same Independency, under the Conduct of their several Metropolitans.

T. 1. Bibl. Jur.
Can. pag. 21,
22, 23, 24.

We are to observe in general, that these Churches had their peculiar Code of Canons, made by themselves, and that these Canons continued to have the force of a Law till the 5th Century, when their Discipline began to receive a great Alteration, by the cares of *Bonifacius* Bishop of *Mentz*, and his Successors. This is amply proved by *Iustel*, in the Preface to his Collection of the antient Canons. Now it is visible, that a Church which had its particular Rules, could not be dependent on the Pope, whose Diocess had its own particular Rules and Canons.

We can truly affirm, that the Bishops of *Gaul* were so far from acknowledging the Pope as their Patriarch, that his Name was not so much as ever recited in the Churches of *Gaul* till the year 529, as may be clearly collected from the Council of *Vaison*; where it was first determin'd, that the Pope should be mention'd in their publick Prayers.

And indeed if we enquire into the constant Conduct of the Bishops of *Gaul*, throughout the several Centuries that are past since the Council of *Nice*, we shall easily perceive, that they never conceiv'd themselves to be subject to the Pope of *Rome*.

In the year 337, *Maximinus* Bishop of *Triers*, defends *St. Athanasius*, as Pope *Julius* also did, and admits to his Communion *Paul* Bishop of *Constantinople*, and writes in favour of him to the Council of *Sardica*.

In 356, *Saturninus* Bishop of *Arles*, convened the Council of *Beziers*, which condemned *St. Hilary* of *Poitiers*, in consequence of which he was sent into Banishment.

In 358, The Bishops of *Gaul* condemned the Confession of Faith of *Sirmium*, as we are informed by *Sulpicius Severus*.

In the year 360, *St. Hilary* vigorously defended the Faith against the *Arian* Party, in favour of which Pope *Liberius* had declar'd himself; and 'tis well known what *Anathemas* were discharged in *Gaul* by *St. Hilary* and his Friends, against that Apostate Pope.

Sozom. Lib. 5.
cap. 8.

Pope

Pope *Leo* was ſo fully convinc'd of their Authority as independent upon his, that he ſent to them in the year 450, that dogmatical Epiftle, which he was to ſend to the Eaſt, as ſoon as the Synods of *Gaul* had approv'd of it.

And it was upon the ſame account, that he ſent them the Decrees of the Council of *Chalcedon* againſt the *Euty-chians*.

In the 6th Century we find *Avitus* Biſhop of *Vienna* uſing his utmoſt Endeavours to appeaſe the Differences between the Church of *Rome*, and that of *Conſtantinople*.

We find likewise Pope *Hormiſda* communicating to the Biſhops of *Gaul*, his Reconciliation with the Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople*. Tom. 1. Con-
cil. Gall. pag.
188.

We find in 529, the Fathers of the Council of *Orange* handling the Queſtions about Grace, and ſending their Decrees to *Boniſace II.* who approved them the year following. Tom. 1. Con-
cil. Gall. pag. 215,
223.

In 550, Pope *Vigilius* gives an account to the Churches of *Gaul*, of what had paſſ'd in the Eaſt; and the Prelates of *Italy* entreat the Biſhops of *Gaul*, to endeavour to appeaſe *Juſtinian*, in favour of *Vigilius* and *Dacius* Biſhop of *Milan*. Tom. 1. Con-
cil. Gall. pag.
287, & 294.

In the 7th Century, we find that the *Gallican* Biſhops confirmed the *Lateran* Council that was aſſembled under *Martin I.*

We find Pope *Agatho* inviting the Biſhops of *Gaul* to come to a Council that he intended to call, whither alſo they ſent their Deputies at his Requeſt.

The 8th Century being in a manner wholly ſpent in Wars, affords us little or nothing conſiderable in this matter; however, we may eaſily diſcern that this Dioceſs did even then maintain its Authority, in ſpite of all the Popes Endeavours to the contrary: whereof we have two moſt evident Inſtances. 1ſt, Pope *Adrian I.* was ſo little informed of what paſſ'd in *France*, that he knew not whether the City of *Bourges* was ſubject to the Jurisdiction of another Archbiſhop or no; as appears from the *Codex Carolinus*, *Epift.* 87. 2dly, Their Independence clearly appears from the ſeveral Councils aſſembled about the Controverſy of Images, contrary to the

Designs of the Popes, and particularly from the Council of *Francfort*.

We find the same Spirit also in the following Century. And to speak truth, what-ever Change the antient Discipline under-went by occasion of the new Decretals, which the Pope's Emissaries had published, in order to subjugate all the West, and *France* in particular; yet we find that the Bishops of *France* hindred the Popes from concerning themselves with their Affairs: The Business of *Hincmar* of *Laon* alone, evidently shews, that they did not acknowledg that new Right, invented to make them buckle to the Papal Yoak; for we see that they maintain'd, that the Determinations of their Synods, were not to be alter'd by the Popes, they having no power to concern themselves about their Ordination, or any part of their Jurisdiction. About the end of the 10th Century, in the year 991, we find the Bishops of *France* that were assembled at *Rheims*, maintaining themselves by the Canons of the *African Code*, in opposing the Pope's Encroachments, who would, in pursuance of those spurious Decretals of the antient Popes, arrogate to himself a Right of reviewing and altering the Determinations that were made by the Synods of *France*.

I own, that since the middle of the 5th Century, we find the Popes granted a kind of Vicarship to some of the Bishops of *South-Gaul*; but withal, we know that this Power was so extreamly wavering, that it stood in need of being confirmed at the Instance of *Leo I.* by the Emperor *Valentinian III.* 2ly, That these were in a manner of no Efficacy at all, these Vicars having scarcely had the Power of convening Synods, but in virtue of the Right they had as they were Metropolitans, and little or no Authority as to the Ordination of Bishops in general, and of Metropolitans in particular.

It cannot be denied also, but that the Popes since the 8th Century, began to grant divers Priviledges, to the violating of the antient Discipline, though under the pretence of preserving it in the Monasteries, against the Attempts of the Bishops, because most of the Bishops, being turn'd Souldiers, thought of nothing else but Robbing them, under colour
of

of holding their Viſitations. But it is worth our while, to conſider the eſteem that *Hincmar* of *Rheims* had of theſe ſort of Priviledges in his Letter to *Nicholas* I. “ Now I did not, “ ſaith he, deſire the Priviledges of the Apoſtolic See, as ſup- “ poſing that the Holy Canons and Decrees which the Church “ of *Rome* grants to every Metropolitan, were not ſufficient ; “ neither did I, nor do I deſire any other or ampler Priviledges, “ than what have been formerly granted to the Church of “ *Rheims* ; but becauſe not only my Dioceſs, but alſo my “ Province, is divided between two Kingdoms, belonging to “ two ſeveral Kings ; and becauſe the Concerns of the Church, “ committed to my Charge, ſeem to lie under the Jurisdiction “ of ſeveral Princes, from whom our Church can reap little “ or no Advantage ; becauſe the antient Conſtitutions “ being already condemned by ſome carnal and brutal Men, “ they might at leaſt be frightened by theſe new Decretals, “ into a more reverential Carriage towards the Church, “ which is committed to the Care of me, though unworthy. From whence we may ſee what it was that *Hincmar* meant.

We may make the ſame Reflection upon thoſe Vicariſhips afore-mentioned : We have an illuſtrious Example to this purpoſe, in the Caſe of *Anſegiuſus* Archbiſhop of *Sens*, xi Kalend. July, Indiction IX. “ After the Biſhops were met together, “ and the Goſpels were read before the Synod, and in view of “ the Imperial Throne, (which were afterwards laid up at “ *Pontyon*) the Emperor *Charles* came with the Legats of the “ Apoſtolic See, and after the ſinging of ſeveral Hymns, “ and a Prayer pronounced by *John* Biſhop of *Tuſculanum*, “ the Emperor took his Seat in the Synod. After which, “ *John* the Biſhop of *Tuſculanum*, read ſome Letters ſent from “ the Pope, and amongſt them one, recommending to them “ *Anſegiuſus* Archbiſhop of *Sens* for their Primate; that as oft as “ the Intereſt of the Church ſhould require it, either in calling “ of Synods, or in the managing of other Concerns in *France* “ and *Germany*, he might be look’d upon as the Apoſtolic “ Vicar ; and ſo by his means, the Decrees of the Apoſtolic “ See, might be made known to the Biſhops ; and on the o- “ ther hand, that any Matters of importance might by him “ be

“ be communicated to the Apostolick See, and that all Af-
 “ fairs of moment and difficulty, might by his Suggestion be
 “ recommended to the Apostolick See, to be cleared and de-
 “ termined. Whereupon, the Emperor demanded of the
 “ Bishops, what Answer they designed to return to these A-
 “ postolical Letters: who answer’d to this effect, That saving
 “ the Right and Priviledges of each Metropolitan, according
 “ to the sacred Canons, and the Decrees of the Popes of the
 “ See of *Rome*, promulg’d from the said sacred Canons, they
 “ would obey the Apostolical Commands of Pope *John*.
 “ And when the Emperor, and the Apostolical Legats had
 “ done their utmost Endeavours to perswade the Bishops to
 “ an absolute Answer, that they would obey without reserve,
 “ in accepting of *Ansegisus* for their Primate, as the Pope had
 “ written; yet could they never draw from them any other
 “ Answer. Then the Emperor commanded a Chair to be set
 “ above all the Bishops of his *Cisalpine* Kingdom, next to *John*
 “ Bishop of *Tusculanum*, who sat at his Right-hand, and com-
 “ manded *Ansegisus* to take place of all the Bishops that had
 “ been ordained before him, and to sit down in that Chair;
 “ the Archbishop of *Rheims* protesting against it, in the hear-
 “ ing of them all, as a thing directly contrary to the sacred
 “ Canons. In like manner, the day before the Ides of *July*,
 “ the same Letter concerning the Primacy of *Ansegisus*, was
 “ read a second time, at the Emperor’s Command, and the
 “ Bishops Answer demanded thereupon. Whereupon, the
 “ Archbishops answered severally for themselves, That as
 “ their Predecessors had been regularly obedient to his Pre-
 “ decessors, so would they be to his Decrees. So likewise,
 “ at the Command of the Apostolical Legats, that the Bi-
 “ shops should meet the 17th day before the Kalends of
 “ *August*; the Emperor entred the Synod at nine a Clock in
 “ the Morning — being accompanied by the Apostolical
 “ Legats — and all took their Places as before. Then
 “ *Johannes Arcetinus* read a certain Paper, which had neither
 “ Reason nor Authority. Afterwards *Odo* Bishop of *Beauvais*
 “ read some Articles set down by the Apostolical Legats,
 “ and by *Ansegisus* and *Odo*, without the Knowledg of the
 “ Synod,

“ Synod, between ——— containing no-
 “ thing to the purpoſe; and beſides, void of all Reaſon and
 “ Authority, which for that reaſon, are not here added.
 “ And then again, a Motion was made concerning the Prima-
 “ cy of *Anſegiuſus*, who after all, could obtain no more this
 “ laſt time, than he did at the firſt day of the Synod. From
 which account, it is moſt evident, that notwithstanding all the
 pains *Charles the Bald* took to oblige the Pope, whoſe Friend-
 ſhip he had occaſion for, and whoſe Ambition he maintain’d,
 by trampling upon the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, and the Rights of
 the Prelats of *France*; yet the Biſhops continued firm in their
 Judgments, and would not ſuffer themſelves to be enſlaved,
 as the Pope would ſain have had them. This hapned in the
 year 876.

In particular we may juſtly obſerve concerning theſe Parts,
 where the *Albigenſes* have appear’d with the greateſt luſtre,
 1^{ſt}, That the greateſt part of theſe Dioceſſes, being rent off
 from the Empire after the year 409, when *Alaric* made *Tho-
 loſe* the Seat of the Kingdom of the *Viſt-Goths*, it continued ſo
 divided, till it was again reduc’d under the Power of the
French by *Clovis*, in the year of our Lord 507. 2^{dly}, That ſince
 that time, we find that theſe parts of *France*, have been almoſt
 always united with the Churches of *Spain*, as appears from the
 Subſcriptions of the Synods held in *Spain*. 3^{dly}, That they
 were never, to ſpeak properly, re-united with the Body of
 the Churches of *France*, till the Reign of the Emperor
Charlemain. 4^{thly}, That the Power of the Popes in *France*,
 hath been ſo very inconfiderable, that a Legat of the Pope
 having undertaken to conſecrate a Chappel in *Anjou* by the
 Duke’s Order, but without conſent of the Biſhop; *Radul-
 phus Glaber*, who relates this Hiſtory, could not forbear ex-
 claiming againſt this Encroachment: *Baronius* on the other
 hand, ſtorms againſt *Glaber*, but the one of them writ what
 thoſe of his time thought and ſpoke concerning it; whereas
 the other gave himſelf entirely up to the Power of Prejudice,
 and followed the Deſign he had undertaken of accommoda-
 ting antient Hiſtory with the Intereſt of the Court of *Rome*, on
 which he had his Dependance.

But

But we are especially to observe, that the Popes never began to exercise their absolute Power there, till they had settled their Legats in those Parts, and had brought all Causes to be tried at their Tribunal. Thus *Paschal II.* appointed *Girard* Bishop of *Angoulesm*, to be his Vicar in the Provinces of *Bourges*, *Bourdeaux*, *Tours* and *Britain*, in the year 1107, as appears by the Commission granted by *Paschal II.* to *Girard* Bishop of *Angoulesm*, published by *D' Achery*.

T. 3. Spicileg.
pag. 131.

Thus the Legantine Power in the Diocess of *Auscb* was given after the year 1102, to *William* Archbishop of *Auscb*, as *De Marca* shews, on the Council of *Clermont*.

Pag. 278.

What I have just now observed, is so certain, that *Mezeray* hath publickly own'd it in his *Chronological Abridgment*. From the time of the 8th Century, the Popes found ways to lessen the Power of Metropolitans, by obliging them by the Decree of a Council held at *Mentz* by *St. Boniface*, which forced them to receive the *Pallium* at *Rome*, and to subject themselves, and be canonically obedient in all Points to the Church of *Rome*; which Profession was afterwards changed into an Oath of Fidelity, under *Gregory VII.* They also attributed to themselves, excluding all others, the Power of annulling the Spiritual Marriage, which a Bishop contracts with his Church, and to give him the liberty to espouse another. They had extended their Patriarchal Jurisdiction all over the West, by obliging the Bishops to take Confirmation from them, for which they paid certain Dues, which in process of time, were changed into what they call *Annates*, and by taking cognizance of those things, which belonged to the Bishops only. Nay what is more, they had in a manner wholly abolished the Provincial Councils, in taking away their Sovereignty, by nulling of their Decrees; so that these Assemblies were at last wholly left off as useless, because they afforded nothing to those who assisted at them, save the Displeasure of frequently seeing their Determinations made void at *Rome*, without once hearing their Reasons. *Gregory VII.* established it for a Rule of Common Right, that no Body should dare to condemn any Person, who had appeal'd to the Holy See. But they never made a greater Breach upon the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church, than when they

they introduced this Opinion, that no Council could be aſſembled without their Authority; and when after ſeveral Attempts to eſtabliſh perpetual Vicars in *Gaul*, they found the way of having their Legats received there. To this purpoſe, they firſt made uſe of a Canon of the Council of *Sardica*, which gave them Power to ſend Legats into the Provinces, to examine the Proceſſes, and the Depoſitions of any Biſhops, in Caſes where any complaint was made. After that they had thus accuſtomed the *French* Biſhops to admit their Legats in this Caſe, they by little and little gain'd another Point, when the Princes were weak, which was to ſend ſome amongſt them without any Complaint or Appeal at all; and at laſt, after they had ſubmitted to the Yoak, *Alexander II.* eſtabliſhed it as a Rule, that the Pope ought to have the Government and Adminiſtration of all Churches.

Of theſe Legats, ſome had a whole Kingdom under their Jurisdiction, others ſome part only: they came thither with full Power to depoſe Biſhops, yea, the Metropolitan himſelf, when ever they pleaſed to aſſemble the Councils of their Diſtrict, and to preſide therein with the Metropolitan; but taking place of him, to make Canons, to ſend the Deciſion of thoſe Matters to the Pope, to which the Biſhops would not give their Conſent, as likewiſe all the Acts of the Council, whereof he diſpoſed at his Will and Pleaſure. And it is to be obſerved, that their Suffrages outweigh'd thoſe of all the Biſhops together, and that oftentimes by their ſimple Authority, they judg'd and determin'd the Cauſes of the Elections, of Biſhops, of Benefices, of the Excommunicati- ons of Lay-men, and the like. Inſomuch, that theſe Aſſemblies which before were ſo Sacred and ſo Sovereign, for the ſupporting and maintaining of Diſcipline, having no Power any longer, were, to ſpeak properly, rather Councils to authorize and ratify the Will and Pleaſure of the Pope, than any lawful or free Councils.

So that it was not till the Papacy of *Alexander II.* and *Gregory VII.* that the Churches of *Aquitain* ſaw themſelves in danger of loſing their Liberty, by ſubmitting to the Papal Yoak, as well as the reſt of the *French* Churches. We are now to ſee how they avoided this Yoak, which was thus impoſed upon them in ſome meaſure.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Opposition that was made by a Part of these Churches, to the Attempts of the Popes, and of their Separation from the Communion of Rome before Peter Waldo.

IT is difficult precisely to set down the Year, wherein a considerable Part of these Diocesses, rejected the Power of the Pope's Legats, and lowdly condemned the Errors which they would have introduced, under the Name of Councils, which the Popes had so often assembled against *Berengarius*. But we have great reason to conclude, that it happened under *Gregory VII.* when he undertook to oblige the Bishops of *France* to swear an Oath of Fidelity to him, in much a like Form as Vassals swear to the Lords of the Fee, for in reality it is the very same; this strange Piece of Novelty, which at one Blow destroy'd all the Rights of the Church, excited both Pastors and People to defend their Liberties, and to reject this imperious Yoak. Then it was also, that he endeavour'd to change the Common Service of the Church, by striking out all that was not agreeable to the Roman Service, which was very proper to inflame the Minds of the People, and make them more watchful for the Preservation of the Doctrine and Ceremonies of Religion, which they had received from their Ancestors.

For instance, It is certain that in the 11th Century, they changed the Collects which concern'd the Prayer for the Dead. We have an Example of it that was inserted in the Decretal of *Gregory IX.* 'Tis an Answer of *Innocent III.* to *John de Beauxmains*, Archbishop of *Lions*, who at that time was retired in the Abby of *Clairvaux*. It contains the Question which that Archbishop, who was the Persecutor and Condemner of *Peter Waldo*,

Waldo, propounds to *Innocent III.* together with the Pope's Answer.

“ Your Brotherhood has enquir'd why there was a Change made in the Service of Saint *Leo*; ſo that whereas the antient Books expreſs the Prayer thus, Grant to us, Lord, that this Offering may be of advantage to the Soul of thy Servant *Leo*; in the modern Books it is expreſt thus, Grant to us, O Lord, we beſeech thee, that by the Interceſſion of St. *Leo*, this Offering may be of advantage to us ?

“ To which we answer, ſaith the Pope, That ſince the Authority of Scripture aſſures us, that he doth an Injury to a Martyr, who prays for a Martyr, we are by a Parity of Reason to judg the ſame of other Saints, becauſe they need not our Prayers, as being perfectly happy, and enjoying all things according to their Wiſhes: but it is we rather that ſtand in need of their Prayers, who being miſerable, are in continuable trouble, by reaſon of the Evils that ſurround us. Wherefore ſuch Expreſſions as theſe, *That ſuch an Offering may be of advantage to this or that Saint, for their Glory and Honour*, which we meet with in moſt Prayers, are thus to be underſtood, That it may conduce to this end, that he may be more and more glorified by the Faithful here on Earth. Though moſt ſuppoſe it a thing not unworthy of the Saints, to aſſert that their Glory is continually encreaſed until the Day of Judgment; and therefore that the Church may in the mean time, lawfully wiſh for the encreaſe of their Glorification. But whether in this Point that Diſtinction may take place, which teacheth us, that of thoſe who are dead, ſome are very good, others very bad, others indifferently good, and others indifferently bad; and therefore whether the Suffrages of Believers in the Church for the very good, are Thankſgiving; for the very bad, Comforts to the Living; for thoſe who are indifferently good, Expiations; and for the indifferently bad, Propitiations; I leave to your Prudence to enquire.

Moreover, the Popes, *Nicholas II.* and his Succeſſors, undertook to defend the Celibacy of the Clergy, by which means

a great many Pastors were depriv'd of the Functions of their Ministry, which oblig'd also a vast number of them to separate themselves from the Communion of the Pope, whose Creatures, after the Decree was pass'd for authorizing Celibacy, look'd upon the married Clergy to be no more than simple Lay-men; not to mention now that the Multiplicity of Schisms and Anti-popes, had reduc'd most of the Diocesses of *France* into a strange Confusion, some holding for one Pope, others for another.

But though we cannot assign the precise Epocha of the beginning of this courageous Opposition to the See of *Rome*, which had no other Original, but the just Defence of their Liberties, and the Desire of preserving their antient Truths; yet thus much seems to be certain, as far as we can gather from the poor Remainder of Records which the Barbarity of the Inquisitors hath suffer'd to come down to us;

1. That this publick Opposition against the Efforts of Popery, was made about the beginning of the 12th Century.

2. That without great Ignorance both in History and Chronology, it cannot be supposed that the *Albigenses* were the Disciples of *Peter Waldo*, and that consequently they are to be look'd upon as a Colony of the *Vandois*.

It is necessary, that we prove both these Articles with the greatest clearness that may be; as well, on the one hand, to make it appear, that the Bishop of *Meaux* hath no ground to suppose that these Diocesses were peaceably united to the Church of *Rome*, and in dependence upon it, before the *Albigenses* appeared amongst them; and on the other hand, to disabuse some of our own People, who too lightly have believed, because the *Albigenses* are esteem'd by some to be the same with the *Vandois*, that they borrowed their Light from *Peter Waldo*.

The first Article can be very solidly proved by an Argument which seems beyond all Exception; I observe therefore, that *Radulphus* Abbot of *Tron*, about the year 1125, would not return from *Italy* through the Southern Parts of *France*, *Andiebat pollutam esse inveterata Haresi de Corpore & Sanguine Domini*: "Because he heard they were polluted with an
" inveterate

“ inveterate Heresy concerning the Body and Blood of our
“ Lord.

We ſee clearly that the Heresy that reigned in theſe Dioceſſes, was that of *Berengarius*, who had beſtowed the Title of *Mystical Babylon* upon the Church of *Rome*, and not that of the *Manichees*. This Paſſage of *Radulphus* of *Tron*, agrees perfectly with what *Petrus Cluniacensis*, and *Baronius* after him tell us, that *Peter de Bruis* had preached in the Dioceſs of *Arles* about the beginning of the 12th Century. Now it is ridiculous to ſuppoſe, that one can declare a Country to be infected with an inveterate Heresy, except there be great numbers of Men who publickly profeſs it.

True it is, that they beſtow the Name of *Petrobusians* upon the Diſciples of *Peter de Bruis*, as if he had been the Author of that Sect; but this doth not overthrow what we have ſaid, and only ſhows that the Papists are uſually ready to beſtow upon the Diſciples the Name of their Maſters, thereby to reflect upon them as Innovators. Thus they called the Followers of *Berengarius*, *Berengarians*, as if he had been an Innovator, who indeed took upon him the Defence of the old Notions, againſt the Innovations of *Paschasius Radbertus*. In like manner, they called thoſe *Henricians*, who followed the Doctrine of *Henry*, who yet followed and preached the Doctrine of *Peter de Bruis* and *Berengarius*; ſo that it doth not follow from thence, that *Henry* was the firſt that ever preached that Doctrine. Thus afterwards they gave the Name of *Eſperonites* to the Diſciples of *Eſperonus*, as if he had been the firſt Author of that Sect. And is not this very conformable to that antient Method, whereby *Lindanus* Biſhop of *Rurmonde*, made as many Heads of the Reformation as there were Men of note that had a hand in that great Work? A different Method, or the leaſt Article wherein they did not agree with their Brethren, ſerving him for a ſufficient Pretence to make them ſo many different Heads of diſtinct Parties.

The Proofs I am about to produce in Confirmation of the ſecond Article, do no leſs ſhow the Truth of what I have laid down, that theſe Dioceſſes had a long time ſince a great number of People and Paſtors, who were of different Opini-

ons from those of the Church of *Rome*. I do acknowledge that towards the end of the 12th Century, there may have been some of the Disciples of *Peter Waldo* in these Diocesses of *Aquitain* and *Narbon*, which has occasion'd that several Popish Writers have almost persuaded some Protestants, that the *Waldenses* were the Authors of the Reformation amongst the *Albigenses*. *Perrin* takes it for granted in the beginning of his History, which he was the more easily persuaded to believe, since he had observed that the *Albigenses* have maintained the same Faith with the *Waldenses*.

But it is not true that the *Waldenses* ever carried their Faith into these Countries, but they found it there already established, and they join'd themselves to those who defended the same, before ever any of *Waldo's* Disciples came thither to seek refuge for themselves.

This is a Matter of Fact which it is easy to prove beyond controversy; for seeing that *St. Bernard* was in that Country in the year 1147, to preach there, and that he made but small progress in it, (so firmly were they grounded in their Faith) we must necessarily infer from hence, that they had for a long time been engaged in the same. And indeed, it appears from the manner of *St. Bernard's* expressing himself in his Sermons, and in his Epistle to the Count of *St. Gilles*, that these Opinions so opposite to those of the Church of *Rome*, had of a long time been entertained in these Countries.

We have the 4th Canon of the Council of *Tours* in the year 1163, which declares the Antiquity of this pretended Heresy in *Gascoin* and the Country about *Tholouse*, and speaks of their Meetings, which the Title of the Canon justly refers to the *Albigenses*, in these Words; " In the Country about *Tholouse*, there sprung up long ago a damnable Heresy, which
 " by little and little, like a Cancer, spreading it self to the
 " neighbouring Places in *Gascoin*, hath already infected many
 " other Provinces; which whilst, like a Serpent, it hid it
 " self in its own Windings and Twinings, crept on more secretly, and threatened more Danger to the Simple and Un-
 " wary. Wherefore we do command all Bishops and Priests,
 " dwelling in these Parts, to keep a watchful Eye upon these
 " Here-

“ Hereticks, and under the pain of Excommunication, to forbid all Perſons, as ſoon as theſe Hereticks are diſcover’d, from preſuming to afford them any Abode in their Country, or to lend them any Aſſiſtance, or to entertain any Commerce with them in Buying or Selling; that ſo at leaſt by the loſs of the Advantages of human Society, they may be compell’d to repent of the Error of their Life. And if any Prince, making himſelf Partaker of their Iniquity, ſhall endeavour to oppoſe theſe Decrees, let him be ſtruck with the ſame Anathema. And if they ſhall be ſeized by any Catholick Princes, and caſt into Priſon, let them be puniſh’d by Confiſcation of all their Goods: and becauſe they frequently come together from divers Parts into one hiding-place, and becauſe they have no other ground for their dwelling together, ſave only their Agreement and Conſent in Error; therefore we will, that ſuch their Conventicles be both diligently ſearch’d after, and when they are found, that they be examined according to Canonical Severity.

This Canon expreſly declares; 1ſt, That this pretended Hereſy had appeared a long time before. 2dly, That it had infected ſeveral Provinces of theſe Dioceſſes. 3dly, That moſt ſevere Methods were made uſe of to reduce them. This appears by the Council of *Lateran*, in the year 1179, in the laſt Chapter. And it is plain alſo from the Letters of the Archbiſhop of *Narbon* to King *Lewis VII*; “ My Lord the King, we are extremely preſſed with many Calamities, amongſt which there is one that moſt of all affects us, which is, that the Catholick Faith is extremely ſhaken in this our Dioceſs, and *St. Peter’s Boat* is ſo violently toſſed by the Waves, that it is in great danger of ſinking. Now ſince *Lewis VII* died in the year 1180, having reigned ever ſince the year 1137, it appears clearly that *Languedoc* was full of the Diſciples of *Peter de Bruis*, and *Henry*, a long time before ever *Waldo* or any of his Diſciples had begun to preach.

We may gather the ſame from what is related by *Henry* Abbot of *Clairvaux* in the *Annals of Hoveden*, Anno 1178, where he ſaith; *That this Plague was come to ſuch a Head in*

that.

Epistolæ diverſorum de Rebus Franciſ. Epist. 33. ad Ludovicū VII. Juniorē Scripta à Narbonenſi Archiepiſcopo.

that Country, that they had not only made themselves Priests and Popes, but also had their Evangelists.

I own that *Hoveden* seems to suppose, that the Faith of these *Albigenses* came from *Italy*, by his calling them *Paterines*; for as for the name of *Publicans*, it was like that of *Cathari*, given them on purpose to blacken them, and is the same with that of *Bulgarians* and *Paphlagonians*, all relating to the Original of the *Manichees* who came out of those Countries at first.

3dly. It appears from the Edicts quoted by *Hoveden*, that they were made against People of a more ancient standing than the Disciples of *Waldo*. "Wherefore, because the damnable Perverseness of those Hereticks, whom some call *Cathari*, others *Publicans*, others *Paterines*, and others by other Names, is increased in *Gascoign*, the Country of *Alby*, and other Places, so far that they do no more now, as in other Places, exercise their Impiety in private, but manifest their Errors publickly.

Pag. 585.

Epist. 92.

Stephen of Tournay is an unquestionable Witness to the same Truth; he wrote a Letter to *Johannes de Beauxmains* Bishop of *Poitiers*, in the year 1181, to persuade him to comply with the Election of those of *Lions*, who desired him for their Archbishop, and lays before his Eyes the notorious Infidelity of the Diocesses of *Languedock*, *Gascoign*, and *Septimania* (a), and the general Desolation of the Churches of the Romish Party in those Parts. "Far be it, Father, saith he, from your Cle-

(a) County of
Roussillon.

mency, that you should have any Inclination for the Barbarity of the *Gothes* (b), the Levity of the *Gascoigns*, or for the cruel and savage Manners of those of *Septimania*, where Infidelity is above Faith, Famine above Fame, Treachery and Trouble more than can be conceived. I lately saw in my Passage, when the King sent me to *Tbolouse*, a terrible Image of Death, frequent and fervent in that Country, the Walls of Churches half demolished, sacred Buildings half burnt down, their Foundations digged up, and where there were formerly the Dwellings of Men, now nothing but the Habitations of Beasts. I confess I shak'd and trembled when I heard you were invited to those Parts, in which tho you might chance to be a Bishop, yet you might easily be so without any Advantage.

(b) People of
Languedoc,
which was cal-
led *Gothia*, be-
cause the *Vis-*
Gothes settled
long there.

We

We have the concurrent Teſtimony of the Archbiſhops and other Prelats aſſembled at *Lavaur* againſt the *Albigenſes*, who declare in their Letters to *Innocent III*, that this Hereſy had been ſown in theſe Countries long before, in theſe Terms: “ For whereas the Heretical Peſtilence, which of old time
 “ hath been ſown in thoſe Parts, was now grown to that
 “ height, that Divine Worſhip was ſcorned and derided, and
 “ the Hereticks on one hand, and the Robbers on the other,
 “ haraſſed the Clergy and the Churches Revenue, and that
 “ both Prince and People being given over to a reprobate
 “ Mind, ſwerved from the true Faith, now by means of your
 “ Armies, by which you have moſt wiſely deſigned to purge
 “ away the Infection and Noiſomneſs of this Peſtilence, and
 “ their moſt Chriſtian Leader, the Earl of *Montfort*, an un-
 “ daunted Warriour, and unconquered Fighter of the Lord’s
 “ Battels; the Church which was ſo miſerably ruined, be-
 “ gins again to liſt up her Head, and both Enemies and Er-
 “ rors being for the moſt part deſtroyed, the Land which hath
 “ ſo long been waſted by the Followers of theſe Opinions, will
 “ at length accuſtom it ſelf again to the Worſhip of God.

Cap. 66.
 Laſtly, The ſame thing appears by the Teſtimony of *Pe-
 ter* a Monk of *Veaux Cernay*, in the firſt Chapter of his Hiſtory: “ In the Province of *Narbon*, where formerly the Faith
 “ flouriſhed, the Enemy of the Faith has begun to ſow his
 “ Tares. The People there are diſtaſted with the Sacraments
 “ of Chriſt, who is the Savour and Wiſdom of God, being
 “ become profane and unwiſe, by forſaking the Wiſdom
 “ of true Godlineſs. And after having repreſented how
 the Monks, *Petrus de Caſtro Novo* and *Radulphus*, the Pope’s
 Legats, had forced thoſe of *Thouſe* to abjure their Faith
 for fear of Punishments, but that ſoon after they returned
 again to their former Opinions; he adds, “ For being
 “ perjured, and relapſing into their former Calamity, they
 “ conceal’d the Hereticks that preached at Midnight in
 “ their Conventicles. O how difficult a thing it is to pluck
 “ up a deep-rooted Cuſtom! This treacherous City of *Tho-
 louſe*, from its very firſt Foundation (as ’tis ſaid) hath ſel-
 “ dom or never been clear of this deteſtable Plague; this
 “ Poiſon.

“ Poison of Heretical Pravity, and superstitious Infidelity,
 “ having been successively diffused from Father to Son,
 “ Wherefore she also, as a due Vengeance for so great Wick-
 “ edness, has endur'd the Effects of avenging Hands, and
 “ the Ruin of a just Desolation. — Yea what is more, she
 “ has suffered this Heretical Nature, and home-bred Herefy,
 “ after it had been driven out by a well-deserved Severity, to
 “ return again upon her; being desirous to imitate her An-
 “ cestors, and refusing to degenerate. By the Example of
 “ whose Neighbourhood, as one rotten Grape taints another,
 “ and as a whole Herd of Swine are infected by the Scabbi-
 “ neness of a single Hog, so the neighbouring Cities and Towns
 “ having once had these Arch-hereticks rooted amongst them,
 “ are become wonderfully and miserably infected with this
 “ Plague, by the springing Shoots of their Infidelity. The
 “ Barons of the several Lordships in these Provinces, being
 “ almost all of them become the Defenders and Entertainers
 “ of Hereticks, loving them sincerely, and defending them
 “ against God and the Church very warmly.

One needs only to reflect upon what I have here produced,
 concerning the time of the Promotion of *Johannes de Beaux-*
mains to the Archbishoprick of *Lions*, and to recollect that it
 was he that persecuted *Peter Waldo*, to make us acknowledg
 that we cannot suppose the *Albigenses* to have been the Disci-
 ples of this *Peter Waldo*.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the Opinions of Peter de Bruis, and Henry,
and their Disciples, and whether they
were Manichees or not.

WE find that tho' ſome *Manichees* ſetled themſelves in *Languedoc*, yet it ſeems they have only ſerv'd to give the *Papiſts* a colour, to accuſe thoſe whom their Errors, and their falſe Worſhip obliged them to look upon as an *Anti-chriſtian Church*. This will appear yet more clearly, by the account we are about to give here of the Opinions of *Peter de Bruis*, of *Henry*, and of their *Disciples*, whom the *Biſhop of Meaux* would willingly have thought to have been *Manichees*. *Baronius* was not ſo quick-fighted as the *Biſhop*; but becauſe it happens oft, that thoſe who ſtand upon the Shoulders of a tall Man can ſee a little further than he, we muſt enquire, by examining this Matter carefully, whether we are to believe *Baronius*, or the *Biſhop of Meaux*.

The care of the *Inquiſition*, has ſcarcely left us any record of *Peter de Bruis*; ſo that we know ſcarce any thing of what concerns him, but what we have from the report of his Enemies, and thoſe Enemies too to that degree, that they uſ'd Fire and Sword to deſtroy him; which alone is ſufficiently a ſtrong Preſumption, that they had little or no Inclination to extenuate the Horridneſs of his Opinions, nor to put a reaſonable Senſe upon them, when according to the Rules of Equity, they could have given them a good one. Be it as it will, *Peter Abbot of Clugny*, bears witneſs that *Peter de Bruis*, from whom the *Albigenſes* have been called *Petrobuſians*, had taught almoſt 20 years in the *Diocceſes of Arles, Embrun, and in Gascoign*, whither the Perſecution, which he ſuffer'd from the *Biſhops and Archbiſhops* of thoſe *Diocceſes*, ſtirr'd up againſt him by *Peter de Clugny*, had forc'd him to take refuge. He

R

declares

declares that he had made a great number of Disciples, and exhorts these Prelats to oppose themselves against the Progress of his Doctrine, by forcing him in this his Retreat, not only by preaching against him, but also if it were needful, *Vi armata per Laicos*, with armed Force by Lay men.

These Bishops answered these Exhortations of *Peter de Clugny* perfectly well; so that after they had obliged him to keep more private, they watched him so closely by their Votaries, that at last they seized him at *St. Gilles*, where they caus'd him to be burnt in the year 1126, to the great satisfaction of *Peter de Clugny* and of *Baronius*, who highly extol the Zeal of those, who by this means had avenged the Injury he had done to Crosses, in burning them to boil his Meat on Good-Friday.

This is one of the Crimes laid to his Charge by *Peter de Clugny*, a Crime of such a Nature, that King *Hezekiah* may upon the same account, be look'd upon as a most profane Person, though we know that his Zeal herein was approved by God himself. At this rate also, *John of Jerusalem* must be look'd upon as a very negligent Prelate for not burning *St. Ephiphanius*, who at *Anablatha*, had torn the Hangings of a Church in which he found the Pictures of Jesus Christ, and of some other Saints. And *Gregory I*, must pass for a negligent ignorant Person for not burning *Serenus* Bishop of *Marseilles*, who broke down the Church-Images, as well as *Peter de Bruis*, in a Time when Idolatry was not yet come to its height. For as for his boiling Meat with the Wood of the Cross on Good-Friday, and eating of the same, supposing he had indeed done so, (though there be great probability to the contrary, and that it was only one of those slanderous Imputations the Monks make use of to stir up the Fury of the ignorant Rabble) it would at the most have been no more than a notable Action to awaken these Idolaters, by setting before them their own Pagan Folly, described by the Prophet *Isaiab* in the 44th Chapter of his Prophecy.

But this was not the only Crime of *Peter de Bruis*; he was not only an Image-breaker, but he had besides, during these twenty Years of his Ministry, preached up many Heresies: the chiefest

chiefeſt of which *Peter de Clugny* reduceth to five Articles, as being more horrid than the reſt. “ And becauſe, ſaith he, “ the firſt Seeds of this erroneous Doctrine were ſown and “ propagated by *Peter de Bruis* for almoſt 20 years together, “ they brought forth chiefly five poiſonous Shoots, againſt “ which I oppoſ'd my ſelf as much as I was able.

“ The Firſt conſiſted in denying that Infants could be ſaved “ by Baptiſm, when they are under the Age of Reaſon; and “ that the Faith of the Parents can be available to thoſe who “ are not of Age to believe.

“ The Second conſiſted in maintaining that no Temples or “ Churches ought to be built, and that thoſe already built, “ ought to be deſtroyed; and that Chriſtians did not need “ holy, that is, conſecrated Places to worſhip God in, &c.

“ The Third conſiſted in aſſerting that they ought to break “ down and burn the holy Croſſes, becauſe that Figure, and “ that Inſtrument wherewith Jeſus Chriſt had been ſo cru- “ elly tormented and put to Death, was ſo far from being “ worthy of Adoration, Veneration, or any other kind of “ Supplication, that it ought to be diſhonoured with Indigni- “ ty, broke to pieces and burnt, to revenge our Saviour's “ Torments and his Death.

“ The Fourth conſiſted, not only in denying the Truth of “ the Body and Blood of our Lord, which is offer'd up every “ day, and continually by the Sacrament of the Church; “ but alſo in maintaining that it was nothing, and ought not to “ be offered.

“ The Fifth conſiſted in deriding all the Offerings, Prayers “ and Alms, and other good Works done by the Faithful “ that are living, for thoſe that are dead, becauſe they could “ not by any of theſe means, afford them the leaſt Comfort.

Theſe were the Hereſies which *Peter de Bruis* had taught for 20 Years together, which is time enough to know the Opinions of one Man. And though *Peter de Clugny*, by his Character of being a Monk, and his mortal Enemy, was eaſily perſuaded to indulge his Credulity ſo far as to believe ſome Reports ſpread abroad concerning the Diſciples of *Peter de Bruis*, that they did not own the Old Teſtament, which put

him upon proving the Divinity thereof, yet he insisted so little upon it, that he shows he was not persuaded in his Conscience that the *Petrobusians* were *Manichees*: and the Bishop of *Meaux* ought to have imitated his Discretion in the same Matter.

But, saith the Bishop, they rejected Baptism, which is one of the Characters of the *Manichees*. If he had said that *Peter de Bruis* had revived the Error of the *Hieracites*, whom *St. Epiphanius* speaks of, he would have had more Reason on his side; for the first Article, as *Peter de Clugny* hath expressed it, comes very near the Opinion of the *Hieracites*: but it is absolutely false, that it agrees with the Belief of the *Manichees* concerning that Sacrament. The *Manichees* absolutely rejected Baptism; whereas, if we will believe *Peter de Clugny*, the *Petrobusians* did not look upon it as needless, but only to Infants. In a word, *Peter de Clugny* attributes to them a kind of Anabaptism, which maintain'd, that Infants were not capable of Baptism, and that it was only to be conferr'd upon such as were full grown, because at the receiving of it, they were to make Profession of their Faith for themselves. At this rate we might as well accuse *Tertullian*, *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, and *Walafridus Strabo* of *Manicheism*. We shall find hereafter, that this Error was not general amongst them, because the Disciples of *Peter de Bruis* and *Henry*, reject it as a slanderous Imputation, and because the Malice which appears in the wording of this Calumny, is nothing but the effect of that Hatred wherewith *Peter de Clugny* was inflamed against these pretended Hereticks.

The second Article is visibly nothing else, but a Consequence drawn from the Aversion the *Petrobusians* had for the Popish Churches, because of the Idolatries there committed; and of their Consecrations to the honour of Saints. It is no such strange thing to see Men condemn Temples to be demolished, which they believe to have been profaned by Idolatry. *Gregory I* was one of the first that ever consecrated Pagan Temples into Meeting-Places for Christians; whereas before, the Emperors had ordered them to be shut up, and caus'd some of them to be pull'd down. It is very ordinary for those

thoſe who deteſt the Idolatry reigning in Churches, to be deſirous to remove all the Objects of it at the greateſt diſtance from thoſe whoſe Salvation they endeavour to procure. Laſtly, We know that the *Petrobuſians* judg'd the Pope to be the Antichriſt, which might very well prompt them to ſo great an Aversion for theſe kind of Buildings, in which Antichriſt had his Throne, as *St. Hilary of Poitiers* had diſtinctly foretold. But let Men think what they pleaſe, this Article has nothing of *Manicheiſm* in it.

The third Hereſy of the *Petrobuſians*, hath ſtill leſs of *Manicheiſm* than the former. It is evident that this alſo is nothing but a popular Conſequence againſt the Worſhip of the Croſs, which was then praſtiſed upon diverſe occaſions, of which we have before ſeen an Example, at the Death of a great Lord of that Country. But whereas he ſuppoſeth that the *Petrobuſians* did acknowledg, that Jeſus Chriſt hath endured the Croſs, and that he died upon it; in ſo doing he fully acquits them of being *Manichees*, ſince they did not own that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt truly died upon the Croſs. Moreover it muſt be confeſs'd, that no Man could better have renewed the Doctrines of *St. Agobardus*, than *Peter de Bruys*, when he maintained that neither Veneration, Adoration, nor Supplication were due to the Croſs, and that they were to be broken in caſe People were found to beſtow any ſuch Worſhip upon them. For this was the Doctrines of *Agobardus*, in his Diſcourſe of Pictures.

The fourth Hereſy is expreſs'd in very odious terms, and after the Popiſh manner, who own nothing to be real in the Sacrament, if the Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt and his Blood be not there in Subſtance, and who do not believe he is preſent in the Sacrament upon any other account, but as he is offered up to God before he is eaten. But yet here there is nothing in this double Article of *Manicheiſm*. On the contrary we may aſſert that the *Romiſh* Opinion rather is a Branch of *Manicheiſm* than theirs: for is not the Body of Jeſus Chriſt in the Bread? and doth not the Subſtance of the Bread become the Subſtance of Jeſus Chriſt? and the Prieſt, or the Faithful when they digeſt it, do they not reſtore the Body of Chriſt to Liberty,

Tom. 9. Bib.
Patr. Paris. p.
1278.

berty, in freeing it of its Bonds, by which the Charm of Consecration tied it up?

The Act of Oblation which the *Petrobussians* blamed in the Mass, is more clearly explained by their Disciples, as we shall see hereafter. In the mean time, it is worth observing, that they opposed the Change, which then began to be made in the Church of *Rome*, and which being accomplished, produced that Addition in the Liturgy, where they make the Priest say, *Et pro quibus tibi offerimus*, And for whom we offer up to thee; whereas before the whole Offering respected only the People, *Qui tibi offerunt*, Who offer up unto thee, in Allusion to that Custom of the People's offering the Bread and Wine which was used at the Communion. As soon as the Faith of the Real Presence was once entertained, they presently inquired what use might be made of it, and they found that it might be offered up to God, before it was offered to the People: and when they were once confirmed in the Belief of this Custom, they found it was necessary for the Priest to express a Sacerdotal Act; whereas therefore the People before simply offered the Bread and Wine to God, in order to celebrate the Communion with it, after Consecration they thought good to substitute the Priests offering of them up for the People. This was more distinctly practised in the thirteenth Century, as *Menardus* the *Benedictine* informs us in his Discourse upon the *Sacramentarium* of *St. Gregory*, though before that time we find some Footsteps of this Opinion.

The fifth Article which rejects Purgatory, and maintains, that the Living cannot help the deceased Believers by their Prayers, Alms or good Works, nor by any Masses designedly said for them, has as little *Manicheism* as the former: For as the *Petrobussians* cannot be said to be *Manichees*, for condemning the Use of Infant-Baptism; so neither can they be esteemed *Manichees* for denying Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead. Let the Bishop of *Meaux* turn over as long as he pleaseth the Catalogue of Heresies, he will no-where be able to find that the rejecting of Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead, are Characters of *Manicheism*.

Is not the Biſhop therefore, think we, very judicious, in taking *Peter de Bruys* and his Diſciples for *Manichees*? whereas he ought to have taken notice of two things in *Peter de Clugny*: The 1^{ſt}, is that *Peter de Bruys*, whom they accuſe of having boiled Meat on Good-Friday with broken pieces of the Croſs, eat of it when he had done, with thoſe who aſſiſted at that Execution. The 2^d is, that he maintained, that Prieſts and Monks ought rather to marry, than to live in a ſingle State deſiled with Impurity: *Coccinus* makes this Article one of the Heresies of *Peter de Bruys*.

Epist. 2.

Theſ. Cath.
Tom. 2. l. 8.
Art. 6.

One clearly ſees what ſolid Grounds the Biſhop of *Meaux* had to accuſe *Peter de Bruys* of *Manicheiſm*: Let us now ſee whether he hath any better Succeſs with *Henry* the Diſciple of *Peter de Bruys*:

The Burning of *Peter de Bruys* at *St. Gilles*, did not ſtiſle the Doctrine that he maintained, it had taken too deep Root in theſe Dioceſſes: On the contrary it encreaſed very conſiderably, after it was once watered with the Blood of that Martyr: The Oppoſition which the Diſciples of *Peter de Bruys* made to the falſe Worſhip of the Church of *Rome*, which they endeavour'd to introduce into theſe Dioceſſes, after that they had made them ſubmit to her Yoak, was very uſeful to awaken the People. Pope *Eugenius*, the Diſciple of *St. Bernard*, being then in *France* (where he was more exactly informed of theſe Difficulties than the *Roman* Emiſſaries) took the Alarm very hotly. See here how *St. Bernard* deſcribes the State of Affairs, in a Letter of his to the Count *St. Gilles*. “ How great Evils
“ have we heard and known that *Henry* the Heretick hath done
“ and does every Day in the Churches of God? He wanders
“ up and down in your Country in Sheeps Clothing, being
“ indeed a ravenous Wolf: But according to the Hint given
“ by our Lord, we know him by his Fruits. The Churches
“ are without People, People without Prieſts, Prieſts with-
“ out due Reverence; and laſtly, Chriſtians without Chriſt.
“ The Churches of Chriſt are looked upon as Synagogues,
“ the Sanctuary of God is denied to be holy; Sacraments are
“ no longer eſteemed ſacred; holy Feaſts are deprived of
“ feſtival Solemnities; Men die in their Sins; Souls are fre-
“ quently,

Epist. 240.

“quently snatch’d away to appear before the terrible Tribu-
 “nal, who are neither reconciled by Repentance, nor armed
 “with the sacred Communion: The Life of Christ is denied
 “to Christian Infants, by refusing them the Grace of Bap-
 “tism; nor are they suffered to draw near unto Salvation,
 “though our Saviour tenderly cries on their Behalf, *Suffer*
 “*little Children to come unto me.*—This Man is not of God,
 “who acts and speaks things so contrary to God; and yet
 “alas he is listned to by many, and has a People that believe
 “him. O most unhappy People! at the Voice of an Here-
 “rick all the Voices of the Prophets and Apostles are silenced,
 “who from one Spirit of Truth, have declared that the Church
 “is to be called by the Faith of Christ out of all the Nations of
 “the World: So that the Divine Oracles have deceived us, the
 “Eyes and Souls of all Men are deluded, who see the same thing
 “fulfilled, which they read before to have been foretold:
 “which Truth, though it be most manifest to all, he alone by an
 “astonishing and altogether *Judaical* Blindness, either sees not,
 “or else is sorry to see it fulfilled; and at the same time, by
 “I know not what Diabolical Art, perswades the foolish and
 “senseless People not to believe their own Eyes, in a thing
 “that is so manifest; and that those that went before have de-
 “ceived, those that come after have been deceived; that the
 “whole World, even after the shedding of Christ’s Blood,
 “shall be lost, and that all the Riches of the Mercies of God,
 “and the Grace of the Universe, are devoted upon those
 “alone whom he deceives.

Pope *Eugenius* finding things in this Posture, names *Albericus*
 Bishop of *Ostia* for his Legat to the People of *Tholouse*,
 and to the Count of *St. Gilles*. *Baronius* in his Annals gives
 us an Account of this *Henry*, the Disciple of *Peter de Bruys*,
 and his Death, in the Year 1147, which seems to be very ex-
 act, because *St. Bernard* writ to the Count of *St. Gilles*, to ex-
 hort him to drive *Henry* out of his Country, where he preach-
 ed his Doctrine very freely: But the Earl died in the Holy
 Land, having been poisoned there (as it was said) by the
 Queen: Wherefore in the Year 1147, *Henry* suffered Martyr-
 dom, at the Sollicitation of *St. Bernard* Abbot of *Clairvaux*, by
 the

the Cruelty of *Albericus* Biſhop of *Oſtia*, Cardinal and Legate of Pope *Eugenius* II at *Thouſe*, where he cauſed him to be burnt, after they had brought him thither loaden with Irons. *Baronius* ſets down with great Care, whatever he thought might blemiſh the Reputation of the Martyr. He relates all that St. *Bernard* wrote againſt him to *Aldephoſus* Earl of *St. Gilles*. He quotes St. *Bernard*, who calls *Henry* an Apoſtate Monk, and accuſeth him of having made uſe of the great Talents he had in Preaching, as a means to get Money to ſpend at Gaming, and upon his Luſts. He ſays, that *Henry* was a Man defiled with Adulteries, who for his frequent Crimes, durſt not appear in ſeveral Parts of *France* and *Germany*, and who by Conſequence was not to be indured in the Territories of the Count of *St. Gilles*: but yet he doth not lay any thing of *Manicheiſm* to his Charge, no more than *Peter de Clugny* and St. *Bernard*: Nay, *Baronius* does more, for he formally diſtinguiſheth him from thoſe Hereticks whom St. *Bernard* oppoſed under the Name of *Apoſtolicks*, in his 66th Homily upon the Canticles.

How then could the Biſhop of *Meaux* make a *Manichee* of him? Perhaps the looſe Life, whereof St. *Bernard* accuſeth him, may be a Character of it. But not to undervalue the Vanity of this looſe Accuſation, without any Proof, and proceeding from a ſworn and cruel Enemy, which was quite overthrown by the couragious Martyrdom of *Henry*: At this rate the Clergy of the Church of *Rome*, who were ſo generally guilty of *Sodomy*, that St. *Peter Damian* writ a Book, intituled, *Gomorrhæus*, muſt have been *Manichees*; and upon the ſame Ground *Johannes Cremeniſis*, a Cardinal, the Pope's Legate in *England*, for abolishing the Marriage of the Priests, muſt likewise have been a *Manichee*; for the *English* Hiſtorians ſay that this Holy Cardinal, having aſſembled a Synod at *Westmiſter*, wherein he repreſented to the Priests, that it was the worſt of Crimes to riſe from a Whore to conſecrate the Body of Jeſus Chriſt, was himſelf ſurprized in Bed with a common Whore, the ſame Day that he had ſaid Maſs. Upon this Account alſo the Legats of *Anacletus*, the Competitor of *Eugenius* II, muſt have been *Manichees*, for they are taxed with

carrying Women along with them in Mens Habits, probably to avoid the Inconvenience that *Johannes Cremenſis* fell into in *England*, for want of taking this Care before-hand.

They charge *Henry* with the ſame Hereſies which they attributed to *Peter de Bruys*; ſo that what I have already ſaid concerning the Hereſies of the *Petrobuſians*, I need not repeat here. *Baronius* adds, I confeſs, that *Henry* had ſuperadded to theſe Hereſies this Propoſition, *Additis irrideri Deum Canticis Eccleſiaſticis*. That the Singing in Churches was but a mocking of God. And accordingly *Peter de Clugny* refutes this pretended Hereſy with a great deal of Earneſtneſs: But if I may ſpeak my Opinion in this matter, neither did this Propoſition contain any great Crime. For 1^{ſt}, Singing in general was owned by *Iſidore* as an Innovation. It was about 70 Years before, that the Popes had aboliſhed the ancient Liturgies, to ſubſtitute the *Roman* Liturgy. The *Gothick* Liturgy, which was uſed in the Dioceſs of *Langnedock*, and other neighbouring Dioceſſes, which at that time depended on the Kings of *Spain*, had been ſuppreſſed, becauſe it was not over-favourable to the Opinions of the Church of *Rome*. 2^{dly}, They had at the ſame time introduced a ſort of riming Verſes, which they call *Proſes*, ſo ridiculous, ſo fooliſh, and ſo full of Novelties, both as to the Worſhip of Saints, and as to the fabulous Stories they contained; that it was very difficult for thoſe who looked for Wiſdom in their Prayers, not to take them for Profanations. The Hymn compoſed by King *Robert*, in Honour of Queen *Conſtantia*, may give us an hint what ſort of things they were, *O Conſtantia Martyrum*, &c. And now let any one judg whether *Henry* was a *Manichee*, becauſe he condemned this ſort of Profanations.

De Offic. pag.
184. & cap. 10.

pag. 577.

This alſo is what hath been owned by *Mozeraſy*, in his *Chronological Abridgment of the Hiſtory of France*, printed at *Amſterdam* in 1673, where upon the Year 1163, he ſaith, “ That
“ there were two ſorts of Hereticks, the one ignorant and
“ looſe, who were a ſort of *Manichees*; the other more
“ learned and remote from ſuch Filthineſs, who held much
“ the ſame Opinions as the *Calviniſts*, and were called *Henri-*
“ *cians*”

“ *cians* or *Waldenſes*, though the People ignorantly confound-
 ed them with the *Cathari*, *Bulgarians*, &c.

Mezeray had ſpoke more exactly, had he ſaid, That the
 People were abuſed by the Biſhops and Clergy, who purpoſe-
 ly confounded the ancient Followers of *Peter de Bruys* and
Henry, with the *Manichees* and *Cathari*, to make them odi-
 ous.

C H A P. XV.

*That it doth not appear from the Conference of Alby,
 that the Albigenſes were Manichees.*

HAVING thus juſtified *Peter de Bruys*, *Henry*, and his Diſci-
 ples, from the Imputation of *Manicheiſm*, which the
 Biſhop of *Meaux* has endeavoured to faſten upon them: We
 will yet further endeavour to clear this Point, by examining
 the Conference of *Alby*, from whence the Biſhop thinks that
 he has drawn a ſolid Argument to confirm his Imputation.
 Let us ſee how this Conference is related by *Roger Hoveden*,
 in his Annals upon the Year 1176.

“ It was in this Year that the *Arian* Hereſy was condemned,
 “ which had well nigh infected all the Province of *Thouloſe*.
 “ There were, ſaith he, certain Hereticks in the Province of
 “ *Thouloſe*, who called themſelves *the Good Men*; they were
 “ ſupported by the Militia of *Lombes*, and preached and
 “ taught the People contrary to the Chriſtian Faith, profeſſing
 “ themſelves not to own the Law of *Mofes*, nor the Prophets,
 “ nor the Pſalms, nor any part of the Old Teſtament, nor
 “ the Doctors of the New Teſtament, ſave only the Gospels
 “ and the Epiſtles of *St. Paul*, with the ſeven Canonical Epi-
 “ ſtles, the Acts of the Apoſtles and the Revelation.

“ Being queſtion'd concerning their Faith, proceeds he, and
 “ concerning the Baptiſm of Infants, and whether they were

“ saved by Baptism ; and concerning the Body and Blood of
 “ our Lord, where it was consecrated, or by whom, and
 “ who were those that received it ; and whether it were more
 “ or better consecrated by a good Man, than by a wicked
 “ Man ; and concerning Marriage, if a Man and Woman
 “ could be saved, that knew one another carnally. They
 “ answered, That they would say nothing of their Faith, nor
 “ of the Baptism of Infants ; neither were they obliged to
 “ say any thing of those Matters. Concerning the Body
 “ and Blood of our Saviour they said, That he who received
 “ it worthily, was saved ; and that he who received it unwor-
 “ thily, procured his own Condemnation. Concerning Mar-
 “ riage they said, that a Man and Woman join themselves to-
 “ gether to avoid Fornication, as *St. Paul* saith. They also
 “ declared many things, without being questioned ; as that
 “ they ought not to use any Oaths whatsoever, as *St. John*
 “ said in his Gospel, and *St. James* in his Epistle. They said
 “ also that *St. Paul* had foretold that they ought to ordain
 “ Bishops and Priests in the Church, and that if these Orders
 “ were not conferred upon such as he there commands, that
 “ then they were neither Bishops nor Priests, but ravening
 “ Wolves, Hypocrites and Deceivers, who loved the Salu-
 “ tations in the Market-places, the first Places, and the first
 “ Seats at Feasts ; who love to be called Masters, against the
 “ the Commandment of Jesus Christ ; who wear white and
 “ shining Garments ; who wear Rings of Gold, and precious
 “ Stones on their Fingers, which their Master never com-
 “ manded them. Accordingly they maintained, that since
 “ the Bishops and Priests were like to those Priests who be-
 “ trayed our Saviour Jesus Christ, they ought not to obey
 “ them, because they were wicked.

“ After divers Reasons alledged on both sides in Presence
 “ of the Bishop of *Alby*, they chose and settled Judges on both
 “ sides, with Consent of the Bishop of *Alby*. After this, *Ro-
 “ ger Hoveden* observes, that the Prelates cited divers Authori-
 “ ties out of the New Testament (for these Hereticks, saith
 “ he, would not be determined but by the New Testament),
 “ and that afterwards the Bishop of *Lious* pronounced the de-
 “ finitive.

“ finitive Sentence, drawn from the New Teſtament in theſe
 “ terms, I *Giſbert* Biſhop of *Lions*, at the Command of the
 “ Biſhop of *Alby* and his Aſſeſſors, do judg that they are He-
 “ reticks; and I condemn the Opinions of *Oliver* and his Com-
 “ panions, where-ever they are: And we judg this from the
 “ New Teſtament: I bring therefore for this Reaſon, Proofs
 “ to confirm the Divinity of the Old Teſtament, drawn
 “ from the New, and thereby oppoſe theſe Hereticks, be-
 “ cauſe they owned, that they received *Mofes*, the Prophets,
 “ and the Pſalms, only in thoſe Particulars, which Jeſus and
 “ his Apoſtles had by their Teſtimony approved, and not in
 “ others: whereupon he maintains with reaſon, that if an In-
 “ ſtrument or Teſtimony in Writing is allowed of in one
 “ part, the whole muſt needs be owned, or elſe wholly caſt
 “ aſide.

“ In the ſecond place, ſaith he, We convict them, and judg
 “ them to be Hereticks, by the Authorities of the New Teſta-
 “ ment; for we ſay, that he has not the Catholick Faith,
 “ who doth not confeſs it when he is required; and when it is
 “ expoſed to any Danger; whence it is that our Lord in the
 “ Acts of the Apoſtles, ſaith to *Ananias*, ſpeaking of *Paul*,
 “ For he is to me a choſen Veſſel, to carry my Name, &c.
 “ Theſe Hereticks alſo boaſt themſelves, that they do not lie;
 “ whereas we maintain that they lie manifeſtly, for there is
 “ Deceit in holding ones Peace as well as ſpeaking; where-
 “ fore alſo *Paul* boldly reſiſted *Peter* to his Face, becauſe he
 “ gave way to the Circumciſed.

“ In the third place, ſaith he, We convict and judg them
 “ to be Hereticks by the Authorities of the New Teſtament;
 “ for we ſay that God will have all Men to be ſaved, &c.
 “ After which he produces the Proofs for Infant-Baptiſm,
 “ and ſolves the Objection, taken from Infants wanting Faith,
 “ without which it is impoſſible to pleaſe God: We ſay that
 “ it is by the Faith of the Church, or of their God-fathers,
 “ as the Man ſick of the Pally was healed by the Faith of
 “ thoſe who preſented him, and let him down thorow the
 “ Tiling of the Houſe.

“ In the fourth place, saith he, We do convict and judg
 “ them as Hereticks by the Authorities of the New Testa-
 “ ment, because the Body of our Lord cannot be consecrated
 “ but by a Priest, be he good or bad; which he proves, be-
 “ cause Consecration is made by the Words of Jesus Christ.
 “ Moreover, he proves that the Consecration of the Body of
 “ our Lord must be celebrated in the Church, and by the
 “ Ministers of the Church only, whose Authority he asserts
 “ from Passages of Scripture.

“ Clerks therefore and Lay men, pursues he, must be obe-
 “ dient for God’s Sake to these Priests, Bishops and Dea-
 “ cons, be they good or bad, according to what our Lord
 “ saith, The Scribes and the Pharisees sit in *Moses’s* Chair,
 “ whatsoever therefore they say, do ye; but do not according
 “ to their Works, for they say, and do not.

“ In the fifth place, We convict and judg them to be He-
 “ reticks by the Authority of the New Testament, because
 “ they will not own that Man and Wife, if carnally joined,
 “ can be saved; and yet they are wont to preach in publick,
 “ that Man and Wife cannot be saved if they know one a-
 “ nother carnally: by striving to preach up the Study of
 “ Virginity, saith he, they seem to derogate from the State
 “ of Marriage, and to condemn it; which he refutes by the
 “ common Proofs.

“ In the sixth place, saith he, We convict and judg by
 “ the Authorities of the New Testament, that they are He-
 “ reticks, and separated from the Unity of the Church; for
 “ we say, that the Lord hath given the Power to *St. Peter*,
 “ of binding and absolving, saying, Whatsoever thou shalt
 “ bind on Earth, shall be bound, &c. and *St. James* says, If
 “ any one among you be sick, let him call for the Priests of
 “ the Church, &c. and again, Behold, I send unto you wise
 “ Men and Scribes; but as our Lord saith, All Men cannot
 “ comprehend this Saying.

“ Moreover, We say, that they ought to have stood up, in
 “ Answering and Disputing concerning the Gospel, because
 “ all Christians stand when the Gospels are read; now if we
 “ ought to stand when they are read, much more ought we
 “ to

“ to ſtand when they are read and expounded together. Nei-
 “ ther ought they to have ſat down after that they had once
 “ choſen to ſtand. Beſides, We have many Authorities, by
 “ which it plainly appears, that we ought to be ſtanding when
 “ the Goſpel is reading, as that, where it is ſaid, *And Jeſus*
 “ *ſtood in the Plain*; and again, *Jeſus ſtood and cry'd, ſaying*; and
 “ again, *There ſtands one in the miſt of you, whom ye know not.*
 “ Moreover, Jeſus was in a ſtanding Poſture, when, after his
 “ Reſurrection, he confirmed his Diſciples, and preached unto
 “ them; as it is written, *Jeſus ſtood in the miſt of his Diſciples,*
 “ *and ſaid, Peace be with you.* And as for them, ſaith the
 “ Biſhop, they have no right to judg, but only to answer;
 “ for the Lord ought to ſit, to whom all Judgment is com-
 “ mitted by the Father. But as for them, they judg not, but
 “ are judged, and it is not permitted to them to preach in the
 “ Churches. Theſe Hereticks are ſuch, as *St. Paul* foretels of,
 “ when he ſaith, that there ſhall be wicked Men and Sedu-
 “ cers, who will go on to grow worſe and worſe, deceiving
 “ and being deceived; for the time ſhall come, that they
 “ will not bear ſound Doctrin, but will turn their Ears away
 “ from the Truth to Fables. And again, From which ſome
 “ going aſtray, have given themſelves to vain things, who
 “ deſiring to be Teachers of the Law, underſtand not what
 “ they ſay or affirm. He maintains, that they ought to pu-
 “ niſh the Diſobedience of thoſe Hereticks, and to give them
 “ publick Correction, according to *St. Paul's* ſaying, That
 “ Sinners ſhould be reprov'd openly in the Preſence of all
 “ for their Amendment. *St. Paul* alſo ſpeaking to Biſhops,
 “ ſaith, Being always ready to reprove every Diſobedience,
 “ and having Power to confute thoſe that gainſay; and again,
 “ *Exhort, rebuke, and reprove with all Authority*; and again,
 “ *I have delivered them to Satan, &c.* Moreover, *Being abſent, I*
 “ *have already judged, &c.* And laſtly, *Who ever ſhall preach any*
 “ *other thing, let him be accuſed.*

“ In the ſeventh place, the ſaid Biſhop queſtioned them
 “ concerning Repentance, whether it were ſaving when per-
 “ formed at the laſt Gaſp, or whether Souldiers mortally
 “ wounded, may be ſaved if they repent at laſt; or whether
 “ every

“ every one ought to confefs their Sins to the Priest and Mi-
 “ nisters of the Church, or to some Lay-man, or to those
 “ of whom St. *James* says, *Confess your Sins one to another?*
 “ To which they answered, that it was sufficient for those
 “ that were sick, to confefs to whom they would. As for
 “ Souldiers, they would answer nothing, because St. *James*
 “ there speaks only of the Sick. It was also asked them,
 “ whether one single Act of Contrition of Heart, and one
 “ Confession of the Mouth were sufficient, or whether Sa-
 “ tisfaction were necessary, after Penance had been enjoined,
 “ in deploring their Sins, by Fasting, Alms, and Affliction, if
 “ they had opportunity. To which they answered, saying,
 “ that St. *James* said, *Confess your Sins one to another, that you*
 “ *may be healed;* so that by these Words, they knew that the
 “ Apostle did not enjoin any thing else, but only to confefs to
 “ one another; and that so they should be saved, and that
 “ they would not be better than the Apostle, by adding any
 “ thing thereto of their own, as the Bishops do.

“ The Hereticks added besides, that the Bishop who pro-
 “ nounced Sentence, was an Heretick, and not they; and that
 “ he was their Enemy, and a ravening Wolf, a Hypocrite,
 “ and an Enemy of God, and that he had not judged rightly,
 “ and that they would not answer any thing concerning their
 “ Faith, because they mistrusted him, as our Lord had com-
 “ manded them in the Gospel; *Beware of false Prophets, who*
 “ *come unto you in Sheeps Clothing, but inwardly are ravening*
 “ *Wolves.* And that he was their malicious Persecutor, and
 “ they were ready to make it appear from the Gospels
 “ and the Epistles, that he was not a good Pastor, neither
 “ he, nor all the rest of the Bishops and Priests, but rather
 “ Hirelings.

“ The Bishop answered, That the Sentence had been duly
 “ pronounced against them, and that he was ready to verify
 “ the same either in the Court of *Ld. Alexander* the Catho-
 “ lick Pope, or in the Court of *Lewis* King of *France*, or of
 “ *Raimond* Earl of *Tholouse*, or of his Wife who was present,
 “ or in the Court of *Frenkwel*, who was there present, that
 “ he had passed a right Judgment, and that they were evi-
 “ dently

“ dently Hereticks, and branded as ſuch. He promiſed alſo
 “ that he would indiſt them for Heresy, and that he would
 “ denounce them to be ſuch in all Catholick Courts.

“ The Hereticks ſeeing themſelves convicted and con-
 “ founded, turned themſelves towards all the People, ſaying,
 “ Good People, the Faith which we now confeſs, we confeſs
 “ for your Sakes. The Biſhop answered, You ſay, That you
 “ ſpeak for the Sake of the People, and not for God's Sake.
 And they ſaid, “ *We believe that there is one only God, in three*
 “ *Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and that the*
 “ *Son of God hath taken our Flesh upon him, that he was baptized in*
 “ *Jordan, that he faſted in the Wilderneſs, that he hath preached*
 “ *our Salvation; that he ſuffered, died, and was buried; that he*
 “ *deſcended into Hell, that he roſe again the third Day, that he aſ-*
 “ *cended into Heaven; that he ſent the Holy Ghost on the Day of*
 “ *Pentecoſt, that he ſhall come at the Day of Judgment to judg both*
 “ *the Quick and the Dead, and that All ſhall riſe again. We know*
 “ *alſo, that what we believe with our Heart, we ought to confeſs with*
 “ *our Mouth. We believe, that he is not ſaved, who doth not eat the*
 “ *Body of Jeſus Chriſt, and that the Body of Jeſus Chriſt is not con-*
 “ *ſecrated but in the Church, and by the Prieſt be he good or bad;*
 “ *and that it is no better conſecrated by a good than by a bad one.*
 “ *We believe alſo, that none can be ſaved but thoſe that are bapti-*
 “ *zed, and that little Children are ſaved by Baptiſm. We believe*
 “ *alſo, that Man and Wife are ſaved, though they be carnally joined;*
 “ *and that every one muſt repent with his Mouth and Heart, and be*
 “ *baptized in the Church by a Prieſt; and that if they could ſhow*
 “ *them more from the Gospels and Epiſtles, they would believe and*
 “ *own it.*

“ The ſaid Biſhop told them alſo, That if they ſhould
 “ ſwear, they would be obliged to keep the Faith, and if
 “ there were any thing elſe, that they ought to confeſs it, be-
 “ cauſe before they had maintain'd wicked Opinions, and had
 “ ſpokén ill. They answered, That they could not ſwear at
 “ all, becauſe in ſo doing, they ſhould ſin againſt the Gopel
 “ and the Epiſtles. Whereupon, they produced againſt them
 “ Authorities out of the New Teſtament; and after they had
 T “ been

“ been cited and heard on both sides, one of the Bishops standing up, past his Judgment in this manner.

“ I *Gozelin* Bishop of *Lodeve*, by permission and command of the Bishop of *Alby* and his Assessors, do judge and declare openly, That these Hereticks are in a wrong Opinion concerning the matter of Oaths: they must swear, if so be they desire to be received: for in Matters of Faith, Men ought to swear; and forasmuch as they are infamous and stain'd with Heresy, they must clear their Innocence; and returning to the Unity of the Church, they must confirm their Faith by an Oath, as the Catholick Church holds and believes; that so the weak ones that are in the Church be not corrupted, and that the infected Sheep may not spoil the whole Flock. Neither is this contrary to the Gospel, or to the Epistles of *St. Paul*; for though it be said in the Gospel, *Let your Communication be yea, yea, nay, nay; and thou shalt not swear neither by the Heaven, nor by the Earth, &c.* yet it is not forbidden to swear by God, but only by the Creatures; for the Heathens worshipped the Creature; and if it were permitted to swear by Creatures, we should give to the Creatures the Respect and Honour which is due to God alone; and thus Idols and Creatures would be ador'd as God.

“ After several Arguments to prove the Lawfulness of Swearing, he added; Or it may be those Expressions in the Gospel and the Epistle of *St. James*, are only by way of Advice, and not by way of Precept, because if Men did not swear, they would not be forsworn; and whatsoever is more than these, cometh of Evil; that is, of Sin or of the Devil, who persuades Men to swear by Creatures. Finding therefore, that they were convicted in this Point also, they said that the Bishop of *Alby* had agreed with them, that he would not force them to swear; which the Bishop of *Alby* denied, and standing up, said, I confirm the Sentence which *Gozelin* Bishop of *Lodeve* hath pronounced, which was given by my Order, and I give notice to the Militia of *Lombes*, not to protect them. This was sign'd by the nine Bishops,

“ Clerks,

“ Clerks, Abbots, and Laymen, with this Concluſion, We
 “ approve this Sentence, and we know they are Hereticks,
 “ and we rejeſt their Opinion.

This is the Subſtance of what paſt at the Conference of *Alby*, according to the Relation of *Roger Hoveden*. One ſees that he repreſents to us theſe three Things; 1^{ſt}, The Accuſations laid to the charge of the *Albigenſes*; they are accuſed of ſeveral Articles, which are pure *Manicheiſm*. 2^{dly}, The Arguments they brought to convict them. 3^{dly}, The Confeſſion of Faith of the *Albigenſes*, in oppoſition to their Accuſations.

As for their Accuſations, we are to obſerve, that they are only Conſequences of their being look'd upon as Hereticks, ſuch as they pretended had been long ſince condemned in the Councils held againſt the *Manichees*; and accordingly they make a Recapitulation of the Errors, either defended by the *Cathari*, or commonly attributed to them, and with theſe they charge the *Albigenſes* without further Ceremony.

They produce indeed ſome Witneſſes who accuſe them, and maintain, That they have heard ſome of them maintain *Manichean* Propoſitions.

But the manner of their juſtifying themſelves, confounds this Accuſation, and theſe Witneſſes. 1. They declare, That the Silence they kept, was like that of Jeſus Chriſt, who ſometimes held his Peace, without answering the Queſtions of the Pharifees. 2. They call'd the Perſons appointed to confront them, falſe Witneſſes and Impoſtors, in as handſome a Manner as could be ſhown to Perſons of their Quality, who appeared againſt them. 3. They propound their Confeſſion of Faith, in Terms wholly Orthodox, addreſſing themſelves to the People, who had been Witneſſes of theſe horrid Accuſations.

Probably ſome will ſay, Here is a Company of Men actually accuſ'd of abominable Heresies, and here are Perſons produc'd to prove it really upon them. To this, I have three things to answer. 1. That we have this Conference from the hand of their Enemies only. 2. That what is inſiſted on concerning

cerning the Authority of their Witnesses, is overthrown by a very natural Reflection; which is, That the Integrity of the *Waldenses* was so well known, and their Adversaries so much noted for their Inclinations to Calumny, that the Princes and all the People favoured them. This is observed by *Puylaurens* in his Chronicle, and it is taken notice of by *Ribera* in his Antiquities of *Tholouse*, and yet their Enemies have still gone on to accuse them of *Manicheism*.

C H A P. XVI.

The Albigenes justified by a Conference, whereof we have an Account written by Bernard of Foncaud.

WHAT I have here represented in general, might be sufficient to clear the *Albigenes* from the charge of *Manicheism*, which the Bishop of *Meaux* after so many Ages, hath improv'd against them, but that we have something more to say. This Bishop, who makes the *Waldenses* only Schismatics from the Church of *Rome*, though he looks upon them as another sort of Schismatics than the *Donatists*, hath pretended to prove this business infallibly, by the Conference, whereof *Bernard* Abbot of *Foncaud* hath given us the Relation, and which was held in Presence of *Bernard* Archbishop of *Narbon*. He observes therefore, that it appears from the said Conference, that those against whom the Dispute was maintain'd, differ'd from the Church of *Rome*, only in the following Articles.

“ The Dispute, saith he, chiefly concern'd the Obedience
 “ that is due to Pastors, which we find that the *Waldenses*
 “ denied, and that notwithstanding all Prohibitions to the
 “ contrary, they believ'd they had power to preach, both Men
 “ and Women; and since this their Disobedience could not
 “ be grounded but upon the Unworthiness of the Pastors,
 “ the

“ the Catholicks in proving Obedience to be due unto them,
 “ prove it to be due even to thoſe that are wicked; and that
 “ whatſoever the Channels be, Believers do not fail of re-
 “ ceiving Grace through them. For the ſame reaſon, they
 “ ſhew, that this ſpeaking againſt of their Paſtors, whence the
 “ pretence of diſobeying them was taken, is forbidden by the
 “ Law of God. Afterwards they confute the Liberty that Lay-
 “ men took to themſelves of Preaching without leave of
 “ their Paſtors, and indeed in oppoſition to their Prohibiti-
 “ ons; and they ſhew that this ſeditious kind of Preaching,
 “ tends to the Subverſion of the Weak and Ignorant. A-
 “ bove all, they prove from Scripture, that Women, to whom
 “ Silence only is recommended, muſt not undertake to teach.
 “ Laſtly, They repreſent to the *Waldenſes*, that they do ill in
 “ rejectiſg Prayer for the Dead, which hath ſo much Founda-
 “ tion in Scripture, and ſo clear a Succeſſion in Tradition.
 “ And as theſe Hereticks abſented themſelves from the
 “ Churches, to pray amongſt themſelves in private in their
 “ Houſes, they tell them, that they ought not to leave the
 “ Houſe of Prayer, the Holineſs whereof was ſo much re-
 “ commended in Scripture, and even by the Son of God him-
 “ ſelf.

Here we may ſee the *Albigenſes*, in caſe they be the Perſons
 concern'd, (though the Biſhop pretends they are the *Waldenſes*)
 ſufficiently cleared from all the Accuſations of *Manicheiſm* that
 can be formed againſt their Faith. For according to theſe Ar-
 ticles, if we believe the Biſhop of *Meaux*, they cannot be
 charged with any thing of *Arianiſm*, much leſs of *Mani-
 cheiſm*.

I cannot perfectly agree to what the Biſhop of *Meaux* con-
 cludes, from their examining only theſe pretended Differences,
 in the Conference held before the Archbiſhop of *Narbon*, that
 there was no other Difference betwixt the Church of *Rome*,
 and thoſe againſt whom the *Papiſts* diſputed at this Conference.
 There are ſolid Reaſons that hinder me from being of the
 Biſhop's Opinion: but however it be, he cannot defend himſelf
 from having furniſhed his Adverſaries with the moſt compen-
 dious way in the World, to overthrow without much enquiry,

all that he had done to prove that the *Albigenses* were guilty of *Manicheism*.

For in truth this Dispute, whereof the Abbot of *Foncaud* gives us an account, was not maintain'd against the *Vandois*, but against the *Albigenses*. For 1. the Bishop might easily have discover'd as much, from the Presence of the Archbishop of *Narbon*, the Matter in question relating to the Interest of his Diocess. 2. Because the Abbot of *Foncaud*, who is the Relator, was one of the principal Actors, his Abby being in the Diocess of *Narbon*. 3. Because this Conference, with some others, served as a Prologue to the Cruelties exercised against the *Albigenses*; the Church of *Rome* and her Ministers, having already made use of these Ways of Sweetness, before they came to the Extremities of a *Croisade*, which interrupted their other Projects towards *Greece* and the *Holy-Land*.

It follows clearly from hence, that according to the Acknowledgment of the Bishop, the *Albigenses* cannot be more justly accused of *Manicheism*, than the *Vandois*, concerning whom he pretends, that the Abbot of *Foncaud* speaks.

I cannot imagine how the Bishop can answer the Force of this Argument, except only by denying that he is mistaken, and pretending that this Conference was held with some of the *Vandois* who had fled into the Diocess of *Narbon*, and had so considerably propagated their Doctrine there, that a publick Dispute was judg'd necessary to stop the progress of it.

But 1st, it would be very strange, that they should be able in so short a time to make themselves more considerable than the *Petrobussians* and the *Henricians*, with whom we know that the Diocesses of *Aquitain* and *Narbon* were already fill'd, according to the Testimony of their Enemies. 2^{dly}. Were it so, it would be necessary to suppose, that *Bernard* Archbishop of *Narbon*, who died the second of *October* 1191, made it his Business to stop the Progress of some of *Waldo's* Disciples, who at that time, could scarcely be known, (*John de Beauvains* Archbishop of *Lions*, who condemned *Peter Waldo*, not having possessed his See above 10 Years, as far as we can judg, which he then quitted to retire to *Clairvaux*.) whilst in the mean time, he took no notice of the *Petrobussians* and *Henricians*.

ricians. 3^{dly}. It is ridiculous to fuppose, againſt the Credit of all Hiſtorians, that the *Vandois* compos'd a diſtinct Body from the *Albigenſes*, who, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, clearly ſuppoſe, that there were no *Vandois* that had Churches, and that made a diſtinct Body. 4^{thly}. Neither do we find that the cruel Inquiſition made any ſuch liké diſtinction about this Matter, in uſing more or leſs Cruelty, according to the Degrees of Schiſm and Hereſy, as 'tis pretended they ought to do, in caſe they would act juſtly.

But whatever Answer the Biſhop may invent to defend his Opinion, we have a ſure Way to overthrow it without remedy, and 'tis the ſame which he himſelf hath furniſh'd us with; for he owns that the Conference of 1206, mentioned by the Monk of *Vaux Cernay*, was a Conference with the *Vandois*. Beſides, that which *Bernard* Abbot of *Foncaud* hath ſet down; we have another, ſaith he, in *Peter* of *Vaux Cernay*, about the year 1206, where the *Vandois* were confounded: now all Men know, that the Conference of 1206, was held with the *Albigenſes*, as *Peter* of *Vaux Cernay*, who lived at that time, aſſures us in his Hiſtory of the *Albigenſes*.

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But why then will the Biſhop ſay, Did not they diſpute before the Biſhop of *Niſmes*, and the Archbiſhop of *Narbon*, but only upon theſe four Points? The Queſtion is eaſily answered: They diſputed about many other Articles, but either he who wrote the Conference, did not give us a Relation of the whole, as not ſuppoſing it convenient to publiſh their Objections againſt thoſe other Opinions and Superſtitious, which the *Albigenſes* oppos'd; or elſe they wanted time to examine the other Articles of the Roman Faith which they rejected.

What I ſay now, is not a Conjecture at random, produced only to ſtop the Biſhop's Answer, but is Matter of Fact grounded upon the Relation which we have of the Conference of *Montreal*, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter.

All this will lead us to paſs a true Judgment on the Condemnations which the Popes, King *Alphonſus*, and the Emperor *Frederick* II, iſſued out againſt the *Albigenſes*, in their Bulls and Edicts. They endeavour'd in ſhort, to make them be look'd upon.

upon as infamous *Manichees*, as a Company of *Arians*, and as the most execrable Hereticks. The Popes prepossessed the Kings and Emperors with these Notions, by the reproachful Names which they fastned upon them, after they had gotten the power to lead them by the Nose as so many wild Beasts: hence proceeds that heap of Names which we find in the Bulls and Edicts of that time.

The Reflection we ought to make on all these Terms of Obloquy, is this, that excepting only the Names of *Publicans* and *Cathari*, particularly given to the *Manichees*, it appears from these Edicts, that the *Albigenses* and the *Waldenses* did both believe the same thing.

But if what I have said is sufficient to shew the Injustice of the Bishop of *Meaux*, in making the *Albigenses* pass for *Manichees*; the matter may be still further cleared, if we turn over the Books of *Alanus Magnus*, furnamed the *Universal Doctor*; for it appears clearly from his Treatise against the Hereticks of his time, and above all against the *Albigenses*, which he dedicated to *William Prince of Montpellier*; that it was the Fashion at that time to treat the *Albigenses* as *Manichees*; and to confound them with those Hereticks, whereas their Faith was very opposite to that of the *Manichees*; for in his Refutation he huddles them altogether, without almost any Distinction, though their Principles were very different. It seems he made use of this way, that he might make use of his common places the better; or else he did it to avoid frequent Repetitions.

In the first place therefore *Alanus* refutes the *Manichees*, who asserted that there were two Principles, whereof the one was Good, the other Evil; and maintained that the evil God had created the World; of whom also some affirmed, that the Souls of Men were Apostate Angels, who should be saved after their Abode in humane Bodies; and that the Souls of the Patriarchs had no share in the Salvation of Jesus Christ. They held likewise that Jesus Christ did not take upon him a true Body, and that he never eat or drunk. They believed that the Body of Man was the Workmanship of the Devil, and that it should not rise again, and they seemed to think that Souls perished with their Bodies.

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Contra Albigenses & Waldenses, Paganos & Judæos Opus quadripartitum.

He refutes ſome, who though they believed the Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt, yet denied him to be the Son of God: others who maintained that Jeſus Chriſt had taken a celeftial Body; that the Virgin had been created in Heaven, and had neither Father nor Mother. He takes up the firſt 34 Chapters of his firſt Book in confuting theſe Opinions.

Afterwards in his 35th Chapter, he refutes the Opinion of thoſe who pretended that the Law of *Mofes* was publiſhed by the Devil, and that the Fathers of the Old Teſtament were all damned.

As to the Sacraments, whereof he treats from the 39th Chapter, he owns that ſome of thoſe Hereticks, whom he oppoſeth in general, abſolutely rejected Baptiſm; theſe were *Manichees*; that others denied the Efficacy of it to Infants, denying Original Sin; that others again believed it unprofitable to Children, and only uſeful for thoſe of riper Years; and he diſputes againſt every one of theſe Opinions.

In Chapter 45, he diſputes againſt thoſe who denied Baptiſm to be uſeful without the Impoſition of Hands. Afterwards he confutes thoſe that maintained, that we ought not, after having obtained the Pardon of our Sins in Baptiſm, hope to obtain the ſame Grace a ſecond time by Repentance, which obliged them to excommunicate thoſe who relapſed into their Sins after Baptiſm, which they proved from the 6th and 10th Chapters of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, and becauſe Penance was no more to be reiterated than Baptiſm or Orders. It ſeems that theſe *Albigenſes* had a Diſcipline like that, which prevailed in the Church, before the Council of *Carthage* in *Tertullian's* time, where they never admitted to the Communion thoſe who had committed any great Crimes after their Baptiſm.

In the 50th Chapter he attacks other Hereticks, who aſſerted that Penance did not procure Remiſſion of Sins, becauſe it is God alone that can pardon Sins. One ſees plainly enough what they meant, eſpecially becauſe he adds, that they believed it was ſufficient to confeſs their Sins to God, which they proved by the Authorities of *St. Ambroſe*, *St. Maximus*, and *St. Chryſoſtom*.

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244.

He says that these Hereticks denied Transubstantiation. 'Tis worth observing to see with what Force and Subtilty they disputed against this Doctrine: I shall produce the Arguments themselves of the *Albigenses*, which *Alanus* endeavours to confute. *Et hoc sic probare conantur: Si singulis diebus panis in corpus Christi mutaretur, illud in infinitum augetur. Querunt etiam utrum ille panis desinat esse: si desinit esse, adnihilatur, & ita etiam corrumpitur. Item, querunt quomodo corpus tanta quantitatis intrat per os hominis? Item, si corpus Christi comeditur, dentibus atteritur, & ita in partes dividitur: Item, panis fit corpus Christi, ergo erit corpus Christi, & ita aliud quam sit. Item, panis fiet corpus, ergo de pane fiet corpus Christi, & sic de pane erit materia corporis Christi. Item, post Transubstantiationem remanent accidentia; ergo in alio subjecto, vel in Aëre; sed si in Aëre, aliqua pars Aëris est rotunda, sapida, & secundum quod illa forma defertur per diversa loca, mutant accidentia subjectum. Item, in eadem parte Aëris manent illa accidentia, & illa soliditas est in Aëre, cum illa sint solida, & sic Aër solidus est: Ex his videtur, quod accidentia illa non sint in Aëre, sed nec in corpore Christi sunt: nec est assignare aliqua corpus in quo sint, ergo non videntur remanere accidentia. Item, cum forma illa sub qua latet corpus Christi dividatur in partes, sub illa formâ desinit corpus Christi: quomodo ergo sub singulis portionibus illius Hostia datur corpus Christi? Item, si corpus Christi latet sub illâ exigua formâ, ubi est Christi caput vel pes? Et ita indistincta sunt membra illius. Item, Christus dedit suum corpus discipulis ante Passionem: sed dedit eis mortale vel immortale: si immortale dedit, sed tunc erat mortalis; ergo quando erat mortalis immortalis erat, quod est impossibile. Item, ponatur quod aliquis celebraverit divina tempore passionis Christi, corpus existens Roma, passum fuisset Romæ, quia abicunque erat, patiebatur tempore passionis, & sic non patiebatur tantum in Hierusalem, sed in multis aliis locis. Item, ponatur quod mus accedat ad Pyxidem, in qua est Christi corpus; mus aliquid comedit, ergo Aëra, vel accidens, vel corpus: sed quod comedat Aëra, vel accidens, absurdum est, & magis absurdum quod comedat corpus Christi. Item, cum sanguis Christi glorificatus sit, nec faciat localem distantiam, videtur quod Calice repleto sanguine, alius liquor possit infundi. Item, Christus ait in Evangelio, Omne quod in os intrat, in secessum emittitur. Ergo Christi corpus non intrat, quando*

ad

ad manducandum datur, nec in ſeceſſum emittitur. “ And this they
 “ endeavour to prove thus: If the Bread every Day ſhould
 “ be changed into the Body of Chriſt, it would be infinitely in-
 “ creafed. They inquire alſo whether the Bread ceafe to be:
 “ If it ceaſeth to be, then is it annihilated, and ſo it is ſpoil-
 “ ed. Alſo they aſk, How a Body of ſo great a Bulk can en-
 “ ter into the Mouth of a Man? Whether the Body of Chriſt
 “ be eaten, chew’d with Teeth, and conſequently divided in-
 “ to parts? Whether the Bread becomes the Body of Chriſt,
 “ becauſe then it will be the Body of Chriſt, that is to ſay,
 “ ſomething elſe than it is? Whether the Bread becomes the
 “ Body; and if ſo, then Bread is the Body of Chriſt, and ſo
 “ Bread will be the matter of Chriſt’s Body? Alſo after Tran-
 “ ſubſtantiation the Accidents do remain; if ſo, they muſt be
 “ in another Subject, in the Air, for Inſtance; but if there,
 “ then ſome part of the Air muſt be round, ſavoury and white;
 “ and as this Form is carried through divers places, ſo the Acci-
 “ dents change their Subject. Again, theſe Accidents abide in
 “ the ſame part of the Air, and thus Solidity will be in the Air,
 “ becauſe they are ſolid, and conſequently the Air will be ſolid.
 “ Hence it appears that theſe Accidents are not in the Air; nei-
 “ ther are they in the Body of Chriſt; neither can any other Bo-
 “ dy be aſſigned, in which they are, ſo that the Accidents do
 “ not ſeem to remain. Again, when the Form or Figure, in
 “ which the Body of Chriſt lieth hid, is divided into Parts, the
 “ Body of Chriſt continues no longer in that Figure which it
 “ had before: how therefore can the Body of Chriſt be in every
 “ part of that Hoſt. Again, if the Body of Chriſt be hid in
 “ that little form, where is the Head or Foot? and conſequently
 “ his Members muſt be indiftinguish’d. Again, Chriſt gave
 “ his Body to his Diſciples before his Paſſion: Now he gave
 “ it them either mortal or immortal; if he gave it immortal,
 “ yet it is certain that then it was mortal: and conſequently
 “ whilſt it was mortal, it was immortal, which is impoſſible.
 “ Again, ſuppoſe we that ſome one or other had celebrated
 “ the Communion at the time that Chriſt ſuffered; the Body
 “ that was (ſuppoſe) at *Rome*, would have ſuffered there, be-
 “ cauſe whereſoever it was, it ſuffered at the time of the
 “ Paſſion

" Passion; and so Christ would have suffered not only at *Jern-*
 " *salem*, but in many other places. Again, suppose that a
 " Mouse should come to the Pix, in which the Body of
 " Christ is, and eat some part of it; the Mouse would eat ei-
 " ther Air, or Accidents, or the Body of Christ; but it is
 " absurd to say, that the Mouse should eat either Air, or Ac-
 " cidents, and much more absurd it is to say, that it eats the
 " Body of Christ. Again, Seeing that the Blood of Christ
 " is glorified, and does not fill a Place, it seems to follow,
 " that when the Cup is full of Blood, some other Liquor
 " may be poured into it. Again, Christ saith in the Gospel,
 " whatsoever enters in at the Mouth, is cast forth into the
 " Draught; whence it will follow, that the Body of Christ
 " doth not go in at the Mouth when it is given to be eaten,
 " or if it does, it must be cast forth into the Draught. In
 the 59th Chapter, he relates this Objection of the *Albigenses*
 concerning the same Matter: *Quarant etiam Heretici, utrum*
fit Articulus fidei Christiana panem transubstantiari in Corpus
Christi, cum de hoc non fiat mentio in aliquo Symbolo: non enim in
Symbolo Apostolico: scilicet, Credo in Deum; vel in Nicano,
Credo in Unum, &c. vel in Symbolo Athanasii, Quicumq; vult, &c.
Cum in his Symbolis; de omnibus Articulis Christiana fidei fiat mentio,
cur non fiat mentio de illo ineffabili Sacramento, cui magis videtur
obviare humana Ratio: " The Hereticks also demand, whether
 " it be an Article of the Christian Faith, that the Bread is
 " transubstantiated into the Body of Christ, seeing there is
 " no mention made of it in any Creed; for we do not meet
 " with it in the Apostles Creed, that is, *Credo in Deum*; nor
 " in the Nicene, that is, *Credo in Unum*; nor in the Athanasian,
 " *Quicumq; vult*: and since in these Creeds are contained all
 " the Articles of the Christian Faith, why is there no men-
 " tion of this ineffable Sacrament, which of all things, seems
 " most contrary to Reason.

Pag. 246. col. 2.

I have set down these Arguments in order, 1st. because it is
 visible to any one that will take the pains to examine them, that
 they are the same that were urged by *Berengarius*, as appears by
 the Extracts of his Book, which *Lanfrank* has preserv'd, and
 afterwards by those, who in the 12th Century endeavour'd to
 qualify

qualify and defend the Abſurdities of the Confeſſion, which they made *Berengarius* ſign. 2dly. Becauſe it plainly appears that thoſe who admitted the three Creeds, the Apoſtles, the Nicene, and the Athanaſian, did not reject the uſe of Matrimony, which yet he lays to their charge, there being nothing more remote from *Manicheiſm*. Neither doth he impute it, ſave only to ſome of theſe Hereticks, which makes it manifeſt, that he hath confounded all theſe People together, and that he only purſued his Matter, and his common Places, without giving us particularly the Opinions of every one of theſe Hereticks.

Chap. 63.

We find, that he charges them with rejecting the Sacrament of Confirmation, becauſe there is no mention made of it, neither in the Goſpel, nor in the other Books of the New Teſtament, as an Inſtitution of Chriſt. They rejected alſo the Sacrament of Orders, as it was believed in the Church of Rome. See what *Alanus* ſaith of it: *Dicunt etiam fidei Catholica inimici, Ordinem, ut Diaconatum vel Sacerdotium, non eſſe Sacramentum, quod ſic probare conantur: Non legitur in aliqua Canonica Scriptura Apoſtolos ordinatos fuiſſe in Sacerdotes, cur ergo eorum Vicarios ſic ordinari oportet. Item, Apoſtoli qui majores Sacerdotes dicti ſunt, non leguntur uncti fuiſſe Chriſmate, cur ergo unguuntur eorum Vicarii? Præterita merita faciunt & ſuffragantur ut quis ſit dignus aliquo Officio, quid ergo confert Ordo?* “ *Be-*
 “ *fides, the Adverſaries of the Catholick Faith affirm, that*
 “ *the Order of Deacons or Priests, is not a Sacrament, which*
 “ *they endeavour to prove thus. We do not read in any*
 “ *part of Canonical Scripture that the Apoſtles were or-*
 “ *dained Priests, and therefore what neceſſity is there that*
 “ *their Vicars ſhould be ſo. Again, The Apoſtles who are*
 “ *ſaid to be the higher Priests, were never anointed, and*
 “ *why then are their Vicars anointed? It is forepaſt Merit*
 “ *and true Worth that makes one fit for any Function, what*
 “ *need therefore is there of Orders?*

Chap. 66.

Ch. 67. p. 251.

Concerning extream Unction, they believe after this manner: *Dicunt etiam extremam olei Unctionem, que datur infirmis, nec eſſe Sacramentum, nec aliquem habere effectum, quia hæc Sacramentum Unctionis infirmorum ab Apoſtolis inſtitutum non le-*

gitur :-

Chap. 68.

gitur: " They say, that Extream Unction which is confer'd upon sick Persons, is neither a Sacrament, nor otherwise of any efficacy, because this Sacrament of Anointing the Sick, is not found to be of Apostolical Institution.

Chap. 69.

As to Churches, we find that they follow'd the Opinions of *Henry the Disciple of Peter de Bruis*: *Non desunt qui dicant locum materiale non esse Ecclesiam, sed conventum fidelium sanctam: quia, ut aiunt, locus ad orationem non pertinet; sicut enim ubique est Deus, sic ubique adorari vel orari potest. Hoc autem probare nituntur Autoritate Christi, dicentis Samaritanae, Mulier crede mihi, venit hora, quando nec in Monte hoc, nec in Hierosolymis, adorabitis Patrem: Sed venit hora & nunc est, quando veri adoratores adorabunt in Spiritu & Veritate. Item, Si locus facit ad Orationem, cur Heremita antiquitus in locis abditis habitantes, Ecclesias non habebant? Cur etiam Sacramenta effectum suum habent, etsi non celebrantur in loco qui dicitur Ecclesia? Item, quid operantur Parietes ad supplicandum ei qui ubique est, cum in uno loco non magis sit quam in alio? Christum etiam in montibus & locis desertis legimus orasse, non in locis orationi dedicatis. Item, estne fructuosior oratio quae fit in Templo, quam illa quae fit in agro, si par fuerit devotio?* " There be some who affirm, that the Church is not a material Place, but an holy Assembly of Believers; for, say they, Place is not of any concern to Prayer, because as God is every where, so he may every where be worship'd and pray'd to. This they endeavour to prove by the Authority of Christ, saying to the Samaritan Woman; *Woman, believe me, the hour comes when ye shall neither in this Mountain, nor at Jerusalem; worship the Father; but the hour comes and now is, when the true Worshipers shall worship the Father in Spirit and in Truth.* . Again, If the Place be any furtherance to Prayer, why had not the Hermits of old, who liv'd in desert Places, their Churches to pray in? Or how can the Sacraments be of any efficacy, when they are not celebrated in the Place call'd a Church. Again, What do Walls help us to pray to him who is every where, and not more in one Place than he is in another. We read also, that
" Christ

“ Chriſt went aſide to Mountains and deſert Places to pray,
 “ and not to Places appointed for Prayer. Again, Is the
 “ Prayer that is perform’d in the Church of more efficacy
 “ than that which is offer’d up in the Field, ſuppoſing the
 “ Devotion of both to be alike ?

Againſt the Prayers that are made to Saints, they objected
 as follows: *Dicunt etiam Heretici quidam, Orationes Sanctorum* Chap. 72.
non prodeſſe vivis, nec vivorum orationes mortuis: probare etiam vi-
dentur; quod Sancti non orant pro vivis, qui ſciunt qui ſint ſalvandi
vel damnandi; pro illis autem quos ſciunt ſalvandos non orant, quia
ſuperſtua eſſet eratio, quia ſive orent, ſive non, ſalvabuntur: Si
vero orarent pro damnatis non aſſequerentur quod petunt, & ita beati
non eſſent; beatus enim eſt, cui omnia optata ſuccedunt. Item, Qui-
libet judicabitur ſecundum opera ſua, & non aliena merita, nec pro
alienis meritis reddetur ei: & ideo orationes Sanctorum non proſunt;
vel quantum ad meritum, vel quantum ad premium; quia non au-
gent merita vel premia. Item, Sancti non ſunt in loco merendi, ſed
recipiendi; ergo orationibus nec aliis bonis merentur ſibi vel aliis.
Item, In Evangelio Luca legitur, Quod Abraham dixit anima Di-
viitiſ que erat in inferno, Magnum Chaos firmatum eſt inter nos &
vos; ubi Chaos nihil aliud vocavit, niſi diſſimilitudinem bonorum &
malorum tantam, ut etiam ſancti damnatis non compatiantur. Si
vero non compatiantur, nec orant pro eis. “ Some Hereticks alſo
 “ aſſert, that the Prayers of Saints are of no uſe to the Li-
 “ ving, nor thoſe of the Living to the Dead. That the Saints
 “ do not pray for the Living, they prove thus: Becauſe the
 “ Saints knowing who ſhall be ſaved, and who damned, they
 “ can not pray for thoſe they know ſhall be ſaved, ſince their
 “ Prayers would be ſuperfluous, ſeeing whether they pray or
 “ no, they will be ſaved: but ſhould they pray for thoſe that
 “ ſhall be damned, they would not obtain what they pray
 “ for, and ſo would not be happy; for he is only happy, who
 “ has all his Deſires. Again, Every one ſhall be judged ac-
 “ cording to his Works, and not according to the Merits of
 “ another, neither ſhall any Man receive according to the Me-
 “ rits of other Men; and therefore the Prayers of the Saints
 “ profit nothing, either in regard of Merit or Reward, becauſe
 “ they cannot encreaſe either a Man’s Merit or Reward. A-
 “ gain,

“ gain, The Saints are not in a Place where they can merit,
 “ but only where they receive; and therefore by their Prayers
 “ or other good Works, can neither merit any Good for
 “ themselves or for others. Again, We read in the Gospel
 “ of St. *Luke*, that *Abraham* said to the Soul of the rich Man
 “ that was in Hell, There is a great Gulf fixed between us and
 “ you; where by Gulf he means nothing else but the Dis-
 “ agreement there is between the Good and the Wicked,
 “ which is so great, that the Saints are neither sensible, nor have
 “ any compassion for the Damned; now if so, neither can we
 “ suppose that they pray for them.

At last, He attributes to some of them, the Belief that it is unlawful to eat Flesh, upon very ridiculous Grounds, but such as have nothing common with the Doctrine of the *Manichees*.

It seems to me to be evident from this Book of *Alanus*, 1st, That he owned there were several sorts of Hereticks in the Country of the *Albigenses*, *Manichees*, or *Cathari*, who rejected the principal Articles of the Christian Religion. 2^{dly}, Another sort of People who renounced all the chief Doctrines of the *Romish* Religion, which the *Protestants* rejected afterwards. And since he quotes no Author in particular, it is obvious to judge, that he made but small Distinction of the Nature of the several Objections which he pretends to refute, and which he had frequently assigned to the *Albigenses* in general; which without doubt, ought not to be attributed but to some of them, and which possibly, and very probably too, was only taken up from the Mouths of the common People amongst them, by those who had a Design to expose them.

C H A P. XVII.

The Calumnies raised againſt the Albigenfes, refuted by the Conference at Montreal.

THoſe who will reflect a little upon the Innocence of the Primitive Chriſtians, and the horrid Slanders caſt upon them, will not be much surpriz'd to ſee the Innocence of the *Albigenfes* attack'd after the ſame manner. The Devil having found this Method ſucceed in the firſt Beginnings of Chriſtianity, was not ſo careleſs of his Intereſt to forget to employ the ſame againſt thoſe who oppoſed themſelves to the Corruptions which he had introduced, and which he was willing to ſubſtitute, inſtead of the Religion of Jeſus Chriſt.

He made uſe of the ſame Method againſt thoſe of the Reformed Religion. Whoever reads the Writings of the Jeſuits, ſhall find that they have accuſed our Reformers of the ſame Heresies which the Devil rais'd to put a ſtop to the progreſs of Chriſtianity. The Jeſuit *Gauthier* alone may be a ſufficient Witneſs hereof, in his Chronological Table; and we may well ſay that in this Point, he hath at leaſt equaliz'd the Impudence of *Feuardentinus*, if he hath not out done him. Why ſhould any Man therefore think ſtrange, that the Church of *Rome* and her Adorers, ſhould take the ſame courſe againſt the *Albigenfes*, which ſhe practis'd in our days; and which ſhe hath not yet left, becauſe ſhe believ'd it would not fail of certain Succeſs? ſo prodigious is the Stupidity of the People of her Communion. And truly the Managers for the Church of *Rome*, were no leſs diligent to employ theſe devilish Artifices againſt the *Albigenfes*, than againſt us. Here are ſome Inſtances of it, for it is impoſſible to relate all; I begin with ſome of the more general Articles.

1. They accused them of Novelty, sometimes supposing them to have been only known since the time of *Peter de Bruis*, or of *Henry* his Disciple, though the contrary be evident from the History of this Church, as we have set it down; and by the Publick Liturgy, which the Papists themselves have published not long since.

2. They accused them of being the Disciples of *Peter Waldo*, and from thence rais'd this Acculation, that they were only a Company of Lay-men, without either Ministry, or right to administer the Sacraments; whereas it is certain, that they had a lawful Ministry, and indeed a thousand times more lawful than that of the Church of *Rome*.

3. They accused them in general of being *Manichees*, perhaps because formerly the *Priscillianists*, who were a Branch of the *Manichees*, had had a Party in that Province, or near it, as *Philastrius* tells us, and of whom some were scattered through *Languedock*, after the year 1010, though indeed the *Albigenses* disputed against them, and solidly confuted them, as we are informed by *William Puylaurens*.

4. They endeavour'd to make them own the Opinions and Crimes, that were proper to the *Manichees*, by producing false Witnesses to convict them thereof. We have an illustrious Example of this, in the History of the Earls of *Tholouse*. *William Catel*, Counsellor for the King in the Parliament of *Thoionse*, tells us, that two Hereticks, whereof the one was called *Raymond*, the other *Bennet*, having appear'd before the Pope's Legate, it was witness'd against them, that they had been heard to preach that there were two Gods, the one good, and the other evil; that Priests could not consecrate the Holy Host; that married Persons could not be saved if they had to do with their Wives; that Baptism is not necessary to Infants, and many other Heresies, which they would never acknowledge, notwithstanding all the Witnesses that appear'd against them; but said, they were false Witnesses, and that they believed what the Catholick Religion engageth us to believe. But notwithstanding these their solemn Protestations, they further object against them all the Consequences of *Manicheism*,

cheiſm, as natural Inferences from the former Opinions, of which they pretended that they had convicted them by Witneſſes. This probably was the riſe of thoſe fine Controverſies we find in *Alanus Magnus*, and other Polemical Writers who copied him.

5. They have been charged with forſwearing themſelves before a Court of Juſtice without ſcruple, though at the ſame time they are accused for maintaining that every Lie is a mortal Sin. This is done by *Alanus*, who falls upon them very heavily upon that account.

6. They are accused of being *Arians*, though *Alanus* diſtinguiſheth them, and that the Popiſh Priests ought rather to be accused of favouring *Manicheiſm* and *Arianiſm*, than the *Albigenſes*, who ſubtilly diſputed againſt theſe Hereſies.

But it will be eaſy to refute theſe Calumnies, by the Conference of *Montreal*, in the year 1206, related by the Monk of *Vaux Cernay*. It was offer'd to the Biſhops by the *Albigenſes*, under certain Conditions, That there ſhould be Moderators appointed on both ſides, Men of Authority, able to hinder any Tumult or Sedition: Alſo, that the Place where the Conference was to be, might be free and ſafe for all thoſe that ſhould aſſiſt at it: Moreover, that the Subjects to be diſputed upon, ſhould be agreed to by joint conſent, and not to be quitted till they were wholly diſcuſs'd; and that thoſe that could not maintain their Opinions by the Word of God, ſhould be look'd upon as overcome. The Biſhops and Monks accepted of all theſe Conditions. The Place they agreed upon, was *Montreal* near *Carcaddon*, in the year 1206; the Moderators agreed on on both ſides, were B. of *Villeneuve*, and B. of *Auxerre* for the Biſhops, and for the *Albigenſes*, *R. de Bot*, and *Anthony Riviere*; *Arnoldus Hot* the Paſtor of the *Albigenſes*, accompanied with thoſe that were thought fit for this Action, appear'd firſt at the Place and Time aſſigned; and afterwards came the Biſhop of *Ozma*, and the Monk *Dominic a Spaniard*, with two of the Pope's Legats, *Peter Caſtel*, and *Radulphus de Luſt*, Abbot of *Canadets*, *P. Bertrand* Prior of *Anterive*, as alſo the Prior of *Palat*, and ſeveral other Priests and Monks.

The Theses propounded by *Arnoldus*, were, That the Mass and Transubstantiation were the Invention of Men, and not the Ordinance of Jesus Christ or his Apostles.

That the Church of *Rome* was not the Spouse of Christ, but the Church of Confusion, drunk with the Blood of the Martyrs.

That the Polity of the Church of *Rome* was neither good nor holy, nor established by Jesus Christ.

Arnaud sent these Propositions to the Bishop, who demanded a Fortnight to prepare his Answer, which was granted. At the Day appointed the Bishop fail'd not to appear with a large Writing; whereupon *Arnaud Hot* desired leave to be heard upon the Spot, *extempore*, declaring that he would answer all the Particulars contained in the said Writing, desiring the Auditors not to be tired, if he took up some time in answering so long a Discourse; they promised he should be heard with Attention and Patience, without the least Interruption. He discoursed at several Hours, for four days together, with so much Admiration of the Assistants, and Dexterity on his Part, that all the Bishops, Abbots, Monks and Priests, could have been willing to have been farther off; for he deduced his Answer according to the several Points laid down in that Writing, with so much Order and Perspicuity, that he made his Auditors perceive, that though the Bishop had writ much, yet he had concluded nothing that could be made use of, to the Advantage of the Church of *Rome*, against these Propositions.

This done, *Arnaud* demanded, that since the Bishops and he stood engaged to one another at the beginning of their Conference, to prove their Assertions by the Word of God alone, the Bishops and Priests might be commanded to prove the Authority of the Mass, as it was sung in Churches, piece by piece, that it was instituted by the Son of God, and sung in the same manner by his Apostles, beginning at the *Introit*, as they call it, to the *Ite missa est*: but the Bishops could not prove that any of those Parts had been instituted for that Purpose by Christ or by his Apostles. Here it was that the Bishops were covered with Shame and Regret, for *Arnaud* had reduced

reduced them to the ſingle Canon, which they pretended was the beſt Piece of the Maſs; where he proved that the Holy Supper of the Lord was not the Maſs, ſaying, that if the Maſs were the Lord's Supper, there would be all after Conſecration, that there was before in the Lord's Supper: Whereas, ſaid he, in your Maſs there is no Bread, for by Tranſubſtantiation the Bread vaniſheth; wherefore the Maſs being without Bread, cannot be the Supper of the Lord, wherein all know there is Bread. Jeſus Chriſt brake Bread, Saint Paul brake Bread, the Prieſt breaks the Body, not Bread, therefore the Prieſt neither doth what Jeſus Chriſt, nor what St. Paul did. As *Arnaud* was about to proceed in theſe Antitheſes, between the Lord's Supper and the Maſs, to prove that it was neither of Chriſt's nor of the Apoſtles Inſtitution, the Monks, Biſhops, Legats and Prieſts thought fit to withdraw themſelves, being reſolved to hear no more, for fear they might fix Impreſſions on thoſe that were by, which might extremely ſhake their Belief of the Maſs.

The Monk of *Vaux Cernay* endeavour'd to render this Action ſuſpected, in ſaying, that when theſe heretical Judges perceived the Weakneſs of their Cauſe, and the Miſfortune of ingaging in ſuch a Diſpute, they reſuſed to pronounce any Judgment concerning it, as likewiſe to reſtore us our own Writings, for fear, adds he, they might come to be publiſhed, but reſtored the Hereticks theirs. But how could two of the Pope's Legats, and ſo many Biſhops, Abbots, Monks and Prieſts ſuffer themſelves to be drawn into a Place, there to be thus abuſed and trick'd? The Monk himſelf ſaith in the ſame place, that the Heads of the Hereticks came to meet with the Catholicks at the Caſtle of *Montreal*, to diſpute with them: the Catholicks therefore were in Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle; there could be therefore no Opportunity of foul Play, nor of any ſuch Violence; neither was it neceſſary, that the Moderators ſhould pronounce their Judgment in a Caſe of Diſpute, ſeeing they hold that no other Judgment is neceſſary, but that of the Pope, who cannot err. Beſides, how could this Monk know that the *Albigenſes* were overcome, ſeeing that no Sentence was given.

Perrin could have given us a faithful Extract of this Conference, because himself observes, that it had been brought to him from the *Albigenses*, by Mr. *Rafur*, Minister of the Church of *Montreal*, in an old Manuscript: From whence, though he doth not express it in so many Words, I judg that he reduced the Points in Question between the *Albigenses* and the Church of *Rome*, to six Articles.

I. Article. The Doctrines which they asserted in opposition to the Church of *Rome*, were, That the Church of *Rome* was not the Holy Church, nor the Spouse of Christ, but that it was a Church which had drunk in the Doctrine of Devils; the Whore of *Babylon* which St. *John* describes in the *Revelations*, the Mother of Fornications and Abominations, covered with the Blood of the Saints.

II. That the Mass was neither instituted by Christ nor his Apostles, but a humane Invention.

III. That the Prayers of the Living are unprofitable for the Dead.

IV. That the Purgatory maintained in the Church of *Rome*, is no better than a human Invention, to satisfy the Avarice of the Priests.

V. That the Saints ought not to be prayed unto.

VI. That Transubstantiation is a human Invention, and erroneous Doctrine; and that the worshipping of the Bread is manifest Idolatry.

That therefore it was necessary to separate from the Church of *Rome*, in which the contrary was said and taught, because one cannot assist at the Mass, without partaking of the Idolatry there practised, nor expect Salvation by any other means than by Jesus Christ, nor transfer to Creatures the Honour which is due to the Creator; nor say concerning the Bread that it is God, and worship it as such, without incurring the Pain of eternal Damnation, because Idolaters shall not inherit the Kingdom of Heaven. For all these things therefore which they asserted, they have been hated and persecuted to Death.

This Account of the Conference of *Montreal*, which I have copied from *Perrin*, is enough in my Judgment fully to refute any Scruple that might remain in the Mind of a Reader, who

who reads in *Roger Hoveden* the Letters of *Peter* Cardinal of *St. Chryſogon*, writ in the Year 1178, which testify, that the *Manichees* of *Thouloſe* had been convicted by the Confession which many of them had made of the greateſt part of the Articles of that Heresy. It is very viſible that it was upon the Authority of these Letters, or upon some Informations of this Nature, that *Alanus*, who was born at *Liſle* in *Flanders*, and who had spent the greateſt part of his time at the University of *Paris*, has built his Catalogue of the Heresies which he refutes in his Treatise against the *Albigenſes*, whereof I have given an Extract in the foregoing Chapter.

So that it is necessary to suppose one of these three things, Either that the Earl *Raymond* of *Thouloſe*, and those whom he protected, were really *Manichees*, as they are accused to be by the Pope's Legats, by the Bishops, and by *Peter* of *Vaux Cernay*, who sets down this Accusation and the forced Confessions of the *Albigenſes*, who own themselves to be *Manichees*; or that the *Albigenſes* who were the Disciples of *Peter de Bruys*, and of *Henry*, that were no *Manichees*, had gone over to that Sect towards the End of the 12th Century, and afterwards again become *Petrobusians* and *Henricians* at the Beginning of the 13th, as it plainly appears they then were, from the Conference of *Montreal*, where they freely proposed their Opinions, intirely opposite to *Manicheism*; or that the Legats and Monks that persecuted them with Fire and Sword, were great Impostors, in taking Advantage against them from some Confessions extorted from *Manichees*, who were here and there scattered in those Diocesses, and which they made use of to animate the People of the Roman Communion, and to ingage the Princes and Bishops of all places to exterminate without Mercy a sort of People, who utterly subverted all the Rules of Morality, which is the Band of Society, and all the Principles of both natural and Christian Religion.

C H A P. XVIII.

Reflections on the Convictions of Manicheism, which were said to be proved upon the Albigenfes.

ONE of the most plausible Objections that can be made against the Purity of the Faith of the *Albigenfes*, is the Testimony of the Inquisitors, who have filled their Trials with plain Confessions which several *Albigenfes*, judged and condemned by them, have made of sundry Errors of the *Manichees*. I shall produce an Extract of the Acts of the Inquisition of *Tholouse*, which are in the Hands of Mr. *Wetstein* Bookseller at *Amsterdam*, as it was sent me out of *Holland*, and which was made by a Man of great Reputation. “ The *Albigenfes*, saith “ he, held some Opinions, in common with the *Vandois*; as, “ That to a Christian all Oaths are unlawful; that the Confession of Sins, made to the Priests of the Church of *Rome*, “ is wholly unprofitable; and that neither the Pope, nor any “ one else in the Romish Church, can absolve any Man of “ Sin: but that they have power to absolve all those from “ their Sins, who will join themselves to their Sect, by the “ Laying on of Hands. This last Clause is also laid to the “ charge of the *Vandois*; viz. That they have Power from “ God alone, as the Apostles had, to hear Confessions both “ of Men and Women that believe them; and of imposing “ Penance upon such as confess to them, as Fasting, and several Repetitions of the Lord’s Prayer, whereupon they absolve their Penitents: and that this Absolution and “ Penance is as available to the Salvation of their Souls, as if they had been confessed to their own Priest. (That here “ is some wresting or mutilation of the Opinion of the “ *Vandois*, is manifest from the Confession of a certain Woman, who, as we read, declared her Faith to this purpose; “ That God alone forgives Sin, and that he to whom Confession of Sins is made, gives only his Advice what the “ Per-

“ Perſon ought to do, and ſo enjoins Penance, which any
 “ wiſe and prudent Man may do, whether he be a Prieſt
 “ or no.) That the Opinions of the *Albigenſes* that were
 “ proper to them were, that there be two Lords, the one
 “ Good and the other Evil: That the Body of Chriſt is not
 “ in the Eucharift, but only meer Bread: That Baptiſm is
 “ of no uſe. One of the *Albigenſes* was ſaid to believe, that
 “ the Baptiſm of Water celebrated by the Church, ſtands In-
 “ fants in no ſtead, becauſe they did not conſent to the
 “ Sacrament, but cried at the receiving of it. (*I believe*, ſaith
 “ he, *who examined theſe Acts*, that they denied Baptiſm
 “ to be the Inſtrument of Regeneration; or perhaps they
 “ might be againſt Infant Baptiſm.) That an external A-
 “ nointing of the Sick, with material Oil, was of no uſe.
 “ That the Orders of the Church of *Rome*, had no Power
 “ of binding and looſing, ſince they themſelves, who con-
 “ ferred them, were great Sinners. That Marriage is al-
 “ ways join'd with Sin, and never can be without Sin, and
 “ that it could never have been inſtituted by the good God.
 “ That our Lord did not aſſume a real humane Body, and
 “ true Fleſh of our Nature, and that he did not truly, but
 “ only in Likeneſs, riſe again in the ſame, and perform the
 “ other Works of our Salvation; and that he never really
 “ aſcended to the right-hand of the Father. They deny the
 “ Reſurrection of the Body; (but in the Declaration of
 “ *Petrus Anterius*, a chief Teacher amongſt them; this is
 “ more clearly and diſtinctly explained; that they feign that
 “ certain ſpiritual Bodies, and a certain internal Man, ſhould
 “ riſe again in ſuch ſort of Bodies. And elſewhere, they
 “ expreſs themſelves, that though the Souls of Men ſhall
 “ come to Judgment, yet they ſhall not come in their own
 “ Bodies). They ſaid, that the Souls of Men were Spirits,
 “ which fell from Heaven for their Sins; ſo that they ſeem
 “ to have believ'd the pre-exiſtence of Souls. Man (they
 “ ſay) muſt not worſhip what he eats. Moreover, it is a-
 “ ſcribed to them, that they believe Man is ſaved, by the
 “ Laying on of Hands, which they confer on their Be-
 “ lievers,

" lievers, and that by the same means, all Sins are forgiven
 " without Confession and Satisfaction. That they can be-
 " stow the Holy Ghost for Salvation, upon those whom they
 " receive. That the Virgin *Mary* never was a carnal Wo-
 " man, but their Church, which they say is true Repen-
 " tance, and that this is the Virgin *Mary*. (The very Ob-
 " scurity of these Words, shews that this Opinion is wrested ;
 " because it is better exprest in another place thus, That
 " God never entred the Womb of the Blessed Virgin *Ma-*
 " *ry*, and that he only is the Mother, Brother, and Sister of
 " God, who keeps the Commandments of God the Father.)
 " These are said to be the Doctrines of the *Albigenses*, where-
 " of none are ascribed to the *Waldenses*, but others different
 " from these, whereof we find no mention made in the
 " Opinions of the *Albigenses* ; and they are these ; That all
 " Judgment is forbid by God, and that it is contrary to
 " the divine Prohibition, for any Judg, in any Cause
 " whatsoever, to judg or sentence any Man to Punishment
 " or Death. That Indulgencies granted by the Prelats of
 " the Church of *Rome*, are of no use or efficacy. That
 " there is no Purgatory for Souls after this Life ; and that
 " consequently the Prayers and Suffrages of Believers for
 " the Dead, are of no use to them. That the Soul when
 " it departs from the Body, goes either to Paradise or Hell.
 " That there are no more than three Orders in the Church, of
 " Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

From these Acts, it appears how much the Rites and Ce-
 remonies of the *Albigenses* differed from those practis'd by
 the *Vandois*. " Besides, saith the Author of the *Extract*, the
 " Rites and Institutions of them both were very different.
 " Of the *Albigenses* there were two Sorts, some who pro-
 " fessed their Faith and Rites, and they were called *perfect* or
 " *comforted* : others who had entred into a Covenant with
 " the former Sort, called *Perfect*, which they call *la Conve-*
 " *nenza*, the Agreement, that at the end of their Life, they
 " should be received by them into their Sect. This Re-
 " ception is frequently called by them *Exercise*, and is per-
 " formed

“ formed in this manner ; *The Benedicite or the Bleſſing con-*
 “ *ferred upon one Molinerius when he was ſick.* Bernard
 “ Goes one of the *Albigenſes*, held the Hands of the ſick
 “ Perſon between his own Hands ; and beſides, held a cer-
 “ tain Book over him, wherein he read the Goſpel of *St. John,*
 “ *In the Beginning was the Word ;* and deliver'd to the ſick Per-
 “ ſon a fine Thread to tie about him as a Mark that he
 “ was admitted into their Hereſy : upon ſome others it is
 “ ſaid, that they laid a white Linen Cloath, and be-
 “ ſides that many Genuflections were performed by the
 “ Bed-ſide. This Reception was ſuppoſed to ſave the Soul
 “ of him who was received, and was call'd a Spiritual Bap-
 “ tiſm or Conſolation, a Reception, and a good End, and
 “ ſometimes a Melioration, by means of which they be-
 “ liev'd that the Perſon was ſanctified ; ſo that it was not
 “ lawful for a Woman to touch any one that was thus
 “ received. Now, becauſe it might ſometime happen that
 “ the Perſon thus received, after his recovery, might relapſe
 “ into his former Deſilements, therefore they always de-
 “ ferr'd this Reception till the extreamſt Weakneſs, when
 “ there was no longer hopes of Life, for fear they might
 “ afterward loſe the Good they had received. For which
 “ reaſon alſo ſome ſick Perſons amongſt them, though the
 “ Perſon who thus initiated them was already come, yet
 “ were not received, becauſe they were not believed to be
 “ at the point of Death. But they who were thus received
 “ in their Sickneſs, were commanded to put themſelves up-
 “ on Hardſhip, that is, to haſten their own Death, by ab-
 “ ſtaining from all Meat : and there are ſeveral Examples
 “ of thoſe, who are ſaid to have kill'd themſelves, not only
 “ with Faſting, but by opening of a Vein, wounding of them-
 “ ſelves, yea and ſometimes too, by drinking Poiſon. But
 “ others who had no mind to ſubmit themſelves to ſo hard
 “ a Law, refus'd to be received, though this their Teacher
 “ was come for that purpoſe. They had alſo a peculiar Way
 “ of ſaluting, by way of embracing one another, laying
 “ their Hands on each ſide of one another, and turning their
 “ Head

“ Head to both Shoulders, saying each time *Benedicite*: which
 “ kind of Salutation seems to have been usual amongst them,
 “ because it is to be met with in several Accounts of their
 “ Opinions; and sometimes it was perform’d with bended
 “ Knees, sometimes with their Hands let down to the
 “ Ground. Which Salutation was sometimes call’d *Melioration*.
 “ Neither did they only require this Salutation from
 “ those who were received, but from them also who
 “ were called *Perfect* amongst them, and received others,
 “ observed the same way of Salutation. We read also in
 “ many of their Books, that such a one did *eat of the Blessed Bread of the Hereticks*; and in some it is added, *And saw the Manner of blessing it*; but what that Manner was, is no where described, neither is any Circumstance added, from whence it might be gathered, whether they bless’d the common-Bread at their Dinners and Suppers, or whether this was only a Ceremony used by them at the celebrating of the Lord’s Supper. Though it is added in one place, that they call this blessed Bread, the Bread of Prayer. Three days in the Week they keep a Fast with Bread and Water. But we do not read that any of these things were observed by the *Waldenses*, but what was vastly different, as, That they had some Elders of their own: That even Lay-men bless the Table before and after Meat; they pray kneeling, and bowing themselves to the Ground. It is usual for them to bless the Table. They profess to observe Apostolical Poverty. And besides, they are said to differ from the common Conversation of other Believers in their Life and Manners. These are the chief things we meet with in this Book concerning the *Albigenses* and *Waldenses*; for there is no mention made of the Opinions of any other Party. This is the Extract which was sent me, with some Passages, wherein the Author gives his own Judgment.

One would think, that nothing could be of greater force to convict the *Albigenses* of *Manicheism*, especially if we consider, that *Emericus* in his Directory for the Inquisitors, ascribes

ascribes almoſt the very ſame Opinions to the *Manichees* of Par. 2. cap. 14. *Italy*.

But I have three Things to ſay, to take off this Prejudice; the firſt is, That nothing ought to be more ſuſpected by us than theſe Acts of the Inquiſition; for he that is a Murtherer, is certainly a Liar and a Knave. I have ſhewed in my *Remarks upon the Hiſtory of the Valleys of Piedmont*, that nothing can be conceived more falſe than the Carriage of the Inquiſitors, and that they never pretended to any thing leſs than to Faithfulneſs in their Accounts of things.

This appears from the Trials of the *Waldenſes*, whom the Monks have endeavour'd to make the moſt infamous Here-ticks; and yet in the mean time, if we will believe the Biſhop of *Meaux*, they were very far from being *Manichees*. What Authority therefore can the Teſtimonies of the Inquiſitors have againſt the *Albigenſes*, ſince the Biſhop himſelf acknowledges that they can be of no Authority againſt the *Waldenſes*, who have been no leſs accuſed of *Manicheiſm*, than the *Albigenſes* themſelves?

Now that the Reader may be throughly convinced of the Juſtice of this our denying to admit theſe Teſtimonies of the Inquiſitors, and *Emericus* in particular, I might alledg here what *Emericus* hath ſaid of the *Eternal Goſpel*, attributed commonly to *John of Crema*, the ſeventh General of the *Cordeliers*. This Book contained the moſt horrid Propoſitions imaginable, and yet now it is pretended, that he was overborn by a Cabal of the Inquiſition, and they endeavour to juſtify him againſt all the Accuſations of *Emericus*. But I can do more than this, for I have received from a Friend of Mr. G. Advocate of N. an Extract of the Acts of the Inquiſition of *Thouloſe*, which may ſerve as a Pattern to judg of their other Trials, which are found in that Register, where there is ſcarce any thing of theſe Accuſations: The Extract runs thus: *Anno Domini 1283. 8^o Idus Julii, Guilhelmus de Maunhaco filius quondam Guilbelmi Arloyer de Maunhaco Dioceſis Anicienſis, eductus de carcere Inquiſitorum conſtitutus in preſentia fratris Joannis Vigoroſi, ordinis Prædicatorum, Inquiſitoris heretica pravitatis, requiſitus*

Natalis Alexander ſæcul. xiii, & xiv. pag. 322, 323.

per

per dictum Inquirentem quod juraret ad sancta Dei Evangelia, ut veritatem diceret de fide sua, respondit, quod non juraret: Inquisitus, si erat ei licitum jurare super sancta Dei Evangelia, respondit, quod non. Inquisitus si Papa Ecclesia Romana Dominus Martinus qui nunc est, habet potestatem ligandi atque solvendi, respondit, quod non. Inquisitus si Ecclesia Romana, cui praeest Papa, sit caput fidei, respondit, quod nec Papa, nec Ecclesia cui praeest, est caput fidei, nec Christianitatis, nec agnoscit, nec credit aliquem hominem carnalem esse Papam nisi Iesum Christum. Inquisitus si Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, & alii Ecclesiarum Praelati per Romanam Ecclesiam ordinati sunt veri Praelati, & si habent potestatem ligandi atque solvendi, respondit, quod non. Inquisitus si aliquis baptizatur, ita quod baptizans dicat, Ego te baptizo in nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus sancti, Amen, valeat baptizato, & si per talem Baptismum habet remissionem peccatorum, respondit, quod non credit, quod aliquis carnalis homo possit baptizare nisi solus Deus. Inquisitus si Sacramentum confirmationis quod confert Episcopus quando confirmat, valet confirmato, respondit, quod nihil valet ei, nec Sacramentum est, nec ille qui confert Sacramentum est Episcopus, nec aliquid potest. Inquisitus si Sacramentum extrema Unctionis valet infirmo, quando ei ministratur à Sacerdote, respondit, quod non credit quod valeat ei, nec quod sit Sacramentum. Inquisitus si Sacramentum ordinis collatum ab Episcopo valet aliquid, & si est Sacramentum, respondit, quod nihil valet, nec est Sacramentum, nec Episcopus potest aliquod Sacramentum conferre. Inquisitus si panis quem Sacerdos tenet in manibus suis dum celebrat, postquam sacerdos protulit verba consecrationis, Hoc est corpus meum, remanet panis; respondit, quod panis erat ante, & panis remanet post, & quod magna injuria sit Deo, quod panis commutetur in corpus Christi. Inquisitus si verba sacerdotis absolventis aliquem ei confessum de peccatis, dicendo, Ego te absolvo ab omnibus peccatis tuis, valent confesso; respondit, quod nihil valent confesso, nec est Sacramentum. Inquisitus si est licitum jurare super sancta Dei Evangelia in aliquo casu, dixit quod non. Inquisitus si Rex Francia qui nunc est, comburit vel facit comburi aliquem pro crimine Haeresis, vel facit suspendi aliquem pro aliquo crimine, peccet, respondit, quod peccat, nec est ei licitum facere vindictam nec justitiam. Item requisitus si vult credere Sacramenta Ecclesiae Ro-

mana ſicut nos credimus, & ſicut Eccleſia Romana predicat & obſervat, reſpondit, quod nihil aliud crederet niſi quod ſuperius dixit. Hæc depoſuit Tholoſæ coram fratre Laurentio Aurelianenſi, & dicto fratre Johanne Vigoroſo Inquiſitore, in præſentiâ & teſtimonio fratris Arnaldi Del Gras, fratris Bertrandi Jacobi, & fratris Raymundi Navarrii ordinis fratrum Predicatorum, & Juliani Vaſconii publici Tholoſæ Notarii, qui hæc ſcripſit.

“ In the Year of our Lord 1283, the
 “ 8th of the Ides of July, William of Maunbaco, formerly the
 “ Son of William Arloyer of Maunbaco, of the Dioceſs of
 “ Ancy, being brought out of the Priſon of the Inquiſitors,
 “ and ſet in the Preſence of Brother John Vigoroſus, of the
 “ Order of Preachers, an Inquiſitor of heretical Pravity,
 “ being demanded by the ſaid Inquiſitor to ſwear by the Holy
 “ Gospels, that he would declare the Truth concerning his
 “ Faith: he answered, that he would not ſwear. Being de-
 “ manded, whether it were lawful for him to ſwear upon the
 “ Holy Gospels? he answered, No. Being demanded, whe-
 “ ther Lord Martin, the preſent Pope of the Church of Rome,
 “ hath the Power of binding and looſing: he answered, No.
 “ Being demanded, whether the Church of Rome, over
 “ which the Pope preſides, be the Head of the Faith? he
 “ answered, That neither the Pope, nor the Church he preſides
 “ over, is Head of the Faith, or of the Chriſtian World:
 “ neither doth he own or believe that any carnal Man can be
 “ Pope, but only Jeſus Chriſt. Being demanded, whether
 “ Archbishops, Biſhops, and other Prelates of Churches,
 “ ordained by the Church of Rome, were true Prelates, and
 “ whether they have the Power of binding and looſing? he an-
 “ ſwered, No. Being demanded, whether if any one be bap-
 “ tized, the Baptizer ſaying, I baptize thee in the Name of
 “ the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, Amen;
 “ whether this be of Efficacy to the Party baptized; and
 “ whether by ſuch Baptiſm he can obtain Remiſſion of his
 “ Sins? he answered, That he did not believe that any car-
 “ nal Man can baptize, but God alone. Being demanded,
 “ whether the Sacrament of Confirmation, which the Biſhop
 “ confers, be of any Uſe to the Perſon confirmed? he an-
 “ ſwered,

“ swered, That it was of no Use at all; neither is it a Sacra-
 “ ment; neither is he who confers it a Bishop, nor hath the
 “ Power to do any thing. Being demanded, whether the
 “ Sacrament of extream Unction, be of any Use to the
 “ Sick, when it is administred to him by a Priest? he answer-
 “ ed, That he did not believe that it did him any good, or
 “ that it is a Sacrament. Being demanded, whether the Sa-
 “ crament of Orders conferred by the Bishop, were of any
 “ Use, and whether it be a Sacrament? he answered, That
 “ it is of no Use; neither is it a Sacrament; neither can
 “ a Bishop confer any Sacrament. Being demanded, whe-
 “ ther the Bread which the Priest holds in his Hands,
 “ whilst he celebrates, after he hath pronounced the
 “ Words of Consecration, *This is my Body*, still remains
 “ Bread? he answered, That it was Bread before, and con-
 “ tinued Bread still, and that it was a great Injury to God,
 “ to say that the Bread is changed into the Body of Christ.
 “ Being examined, whether the Words of a Priest, where-
 “ by he absolves one that hath confessed his Sins, say-
 “ ing, *I absolve thee of all thy Sins*, be of any Use to the
 “ Party confessed? he answered, That they were of no
 “ Use, neither is it a Sacrament. Being examined, whe-
 “ ther it be lawful to swear upon the Holy Gospels of
 “ God, in any Case? he answered, No. Being examin-
 “ ed, whether the King of *France* that now is, by burning,
 “ or causing any one to be burnt for the Crime of Here-
 “ sy, or by hanging any other Criminal, doth Sin? he
 “ answered, He doth; and that it is not lawful for him to
 “ execute Vengeance, or do Justice. Also being examined,
 “ whether he was willing to believe the Sacraments of the
 “ Church of *Rome*, as we believe, and as the Church of
 “ *Rome* preaches and observes? he answered, That he be-
 “ lieves nothing but what he had said before. These things
 “ he deposed at *Tholouse*, before Brother *Laurence of Orleans*,
 “ and the foresaid Brother *John Vigorofus* the Inquisitor; in
 “ the Presence of the Witnesses Brother *Arnold Del Gras*,
 “ Brother *Bertrand James*, and Brother *Raymond Navarr*, of
 “ the

“ the Order of Friars Preachers ; and of *Julian Vaſcon*, publick Notary of *Thouſe*, who wrote this.

The Letter which Mr. *G.* writ to my Friend, concluded with theſe Words. “ I muſt not forget to tell you, that according to my Copy, the *Albigenſes* ſaid of themſelves, that they were *de illis qui non reddebant malum pro malo*, of thoſe who did not render Evil for Evil ; that *boni homines*, good Men were their Miniſters. The Formality they obſerved when they made a Proſelyte, was this, *Hæreticaverunt eum ponentes librum & manus ſuper caput ejus, & interrogantes eum ſi volebat ſe reddere Deo & Evangelio*. They made him a Heretick by laying a Book, and their Hands upon his Head, and asking him, whether he were willing to ſurrender himſelf to God and the Goſpel ? I have obſerved from ſeveral Paſſages, that on this occaſion they were uſed to read more particularly the Goſpel according to St. *John*, and that after theſe Solemnities the Proſelytes *adorabant dictos bonos homines, flexis ter genibus, dicendo, Benedicite ; Hæreticis respondentibus, Deus vos benedicat ;* Paid their Reverence to theſe good Men, by thrice bending of the Knee, ſaying, *Give us your Bleſſing* : the Hereticks answering, *God bleſs you*. The Inquiſitors call the Proſelytes and thoſe that are born *Albigenſes, Hereticks*.

It is eaſy to judg by this Specimen, that it is almoſt impoſſible to give any Credit to the Depoſition of Inquiſitors, concerning the Matters, which they ſay, they have made the *Albigenſes* confeſs ; and that therefore this pretended Conviction of the *Albigenſes*, by the Registers of the Inquiſitors, is abſolutely null.

The ſecond thing that I am to repreſent to the Reader, is, that the Teſtimony of the Inquiſitors cannot be ſet againſt the contrary Confeſſions of the *Albigenſes*, which thoſe who have read, find very conformable to the Faith of the Proteſtants. This is that which *Paradin* affirms in his Annals of *Burgundy*, where he confeſſes that he has read ſome Hiſtories, which excuſe the *Albigenſes*, with their Princes and Lords, of all thoſe Crimes which many have caſt upon them, affirming them to be wholly innocent, as having never done any thing elſe, but

reprove the Vices and Abuses of the Prelats of the Church of *Rome*.

Catal. Testium
veritat. pag.
446.

This is also acknowledged by *James de Ribera*, in his Collections concerning the City of *Tboloufe*. " In these times there were frequent Disputes held with the Hereticks several times at *Viride Folium*, and at *Pamiers*; but the famous Disputation was at *Montreal*, where two Noble-men were chosen Arbitrators, *Bernardus de Villa nova*, and *Bernardus Arrensis*; and two of the Commons, *Raimond Godins*, and *Arnoldus Ribera*; but they who were accounted Hereticks, could not agree about any thing; the Names of the chiefeft of them were these, *Ponticus Jordanus*, *Arnoldus Aurifanus*, *Arnoldus Orbonus*, *Philibertus Castiensis*, *Benedictus Thermus*. They all constantly affirmed, that the Church of *Rome* was not the Holy Church, nor the Spouse of Christ, but a Church that had imbibed the Doctrine of Devils; that she was that *Babylon* which *St. John* describes in the Revelation, the Mother of Fornications and Abominations, cover'd over with the Blood of the Saints: That what the Church of *Rome* approved of, was not approved by the Lord: That the Mass was neither instituted by Christ, nor by his Apostles, but was merely a human Invention.

The same hath been owned by *Carolus Molinens* the Glory of the Bar of *France*, who declares that the *Albigenses* of *Provence* taught this very thing expressly, in the Reign of *Lewis XII*, which was afterwards taught by those of the Reformed Religion in *France*. This Testimony is alledged by *Camerarius* in his Historical Account of the Brethren of *Bohemia*. This obliged *Vignier*, in his *Historical Library*, to contemn all the Calumnies cast upon the *Albigenses*. In his Account of the year 1206, he relates, that a *Gascon*, a Man of Reputation, assured him, that he had read one of their Confessions in the old *Gascon* Language, which was preached before the late Chancellor *de l'Hospital*, a little before the second Troubles of *France*, which had not one word of these Opinions, but only those Articles, which we formerly ascribed

scribed to the *Waldenses*. Amongst which they expressly declared, that they received the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, and that they rejected every Doctrine that was not grounded upon, or authorized by them, or was contrary to any one Point of Doctrine that may be found there. According to which Maxim, they confessed that they rejected and condemned all the Ceremonies, Traditions, and Ordinances of the Church of *Rome*, which they declared to be a Den of Thieves, and the Whore that is spoken of in the *Revelation*. Upon which account also, the Colloquies, Disputes, and Conferences, which the Legats of the Pope, and their Commissioners, had together, were only upon these Points, as we shall prove by the Testimony of *James de Ribera*, in his Book entituled, *His Collections about the City of Tholouze*. Collectanea
Tholosa.

The third Thing that we are to observe, is, that this Conformity of Faith between the *Waldenses* and the *Albigenfes*, has made many People take them for the very same.

I suppose there is no Reader that is ever so little just, but will allow me to make a very great difference between the Accounts of the Inquisitors, and the Truth. The Inquisitors make the *Albigenfes* guilty of the Errors of the *Cathari* and *Manichees*, as if they had been all one, and that they had exactly answered the Description which is given us of them in the Directory of the Inquisitors, by *Emericus*. But we have other ways of knowing, from their own Confessions of Faith, that they were not at all polluted by *Manicheism*; and the most part of those Authors, that have writ with any degree of Honesty, call them *Waldenses*, because they held the same Faith and Opinions. Par. 2. p. 13.

The same Authors acknowledge, that it was against the *Waldenses* that *St. Bernard* preached in *Languedock*; and that it is with them, whom they promiscuously call *Albigenfes*, that those Conferences were held, which the Bishop of *Meaux* owns to have been held with the *Albigenfes*. This is acknowledged by *James de Ribera* Counsellor of State, in his *Collections concerning the City of Tholouze*, that are set down

P. 446. of the
Strasburg Edi-
tion in 1562.

in the Catalogue of the *Witnesses of the Truth*. This is owned by *Gretzer* the Jesuit, in his Prolegomena to the Authors who have written concerning the Sect of the *Waldenses*, where he acknowledgeth that the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses* were the same, and were called *insabbarati*, because of their Shoes: And that the *Albigenses* and *Waldenses* differ only in their Names. Cardinal *Hofius* also had the same Notion of them, in his Book concerning the Sacrament of the Eucharist, where he speaks of the *Henricians* and *Petrobusians*. This was the Opinion of *Andrew Favin* in his History of *Navarre*, where he saith, that the Heresy of the *Albigenses*, is otherwise termed the Heresy of the *Waldenses*. *Genebrard* in his Chronology saith expressly, that the Fathers of the *Calvinists* were the *Petrobusians*, the *Henricians*, and the *Albigenses*; and it is well known, that the *Calvinists* are no *Manichees*. *Catet* in his History of *Tholouse*, acknowledgeth that the *Henricians* were the Forerunners of the *Albigenses*, and that they had not this Name till after the Council of *Alby*, in the year 1178.

Lib. 2. pag.
221, & 231.

C H A P. XIX.

Whether the Albigenfes were Manichees, because they accused the Pope of being the Antichrift.

AS one Day gives Light to another, fo the Bishop of *Meaux* hath at laft discover'd that the Accufation charged upon the Pope by the *Albigenfes*, as being the Antichrift, was a Character of *Manicheifm*. He thought fit to reveal this great Secret to the World, in his *History of the Variations*, and afterwards he makes it an exprefs Character of *Manicheifm*, in his Explication of the Revelation. But faving the Reverence due to this Prelate, there is nothing falfer, nothing that feems more to be raving.

For, 1. Hath he found this Character of the *Manichees* in the Writings of *Archelaus* Bishop of *Mefopotamia*, which the late Mr. *Bigofa* hath communicated to the Publick; or in *St. Cyril of Jerufalem*, who confutes the *Manichees* in his Catechetick Lectures?

2. Hath he found any thing like it in the Writings of *St. Epiphanius*, who hath given us fo large a Catalogue of their Herefies?

3. Hath he found any thing to this purpose in *St. Auguftin*, who hath writ fo many Books againft thefe Madmen; or in *St. Leo*, in his Epiftle to *Turribius* Bishop of *Tarracon*?

4. Hath he found any fuch thing in the Treatife of *Predeftinatus* concerning Herefies, published by *Sirmondus*?

5. Hath he found this Character of the *Manichees* in any of thofe Authors that have written fince, as in *Ifidore of Seville*; in *Johannes Damafcenus*, in the *Catalogue of Herefies*, published by *Cotelerius*?

6. Hath he found any thing to this purpose in *Petrus Siculus*, who lived in the 9th Century, and who converted and difputed:

Historia de or-
tu, progressu, &
occasu Mani-
chæorum. Bibl.
Patr. Edit.
Lugd. Tom. 16.

disputed at *Tibrica* with the *Manichees*, whose Opinions he sets down?

All the *Greek* Authors which speak of the *Manichees*, before and after the 9th Century, and all the *Latin* Authors, without so much as excepting one only, know of no such thing; who could therefore discover this Character of *Manicheism* to the Bishop?

We must conclude that the Bishop, who hath made a Discovery which none of the Antients, no nor Modern Writers neither, whether Papiſts or Protestants, have been able to make, must have had it from the Revelation of some Angel, *albus an ater nescio*; since he speaks so very positively of this new Character of the *Manichees*.

But, saith he, the case is plain, the *Albigenses* were *Manichees*, and they called the Pope the Antichrist, and with an invincible Obstinacy have maintain'd that this Title belongs to him; wherefore it must follow, that this Accusation of the Pope must be a Character of *Manicheism*.

If the Bishop had reflected never so little upon what he here asserts, this single Character of the *Albigenses*, who accused the Pope of being the Antichrist, would have made him draw a quite contrary Consequence, that is to say, that the *Albigenses* could not be *Manichees*.

For it is most certain, that the *Manichees* never taught any such thing; this Heresy which sprung up in the East, never attack'd the Bishop of *Rome* in particular, but the whole Body of Christians, who received the Books of the Old Testament, and who owned the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, to be the Creator of the World.

But whence comes it then, may some say, that the *Albigenses* have peculiarly affected to call the Pope Antichrist? which certainly must be look'd upon a Character of the *Albigenses*, unless we should find it to be a Character of the *Manichees*, as the Bishop of *Meaux* pretends.

The question would not have been so difficult to resolve, had not the Bishop affected to appear ignorant in a Question which he ought to have enquired into, since he hath undertaken to handle it in a Commentary on purpose.

In a word, *France*, which firſt beſtowed upon the Popes the temporal Dominions they now enjoy, long ſince owned the Pope to be the Antichriſt. For *Gregory I*, having declared in twelve ſeveral Letters written againſt the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, who aſſumed the Title of Univerſal Biſhop, that whoever claimed that Title for himſelf, was either the Antichriſt, or the Forerunner of him: It was not long after, that Pope *Boniſace III*, perſuaded *Phocas* to give him the Title of Univerſal, which all his Succeſſors took up afterwards with joy, and affected to uſe it: For which reaſon the *French*, fearing leſt they ſhould fail of the reſpect which they had for *St. Gregory*, if they ſhould accuſe themſelves of having ſo often made uſe of a falſe Way of reaſoning, at laſt called the Pope Antichriſt.

They were not therefore *Manichees* that were come from the Eaſt, in the 11th Century, to ſettle themſelves in the Weſt, who firſt ſet on foot this Accuſation: but they were the *French*, who in a full Council at *Rheims*, after the 10th Century, called the Pope Antichriſt.

Sequinus Archbiſhop of *Sens*, having maintained that *Arnulphus* Biſhop of *Rheims*, could not be depoſed without the conſent of the Pope; *Arnulphus* Biſhop of *Orleans*, who had the greateſt Reputation of any Man of his Time, ſolidly maintained from the Canons and Cuſtoms of the Church, that the Pope's Sentence was not to be waited for in that Caſe; *Ab eo reſponſa petere, marmora conſulere eſt*; "To deſire an Answer from him, is to conſult the Stones; ſpeaking to the Aſſembly of the Council. He further ſaith, "Who do you think that Man is, who ſits in his high Chair? he is, anſwers he, the Antichriſt, who ſits in the Temple of God, and ſhews himſelf as God. And the reſt of his Diſcourſe is a ſufficient Evidence, that he took the Pope to be the Antichriſt, and that he acknowledged that the Myſtery of Iniquity was then coming in upon the Church. It was *Gerbertus*, afterwards Pope, that digeſted the Acts of that Council, and who in an Epistle to *Sequinus* Archbiſhop of *Sens*, makes it appear, that in his time they were not much concerned for the Pope's Excommunications, and that it was not pretended that

that he was the Center of Christian Communion. *Non est ergo* (says he) *danda occasio nostris amulis, ne Sacerdotium quod ubique unum est, sicut Ecclesia una est, ita uni subijci videatur, ut eo pecuniâ, gratiâ, metu, vel ignorantia corrupto, nemo sacerdos esse possit, nisi quem hæ virtutes commendaverint*: “ We ought not therefore to give an Opportunity to our Rivals, lest the Priesthood, which is every-where one and the same, as the Church is one, should come to be so subjected to one, as that he being corrupted with Money, Favour, Fear, or Ignorance, no Man should be able to obtain that Order, except he had these Vertues to recommend him. Here we see the true Stile of the *Albigenses*, before ever any *Manichee* was come from the East into *France*.

Now after this was once set on foot, it was maintained from Century to Century, by those who were brought up, and that died in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*. It would be an easy matter to give a Catalogue of those who have spoke at this rate, to show what heed there is to be given to the most positive Assertions of the Bishop of *Meaux*.

If the Bishop of *Meaux*, in the least desired to undeceive himself, he need only read what *Aventinus* says in his Annals of *Bavaria*, of Pope *Gregory VII*, who there is termed Antichrist, by Persons who were very far from being *Manichees*: he need only read in the Acts of the Life of *Paschal II*, what the Bishop of *Florence* openly preached concerning this Matter; or to read in the Life of *Richard I*, written by *Roger Hoveden*, what Abbot *Joachim* maintained before *Richard I*, without being ever accused of *Manicheism*; or he may take notice in *Matthew Paris*, upon the year 1253, what Notions *Robert Grosthead* Bishop of *Lincoln*, one of the greatest Bishops of his time, maintained: or he may peruse the Revelations of *St. Brigit*, and the 16th Epistle of *Petrarch*, in his second Tome. And yet never were any of these Persons accus'd of *Manicheism*. But this has been treated of at large already by *Wolfius* in his *Various Lections*; and besides, this would lead us too far from the Subject we are upon at present.

Lib. 6.

Cent. 12. Magdeburg.

Lib. 1. cap. 41.

I ſhall content my ſelf therefore with obſerving three things concerning this matter.

The 1^{ſt} is, That nothing was more common with the Popes and Anti-Popes, than mutually to brand each other with the Title of Antichriſt: And the Writers of both Parties kept always cloſe to this Stile, and yet all of them lived and died in the Boſom of the Church of *Rome*, and never were thought to be the Diſciples of the *Manichees*.

2^{dly}, That there are many Authors, and even ſeveral of thoſe that have been canonized, who have made uſe of the ſame Notions, in ſpeaking and writing of the Church of *Rome*, and yet none have ever condemned them of *Manicheiſm*.

The 3^d is, That ever ſince the Reformation, though the Biſhop pretends that the Prophecy concerning the Beaſt hath been already fulfilled; there is ſcarcely (if you except the Biſhop) any one Popiſh Author, who doth not own that *Rome* is to be the Seat of Antichriſt.

What I ſay now, deſerves to be conſidered, becauſe in the Year 1516, *December* the 19th, in the 11th Seſſion of the *Lateran* Council, under *Leo X*, in whoſe time *Luther* began to preach, we find that there was a Prohibition againſt handling the Queſtion of Antichriſt in the Pulpit, though under the Pretence of advancing ſome new Revelation concerning it, without having obtained leave from the Holy See, or from the Biſhop. The Words of the Canon which oblige all thoſe who ſhould ever undertake to preach on this Subject, are theſe: “ And we command all who bear this Charge, or
 “ who ſhall bear it for the future, that they preach and explain the Evangelical Truth, and the Holy Scripture, according to the Expoſition and Interpretation of thoſe
 “ Doctors, whom the Church or long Tradition has approved, and has hitherto allowed to be read, or which ſhall
 “ be ſo for time to come, without adding any thing that is
 “ contrary to, or diſagreeing from the proper ſenſe of them,
 “ but that they always inſiſt upon ſuch Matters as do not diſagree with the Words of the Scripture, nor with the Interpretations of the foreſaid Doctors. Neither let them pre-

“ fume to fix in their Sermons any certain time of the Evils
 “ to come, of the coming of Antichrift, or of the Day of
 “ Judgment; forasmuch as Truth affures us, that it is not for
 “ us to know the Times and Seasons. Moreover, if the
 “ Lord should be pleased to reveal to any of them in the
 “ Church of God, future things by some Inspiration, as he
 “ hath promised by the Prophet *Amos*; and seeing the Apo-
 “ stle *Paul* saith, *Despise not Prophecy*, &c. we will not have
 “ such as these reckoned amongst Impostors and Liars, or
 “ that they shall be any ways hindred: But because it is a
 “ matter of great Moment, and that we are not upon light
 “ Grounds to believe every Spirit, but are to try them whether
 “ they be of God; we command that by a constant Law
 “ any such asserted Inspirations, before they be published or
 “ preached to the People, be henceforward understood to be
 “ reserved to the Examination of the Apostolical See: but in
 “ Case this cannot be done without the Danger of too long
 “ a Delay, or that urgent Necessity should otherwise per-
 “ swade; then observing the same Order, it may be signified
 “ to the Ordinary of the place, who taking along with him
 “ three or four learned and grave Men, and diligently ex-
 “ amining the matter with them, if they see it expedient
 “ (which we charge upon their Consciences) they may grant
 “ them Liberty: but whosoever presumes to commit any
 “ thing contrary to the Premises, shall incur Excommunicati-
 “ on, from the which he shall not be absolved but by the Pope
 “ himself; that so by their Example others may be deterred
 “ from presuming to do any such thing, for which Reason we
 “ decree that they be for ever made incapable of the Office
 “ of Preaching, any Priviledges whatsoever to the contrary
 “ notwithstanding, &c.

'Tis not our Business to examine the Question, whether
 the Bishop of *Meaux* hath exactly followed the Rules that
 this Canon prescribes, in his Explication of the Scripture, and
 especially about the matter of Antichrift, though they be
 Rules by which Bishops are no less bound, than the mean-
 est Divines. It may be the Church of *Rome* finds the Bishop's
 new System so much for her Interest, that it inclines her to
 suspend

fufpend the Severity of her Canons, in Favour of a Perfon, who has fo dexteroufly pluck'd a Thorn out of her Foot, which hath troubled her fo long, and which hath always caufed new Pains to her, as oft as any of her Doctors have endeavour'd to pluck it out.

But I fear I have infifted too long upon fo vain a Conjecture, and which fcarce deferv'd to be confuted. There are able Men of the Church of *Rome*, who have taken the Pains to refute the Conjecture of fome *Papifts* who would needs have *Mahomet* to be the Antichrift: This was the *Chimara* of *Annius* of *Viterbo*, a Monk famous for his Impoftures; this likewife was the Whimfy of *Fevardentius* and fome others, whom *Pererius* the Jefuit hath refuted fo folidly, as that he has put the Bifhop of *Meaux* to the trouble of inventing a new System to oppofe the *Proteftants*. I hope his System will meet with the fame Deftiny amongft his own Party, that fo the Proteftants may not be put to the trouble of giving it a formal Confutation. For indeed, though the Politicks of the Church of *Rome* do bear with feveral Opinions that differ from the common Hypothefes of their Society; yet the Divines of that Party are not patient enough to diflemble the Diflike they have to fee their old Opinions which have been maintained for feveral Ages, trod under-foot. The Bifhop himfelf has an Example hereof, which he cannot well have forgot in the Perfon of Cardinal *Capizucchi*, who having given his Approbation to the Exposition of the *Romifh* Faith, made by the Bifhop of *Meaux*, in which he fweetens the Worfhip of Images fo very much, for Fear of incenſing the Proteftants, whom he defign'd to bring over to his own Side, was not wanting ſome Years after to publiſh a Treatiſe, wherein he ſhews that he gave that Approbation, only upon the Account of Reaſon of State, and not becauſe he ſincerely approved the way which the Bifhop had taken to make thè Worfhip of Images appear more tolerable to the Proteftant Party.

C H A P. XX.

Of the Morals of the Albigenſes, and of their Eccleſiaſtical Government.

HAVING thus juſtified the *Albigenſes*, as to their Doctrines and Worſhip, it is time now to proceed to ſhew the Regularity of their Diſcipline, by repreſenting the Nature of their Church-Government, and Conduct of thoſe Churches in matters that related to their Manners. This will not be a matter of any Difficulty; for it is eaſily conceived that theſe Dioceſſes being ſtored with People, who maintained the Doctrines of *Berengarius*, as the Abbot of *Tron* tells us, they had a great Party of the Clergy at the Head of them. I do not ſay this without good Grounds; for 1^{ſt}, We ſee that in the Councils held againſt *Berengarius*, there were very great Conteſts about this Matter, and that the oppoſite Party carried their Point only by down-right Violence. 2^{dly}, That according to the Teſtimony of *Sigebert*, if many Perſons wrote againſt *Berengarius*, many alſo wrote in favour of him, and who can doubt of their being Church-men? 3^{dly}, That his own Biſhop *Bruno*, Biſhop of *Angers*, where he was Archdeacon, declared himſelf for him. 4^{thly}, That in *Aquitain* in the Year 1075, *Giraldus* Legat of Pope *Gregory VII*, was obliged to call a Council at *Ponſtiers*, where *Berengarius* narrowly eſcaped being murdered, as we are aſſured by the Chronicle of *St. Maixant*, the Circumſtances whereof there ſet down; they that publiſhed it took care to leave out. 5^{thly}, That five Years after they were obliged to convocate another Council at *Bourdeaux*, where *Berengarius* gave an Account of his Faith, as the ſame Chronicle acquaints us. We ought naturally to obſerve that from the Year 1050, wherein *Berengarius* appeared at *Rome*, where he maintained his Opinions with ſo much Courage, that *Leo* of *Oſtia*, Abbot of *Mont-Caſſin*, owns that there was no Body able to oppoſe him, until the Year 1080,

in which the Council of *Bourdeaux* met; the Church of *Rome* could not overthrow *Berengarius's* Party, though ſhe had employed by turns, both Councils and Violence, which ſhows that there were amongſt *Berengarius's* Followers, a conſiderable Party of the Clergy, and of thoſe of *Aquitain* in particular.

Neither was it only this Difference in Point of Doctrin that ſtrengthened the *Berengarian* Party, but alſo the Regulations of Pope *Nicholas II.* and his Succeſſors, and above all thoſe of *Gregory VII.* in the Council of *Rome*, in 1074, and 1075. We may ſee the Effect of his prohibiting Matrimony to Priests, as *Siebert* has recorded it upon the Year 1074. “ *Gregory* the Pope, ſaith he, at a Synod held by him. anathematiz'd all that came into Preferments by Simony, and removed all married Priests from their Functions, and forbade Laymen to aſſiſt at their Maſſes, by not only an unheard-of Precedent, but alſo (as ſeveral People thought at that time) by an inconfiderate Prejudice, contrary to the Opinion of the Holy Fathers, who have written, that the Sacraments uſed in the Church, to wit, Baptiſm, Chriſm, and the Body and Blood of our Lord, have the ſelf-ſame Efficacy by the ſecret Operation of the Holy Ghoſt, be the Diſpenſers of them good or bad. Wherefore then ſince they are quickned by the Holy Spirit, ſo that they are neither amplified by the Worthineſs of the good Diſpenſers, nor leſſened by the Sins of the Wicked, whence is this Man that baptizes? which thing hath given ſo great occaſion of Scandal, that never was the Holy Church rent with a more dangerous Schiſm at any time by a prevailing Hereſy, than it is now, whiſt ſome act for Righteouſneſs, others againſt it; ſome openly are guilty of Simony, others cover the Stain of Covetouſneſs with an honeſt Name, ſelling that under the Name of Charity, which they pretend to give freely, as *Eusebius* ſaith of the *Montaniſts*, whiſt under the Name of Offerings, they more artiſicially receive Bribes. By this means alſo things are brought to that paſs, that there are very few that praſtiſe Continence, whiſt ſome make only an hypocritical Shew of it for Gain and Boaſting; and
“ others

“ others aggravate their Incontinence by forswearing them-
 “ selves, and by multiplied Adulteries. Besides, upon this
 “ occasion Laymen rise up in Rebellion against the Holy Or-
 “ ders of the Church, shaking off the Yoak of Ecclesiasti-
 “ cal Subjection; Laymen prophane Holy Mysteries, and
 “ dispute about them, baptize Infants, using the filthy Ex-
 “ crement of the Ears instead of the Holy Oil and Chrism;
 “ on their Death-Beds they scorn to receive at the Hands of
 “ married Priests the Lord’s Provision for their last Journey,
 “ and the usual Service of Church-Burial. The Tithes that
 “ are assigned to the Priests they consume with Fire: and that
 “ by one horrid Profanation you may make an Estimate of
 “ the rest, Laymen have been often seen to trample the Bo-
 “ dy of our Lord, that had been consecrated by married
 “ Priests, under their Feet, and wilfully spill his Blood upon
 “ the ground, and many such things against the Laws of God
 “ and Man are daily committed in the Church. By this
 “ means also many false Teachers rise in the Church, who
 “ by their prophane Innovations alienate the Minds of the
 “ common People from the Discipline of the Church.

This therefore was the great occasion that was given to ma-
 ny of the Clergy and People of *Aquitain*, not to entertain any
 Communion with the Church of *Rome*, or to submit them-
 selves to the Yoak which she was preparing for all the Western
 Churches.

I have in my Remarks upon the History of the Churches of
Piedmont, given an Account of the Rise of the Opinion of
 those who believed that the Popes Excommunications de-
 prived such as had been duly ordained, of all Power to exer-
 cise their Functions, and did incapacitate them to confer Or-
 ders upon other Ministers. This was the true Reason that
 made all that maintained the Principles of the Church of *Rome*,
 look upon the Bishops, Priests and Deacons, who had thus
 renounced the Roman Communion, as a Company of Lay-
 men, and to consider their Ordinations as null. I need not
 repeat the same here, it being sufficiently confirmed by the
 Passage of *Sigebert*, which I just now quoted.

It appears therefore that the Diſcipline of the *Albigenſes* was the ſame that had been practiſed in the Primitive Church : They had their Biſhops, their Priests and their Deacons, whom the Church of *Rome* at firſt held for Schiſmaticks, and whoſe Miniſtry ſhe at laſt abſolutely rejected, for the ſame Reaſons, that made her conſider the Miniſtry of the *Waldenſes* as null and void. We find in *Peter* the Abbot of *Clugny*, that he reproacheth the *Petrobuſians*, for being join'd with Schiſmaticks ; whereas they took the Name of Apoſtolical Men. See how he ſpeaks to them ; *Vos Magiſtri Errorum, & ceci duces cæcorum, facies Hereſum, & reliquæ Schiſmaticorum !* O you Maſters of Errors, and blind Leaders of the Blind, the Dregs of Hereticks, and the Relicks of Schiſmaticks ! Who were theſe Schiſmaticks but the *Berengarians* ? It is manifeſt that Union with the Church of *Rome* being become impoſſible, by reaſon of the Errors ſhe had defined, and the Tyranny ſhe had uſurped over the State and Church : there was even before his time a Separation made of the greateſt Part of the Dioceſſes of *Narbon*, *Thouluſe*, *Agen*, and other places ; and that *Peter Bruys* and his Diſciples were of his Party, appears from his 2d Epistle ; which is conſiderable, to this purpoſe. “ In your Parts, ſaith he, the People are re-baptized, the Churches profaned, the Altars overthrown, Croſſes burnt, and Fleſh eaten on the very Day of our Saviour's Paſſion, Priests are whip'd, Monks imprifoned, and forced by Terrors and Torments to marry. The Heads of which Contagion you have indeed by the Divine Aſſiſtance, and the Help of Catholick Princes, driven out of your Country ; but the Members, as I have already ſaid, remain yet amongſt you, infected with this deadly Poiſon, as I my ſelf lately perceived. By which Paſſage we find that the ſame Diſorders had happened in thoſe Dioceſſes which he ſpeaks of, that *Sigebert* had before obſerved. *Bouchet* in his Annals of *Aquitain*, underſtands the thing after the ſame manner, where he ſpeaks thus of the Voyage of *St. Bernard*. : “ In the mean time, whiſt all theſe things were a doing, *Goſfry* Biſhop of *Chartres*, and *Innocent's* Legate in *France*, and *St. Bernard*, who were to employ'd purge the Schiſmaticks out of *Aquitain*,

“ *rain*, or to reduce them to the Union of the Church, went
 “ first to *Nantes*, &c.

I have shewed how *Henry* opposed himself to the Abuses and Superstitions, which the Church of *Rome* endeavoured to introduce into these Diocesses. But whatever Efforts the *Romish* Party made use of to overthrow this happy Work, it seems that they could never attain their End. We have a Letter writ by an Earl of *Tholouse* to the Abbot of *Cisteaux*, and to the general Chapter of that Order, in the Year 1177, which declares that the Clergy sided with the Party which he accuseth of *Manicheism*; and that the Popish Churches were reduced to extream Desolation, he himself being in no Condition to remedy it, or to oppose himself against the Torrent, most of the great Lords having declared themselves for them.

“ So far, *saith he*, hath this noisom heretical Infection prevailed, that almost all closing with it, believe that in so doing they do God good Service; and the wicked one who is now exerting the Mystery of Iniquity in the Children of Unbelief, doth so transform himself into an Angel of Light, that the Wife separates from her Husband, the Son from his Father, and the Daughter-in-Law from her Mother-in-Law. And O miserable! has the Gold lost its Lustre amongst us to that Degree, that it is trod under the Devil's Feet like Dirt? for even the Priests are depraved with the Filth of Heresy; and the ancient and once venerable Churches appointed for Worship, are left desolate, and lie in Ruins. — And now what shall I say? there are none that consider with themselves, and say in their Hearts, What do we do? for we see that these Men do a great deal of Mischief. If we let them alone, all Men will believe in them; and he who hath swallowed down a River already, will not wonder at it, from the Boldness of his wicked Presumption, if *Jordan* should flow into his Mouth. For my part, who am girt with one of the two divine Swords, and who do own my self an Avenger of the divine Wrath, and Minister of God appointed for that Purpose, whilst I endeavour to set Bounds, and put a Stop to this Infidelity, do find that my Power is too weak to effect such and so
 “ great

Chron. Gervaf.
 inter 10 script.
 Angl. pag.
 1441.

“ great a Work, because the most part of the Gentry of
 “ my Dominion, having drunk of this Poison of Infidelity
 “ already, are wasted away with its Contagion, and together
 “ with them, the greatest part of the common People,
 “ fall’n from the Faith, pines likewise ; so that I neither dare
 “ nor am able to undertake it.

Roger Hoveden sets down a Letter of Peter Cardinal Legate at *Tholouse*, wherein he makes mention of the *Albigensian* Pastors, *Raymond Baimiac*, *Bernard Raimond*, and some other chief Hereticks, who came to speak with him, under his and the Earl of *Tholouse*’s safe Conduct, and made profession of their Faith in a great Assembly in the Church of *St. Stephen*.

He afterwards gives us an account of a Letter of *Henry* Abbot of *Clairvaux*, who lamenting the Corruption of *Tholouse*, by these Arch-hereticks, adds these Words : “ Yea so far
 “ had this Plague prevailed in the Land, that they had not
 “ only made to themselves Priests and Bishops, but had also
 “ their Evangelists, who having depraved and cancell’d the
 “ Truth of the Gospel, had copied to themselves new
 “ Gospels, and from their wicked Hearts, preached to the
 “ deceived People new Doctrines. I lie if there was not
 “ amongst them a Man of a great Age, of a very plentiful
 “ Estate, who had several Brethren and Friends, and
 “ who had the Reputation of a great Man amongst the
 “ greatest of the City, whom, in Punishment for his Sins,
 “ the Devil had so blinded, that he declar’d himself to be
 “ *John* the Evangelist, and he distinguished the Word that
 “ was in the Beginning with God, from another Principle
 “ of things, as from another God : he was the head of these
 “ miserable Wretches, and the Ring-leader of the Hereticks
 “ in this City ; who, though a Lay-man and an Idiot, and so
 “ knew nothing, yet as a Fountain of diabolical
 “ Wisdom, the bitter Waters of Perdition and Death flowed
 “ from him amongst them. A Company of dark Owls associated
 “ to him at Nights, where he sitting amongst them in a
 “ Garment like a *Rochet*, and a Surplice over it, seem’d
 “ like a King with his Army standing about him, and was

“ the Preacher to these Fools. He had fill'd the whole City
 “ with his Disciples and Doctrine; no Body daring to op-
 “ pose him, because of his Power and Riches. Yea, so great
 “ was the Licentiousness of these Hereticks, that at our en-
 “ trance into the Town, as we pass'd through the Streets
 “ and Lanes, they mocked us, and pointed at us with their
 “ Finger, calling us Apostats, Hypocrits, and Hereticks.

Peter Monk of Vaux Cernay, owns that the *Albigenses* had
 Hist. Alb. cap. 2. their Teachers, whom they called Bishops and Deacons. He
 takes notice that the Earl of *Tholouse*, who never went any whi-
 ther without a New Testament, had always with him some of
 these Ministers for his Instruction and Consolation.

We find in the Council of *Montpellier*, in the year 1214,
 that there was some difference between the Hereticks that
 were the Pastors, and the Believers, that is to say, the Peo-
 ple; as it is particularly taken notice of in the Preface, and in
 the 29th Canon of the Council of *Gallia Narbonensis*.

Pag. 40, & 54.

We find in *Matthew Paris* a Letter of the Bishop of *Porto*,
 the Pope's Legate for this Business of the *Albigenses*, written
 in the year 1223, to the Archbishop of *Roan*, where he men-
 tions one *Bartholomew* a Bishop of the Hereticks, who had re-
 moved himself into the Country near *Tholouse*, where he cre-
 ated Bishops, and set Rules to the Churches of his Communi-
 on. His Words are these, *Etenim de Carcassonâ oriundus, vices*
illius Antipapæ gerens, Bartholomæus Hereticorum Episcopus, funes-
tam ei exhibendo reverentiam, sedem & locum concessit in villâ quæ
Perlos appellatur, & seipsum transtulit in partes Tholosanas. Iste
Bartholomæus, in literarum suarum undique discurrentium tenore,
se in primo salutationis alloquio, intitulat in hunc modum, Bartho-
lomæus servus servorum sanctæ fidei, tali salutem. Ipse etiam inter
alias enormitates, creat Episcopos, & Ecclesias perfide ordinare in-
tendit. “ For this *Bartholomew* the Bishop of the Hereticks,
 “ Vicar to that Antipope, originally of *Carcasson*, paying him
 “ an unhappy Reverence, yielded him his Seat and his Place
 “ in the Village called *Perlos*, and removed himself into the
 “ Country near *Tholouse*; this *Bartholomew* stiled himself Ser-
 “ vant of the Servants of the holy Faith, and in his Letters
 “ which he sent about amongst his Flock, as also in his first
 “ Salu-

“ Salutations of thoſe who addreſſed themſelves to him, he
 “ always aſſumed that Character. He alſo added to his other
 “ Crimes, that of creating Biſhops, and perfidiouſly took
 “ upon him the Government of thoſe Churches.

Lucas Tudenſis ſpeaks of one of their Biſhops that was Lib. 3. cap. 15.
 burnt.

William of Pnylaurens, in his Chronicle, at the Beginning, ſpeaks of the great Reſpect that was given to theſe Miniſters of the *Albigenſes*, whom he calls *Waldenſes*, becauſe of the Holineſs of their Lives.

Laſtly, We ſee in the Acts of the Inquiſition of *Thouluſe*, ſeveral Names of thoſe that were Paſtors of the *Albigenſes*, and who had been ordain'd to the holy Miniſtry, by Men of their own Communion. This therefore was the Government of theſe Churches, the Succeſſion whereof we cannot diſtinctly ſet down; but this ought not to ſurprize any Body, the Captains of the *Croiſade*, and the Inquiſitors, can beſt ſatisfy the World in this Point, wherein we muſt acknowledg our Inability.

As for their Morals and Behaviour, who ever will but reflect upon the Debauchery and general Corruption which reigned in the 11th Century, will eaſily judg, that thoſe who renounced the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, and who call'd her the Myſtical *Babylon*, becauſe of her falſe Worſhip, and the horrid Corruption of her Miniſters, muſt needs be more pure in their Morals, and more orderly in their Behaviour; and indeed we find it true in the *Albigenſes*, as well Paſtors as People.

The Paſtors recommended to the People, the having of the Books of the New Teſtament in their Mother-Tongue, and preſſed the Reading thereof with ſo much Care and Application, that *Raymond* Earl of *Thouluſe*, never ſtirred any whither without taking that holy Book with him. This was the certain Badg and Mark of all theſe Hereticks, and that whereby they defended themſelves. For which reaſon, the Council of *Thouluſe*, fearing left their *Croiſades* ſhould not be able to exterminate the *Albigenſes*, as long as they had the Bible in the vulgar Tongue, took care to prohibit the

having of it, in these Terms; " We prohibit the Permission of the Books of the Old and New Testament to Laymen, except perhaps they might desire to have the Pfalter, or some Breviary for the Divine Service, or the Hours of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, for Devotion; expressly forbidding their having the other Parts of the Bible translated into the Vulgar Tongue.

It was by means of this Purity of their Morals, that, as *Petrus Cluniacensis* witnesseth, the *Petrobussians* found so much favour with many of the Clergy, of the Bishops, of the Princes, and of the Laity, at the same time when they preached openly, that the Church of *Rome* was not the Church; but that they were the true Church, as being truly Apostolical.

Indeed a cursory Reflection upon the Nature of the enormous Crimes laid to their Charge, as if those Abominations had been the general Character of their Religion, is sufficient to discover the Imposture of their Accusers: For they are Crimes that overturn the Foundations of all Society, by destroying the Honour of Families, and filling every Place with abominable Adulteries and Incests. Can any Man imagine, that such a Sect as this, could ever have been able to propagate it self throughout all *Europe*, as *Wilhelmus Newbrigenfis* declares the *Waldenses* did, if the Manners of those that profess it, had been founded upon Principles that trample upon the Laws of Nature, which have always been respected even amidst the thickest Darkness of Paganism? We do not find that *Manicheism* went so far, even then when it caus'd the greatest Disturbance in the World, nor that the Corruption into which it plunged those that were tainted with it, had any very great influence upon others; whereas we find, that the Religion of the *Albigenses* hath spread its Roots far and near, and even procur'd Esteem and Affection from those of the *Romish* Party, that were not wholly transformed into the Nature of Brutes and Madmen, being natural Consequences of that insulting Spirit which has animated the Popes and the Clergy in these latter Ages.

What I fay here, is evident from the Testimony of *William of Pyllaurens*, in his Chronicle, who owns that the *Albigenfes* had a shew of Godlinefs, though, saith he, they denied the power of it; that they were had in extream Veneration by the People; and that more Legacies were left to them than to Church-men: whereas on the other hand, the *Romish* Clergy were fall'n to that extream Contempt, that Laymen instead of the common Wish, *I had rather be a Jew*, us'd to say, *I had rather be a Chaplain*.

The Case must needs have been very evident, since Pope *Innocent III*, who left nothing unattempted to root it out, yet could not but do them the justice to own, that they were very free from several Vices.

Epist. 149.

Indeed we may easily judg of their Morals and Demeanour, by their Constancy in suffering the most cruel Torments in the defence of the Truth. *Matthew Paris* tells us, of one *Robert* an Inquisitor, who buried alive, or burnt 50 of them in two Months time, and yet not one of them renounced his Faith, in the midst of the greatest Violence of their Torments. *Perrin* and *Chassagnon* give us great Numbers of parallel Examples, as well as the Acts of the Inquisition of *Thoulouse*. *Lucus Tudensis*, who endeavours to ridicule this Constancy of their Martyrs, is at the same time a Witness for it beyond all manner of Controversy.

Mezeray was juster than the Bishop of *Meaux*; for though he was not ignorant of the Slanders cast upon them, yet he hath given this Testimony of the *Albigenfes*, whom he calls *Waldenses*; he saith, " There were two principal Sorts of them; the one of them were very ignorant, and given to Lewdness and Villany; these Men maintain'd gross and filthy Errors; and these were indeed a kind of *Manichees*. The others were more learned, and less disorderly, and keeping themselves at the greatest distance from the Filthinesses now mention'd, maintain'd much the same Opinions with the Calvinists, and to speak properly, were *Henricians* and *Waldenses*."

This Testimony so agreeable to Truth, may well make those blush who copy the Forgeries of the Jesuit *Mariana*, who

(.) De altera
 vitâ, fideique
 controversiis.
 (b) Adversus
 Albigensium
 errores.

who to make the *Albigenses* pass for *Atheists* and *Epicureans*, has changed the Title of *Lucus Tudensis* his Book, which was only in these terms, (a) *Concerning another Life, and Controversies of Faith*, by adding to it, (b) *against the Errors of the Albigenses*.

C H A P. XXI.

Concerning the Persecutions which the Albigenses have suffered from the Pope and his Party.

MY Design is not to enlarge here upon a particular Description of their Persecutions. This would be too vast a Field to enter upon, in a Work of this kind, which I have undertaken: but withal, I should think my self to blame, if after having shewed with how much Zeal the *Albigenses* maintained the Truth of the Gospel, by their Preaching, and practis'd the Morals thereof in their Conversation, I should not give a short Account of what Persecutions they have suffered, and with what Constancy, by their Martyrdom, they have born witness to the same Truth.

We have already taken a view of the Persecutions exercised against *Peter de Bruis* and *Henry* his Disciple, at the Sollicitation of *Peter de Clugny*, and *Bernard* Abbot of *Clairvaux*, who caused them to be sacrificed to the Interest of the Church of *Rome*, which after the 11th Century, begun to persecute with Sword and Fire, all those who durst be so bold to oppose her Greatness, by undervaluing her Decrees. It was in compliance with this Method, that *Petrus Cluniacensis*, writing to the Archbishop of *Arles* and *Ambrun*, and to the Bishops of *Die* and *Gap*, concerning the *Petrobusians* and *Henricians*, tells them; "It is your Duty to drive out the Hereticks from those Places, (where they rejoice to have found lurking Holes,) not only by your Preaching, but also, if need be, by armed Force of Lay-men.

The

The Council of *Thouſe*, aſſembled in 1119, where *Calixtus* II was preſent, gave occaſion to theſe bloody Executions. The third Chapter enjoins all Powers to repreſs the Hereticks, and that thoſe that favour them be ſubject to the ſame Condemnation.

In the year 1163, the Council of *Tours*, aſſembled by *Alexander* III, had ordained, that the Biſhops of thoſe Provinces, where any of them were found, ſhould not ſuffer any one to harbour or ſhelter them; that no Commerce ſhould be held with them about the things of common Converſation; and order'd temporal Princes to imprifon and condemn them, and conſiſcate their Eſtates and Goods. Chap. 4.

In the year 1179, the ſame Pope *Alexander* III, renewed the ſame Orders, forbidding alſo their being buried in Places ſet a part for the burial of Papiſts. Cap. 27. Concil. Later. 3.

In 1181, *Henry*, who from Abbot of *Clairvaux*, had been made Biſhop of *Alby*, having as Legate gathered together ſome conſiderable Forces by his Preaching, went to viſit them with armed Force, but they to avoid the Storm that threatened them, pretended to abjure their Errors; but no ſooner was the Storm blown over, but they liv'd as they did before. So that the Contagion ſpread it ſelf through ſeveral Provinces, on both ſides of the *Loire*: and one of their falſe Apoſtles called *Terric*, who had hid himſelf a long time in a Cave at *Corbigny* in the Dioceſs of *Nevers*, was taken and burnt, and many more ſuffered the ſame Punishment in ſeveral other places.

This was that Sweetneſs of the Church of *Rome*, which the Biſhop of *Meaux* ſo much boaſts of, and which ſhe put in practice long before ſhe came to Conferences, which ſerved only for a Prelude to the utter ruin of the *Albigenſes*, which the Popes had deſigned long before.

Accordingly *Innocent* III, as *Mezeray* tells us in the Hiſtory of *Philip Auguſtus*, finding himſelf unable to reduce the Hereticks of *Languedoc*, who had almoſt gained that whole Province, reſolv'd to make an Example of *Raymond* Earl of *Thouſe*, becauſe he was their chief Favourer, and becauſe he had cauſ'd *Peter de Chasteauneuf*, a Ciſtertian Monk, and the Pag. 616.
firſt

first that ever exercised the Function of Inquisitor, to be put to Death: He excommunicated the Earl, absolved his Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and gave his Lands to the first that should seize them, yet so as without Prejudice to the Right of Sovereignty of the Kings of *France*.

Whereupon the Earl was so frightened, that being come to *Valence*, to meet with *Milo* the Pope's Legate, he wholly submitted himself to him, and gave eight strong Places for ever to the Church of *Rome*, as a Security of his Conversion: and the Year following, to obtain Absolution, he suffered himself to be lash'd with Rods before the Gate of the Church of *St. Giles*, where *Peter de Chasteau-Neuf* was buried, and afterwards to be dragg'd to the Tomb of that Monk by the Legate, who put a wooden Yoak about his Neck, before twenty Archbishops, and an infinite multitude of People: after this he took upon him the Croisade, and the Year following joined himself with those that took his own Cities, and those of his Confederates.

But it was not his Repentance that ingaged him to endure so dreadful a Disgrace, but the Apprehension he had of a terrible Tempest, that was just then breaking over his Head, for the Pope turning his Torrent of Zeal against the Hereticks, which push'd the People on to the Deliverance of the Holy Land, had this same Year ordered the Croisade to be preached up against the *Albigenses*, and a great number of Noblemen, Bishops and common People, had already list'd themselves in that Service, the King himself furnishing 15000 Men, maintained at his own Charges.

It is worth our taking notice, 1st, That Pope *Innocent III*, to encourage the Lords and People to the Holy War, granted a Plenary Remission of all their Sins to all those who took up the Badg of the Cross, vouchsafing also the Protection of the Holy See to their Persons and Goods, as may be seen in his Epistles. He absolved the Cities that had sworn to the Earl of *Tholouse*, from their Oath of Allegiance, upon that excellent Principle of the Church of *Rome*, That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks, because they do not keep theirs with God or the Church. 2^{dly}, That the Earl of *Tholouse* was not guilty of the Murder

Murder of *Peter de Chasteau Neuf*; for we read that Earl *Raymond* went to meet King *Philip*, to obtain of him Letters of Recommendation from the Pope, that he might be fully acquitted of the Murder of the Monk *Peter de Chasteau Neuf*, whereof they had most unjustly obliged him to confess himself guilty, only because the said Murder had been committed in his Territories, for which the Legate *Milo* had imposed upon him a most unjust and unheard-of Penance. From the Court of the King of *France* he went to *Rome*, where he received Absolution immediately from the Hands of Pope *Innocent III*; this being a Case reserved to him, the Pope received him very civilly, presented him with a rich Robe, and a Ring of great Value, and granted him plenary Remission and Absolution from the said Murder, declaring that he look'd upon him as sufficiently cleared upon that Account.

In the Year 1209, the Army of these Cross'd Souldiers, which consisted of no less than 500000 Men, entred *Languedock*, and attack'd the City of *Beziers*, being one of the strongest Places the *Albigenſes* had, took it by Force, and put all they found in it to the Sword; so that above 60000 Persons were kill'd there, as *Mezeray* informs us.

There happened one thing very remarkable at the taking of this City, which was, That the Zeal of these consecrated Souldiers was such, that they put to the Sword all the Papists and Romish Clergy that were in the City. The Earl of *Beziers* came out of the City, and cast himself at the Feet of the Legate *Milo*, begging his Grace in Behalf of his City of *Beziers*, and intreating him, that he would not involve the Innocent in the Punishment of the Guilty, which would certainly come to pass, in case the City should be taken by Force, (which would soon be done by such a great and powerful Army, that was ready to scale the Walls in every Part round the whole City) that it could not be otherwise, but that in this Case much Blood would be spilt on both sides, which he might prevent. That there were in *Beziers* great Numbers of good Catholicks, who would be involved in the same Ruin, contrary to the Pope's Intention, whose Design was only to chastise the *Albigenſes*. That if he did not

think fit to spare his Subjects, for their own sakes, that at least he would be pleased to take pity of his Age and Profession, since the Loss would be his, who was under Age, and an obedient Servant of the Pope, as having been educated in the Church of *Rome*, in the which he was resolved to live and die. That if he was offended that such Persons as were Enemies to the Pope, had been tolerated in his Territories, that this ought not to be imputed to him, because he had no other Subjects, but such as his deceased Father had left him; and that in this his Minority, and during the short time that he had been Master of his Estate, he had neither been able by reason of his Incapacity to discern the Evil, or to suit a Remedy to it; though indeed this was his Intention, and that he hoped for the time to come, to give all manner of Satisfaction to the Pope and the Church of *Rome*, as became an obedient Son of both.

The Pope's Legat's Answer was, That all his Excuses should be of no Use to him, and that he might shift for himself the best he could.

The Earl of *Béziers* being returned to the City, called the People together, and represented to them, that after having submitted himself to the Pope's Legate, he had interceded for them, without being able to obtain any thing, but a Pardon, upon condition that those who professed the Faith of the *Albigenses*, should abjure their Religion, and promise to live according to the Laws of the Church of *Rome*. The *Roman Catholics* beseeched them to give way to this extream Violence, and not to be the cause of their Death, because the Legate was resolved not to pardon one of them, except they all unanimously resolved to live under the same Laws. To which the *Albigenses* answered, That they would never forsake their Faith, for the base Price of this frail Life: That they were well assured that God could protect them, if it seemed good unto him; but withal, neither were they ignorant, that if he rather chose to be glorified by the Confession of their Faith, it would be an exceeding Honour to them to die for Righteousness sake. That they had much rather displease the Pope, who could only destroy their Bodies, than

than offend God, who could destroy Body and Soul together. That they detested the Thought of being ashamed of, or denying that Faith by which they had learn'd to know Christ and his Righteousness; and for fear of eternal Death to embrace a Religion which intirely takes away the Merit of Jesus Christ, and destroys his Righteousness; that therefore they might make the best terms for themselves they could, without promising any thing that was contrary to the Duty of true Christians.

As soon as the *Roman Catholicks* understood this, they sent their Bishop to the Legate, to beseech him not to comprehend them in the same Punishment with the *Albigenfes*, they having always adhered to the Church of *Rome*, and of whom he who was their Bishop had good Knowledge; judging also that the rest had not gone so far from the ways of Repentance; but that they might be reduced by a Sweetness well becoming the Church, which takes no Delight in shedding Blood.

The Legate being enraged at this, with horrible Threats and Oaths protested, That except all that were in the Town did acknowledg their Fault, and submit themselves to the Church of *Rome*, they should all be put to the Sword, without any regard had to Catholicks, to Sex or Age; but that all should be exposed to Fire and Sword: and immediately commanded the City to be summoned to surrender at Discretion, which being refused, he commanded all the warlike Engines to play, and to discharge their Instruments, and to cast Stones, ordering them at the same time to give a general Assault, and to scale the City round, so that it was impossible for those within to sustain the shock; for being press'd upon by above 100000 Pilgrims, they at last, saith the Compiler of the *Treasure of Histories*, discomfited those within the City, and entering in all at once, killed vast numbers of all sorts, and afterwards putting Fire to the City, they burnt it to Ashes.

When the Town was taken, the Priests, Monks and Clerks, came in Procession out of the great Church of *Beziers*; called *St. Nazari*, with the Banner, Cross, and Holy Water, bare-headed, clothed in their Ecclesiastical Vestments, singing *Te Deum*, in token of their rejoicing for the City's being taken

and purged of the *Albigenses*. But the Pilgrims, who had received an exprefs Order from the Legate to kill all, rushed in amongst this Proceſſion, cutting off the Heads and Arms of the Priests, ſtriving who could do moſt, till they were all cut to pieces.

Theſe Cruelties exerciſed upon the City of *Beziers*, upon the Papiſts themſelves, yea, and upon their very Clergy, having opened the Earl of *Beziers* his Eyes, to ſee that the Pope under the Pretence of Religion, had a mind to ruin the Earl of *Thouſe* his Uncle, as well as himſelf, he ſhut up himſelf in his City of *Carcaſſon*, with a Reſolution to defend it againſt the Legate and his Pilgrims. The King of *Arragon* his Kinſman having diſcourſed with him, the Earl plainly declared, That he knew this to be the Pope's Deſign, becauſe when he was treating for his Subjects of *Beziers*, he reſuſed to receive his Catholick Subjects into his Favour, nay, would not ſo much as ſpare the Priests, who were all cut in pieces in their Sacerdotal Ornaments, under the Banner and the Croſs; that this Example of cruel Impiety, joined with what they exerciſed upon the Village of *Carcaſſon*, where they had expoſed all to Fire and Sword, without any Diſtinction of Age or Sex, had fully convinced him that there was no Mercy to be look'd for from the Legate or his Pilgrims, and that accordingly he would chooſe rather to die with his Subjects, defending themſelves, than to be expoſed to the Mercy of an inexorable Enemy, ſuch as he had found the Legate to be: and though there were in the City of *Carcaſſon* many of his Subjects, of a Belief contrary to that of the Church of *Rome*, yet that they were Perſons that had never done any Injury to any one; that they had always aſſiſted him in time of need, and that for this their good Service, he was reſolved never to abandon them, as they on their Parts had promiſed him to hazard Life and Eſtate in his Defence: That he hoped that God, who is the Reliever of thoſe who are oppreſſed, would aſſiſt them againſt this great Multitude of ill-adviced Men, who under the Pretence of meriting Heaven, had quitted their own Habitations to come and burn, pillage, ravage and murder in the Habitations of others, without either Reaſon, Judgment or Mercy.

The King of *Arragon* returned with this Remonſtrance to the Legat, who aſſembled a great number of Lords and Prelats to hear what he had to ſay, who declared to them, that he had found the Earl of *Beziers* his Ally, extremely ſcandalized at their inhuman Proceedings againſt his Subjects of *Beziers*, and of the Village of *Carcaddon*; and that he was fully perſwaded, ſeeing they had neither ſpared the Roman Catholics, nor the Priests themſelves, that it was not a Religious War, as was pretended, but a kind of Robbery under the Colour of Religion: That he hoped God would be ſo favourable to him, as to make his Innocence, and the juſt occaſion he hath had to defend himſelf, ſufficiently known: That they muſt not hope now to have them ſurrender at Diſcretion, ſince they had found that there was no other to be expected from them, but that of killing all they met with. That it had never been found good Policy to drive an Enemy to Deſpair: wherefore if the Legate would be pleaſed to afford any tolerable Compoſition to the Earl of *Beziers* and his Subjects, that Mildneſs would be a better Method to reduce the *Albigenſes* to the Church of *Rome*, than extream Severity: and that he ought alſo to remember that the Earl of *Beziers* was a young Man, and a *Roman Catholic*, who might be very ſerviceable in reducing his Subjects, who had ſo great Confidence in him, to their Obedience to the Church.

The Legate told the King of *Arragon* that if he would withdraw a little, they would adviſe what were beſt to be done. The King being called in again, the Legate told him, That in Conſideration of his Interceſſion, he would receive the Earl of *Beziers* to Mercy, and therefore if it ſeemed good to him, he might come forth, and eleven with him, with his Goods and Baggage; but that as for the People that were in the City of *Carcaddon*, they ſhould only deliver to his Diſcretion, of which they ought to have a very good Opinion, he being the Pope's Legate; and that accordingly they ſhould come forth all ſtark-naked, Men, Women and Children, without Shirts or any other Covering on their Bodies. Alſo that the Earl of *Beziers* ſhould be delivered into ſure Hands, and that all his Eſtate ſhould be ſurrendred up to the ſuture Lord of his Territories,

ritories, who should be chosen for Conservation of the same.

The King of *Aragon* having indeavoured to bring the Legate to easier terms for the young Earl: the Legate told him, that these Conditions were very favourable; and yet what follows, is still more infamous. The Legate employes a Person of Quality to indeavour to draw the Earl of *Beziers* out of *Carcasson*, and to bring him to him, with Assurance under Oath, that he would send him back to his City of *Carcasson*, in case he should not be satisfied with the Legat's Proposals. The Count of *Beziers*. upon this Assurance comes to the Legate, and represents to him, That if he would think fit to treat his Subjects with more Kindness, he would easily induce them to comply with his Desire, and recal the *Albigenses* from their Error to the Church: That the Terms which had been mentioned to him, were shameful and undecent for those who were to keep their Eyes chaste as well as their Thoughts: That he knew his People would rather die than see themselves reduced to so scandalous an Ignominy, and therefore entreated him to come to easier Terms, and that he did not question but to make his Subjects accept of any other more tolerable Conditions.

The Legate's Answer was, That the People of *Carcasson* might consider what they had to do; that he would concern himself no further, since the Earl was his Prisoner, and should continue so till the City were taken, and his Subjects acknowledge their Duty.

When *Simon* Earl of *Montfort* was made General for the Church, he was so careful to destroy the *Albigenses*, that he seized upon all the places belonging to Popish Lords, that lay convenient for him, so that the King of *Aragon* was forced to complain to the Pope of these his Proceedings, in some Letters yet extant, to oblige him to make Restitution. And for the merciful temper of this renowned Earl, take but this one Instance of it: After a Siege of six Months the City of *Lavaur* was taken by Storm, and scaling of the Walls, and all that were found in it were put to the Sword, except fourscore Gentlemen whom the Earl caused to be hanged and strangled,

strangled, and *Almericus* was hanged on a Gallows higher than the rest. The Lady of *Lavaur* was cast alive into a Pit, and there stoned to Death.

The Conduct of the Pope, and the *Lateran* Council, in the year 1215, is worth taking notice of, because it was nothing but a Confirmation of all these Proceedings. *Mezeray* gives this Account of it. Prince *Lewis* took upon him the Badg of the Cross to go against the *Albigenses*, and assisted in the Expedition of *Languedoc*; the Earl of *Montfort* met him at *Vienne*, and the Legate at *Valence*; when he was come to *St. Gilles*; *Montfort*, who accompanied him, received Bulls from the Pope, who, pursuant to the Decree of the Council of *Montpellier* held some Months before, had given him the whole Territory of *Tholouse*, and all the rest he had conquer'd with his cross'd Pilgrims, provided he could get Investiture from the King, and would pay him the accustomed Homage: So that we may say, that the Pope nominated him to his Dignity, and the King in compliance with the said Nomination, conferr'd it upon him. From thence *Lewis* went to *Montpellier*, and then to *Beziers*, where he gave order for the demolishing of the Walls of *Narbon* and *Tholouse*. In the mean time, the Council of *Lateran*, notwithstanding the pitifull Remonstrances of the Earl of *Tholouse*, who was present there in Person with his Son, adjudged the Propriety of his Lands to *Montfort*, reserving only the Lands he had in *Provence* for his Son, and 400 Marks of Silver a Year for his own Subsistence, and that too upon condition of his being obedient to the Church. Afer this, *Montfort* assumed the Title of Earl of *Tholouse*, and came and received his Investiture from the King in the City of *Melun*.

I should never have done, should I barely mention all the Cruelties and Barbarities which the *Romish* Party exercised for near twenty Years together by their continual Croisades, against a People who were taken to be Hereticks as soon as they found a New Testament in the vulgar Tongue about them.

I shall conclude this Chapter with setting down the Laws which the King of *France* enacted in the year 1228, against
the...

the *Albigenses*. “ Wherefore because the Hereticks have
 “ now of a long time spread their Poison in your Parts,
 “ polluting our Mother the Church after several Manners ;
 “ we do in order to their utter Extirpation decree, that all
 “ Hereticks deviating from the Catholick Faith, by what
 “ Name soever they are called, as soon as they are con-
 “ demned of Heresy by the Bishop of the Place, or by a-
 “ ny other Ecclesiastical Person that hath Power to do it,
 “ be without delay punished ; Ordaining also, and firmly en-
 “ acting, That no Man do presume to harbour or protect
 “ the said Hereticks, or favour or trust them ; and that if
 “ any one do presume to commit any thing contrary to these
 “ Premises, he be made incapable of being a Witness, or of
 “ any Honour whatsoever, as also of making a Will, or in-
 “ heriting any thing. Moreover, We enact, That all his
 “ Goods, real or personal, be *ipso facto*, confiscated, never
 “ to return to him or any of his Posterity. We also enact
 “ and command, That all Barons of the Land, and our Bai-
 “ liffs, and other our Subjects present and future, be careful
 “ and diligent to purge the Land of Hereticks, and heretical
 “ Contagion, commanding them to be very industrious in
 “ searching them out, and faithful in discovering them, and
 “ as soon as they have found any of them, to present them
 “ without delay before the Persons above named, that so
 “ being convict in their Presence of Error and Heresy,
 “ they may, setting aside all Hatred, Entreaties, Rewards,
 “ Fear, Favour and Love, give Sentence against them. And
 “ that those who are diligent and careful in the searching
 “ for, and seizing of Hereticks, may not want the En-
 “ couragement of Honour and Reward, We do enact, will
 “ and command, that our Bailiffs, in whose Bailiwicks the
 “ said Hereticks shall be seized, pay to the Taker for e-
 “ very Heretick, two Marks in Silver, for the Term of
 “ two Years, and after that time expired, one Mark
 “ only.

Hitherto we have taken a View of what was charged
 upon the Magistrates and Lords, to whom the Execution
 of these Laws was committed. Let us now consider what
 other

other means the Church of *Rome* made uſe of; which was, the erecting the Tribunal of the Inquiſition, the Maxims and Conduſt whereof, Pope *Gregory XIII.* thought good to make known to the World, by publiſhing the Directory for Inquiſitors. This Tribunal erected by the Popes for the Extirpation of the *Albigenſes*, is a Thing in it ſelf ſo very horrid, that it ſtrikes the Papiſts themſelves with Horror, that are not uſ'd to it; and yet ſuch as it is, it hath juſtly been eſteemed, and is ſtill to this day thought to be the right Hand of the Church of *Rome*. One may ſee from ſome of the publiſhed Registers of theſe Inquiſitors, and by ſome of their Trials of the *Albigenſes*, the horrid Impoſtures of theſe Inquiſitors, and the terrible Punishments they have inflicted upon the *Albigenſes* in all Places, where from Age to Age they have been able to diſcover them.

C H A P. XXII.

That the Doctrines of the Albigenſes ſpread it ſelf in England, and continued there till the time of the Reformation.

Henry Knighton tells us, that the *Albigenſian* Hereticks came over into *England* in the Reign of King *John*, and that ſome of them were burnt alive. But yet we muſt not think that their Doctrines by this means was wholly extinguiſh'd; for we find the ſame appearing again in the Perſons of the *Lollards* and *Wicleſites*. I diſtinguiſh the *Lollards* from the *Wicleſites*, as being more antient than they, having appeared in *Flanders* and *Germany* from the beginning of the 14th Century, as appears from the Teſtimonies of *Johannes Hoefemius*, and of the Abbot *Trithemius*; though the ſame Name was

De eventibus
Angl. l. 2. c. 115.

afterwards given to the *Wicklesites*, as is evident from the Writings of *Walsingham* and *William Thorn*. They seem to have come from the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*, by what *Kilianus* tells us; *Lollardus quoque dicitur Hereticus Waldensis*: “A Lollard” is also called a Waldensian Heretick.

I need only therefore speak of their Numbers, which as *Knighton* assures us, covered all *England*: but since they have been charged with most horrid Crimes, because they spoke against the Images of the Saints, and the rest of the *Romish* Superstitions, as well as the Vices of the Clergy; it will be absolutely necessary to clear them from these false Imputations, in the most authentick Manner that may be.

Sæcul. 13. p. 1.
p. 387, & 388.

Let us therefore examine the Calumnies charged upon them by *Tribemius* in his Chronicle of *Hirsauge*, on the year 1316, as they were copied by *Natalis Alexander*, a Jacobite Friar, in his Ecclesiastical History. The Heads of the Heresies which *Tribemius* reckons up, are these;

“ I. That Masses were vain Things, to which neither
“ any Reverence was due, nor were they of any use or
“ profit.

“ II. That *Lucifer* with his Devils, being unjustly driven
“ out of Heaven, should be restored to Bliss again; and that
“ *Michael*, with all the Angels, should be sentenc'd to ever-
“ lasting Punishment; and that all those that were not of
“ their Sect, should be damned after the same manner.

“ III. That the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, if she continued a
“ Virgin after her Delivery, must have brought forth not a
“ Man, but an Angel.

“ IV. They boasted themselves to have twelve Apostles,
“ who every year visited the whole Empire; and that two
“ of these being Elders in Order and Profession, did every
“ year enter Paradise, and there received from *Enoch*
“ and *Elias*, the Power of Binding and Loosing, which they
“ afterwards communicated to the other Professors of their
“ Sect.

“ V. They derided the Sacrament of Baptism; saying,
“ If Baptism be a Sacrament, then every Bath is a Sacra-
“ ment,

“ ment, and by confequence, every Keeper of a Bath muft
 “ be God.

“ VI. They shamefully abufed the Sacrament of Penance,
 “ by confeffing their Sins not to Priests but Laymen, and
 “ expreffing them only in general, and not in particular. and
 “ yet they hoped by this their Confession, to obtain full and
 “ perfect Forgiveness both of Guilt and Punifhment.

“ VII. The Sacrament of the Lord's Body, they did not believe
 “ at all, calling the confecrated Hoft, a God made with Hands.

“ VIII. They called the Sacrament of Matrimony that
 “ was fworn to, Fornication.

“ IX. They derided the Sacrament of Extrean Uction; and
 “ being examined what they thought of it, they unanimoufly
 “ answered, We believe that Herbs, the more they are laid
 “ in Oil, the better they are: And they vilified all the
 “ Consecrations and Blessings used in the Church, as fo
 “ many vain and ufelefs Ceremonies.

“ X. They blafphemoufly asserted, That God neither
 “ knew nor punifhed any Sins that were committed under the
 “ Earth; for which Reason they used to meet in Caves and
 “ Places under ground, where Fathers committed Filthi-
 “ nefs promifcuoufly with their Daughters, and Brothers
 “ with their Sisters.

“ XI. That the Church of *Rome* was not the Church of
 “ Chrift, but of infidel Heathens; and they defpifed all Ec-
 “ clefiastical Laws, together with all the Bifhops and Mi-
 “ nifters of the Church.

“ XII. Fafts they mocked at, eating Flefh at all times,
 “ Good-friday not excepted.

“ XIII. They kept no Holidays, but wrought even upon
 “ Easter-day.

“ XIV. They deny'd that Perjury was a Sin.

“ XV. They deny'd that the Merits or Interceffions of the
 “ Saints, could prevail with God for the Pardon of Mens
 “ Sins. And he fays, that befide these they professed many
 “ other Errors, which he omits, for fear of being tedious to
 “ his Readers. He adds alfo, That this Herefy did fo far pre-
 “vail, that in *Auftria, Bohemia*, and the neighbouring Pro-

“ vinces, there were above four-score Thousand Men who
 “ were sworn to the Profession of this Sect. From these
 “ Dregs of Heresy, saith he, *Bohemia* being then infected,
 “ continues tainted with the same to this Day. He subjoins,
 “ that many of these Hereticks were at the same time burnt
 “ in divers places of *Austria*, who all of them continued ob-
 “ stinately in their Heresy, with great Chearfulness until
 “ Death. *Walter*, a chief Man of that Sect, was burnt at
 “ *Collen* in the Year 1323, as *Trithemius* tells us in his Chroni-
 “ cle of the Monastery of *Hirsaugen*, in the Diocess of *Spires*.

Nothing can be imagined more horrid than these Calum-
 nies, and we need not doubt but they were supported by ma-
 ny pretended Convictions made by the Inquisitors of *Germany*:
 but it is easy to demonstrate, that there is scarce any ground
 for all these Accusations, which therefore is a plain Proof of
 what I have elsewhere maintained concerning these persecu-
 ted Persons, who used it for a Proverb in *England*, *He lies*
like a Monk.

We have an authentick piece of the *Lollards*, which *Roger*
Dimmock a Jacobite Friar hath confuted in a Manuscript, where-
 of there are two Copies at *Cambridg*, the one in the publick Li-
 brary, and another older than that, in *Trinity Colledg*. They
 presented this Confession of theirs to the Parliament, which
 gave occasion to this Monk to insert it in *English*, together
 with his Latin Translation, into a Book which he dedicated to
 King *Richard II*. I need only set down the Original, with the
 Latin Translation of *Roger Dimmock*, which will be sufficient to
 confound all the Calumnies of the Inquisitors.

The Petition of the LOLLARDS.

NOS pauperes homines theſaurarii ſive theſaurus Chriſti & Apoſtolorum ejus, denunciamus vobis Dominis & Communibus præſentis Parliamenti certas Quæſtiones & Veritates pro Reformatione ſanctæ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, quæ cæca extitit & leproſa annis plurimis per manutentioniam ſuperbæ prælaticæ ſupportatæ adulationibus privatarum religionum, ſive privatæ religionis multiplicatæ ad magnum onus, & eſt effectus populis oneroſus in Anglia.

Secunda Concluſio hanc continet Sententiam.

Quando Eccleſia Anglicana incœpit delirare in poſſeſſione temporalium ſecundum novercam ſuam magnam Romanam Eccleſiam, & Eccleſiæ mortificatæ erant ſive occiſæ per appropriationem

WE pore Ben Trefozers of Chriſt and his Apoſtels, denouncyn to the Lordes and Commens of the Parliament, certeyn Concluſions and Treuthes for the Reformation of Holy Church of Ingland, the which hath ben blend and leprouſe many yere, be the Hayntenance of the proud Prelaci, born up with flaterynge of privat Religion. The which is multiplied to a grete Charge, and onerous to þe piſ here in Ingland.

When the Chirch of Ingland began to dote in Temperalte after hir Stepmoder the grete Chirche of Rome, and the Chirches were ſlayn be Appropriation to divers Places : Feythe,

priationem diverſorum locorum: fides, ſpes & caritas coeperunt fugere extra Eccleſiam noſtram, quia ſuperbia cum ſua prole perverſa peccatorum mortalium vendicabant Eccleſiam noſtram titulo hæreditario. Iſta quæſtio eſt generalis & probata, ut dicunt, experientia & more, ut audies in ſequentibus.

Hæc eſt ſecunda Quæſtio: Sacerdotium noſtrum uſuale quod incoepit in civitate Romana ficta altioris poteſtatis poteſtate Anglica, non eſt Sacerdotium à Chriſto ſuis Diſcipulis ordinatum. Probatur ſic hæc quæſtio, Sacerdotium Romanum fictum cum ſignis & ritibus ac Epiſcoporum Benedictionibus, eſt pravæ virtutis, nulli in ſacra Scriptura exemplatum: quia Ordinalia ſine rubricæ Epiſcoporum pravæ ſunt fidei vel autoritatis in novo Teſtamento, & neſcimus videre quod ſpiritus ſanctus dat dona ſua propter aliqua talia ſigna, quia ipſe & nobilia dona ſua ſtare non

ſeythe, Hope, and Charite, begon for to fle out of our Church, for Pride wit his ſon Genealogy of dedely Sinnes chalangith it, be Title of Heritage. This Concluſion is generale, and is proved by Experience, Cuſtom and Maner, as you ſhall hereyn after.

The ſecund Concluſion is this: Our uſuel Prieſthode, the which began in Rome, ſeyned of a Power hayer than Angels, is not the Prieſthode, the which Chriſt ordeyned to his Apoſtells. This Concluſion is proved; for the Prieſthode of Rome is marked with Signes, Rites, and Biſhopes Bleſſyngs, and that is of liſel Virtu, no wher enſampled in holi Scripture. For the Biſhopes Ordinals in the New Teſtament ben liſel of Record, and we can not ſe that the holi Coſt for any ſuch Signes gifes any Giſts: for he and his holi Giſtes mai

non poſſunt cum peccato mortali in aliqua unâ perſonâ.

Corrolaria hujus quaſtionis eſt, quod valde extraneum ſive novum eſt pluribus hominibus ſapientibus videre Episcopos ludere cum ſpiritu ſancto in ſuorum ordinum collatione, quia coronas conferunt in characteribus loco fervorum alborum, & illa eſt liberata Antichriſti ſive ejus ſignum in iſtam Eccleſiam introductum ad otium palliandum.

Tertia quaſtio doloroſa eſt iſta, Lex continentiae ſacerdotio annexa quæ in præjudicium ſcœminarum fuit primitus introducta, inducit Sodomiam in univerſalem ſanctam Eccleſiam: ſed per Bibliam excuſamus nos propter ſuſpectum decretum quod dicit quia nempe non deberemus nominare id peccatum: ratio & experientia hanc probat quaſtionem, quia deliciſi cibi & potus Eccleſiaſticorum requirit neceſſariam purgationem naturalem vel pejorem, experi-

entia maſt not ſtand with dedely Synne in no manner Perſon.

The Coꝛeclary of this Concluſion, that it is full unkeſh to many that be wiſe, to ſe Biſhopes play with the holi Goſt in ma- kyng of her Dyers, for thei giſ Crownes in Ca- racters in ſtede of whit hertes, and that is the Li- veray of Antichriſt brought into holi Church to colour Idleneſs.

The third Concluſion ſo- rowful to here, is that the Law of Continnence enered to Pꝛieſt-hode, that in Pꝛe- judice of Wymmen was firſt ordeynet, inducyth Sodo- my in all holi Church: bat we excuſe us be the Bible, for the ſuſpecte Decree that ſaith, that we ſhall not * it. * name. Reſon and Experience pra- vyth this Concluſion, for de- licious Betis and Drynkes of Men of holi Chirch, will haſ needful Purgation of Kind or Wers. Experience for the pꝛiby Aſay of ſuch Men,

entia occultæ probationis talium, ergo non habent delectationem in mulieribus, & cum talem repereris, nota enim bene, quia ipse est unus ex illis. Correlaria hujus quæstionis est quod dignum valde esset adnullare privatas religiones hujus peccati inceptores: sed Deus ex sua magna potestate de peccatis privatis manifestam sumat vindictam.

Quarta quæstio quæ plus damnificat populum innocentem, est quia fictum miraculum sacri panis inducit omnes homines, paucis exceptis ad Idolatriam, quia ipsi æstimant quod corpus Domini quod nunquam exhibit Cœlum, virtute verborum sacerdotis sit in exiguo pane quem ipsi populo ostendunt; sed utinam vellent credere quod Doctor Evangelicus dicit in suo Trialogo, quia *panis altaris est habitualiter corpus Christi*; quia supponimus quod isto momento potest quilibet vir & fœmina in lege divina conficere Sacramentum panis sine aliquo

Ben, is, that thai lik no Wymmen, and whan thow provest such a Man, mark him wele, for he is on of tho. The Correlary of this Conclusion, that the privat Religions Begynners of this Synne, were most worthe to ben amalle: but God of hys might of pryve Synnes send open Vengeance.

The fersth Conclusion that most harmeth the innocent Pepel, is this, that the feyned Miracle of the Sacrament of Wed. inducyth al Men but a few, to Idolatre; for thai wen that Goddis Wodi that nevere schal out of Heven, be vertu of Priestis Wordes be closed essentiall in a litel Wed, that thai shew to the Peopel: but would God they would believe what the Doctor Evangelicus seis in his Trialoge, quod Panis altaris est habitualiter Corpus Christi. For we suppose that on this wise, mai every trew Man and Womman in

aliquo tali miraculo. Correlarium hujus quæſtionis eſt, quod ſi corpus Chriſti ſit doratum gloria æterna, officium corporis Chriſti compoſitum per Sanctum Thomam non eſt verum, & depictum plenum falſis miraculis; & hoc non eſt mirum, quia frater Thomas illo tempore tenens cum Papa, voluit feciſſe miraculum de ovo gallinæ; & bene novimus quod quodlibet mendacium apertè prædicatum, cedit illi in verecundiam & injuriam, qui ſemper eſt fidelis & ſine defectu.

Quinta quæſtio eſt hæc, Exorcismi, ſanctificationes, conſecrationes ſive benedictiones factæ in Eccleſia ſancta vini & panis, aquæ, olei, ſalis, cerei incenſi, ſive thuris, menſæ altaris, murorum Eccleſiæ, veſtimentorum mitræ, baculi paſtoralis, baculorum peregrinorum & hujusmodi, vera practica ſunt Nigromanciæ potius quam ſanctæ Theologiæ.

Hæc

in Goddes Law, mak the Sacrament of this Brede without any ſuch Miracie. The Correlary of this Conclusion is, that if Chriſtes Body be downd with everlaſting Joy, the Servys of Corpus Chriſti, made be Frere Thomas is untrew, and peynted ful of falſ Miracles; and that is no wonder, for Frere Thomas that ſame tyme holdyng with the Pope, wold haf mad a Miracle of an Hen Egge: and we know well, that every Leſyng openly preached, turneth him to Wilany that ever was trew, and without default.

The fiſt Conclusion is this, that Exorcisms and holowyng mad in the Chirch of Wine, Brede, and way- Water, Salt, Dyle, and Encenſe, the Stone of the Altar, * upon veſtment Pyxter, Croys and pilgrim Staves, be the veray practis of Nigromancy, rather than of the holi Theologi.

* Some-
thing
wanting
in the
MS.

Ee

This

Hæc quæstio probatur sic, per tales exorcismos & consecrationes creaturæ sunt orneratæ esse altioris virtutis quam sunt ex natura propria, & nihil mutationis videmus in hujusmodi creaturis exorcizatis vel consecratis nisi per falsam fidem, quæ est principale in omni arte diabolica.

Correlarium si liber qui exorcizat aquam benedictam asperfam in Ecclesiam Dei esset totus verus nobis, videtur veraciter, quia aqua benedicta in sancta Ecclesia usitata optima esset medicina, cujus contrarium experimur.

Sexta quæstio quæ sustentat multam superbiam, est, quod Rex & Pontifex in eadem persona, Prælatus & Judex temporalis causæ, Curatus & Officiarius in servicio mundiali quod libet regnum reddit sine regula debita vel convenienti regimine. Hæc quæstio probatur sic, potestas temporalis & spiritualis sunt duæ partes totius sanctæ Ecclesiæ & in

This Conclusion is proved thus; for be such Exorcismes Creatures be charget to be of heyer Virtu then her own Kynd, and we see nothing of chaunge in no such Creature, that is so charmed but be fals beleve, the which is the Principal of the Develes craft.

The Correlary of this, that if the Woke that charmeth hali Water sprede were al trewe, us thenk verely, that holi Water used in hali Chirch, schuld be the best Medecyn to all manner of Seknes.

The syxt Conclusion that maynteneth mychel Pride is, that a kyng and a Bishopp al in on Person, a Prelate and a Justice in Temporal Cause, a Curate and an Officer maken any Roem out of gode Rewle. This Conclusion is oponly schewed, for Temporalte and Spirituallte be two Partis of an holi Chirch, and therefore be that hath taken hym to that

eo qui ſe uni eorum deputavit non deberet ſe interponere cum altero, quia nemo poteſt duobus dominis ſervire, & nobis videtur quod Hermefodrita vel Ambidexter eſſet conveniens nomen talibus hominibus duplicis ſtatus.

Correlarium, nos procuratores Dei in iſta cauſa inſtamus & proſequimur ac petimus in iſto Parlamento, quod omneſmodi curatores tam alti quam baſſi ſint plene excuſati ab omni officio temporali, & ſe occupent cum curis ſuis, & de nullis aliis ſe interponant.

Septima quaſtio quam nos potenter affirmamus, eſt, quod ſpeciales orationes factæ in Eccleſia noſtra pro animabus defunctorum, proferendo unum ex nomine potius quam alium, eſt falſum fundamentum elemoſinæ ſuper quod omnes domus elemoſinarie in Anglia male fundantur. Hæc quaſtio probatur duplici ratione; primo quia oratio meritoria & valoris deberet eſſe
opus

that one ſhuld not mell him with that other, Quia nemo poteſt duobus Dominis ſervire; and us think that Hermefodrita or Ambidexter, were a gode Name to ſuch manner of Men of double eſtate.

The Correlary is, that we the Procuratores of God in this Cauſe, do proſit to this Parlement, that al manner of Curates, both hey and low, ben fully excuſed of temperel Office, and occupy hem with her cure and not elles.

The ſevent Conclusion that we myghtily afferm is, that ſpecial Prayers for dede Mens Soules mad in owre Chirch, preferring on be Name more than another, This is the fall ground of Almes Dede, on the which al Almes Houſes of Ingland ben wikkidly grounded. This Conclusion is proved by two Skilles, on is, for Praier meritory and of valew ſchold be a Werk

opus procedens ex alta caritate, & perfecta caritas non accipit personas, quia diliges proximum, &c. quia propter nobis videtur donatio bonorum temporalium collatorum sacerdotibus & domibus elemosinariis, est causa principalis hujusmodi orationum specialium, quæ non multum distat à simoniâ; quia speciales orationes factæ pro hominibus damnatis ad pœnam æternam multum Deo displicent, & quamvis dubium sit, tamen verisimile est fidei populo, quod fundationes domorum elemosinariarum propter ipsorum venenosam dotationem pro majori parte transiissent viam latam. Correlarium. Oratio valoris procedens à perfecta caritate debet se extendere in generali ad omnes quos Deus vult salvare, & dimittere debent Mercancias orationum spiritualium modo usitatarum pro mortuis hominibus factas mendicantibus Possessionatis & aliis Presbyteris peculiaribus animarum,

proceedyng of hey and perfit Charite, accept no Persones, quia diliges proximum, etc. Wherefore us thenkes that the Gitt of temporel Goodes to Priestes, and to Almes-Houses, is principal cause of special Praier, the which is no suffer Synony. Another Skil for special Praier, mad for Hen, dampned to everlastand Payne, is to God gretly displeasnt, and thow it be dowt, it is likli to trewe Christes Peple, that the Fownders of Almes-Houses, for her venymous Dotation ben for the most part passed the wode Wey. The Correlarys, the Prayer of value springand out of perfect Charite schold embrace in general, al tho that God wold haf saved, and leve Merchandys now usyd for spiritual Prayers, ymade to Mendicants, Possessioners, and other soull Priestes, the which ben a Pepel of grete charge to al the Reme mayntenyd in Idleness; for it was proved in

rum, qui ſunt populus magni oneris toti regno manuteneſtes in otio; quia probatum extitit in quodam libro quem Rex audivit, quod centum domus elemoſinarum ſufficerent toti regno, & ex hoc contingeret maximum commodum poſſibile parti temporali.

Octava quæſtio neceſſaria referri populo decepto, peregrinationes, orationes, & oblationes, cæcis imaginibus crucifixi & ſurdis imaginibus de ligno & lapide ſunt propinquæ naturæ Idolatriæ & multum diſtant ab operibus caritatis ſive elemoſinæ, & quamvis prohibita imagines ſint liber erroris populo laicali, adhuc imagine ſanctæ Trinitatis uſualis eſt maxime abominabilis. Hanc quæſtionem Deus aperte monſtravit, mandando operam miſericordiæ fieri hominibus indigentibus quia ipſi ſunt imago Dei in majori ſimilitudine quam lignum vel lapis; quia Deus non dixit, Faciamus lignum vel lapidem, &c.

ſed

in a Boke, that the Kyng had that a hundreth of Almes-houſes ſuſtained to all the Realme, and there ſchold ſal the greteſt encrease poſſible to Temporel Par-ti.

The eight Concluſion needful to tell to the Pe-ple begyled, is the Pilgrimage, Prayers and Offering made to blind Images, and to deſe Images of Tre and of Ston, that be ner of kyn to Idolatri, and ſer fro Almes Dede. And thow this forboden Imagery, be a Boke of Error to the lewde Pepul, yit the Image uſuel of the Trinitie, is moſt abhominable. This Concluſion God openly ſchews, commanding to do Almes-Dede to Men that be neddy, for thai be the Image of God in a mor liknes than the Stok or Stone: for God ſais not, faciamus lignum ad imaginem & ſimilitudinem noſtram, bot faciamus

sed hominem ad similitudinem nostram, quia altus honor Patria à Clericis vocatus soli debetur Deitati; & honor vocatus Dulia debetur homini vel Angelis, & aliis creaturis inferioribus. Correlarium: officium de ligno crucis bis in anno celebratum in nostra Ecclesia est plenum idolatria, quia si lignum crucis, Christi lancea, & clavi essent tanto honore venerandi, tunc labia Judæ proditoris solennes essent reliquiae, si quis posset illa obtinere: sed nos rogamus te peregrine quam oblationem facis ossibus sanctorum incrisinatorum in aliquo loco ut intendis relevare indulgentiam sanctam in Cælo, vel domus pauperis Elemosinariae quæ ita bene dotatur, qui Deus novit quomodo homines qui modo canonizantur, & ut apertius loquamur fideles Christi supponunt quod puncta propter quæ moriebatur nobilis vir quem homines appellant sanctum Thomam, non sunt causa Martyrii nec fuerunt.

ciamus hominem, etc. for the hey Worchip that Clerkes clepen Latria, longes to the Godhede alone; and the low Worchip that they clepen Dulia, perteneth to Man and to Angels, and to lower Creatures. The Correlary is, that the Service of the Kede tre donn twyes every yer in our Chirch, is ful filled of Idolatrie; for if the Kede-tre, Nail, Sper, and the Crowne of God schoul be so heyle worchiped, than were Judas Lippes, who so myght han gete a wonder gret Rich. Bot we pray the Pilgrime us to tell, what thow offers to Seintes schryned in any place, whe- der releves you the Seint that is in Blis, or the pore Almes-hous that is so well endowed for Men canonized God wat how. And to speke more in plain, trow Christen Men supposen, that the point of that noble Man, that Men clepen Seint Thomas, were no cause of Martirdome.

Nona quaſtio quāe depri-
mit populum, eſt quod arti-
culus confeſſionis dictus ne-
ceſſarius hominum ſalvati-
oni cum poteſtate ficta vel
prātenſa abſolutionis, exal-
tat ſacerdotum ſuperbiam,
& dat iis opportunitatem
occultæ vocationis alterius
quam dicere volumus in
prāſenti: quia Domini &
Dominæ ſunt arreſtati pro-
pter timorem ſuorum con-
feſſorum qui non audent di-
cere veritatem: & tempus
confeſſionis eſt tempus val-
de aptum precationi & con-
tinationis peccatorum mor-
taliſium; dicunt etiam ſe eſſe
commiſſarios Dei ad judican-
dum de quolibet peccato ad
deformandum & purgan-
dum illos quos volunt. Di-
cunt ſe habere claves Cœli
& Inferni, & excommuni-
care poſſunt vel benedicere,
ligare vel ſolvere ſecundum
propriam eorum voluntatem
in tantum quod propter bur-
fellum frumenti vel duode-
cim denarios annuatim ipſi
volunt vendere gloriã regni
cœleſtis cum claſſa Waran-
ti-

The ninth Concluſion that
holdes the Popel low is,
that the Articles of Confeſ-
ſion that is ſaid neceſſari to
Salvacion of Man, with a
ſeyned Power of Abſoluci-
on, enhaunceth Prieſtes
Pride, and gyf hem opor-
tunitie of pryve calling, o-
ther than we will now ſay.
For Lordes and Ladyes ben
arreſted that for fere of
here Confeſſours they dur
not ſeyn a Crewth. And in
tyme of Confeſſion is the
beſt tyme of Mowyn, and
of pryve Continuance of de-
vely Synne. That ſeyn
thai ben Comiſſaries of
God to deme of every
Synne, to foulen and to
clenſe whom ſo thai like.
Thei ſai that thai have the
Keyes of Heven and of
Hell, they may curſe and
bleſs, bynd and unbynd, at
her own will; inſomuch
that for a Buſhel of Wete
or twelve Pence be yer, thei
will ſell the Biſſis of Heven
be Chartre, of Claſſe, of
Warrantiſe en ſele with
the common Sele. This
Con-

tificationis sigillata communi sigillo eorum. Hæc quaestio est visa in usu, quæ alia non indiget probatione.

Correlarium: Papa Romanus se fingit altum thesaurarium totius Ecclesiæ, habens dignum locale passionis Christi in custodia, cum meritis omnium sanctorum Cœli, per quod dat fictam indulgentiam à pœnâ & à culpâ, est thesaurarius maxime bannitus extra caritatem ex quo potest liberare omnes prisinarios existentes in pœnis ad voluntatem propriam, & scriptum facere nunquam venire ibidem: sed quamlibet Christianus fidelis bene potest videre quod multa secreta falsitas est abscondita in Ecclesia nostra.

Hæc est decima quaestio; Homicidium per bellum vel per legem justiciæ aliquam prætentam perpetratum propter causam temporalem vel spiritualem sine speciali revelatione expressè est contrarium novo Testamento, quod est lex gratiæ & plenum misericordiæ. Hæc quaestio

Conclusion is so seen in use, that it neddyth no other Proof.

Correlarium, The Pope of Rome that feyneth him bey Cæsozer of holi Church, having the worthi Jewell of Christes Passion in yys keeping with the Desertes of al hollowen of Heaven, by which he geveth the feyned Pardon, à pœnâ & à culpâ, he is a Cæsozer most banysht out of Charite feyn he may deliver the Prisoners that ben in payn at his own will, and mak himself so that he shall never com there: Her may every true Christian Man wel se that ther nich pryve falsheede hid in our Chirche.

The tenth Conclusion is, that Manslaue be batail oz omni Law of Rigtwisenes, for tempozel Cause oz spirituel, without special Revelation, is expresse contrarious to the New Testament, the which is a Law of Grece and full of Mercy. This Conclusion is opon-
ly

quæſtio manifeſtè probatur exemplo Chriſti prædicantis hic in terra, qui maxime docuit dimittere inimicis & miſereri adverſariorum, & non occidere eos: cujus ratio eſt, pro majori enim parte quando homines pugnant poſt primum ictum dirumpitur caritas, & quicunque caritate in morte exiit, tranſit recta via ad inferna. Et ultra hoc nos bene novimus quod nullus clericus ſcit per ſacram ſcripturam invenire vel rationem legalem oſtendere quod pœna mortis eſt infligenda potius uni peccato mortali quam alteri; ſed lex miſericordiæ quæ eſt novum teſtamentum, prohibet omne homicidium in evangelio, dictum eſt antiquitus non occides.

Correlarium eſt, ſancta ſpoliatio pauperis populi, quando Domini † preman indulgentias à pœna & à culpa hiis qui ſubſidia conferunt exercitui eorum collecto ad interficiendum Chriſtianum populum in terris remotis propter

ly proved be enſample of Chriſtes Preching here in Erthe, the wyche moſt taugte for to love and have mercy of his Enemyſ, and nogt for to ſie hem. The reaſon is of this, that for th' mo'e Party ther Hen ſi't, after th' firſt Stroke Charite is ybroke, and who ſo deyth out of Charite goth th' h'y way to Hell. And over this, we know welle that no Clerk can fynde be Scripture or be Reaſon, lawſul puniſchment of Deth, for on dedely Synne and not for another. Bot the Law of Mercy, that is the New Teſtament, forbode al Hauſtaugte in Evangelio, dictum eſt antiquis non occides.

The Correlary is, it is holi robbing of the pore Peppil whan Lordes purchas Indulgence, à pœna & à culpa, to hem, that helpeth to his oſt to * al the Chriſten Hen in ferre Lordes for temporal Goodes as we ha' ſeen,

I think it ſhould be præmiant.

** Inſtead of all perhaps it ſhould be kill.*

F f

and

propter bona temporalia obtinenda sicut alias fieri vidimus, & milites qui discurrunt ad Paganiam vel Saracenos ad obtinendum sibi magnum nomen in occisione hominum, acquirunt sibi indignationem magnam Regis pacis, quia per humilitatem & tolerantiam lex nostra extitit multiplicata, & pugnatores ac homicidas odit Christus, & eisdem minatur dicens, Qui gladio percutit gladio peribit.

Conclusio undecima verenda; dictum votum continentie factum in nostra Ecclesia à mulieribus quæ sunt fragiles & imperfectæ in natura, est causa horribilissimi peccati possibilis naturæ humanæ; quia quamvis occisio puerorum ante baptismum eorum, procuratio abortii, aut destructio feminum ante formatum foetum, facta per medicinas, sint gravia peccata valde: adhuc conjunctio mutua foeminarum contra naturam in actu carnali, vel earum coitus cum bestia irrationali, vel

and knyghtes that renne to Bevenes to geten hem a Name, in sleping of Men get mych maugre of the Kyng of Hees; for be Beknes and Sufferaunce, our Beleve was multiplied, and figters and Danksers, hem Christ hateth and manasseth, Qui gladio percutit gladio peribit.

The elevent Conclusion ys scham for to say, that the avowe of Continnence made in our Church of Wymmen, the wych ben febil and unperfite in kynd, is cause of bynging of most horribel Synne possible to Danksyng; for thow sleping of Childeren or thei ben Chastened, abortyfe, or stroyng of kynd be Medicine ben ful synful: yit knowing hem sel, or unreasonable Best, or Creature that bereth no, passyd in Wrothyness to ben punished in paynes of Hell.

cum

The

cum creatura inſenſibili non viva, tranſcendit in demeritoria actione, dignum pœnis inferni.

Correlarium; Nos velle-
mus quod viduæ & tales quæ
voverunt caſtita-tem, investi-
tæ annulo & mantello, deli-
cioſè paſtæ, vel delicatè nutri-
tæ eſſent deſponſatæ, quia
eas neſcimus excuſare de oc-
cultis peccatis.

Duodecima quæſtio; Mul-
titude artium non neceſſari-
arum homini in noſtra Ec-
cleſia, multum peccatum nu-
trit in ſuperflua curioſitate
& diſfiguratione hominum
per veſtes curioſas: hoc o-
ſtendit experientia, & ratio
probat, quia natura cum
paucis artibus ſufficeret hu-
manæ naturæ.

Correlarium; Ex quo A-
poſtolus Paulus dicit, habentes
victum & quibus tegamur,
his contenti ſimus; nobis videtur
quod aurifabri, & fabri armorum,
& omnia genera artium non neceſſari-
arum homini ſecundum A-
poſtolum, deſtrui debent
propter augmentum virtu-
tum:

The Correlary is, that
Wydewes, and ſuch as han
taken the Mantel, and the
Ryng, deliciouſly ch fed, we
wold thei were w. dded, for
we ne can excuſe hem of p. p-
vy Synnes.

The twelf Conclusion is,
that the multitude of
Craſtes nogt nedful uſed in
our Chyrche noyſch mykel
Synne in waſt Curioſity
and diſgyſing. This ſchewes
Experience, and Reaſon pro-
veth, for Nature with a few
Craſtes ſufficed to nede of
Man.

The Correlary is, that
ſais Seint Poule, we havand
our bodily Fede, and cley-
ing we ſchuld hold us payed.
As think that Goldſmythes
and Armourers, and al man-
ner Craſtes, not nedful to
Man after the Apoſtel,
ſchuld be deſtryed, for the
encreſ of Virtu. For thow
Ff 2 this

tunt : quia quamvis istæ duæ artes nominatæ, necessariae fuerunt in veteri lege ; novum tamen Testamentum has artes cum multis aliis evacuavit.

this twy Craftes nemed wer mych more needful in the Old Law, the New Testament has voyded these and many other.

I suppose it is not necessary, after the Perusal of this Piece, to observe that the *Romish Clergy* cast those Crimes upon the *Lollards*, whereof themselves were guilty, and which the *Lollards* laid to their Charge in the Face of Heaven and Earth.

It will be said perhaps that this Petition contains several Errors : I own it : but we are to observe, 1st, That it is part of the Frailty of Mankind, to fall into the contrary Extream, whilst we endeavour to avoid those things that appear to us to be mortal. 2^{dly}, That these Failings may be easily extenuated by the same Charity which we commonly make use of, when we speak of the Ancientest Fathers of the Church.

But this will some object, respects only the *Lollards* of *England*, and cannot be extended to the justifying of the *Lollards* of *Germany*, who might have been guilty of the Crimes whereof they are accused. To this Objection I answer : 1st, That since the *Lollards*, according to the Testimony of *Kilianus*, reported by *M. du Cange*, were the same with the *Waldenses* ; the Bishop of *Meaux* hath already drawn up their Apology, by maintaining that they differed only in a very few things from the *Papists*. 2^{dly}, That if one should reject the Bishop's Opinion, yet sufficient Matter for their Justification may be found in the Writings of the more honest Authors of the *Romish* Communion, such as *Aeneas Sylvius* and some others, without speaking of their own Writings or Apologies, whereof we have some few Remnants printed.

Be it as it will, to return to our English *Lollards* ; *Fox* in his *Acts and Monuments*, gives us a Bull of Pope *Boniface IX*, directed to *John* Bishop of *Hereford*, to oblige him to put King *Richard II*, upon persecuting of them. As likewise the Bull sent to King *Richard* on the same Subject, which imports, that

that he had commanded the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, to proſecute them with the utmoſt Rigor and Severity; and afterwards ſets down the Commiſſion of *Richard II*, for the Trial of one *Walter Brute*, one of that Party.

He hath alſo given us the Hiſtory of the Manner of their being hang'd and burnt by the King's Order in 1414. But becauſe it will be of moment to acquaint the Publick, in what Points they chiefly differ'd from the Church of *Rome*; and becauſe there is come into my Hands a Register of ſome of the antient Biſhops of *Salisbury*, wherein are contained many Trials of theſe antient Chriſtians, I thought it neceſſary to add ſome of thoſe Trials at the end of this Book, faithfully copied from the Original. There is no doubt but that there are many of them in the Registers of *Canterbury*, of *York*, and of ſeveral other Sees, which could demonſtrate, that the *Romiſh* Clergy have never, till the very Reformation, omitted their utmoſt Endeavours towards the Extirpation, by Fire and Fagot, of all thoſe that rebuked them for their Vices, and for the Corruption of their Doctrines.

C H A P. XXIII.

Of the Doctrine of Wicklef and his Disciples, in England.

BUT whether the *Lollards* maintain'd the Doctrine of the *Albigenses* in *England* or no, certain it is, that it received new Lustre from the Learning of *Wicklef*, and those who joined with him in the defence of the Truth, against the Friars and Court of *Rome*. My Design is not to examine the whole History of *Wicklef*, and of his Disciples, to the bottom: The Bishop of *Meaux* hath done his Endeavours to blacken them, and to load them with the foulest Calumnies; I only say in short, that the Bishop did not take the pains to consult what Mr. *Wood* hath writ on this Subject, in his *History of the University of Oxford*; where he cites the Registers of the University, which refute the greatest part of those Slanders that the *Romish* Party have published against *Wicklef*.

However, thus much is evident, that *John Wicklef* was the most renowned Man of that Age, both for Learning and Piety. He had been Educated at the University of *Oxford*, where Scholastical Divinity had establish'd its Empire, by the Care of *Robert Grossthead*, *John Duns*, *Occam*, *Richard of Armagh*, and divers others. He there publicly profess'd Divinity, and was at last made Rector of *Lutterworth* in *Leicestershire*, where he died peaceably, after great and long Troubles, which he suffered for the defence of the Truth.

The Pope had at this time usurped almost the whole Royal Authority, and more especially in *England*, where, after King *John* had made himself a Vassal of the Church of *Rome*, under *Innocent III*, the Popes commanded the Kings of *England* at pleasure. We see by the Writings of *Hervens Brito*, who wrote at *Paris* about the Beginning of this Century, where

where he was Profeſſor, that the temporal Power over all the World was directly attributed to the Pope, neither did any Kings oppoſe themſelves againſt it. It is well known that the Canonifts, who had then the Reputation, had no other Song in their Mouths but that of the Pope's Divinity, his Succeſſion to the Rights of Jeſus Chriſt, and conſequently his abſolute Empire over all the World. This we meet with in all their Writings, and more eſpecially in thoſe who writ in defence of the Popes, againſt the Emperor *Lewis of Bavaria*.

The Friars Mendicants, whom Cardinal *Albizi* did very truly call the Pope's Souldiers, had uſurped all the Rights of the Secular Clergy, and advanc'd their Conqueſts for the Pope to that Degree, that the Authority of the Princes and Biſhops ſignified nothing any longer in *England*, except only when they acted in favour of the Monks. From the time of *Matthew Paris*, who gives us ſo ſtrange a Deſcription of their Insolence, and of their Attempts againſt the Authority of the Clergy, things were carried to that height, that nothing was any longer able to oppoſe them.

Without doubt there was great need of Courage, as great as *Wickley's* was, and Learning too as vaſt as his, to ſtop ſo impetuous a Torrent. This great Man ſet himſelf againſt it, and carried on his Deſign after ſuch a manner, that the Effects and Conſequences of it, continued to the very Reformation. It would take up a Volume to give a particular Account of what he wrote in the Reigns of *Edward III*, and *Richard II*. I ſhall content my ſelf to take notice only of ſome few Particulars, and I ſhall afterwards treat of his Doctrines, which diffuſ'd it ſelf through *Germany*, and brought about a great Reformation there.

1. He publickly oppoſ'd in his Profeſſor's Chair, ſeveral Errors of the Church of *Rome*, which the Monks and Popes by their Authority, endeavour'd to maintain and countenance; in which Undertaking, he was always back'd by the Body of that Univerſity, where he had taught ſo long time.

2. He 'maintain'd his Doctrine by the Favour of the Court, and the most illustrious and learned Members thereof, and with so great a Satisfaction of the People, that *Knighton* is obliged to acknowledg, that one half, yea, the greater Part of the People, owned his Doctrine.

3. He had made so great Progress amongst the Clergy, that he writes himself, that above a third Part of the Clergy were ready to defend his Doctrine with the hazard of their Lives: Accordingly, he appeared boldly at the Synod of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in *February* 1377, to give an account of his Doctrine; where he defended himself with that Vigor, that none durst gainsay him. He appeared there again the same Year in *May*, neither durst the Archbishop then decide any thing against him. And when in the year 1382, they in his Absence, condemned some Articles which he maintain'd, yet he was there defended by the Deputies of the University of *Oxford*, who gave a publick and authentick Testimony of his Piety, and his Purity in the Faith.

4. The University of *Oxford* had espoused his Quarrel with the Church of *Rome* so far, that after his having been attack'd by a Council at *London*, in 1382, and after having maintain'd his Doctrine from the year 1367 with publick applause, his Writings continued recommended by a Decree of the University, to all the Students both in the Publick Schools and Colledges, and were not forc'd from them, till after his Condemnation, which happened at the Council of *Constance*, 28 years after his Death. We see the Esteem *Wicklef* had in that University, by the Testimony they gave in 1406, against those that endeavour'd to blemish the Memory of this great Man: for after they had spoken of his Piety and Probity, as of a Thing known to all Men, after they had declared that he was a courageous Defender of the Faith, they add, *Qui singulos mendicitate spontaneâ Christi Religionem blasphemantes, sacra Scriptura sententiis catholicè expugnavit*: "That he had in a Catholick Way, by "Texts of Scripture, overthrown all those, who by a voluntary Poverty blasphemed the Religion of Christ.

And

And ſince the *Romiſh* Party had not at that time a more formidable Enemy than *Wicklef*, they were not wanting to muſter all their Forces in order to ſuppreſs his Doctrines. In the Year 1396, *William Woodford*, a Cordelier, was choſen by *Thomas Arundel*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to write againſt *Wicklef*'s Trialogue, which he did accordingly, refuting 18 Articles of his Doctrines. This Book is printed in the *Faſciculus*.

In the Year 1411, *Thomas Walden* an *Engliſh-man*, deputed to the Council of *Conſtance*, dedicated his *Doctrinal* to Pope *Martin V*, againſt *Wicklef*, where he accuſeth him of above 800 Errors. This Monk, as able as he was, was really one of the moſt paſſionate Diſputers that ever writ: but withal it is true alſo, that to follow his Meaſures, we can ſcarcely imagine a more particular Diſcuſſion of the Errors, Superſtitions and falſe Suppoſitions, which the Church of *Rome* makes uſe of to maintain her Errors and falſe Worſhip, than that which *Wicklef* made uſe of. In the Account that *Walden* gives of it, we meet with a great Knowledge of Holy Scripture, and great Skill in Antiquity, whoſe Authority he makes uſe of to confound the *Romiſh* Novelties; we diſcover there a great ſtrength in his way of reaſoning, and an extraordinary Method in his Conſequences; ſo that he ſeems to have fully penetrated the Weakneſs of the *Romiſh* Cauſe, and overthrowed its whole Foundations.

One may plainly diſcover this, by running over the Titles of the *Doctrinal* of *Thomas Walden*, upon Matters of Faith, upon the Sacraments, upon thoſe which he calls ſacramental things, or that belong to Sacraments; for we ſcarcely meet with any Articles controverted between the Church of *Rome* and the *Proteſtants*, which *Wicklef* hath not touched and handled, and that with ſufficient Exactneſs too. This hath obliged the *Papiſts* with ſo much Care to reprint *Walden*'s Works againſt *Wicklef*, as containing a Body of their Controverſies againſt the *Proteſtants*.

I am not ignorant that *Walden* objects ſome very harſh and impious Opinions to him, and that the Council of *Conſtance* has mingled ſeveral of that Nature amongſt the 45 Articles of *Wicklef*, which are there condemned. But here I muſt deſire

my Reader to call to mind four things. 1st, That *Woodesford* hath objected no such thing to *Wicklef*, which shews that he never taught any like Doctrine, but that they are only Consequences drawn by a scholastical Divine, who was used to carry things too far. 2^{dly}, That *Walden* wrote at a time when the Popish Party had the upper-hand in the Court of *Henry V*, who had condemned the *Wicklefites* as guilty of high Treason, which *Walden* takes notice of in his Dedication to *Martin V*. 3^{dly}, That it is very probable that this Catalogue of 45 Articles was drawn up by *Walden* himself, who was present at the Council of *Constance*, on purpose to promote *Wicklef*'s Condemnation. 4^{thly}, That the Council of *Constance* was the first, where by publick Consent that Maxim, *That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks*, was ever put in Practice. Now let any one judg what Equity or Truth can be expected from Villains of such profligate Principles, who think it an Honour to act in every thing according to them?

After all this I might well excuse my self from setting down the Opinions of *Wicklef*, or from saying any thing for his Justification; but I am willing to do both the one and the other, for the Honour of this great Man, and for the Readers Satisfaction. The Opinions of *Wicklef* with relation to the Doctrine of Protestants, are these.

C H A P. XXIV.

Of the Calumnies that have been unjuſtly charged upon Wicklef by the Papiſts.

1. **W**icklef owns but 22 Canonical Books of Scripture, excluding all the reſt, which he calls Apocryphal ^(a). (a) De ver. ſcript. pag. 110.
2. He teaches that the Scripture contains all things neceſſary to Salvation. “ Forasmuch, *ſaith he*, as in Scripture all Truth is contained, it is evident that all Diſputes that take not their Riſe thence, are prophane ^(b). We are not to admit any Knowledge or Concluſion, which hath not its Teſtimony from Scripture ^(c). (b) Ibid. pag. 39.
(c) Ibid. pag. 66.
3. He affirms, that every well-diſpoſed Chriſtian may underſtand the Holy Scripture ^(d). “ God hath appointed the common ſenſible Scripture, to the comprehending of the Catholick Senſe, whereof God can never be wanting, becauſe he always enlightneth ſome particular Men, to which Illumination Holineſs of Life conduceth very much, and it is the Duty of Divines to continue it in our Mother the Church, which ought to keep within her Bounds; ſo that it is not lawful for Divines to frame ſtrange Doctrines, beſides the Faith of Catholick Scripture. For which End he lays down ſeveral Rules for the Underſtanding of the Scriptures. (d) Ibid. p. 205.
4. He aſſerts that the Scriptures ought to be tranſlated into the vulgar Tongue. “ ^(e) The Truth of God, *ſaith he*, is not more confined to one Language than to another. ^(f) Jeſus Chriſt delivered the Lord’s Prayer in a known Language. ^(g) Why then may not the Goſpel and other parts of Scripture be writ in *Engliſh*? ^(h) The Clergy ought to rejoice that the People know the Law of God. It was for this Reaſon that he tranſlated the whole Bible, whereof ſeveral Copies are ſtill to be found in the King’s Library, and in ſeveral other Libraries in *England*. (e) Lib. Miſcell. pag. 24.
(f) Ibid. pag. 25.
(g) Ibid. pag. 24.
(h) Ibid. pag. 26.

- We may easily know what he thought of Tradition from these Words. “ (i) We have a perfect Knowledge of all things necessary to Salvation, from the Faith of Scripture. (k) Decrees, Statutes and Rites, that are added according to humane Traditions, are all inseparably sinful, because they make the Law of God more difficult to be kept, and hinder the Course of God’s Word. (l) Traditions are hateful to God and the Church, except only so far as they are grounded on Scripture. (m) Mens own Inventions are chiefly to get Money: (n) they all found for the Churches Gain.
1. See what he saith of the Pope’s Authority. “ (o) In *Constantine’s* time the Priesthood was removed; and it was not decreed, that the Bishop of that Church should necessarily have a Primacy over all others, as is here supposed. “ (p) Neither do I believe that any Catholick is so foolish as to believe, that when Christ’s Vicar writes, Let it be done, and he, who spake the Word and all things were made, doth not approve of it, he hath any Right to command, because of him alone it can be said with Truth, So I will, and so I command, let my Will stand instead of Reason. And accordingly he was condemned by the Council of *Constance* for believing, (q) That it is ridiculous to suppose the Pope to be the Highest Priest, and that Christ never approved of any such Dignity, neither in *Peter* nor in any one else.
2. Of the Power which the Popes assume to themselves over the Temporalities of Kings, *Wicklef* wrote a particular Treatise, intituled *De Civili Dominio*, to overthrow their Claims, where he speaks thus: “ In Civil Power there cannot be two Lords of equal Authority, the one must be principal, and the other subordinate. We will not subject our King in this matter to him, when he bestowing any Mortmain, reserves to himself the capital Dominion.
3. He did not believe the Pope’s Infallibility. “ (r) The Pope may sin as Head of the Church: (s) He may sin by Nature, having a capital Lord above him. (t) There is no doubt but that an Error may be committed in the Election of a Pope, and yet more in his following Conversation. “ He
- (i) De ver. script. pag. 108.
 (k) Art. 41. Oxon. condemnatus Reg. Acad.
 (l) De verit. script. pag. 411.
 (m) Ibid. pag. 333.
 (n) Ibidem.
 (o) Ibid. pag. 565.
 (p) Expositio Decalogi, p. 5.
 (q) Art. 17. damnat. in Syn. Const.
 (r) De ver. script. pag. 456.
 (s) Expos. Decal. p. 123.
 (t) De ver. script. pag. 457.
- Pag. 67.

“(u) He may err in Feeding the Churches, or in Articles of the Faith. (w) Many Popes have been corrupted with heretical Pravity. He believed it was probable, (x) That all the Bishops of Rome for 300 Years and more before his time, were fully Hereticks.

4. He made no Difficulty of ſaying, that the Pope was the chiefest Antichrist (y).

1. Wicklef informs us what his Thoughts were of the Church of Rome, when he ſaith, (z) It is poſſible that the Lord Pope may be ignorant of the Law of Scripture, and the Church of England may be far truer in her Judgment of Catholick Truth, than the whole Church of Rome that is made up of the Pope and Cardinals.

2. He maintains that the Church of Rome may err, but that this doth not hinder, but that the Purity of Doctrine may be preſerved in the Catholick Church. “(a) It is neceſſary, ſays he, That the Catholick Faith be in the whole Mother-Church.

3. He did not believe that wicked Men were true Members of the Church, and cenſures thoſe who teach, that Men who ſhall be damned are notwithstanding Members of the Church, ſo joining Chriſt and the Devil: (b) They teach together, ſaith he, that thoſe Men that ſhall be damned be Members of Holy Church, and thus they wedden Chriſt and the Devil together: he ſaith, that unbelieving and ungodly Men (c), are in the Holy Church by Body, not by Thought; by Name, not by Deed; in Number, not by Merit.

As to the Doctrine of Juſtification, it is very plain, that he was not of the Opinion of the Church of Rome, as theſe Words ſhew: “(d) The Merit of Chriſt is of it ſelf ſufficient to redeem every Man from Hell; (e) ’tis to be underſtood of a Sufficiency of it ſelf, without any other concurring Cauſe. (f) All that follow Chriſt, being juſtified by his Righteouſneſs, ſhall be ſaved as his Offspring.

He rejects the Doctrine of the Merit of Works, and falls upon thoſe (g) which ſay, “That God did not all for them, but think that their Merits help. (h) Weal us Lord for nought,

(u) De Blaſphem. pag. 30.
(w) De verit. ſcript. pag. 181.
(x) Ibid. pag. 55.
(y) De verit. Serm. pag. 590.
(z) De ver. ſcript. pag. 182.

(a) Ibid. pag. 105.

(b) Contr. Frat. mendic. pag. 39.

(c) Comm. in Pfal. pag. 2. in Praef.

(d) De ver. ſcript. p. 552.
(e) Ibid. pag. 553.
(f) Ibid. pag. 550.

(g) Com. in Pfal. p. 474.
(h) Ibid. p. 182.

“that

- (i) Ibid. pag. 368. “ that is, no Merit of ours, but for thy Mercy : (i) Lord, not to us, but to thy Mercy give thy Joy.
As for what concerns the Lord’s Supper, we find that this great Man did not believe Transubstantiation: See how he expresses himself
- (k) Confess. de sacr. Euch. p. 58. “ (k) This Bread is fairly, truly and really, spiritually, virtually and sacramentally the Body of Christ; (l) as St. *John* the Baptist was figuratively *Elias*, and not personally. (m) As Christ is both God and Man at once, so the consecrated Host is the Body of Christ, and true Bread at the same time, because it is the Body of Christ at least, in a Figure, and true Bread in its Nature; or, which signifies the same thing, it is true Bread naturally, and the Body of Christ figuratively. He constantly affirmed that this Doctrine (n) lasted in the Church for a thousand Years, till Sathanas was unbound, and (o) the People blinded by Heresys, with the Heresys of Accidents without Subjects.
- (l) Art. 4. in Syn. Const. damnat. “
(m) Art. 49. Oxon. damnat. “
(n) De Blasph. pag. 40. “
(o) Ibid. p. 37. “
1. He owned but two Sacraments, as appears by the 45th, 46th, 47th, and 48th Articles, condemned at *Oxford*, and in the Council of *Constance*.
 2. (p) He was against the Use of Chrism in Baptism.
 3. He maintained that extream Unction was not a Sacrament. “ (q) If corporal Unction were a Sacrament, as now is pretended, Christ and his Apostles would not have been wanting to declare it to the World.
 4. His Opinion concerning Confirmation, as it is practised amongst the Papists, he expresseth thus. “ As for the Oil wherewith the Bishops anoint Children, and the linnen Coif that covers the Head, it seems to be a vain Ceremony, that can have no Foundation in Scripture, and that this Confirmation being introduced without any Apostolical Authority, is Blasphemy against God.
1. He declam’d against the Use of Images with great Earnestness. “ (r) We ought to preach, *saieth he*, against the Costliness, Beautifulnes, and other Arts of cheating, wherewith we impose upon Strangers, rather to pick their Pockets, than for the Propagation of Christ’s Religion. (s) The Devil by his Falshood deludes many, who sometimes suppose a Miracle to have been wrought, when indeed it “ was
- Art. 8. in Syn. Const. damn. “
(r) Exp. Decal. p. 48. “
(s) Ibid. p. 48. “

- “ was nothing but a Cheat. (t) The Poison of Idolatry lies (t) Ibid.
 “ hid in continued Imagination.
2. One may see how he distinguisheth Sins. “ (u) Some (u) Miscell. p.
 “ Sins are called little Sins in comparison of greater, and 182.
 “ (w) venial, because God’s Son forgives them. (w) De 7.
 pec. mort.
3. He did not own the Necessity of Auricular Confessi-
 on: “ (x) Vocal Confession made to the Priest, introduc’d (x) Art. 9. in
 “ by Innocent, is not so necessary. (y) If a Man be truly con- Syn. Const.
 “ trite, all outward Confession is superfluous and unprofi- damnat.
 “ table to him. (y) Art. 9.
 Londin. dam-
 nat.
4. He wrote against the Doctrine of Satisfaction. “ * The * Art. 47. Ox-
 “ present Pope has reason to blush for the modern Penance, on. damnat.
 “ established by him without any Ground; since it is not
 “ lawful for any Mortals, no not for the Apostles themselves,
 “ to make the Law of God difficult, beyond what he him-
 “ self hath limited.
5. His Judgment concerning Pardons and Indulgences he
 expresseth in these Words: “ † It is a foolish thing to rely upon † Art. 42. Lond.
 “ the Indulgences of the Pope and the Bishops. damn.
6. He gives this Rule concerning Fasting. “ || In Works of † De ver. script.
 “ Humanity we must follow Christ, by doing such Works pag. 8.
 “ as bear some Proportion with his. — We must fast 40 Days
 “ from Sin, and as far as is possible to Nature, from super-
 “ fluous corporal Food.
7. Concerning Monks and their Vows, he speaks thus; (z) (z) Vita sa-
 “ Friars studien to be rich: (a) they rob Men by begging. cerd. p. 59.
 “ — Touch a great Cup of Gold or Silver, but not a Penny (a) Reg. S.
 “ or Farthing. (b) They magnify more Obedience to sinful Franc. p. 76.
 “ Men than to Christ. (b) Ibid. p. 77.
 * Vid. de ver.
 script. p. 370,
 406, 407. &
 Miscell. p. 63,
 65.
8. * He approved the Marriage of Priests.
9. He disapproved the Practice of the Church of Rome in
 the Matter of Divorces. “ † To make Divorce common, in- † Miscell. p. 54.
 “ numerable Subterfuges are invented. Exp. Decal. p.
 117.
10. He blamed the Custom of the Church of Rome; in
 granting Dispensations for marrying in case of Propinquity of
 Blood. “ || Such Dispensations as these bring Confusion into
 “ the Church. † De ver. script.
 p. 399.

- * Vid. Capitul. 15. de veric. script. where he handles this Subject at large, and p 207.
† Dever. script. p. 453.
|| De ver. script. 368, 612. Exp. Lec. p. 124.
11. He condemned all Equivocation, which so many Casuists of the Church of *Rome* pretend to justify *.
12. He maintains that the King ought not to be subject to any foreign Jurisdiction; " For otherwise, *saith he*, Kings would not be able fully to keep the Peace in their own Kingdoms †.
13. He blamed the too frequent Use of Excommunication ||.
14. He maintained, " That a true Christian ought not to believe implicitly, but with an explicit Faith, that expresses the Particulars, more or less according as they are more or less obliged by God and his Gifts, and the Opportunity of time *.
15. He had no great Veneration for the Doctrine of *Purgatory*, when he saith, " Whatsoever is said of *Purgatory*, is only spoke threateningly, as so many pious Lies †.

* De ver. script. p. 111.

† De ver. script. p. 267.

Thus we see what was *Wickles's* Faith, and what his Judgment was concerning the Superstitions and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*; from whence we may gather that he came very near to the Belief of the Protestant Churches.

It was no difficult matter therefore for Dr. *James* to justify him against the horrid Calumnies of *Walden*, by consulting his manuscript Works, which are to be found in several Libraries in *England*.

1. They objected against him, that he taught, that if a Priest or a Bishop ordains or consecrates the Sacrament of the Altar, or administers Baptism, whilst he is in mortal Sin, it can do him no Service.

But the Falshood of this Objection, appears from *Wickles's* own Words, which assure us of the contrary; " Except a Christian, *saith he*, be united to Christ by Grace, he hath not Christ the Saviour; nor without Falshood, can he pronounce the Sacramental Words, *Who they may do good to those who are capable of them*; for it behoves the Priest that consecrates, to be a Member of Christ; and as some holy Men express it, to be in some sort Christ himself ||.

|| De ver. script. p. 138.

They objected against him, that he had asserted that it was not lawful for any Ecclesiastical Person to have any temporal Revenue.

But

But nothing is more falſe, for *Wickleſ* only ſaith, that the Goods of the Clergy are temporal Things, what way ſoever they come by them; and that the Poſſeſſion of them, is to be regulated by the Laws, as well as the Eſtates of Laymen;

“(c) *The Goods of ſpiritual Men, ſaith he, be temporal, in what manner ſoever they come to them, and muſt be ordered after the temporal Law, as the Goods of temporal Men muſt be.*

(c) De fund. leg. Ang. Lib. 1. cap. 32.

They ſaid that it was his Opinion, that no Prelate ought to excommunicate any Perſon whatſoever, unleſs he knew that God himſelf had excommunicated him.

But *Wickleſ* only ſpeaks of thoſe raſh and precipitate Excommunications, which never fail to produce bad Effects, and which are only diſcharged from carnal Reſpects. “(d) They like the High-Prieſts, Scribes and Pharifees, do not only eat the Fleſh, but the very Bones too; they do not water what is dry with the Word of God, but endeavour to cut and break what is fat and full of Marrow. He ſaith alſo, * that Excommunications are the Fruit of Pride, to terrify poor Laymen.

(d) Exp. De-cal. p. 130.

* Ibid. p. 123.

They accuſ'd him of teaching, that a Man could not be either a Biſhop or Prieſt, as long as he continued in Mortal Sin.

But no ſuch thing can be inferr'd from *Wickleſ*'s Words; for he ſtill aiming at the Reformation of the Clergy, which was very corrupt in his time, did not carry it too far when he ſaid, “That (e) it is not the Name that makes a Biſhop, but the Life. (f) Whoſoever has only the Name of a Prieſt or Biſhop, and does not endeavour to add to that Name the reaſon of it, he is in truth neither Biſhop nor Prieſt.

(e) De ver. ſcript. p. 443.
(f) Ibid.

They affirm'd, that he had taught that Sovereigns might deprive the Clergy of their Poſſeſſions, if they thought good, as often as they committed any Fault.

But *Wickleſ* never pretended, that the Clergy ought to be deprived of the Goods they poſſeſſed for ſlight Faults. True it is, he did not think the Government was obliged to maintain ſo many uſeleſs Monks: but as to the Biſhops and Prieſts,

he never taught, that they ought to be deprived of their Benefices, except they made themselves unworthy of them by a perfectly scandalous Life.

He taught, say they, that Tithes were only Alms, and that the Parishioners might keep them back, and put them to what other Uses they pleased.

I own, that *Wickles* often said, that Tithes were nothing else but meer Alms; but it is false, that ever he asserted that the Parishioners might keep them back: on the contrary, he

(g) De ver. script. p. 415.

saith, (g) "It belongs to Parishioners for the good of their Souls, to minister Tithes and Oblations to whom they are

(h) Ibidem.

due. (h) The Priests of Christ ought to withdraw the Word of God from those who are not rightly dispos'd for it; that is, if the People should be so obstinate and disobedient to Holy-Mother the Church, as either to forbid, or not to minister the Necessaries of Life to him who preaches the Gospel to them.

They object against him, that he despised temporal Things too much, for the Love which he had for those that are eternal; and that he join'd himself to the Mendicant-Friars, approving their Poverty, and commending their Perfection. A strange Crime indeed!

It is a surprizing Thing to see them accuse *Wickles* upon this account; but it is no less astonishing to hear them assert, that he had great inclination for the Begging-Friars: to be convinc'd of the Falsity whereof, we need only read the complaint he made to the Parliament, and his Treatise against the Order of Begging-Friars.

He held, say they, that Church-men ought to beg.

Whereas on the contrary, he maintained that God had condemn'd Beggary, in the Old and New Testament. See the fifth Chapter of his Book against the Order of Friars Mendic.

They accuse him for condemning lawful Oaths.

But this is for want of having read his Works; for it appears by his Latin *Exposition of the third Commandment*, and by his Book of *the Truth of Scripture*, that he condemns all manner of Equivocations, and ambiguous Expressions, whether with Oaths or without. He will not have any one to lie for a World,

World, or to ſave an infinite number of Souls, and much leſs to ſwear falſly.

He taught, ſay they, that all Things come to paſs by an abſolute Neceſſity.

We may eaſily ſee what *Wickleſ* believ'd concerning this Matter. (i) " God promiſeth no Man either Reward or Punishment, but under either a tacit or expreſs Condition. (i) De ver. ſcript. p. 383.
 " (k) Though all future Things do happen neceſſarily; yet (k) Exp. Decal. p. 81.
 " God wills that good Things happen to his Servants, through
 " the Efficacy of Prayer.

He taught, ſaid they, Doctrines tending to Sedition; as, That the Magiſtrate ceaſeth to be a Magiſtrate, whiſt he is under Mortal Sin; and that it is lawful for the People to chaſtiſe their Princes, when ever they commit any Fault. This Accuſation is only founded upon this, that *Wickleſ* put the King, and all other inferiour Magiſtrates in mind, that they did not bear the Sword in vain. He ſaith, " If a King fails to
 " do his Duty, and deſpiſeth the Engagements that lie upon him to govern his Subjects well, that he is not properly nor truly King, that is to ſay, he doth not perform
 " the Duty of a King; (l) *Perdens nomen officii & ordinis in effectu*; (l) De ver. ſcript. p. 513.
 " Loſing in effect the Name of his Office and Order: Which are the very Terms of *Braſton*, the moſt renowned Lawyer of *England*, who was never accuſed of endeavouring to incline the People to Rebellion.

They accuſed him of not having the Modeſty that a Divine ought to have, and that he was too much given to Raillery.

I grant that when he was a young Man he was blamed for this Fault, which he returned in a very edifying manner. I take God to witneſs, ſaith he, that I principally intend the
 " Glory of God, and the Good of the Church, out of a Veneration for the Scripture, and Obſervance of the Law of
 " Chriſt; but if with this Intention there may have crept in any ſiniſter Aim of Vain-glory, worldly Profit, and Deſire
 " of Revenge, I am ſorry for it, and by the Grace of God
 " ſhall endeavour to avoid it for the time to come.

They accuſed *Wickleſ* that he was wont to diſſemble his Opinions, to avoid the danger which he might otherwiſe have drawn upon himſelf.

But we may with Truth give him this Testimony, that he was so little acquainted with dissembling in Matters of Religion; that he was ready to suffer Death for most of the Opinions that he maintain'd against his Enemies. (m) "I am not suspected, saith he, of being afraid to own these Conclusions; it shall appear by the Grace of God, that I am not afraid to answer him and his Complices, either to his Face, or in the Schools. (n) If God will give me a teachable Heart, a perfecting Constancy, and Charity towards Christ, towards his Church, and towards the Members of the Devil, who tear the Church of Christ, that so I may rebuke them out of pure Charity, how glorious a Cause should I have to die for!

(m) De ver. script. p. 183.

(n) Ibid. pag. 380.

They say that his Rage against the Church of *Rome*, was because the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had deprived him of a Benefice.

But besides, that we cannot build much upon the Testimony of Monks, who invented this Fable, *Wickles* himself protests all along, that he had no particular Aim in all his Writings, and that he only disputes for the Honour of God, and the Edification of the Church.

De verit. script. pag. 145, & 15.

Lastly, They objected against him, that he maintained that every Creature was God; and that God could not hinder himself from obeying the Devil.

Bellar. in Praef. Grets in defenf. pag. 8. (o) Exp. Decul. pag. 46.

But the first Part of this Objection is ridiculous, and rais'd by Men in a Rage, who put a perverse Sense upon the following Words; (o) "The word [*God*] is to be taken in a twofold Manner, absolutely, Lord of Lords; but when it is contracted or specified by a Mark of Diminution, so it signifies any Good that a Man loves most. And the second Part of it is wholly grounded upon his Manner of explaining the Doctrine of Providence in the case of Sin; which is a Subject wherein it would be an easy matter to prove against the Papists that they have maintained Propositions, that sound as ill as any thing of his; and nothing but the Spirit of Slander, can impute it as a Crime to Divines, that they make use of some improper Expressions in a Matter which is so difficult to be handled, without seeming to contradict the Ideas which we have of the Holiness of God, and his Hatred of Sin.

C H A P. XXV.

That the Doctrine of the Albigenses was propagated in Spain, and that it continued there till the Reformation.

Whatever Persecutions have been exercised against the *Albigenses* by their Enemies, yet we are not to think that they were ever utterly destroy'd. We find that this Persecution continued in a manner without Interruption, until the time of the Reformation. *Frison*, a Divine of *Paris*; in the Life of *Spondanus* Bishop of *Pamiers*, reports, that that Bishop found a Church of them in the *Pyrenean* Mountains, where they had found a safe Retreat from the Violence of their Persecutors, and where they liv'd apart by themselves.

We find the same thing also in *Spain*, where they spread themselves in great Numbers. I grant indeed that there they were very cruelly persecuted under the Reign of *Alphonso*, whose Edicts against them, and the *Waldenses*, are still to be seen: but their Calamities were doubled upon them after the Inquisition was set up, which was not long before the middle of the 13th Century.

But with all this, it was thought necessary to employ the Pen against them, as well as Fire and other Torments. This appears from the Writings of *Lucas Tudenfis*, who wrote under *Gregory IX*, and under his Successor, and who jumbles and confounds them with other Hereticks, and with the *Manichees*, to countenance the Method of the Inquisition, and to authorize their bloody Executions. It appears from the Writings of this *Lucas Tudenfis*, that they disputed vigorously against most of those Articles which we find fault with in the Church of *Rome*; and that to convince them, they were obliged to use other Methods than those of Disputing, that is, direct Violence,

lence, which indeed they employ'd in very good earnest; and we perceive by *Emericus's* Book, entituled, *The Directory of the Inquisitors*, that they spared neither Craft nor Cruelty to surprize them, and bring them to Destruction.

Rainaldus tells us, that in the year 1344, one *John du Moulin* Inquisitor of the Province of *Tholouse*, prosecuting the *Waldenses* violently that were settled there, they retired from thence, some into *Bearn*, and others into *Arragon*, where they were persecuted at the Sollicitation of this Inquisitor, who made the Bishop of *Pampelona* take up Arms to suppress them.

But yet after all this, we find that the *Albigenses* were preserv'd there, and gave no small Trouble to the Inquisitors. We have an illustrious Testimony hereof in the Work of a Friar Inquisitor, of the Order of *Cordeliers*, who wrote in the year 1461, his *Fortalitium Fidei*; In the 11th Book, which he entitles, *De Bello Hæreticorum*, he sets down these Heresies, which he afterwards refutes.

pag. 82, &c.

The third Heresy is, that which some Enemies of Christianity do profess, who pretend, that Confession has no Virtue of its own to procure the Remission of his Sins to any Man. This they prove after this following Manner:

First; They say it is clear, that when God pardons Sin, he doth it not with any respect to the Merit of any Man, but of meer Grace; whence it follows evidently, that the Remission of Sins cannot be attributed to a Man's confessing of them; for if it were so, we must own that the Remission is no longer of Free-gift, but that it is a Recompence given by God to the Merit of him that confesseth.

Secondly; They say, if it be Confession that procures a Man the Pardon of his Sins, what will become of that Passage in the third Chapter of the Epistle to *Titus*, where it is expressly declared, *That God hath saved us of his Mercy, and not according to the Works of Righteousness that we have done?* Or, how shall we explain that in the ninth of the *Romans*, *That it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth Mercy?* We know, that the first Grace that God works in us, is the Remission of Sins: now if this Grace be absolutely

lutely the Effect of the Mercy of God, it cannot be the Effect of Confession, which by Conſequence is not neceſſary to Salvation.

And having thus endeavoured to defend their Opinion by Reason, they endeavour alſo to back it by the Authority of the Fathers, and quote St. *Ambroſe*, who ſaith upon *Luke*, *St. Peter wept, becauſe his Sorrow was ſo great, that it did not permit him to ſpeak; we find that he wept, but not that he ſaid any thing; I read his Tears, but I find nothing of his Confession.*

The fourth Hereſy is of thoſe who acknowledg that we ought to confeſs, but add, that we are not to confeſs to Man. What need is there, ſay they, to confeſs to a Man, now under the Covenant of Grace, ſeeing that even under the Law it was ſufficient to confeſs to God, by a ſingle Act of Contrition. They alledg alſo the Authority of St. *Chryſoſtom*, who ſaith, upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, *It is not ſaid, that you need publiſh what your Sins are to the World, neither need you accuſe your ſelf before all Mankind; you are only enjoined to praſtiſe the Exhortation of David in the 136th Pfalm, That you ſpread all the Parts of your Life in the Preſence of God, that you confeſs to him who is your true Judg, and that you rather expreſs your Repentance by the ſecret Groans of your Conſcience, than by the abundance of Words: this is the true way to obtain Grace from Heaven.*

They make uſe alſo of another Paſſage of the ſame Father, where he ſaith, *If thou deſireſt to have thy Sins blotted out, confeſs them; but if thou beeſt aſhamed to diſcover them to any Body, repeat them every Day in the ſecret of thine Heart: It is not neceſſary to tell them to Men, they might, it may be, afterwards reproach thee with them, but declare them rather to God, who only can give thee ſuch a Remedy as thou wanteſt; and though thou ſhouldeſt not confeſs them to him, yet he ſtill ſees thee, he was preſent, and look'd upon thee whilſt thou didſt commit them.* From all which he concludes, *That we ought to confeſs our Sins only to God.* And this deteſtable Hereſy, which is praſtiſed in ſecret Aſſemblies, hath already infected a great number of People.

The ſixth Hereſy is of thoſe, who maintain that it is not neceſſary to confeſs to a Prieſt, when a Man can confeſs himſelf to a Layman.

The seventh Heresy is, That we ought to obey none but God alone. This is the Error of a certain Arch-Heretick called *Waldo*, from whom the Hereticks that we now call *Waldenses*, derive their Name. This miserable Wretch without being sent from God, took upon him of his own Head to form a new Sect; and without the Permission of any Bishop, without Inspiration, without Knowledge or Learning, set up for a Preacher; so that we may well say of him, as *Alanus* doth in his Book against Hereticks, that he is a wise Man without Reason, a Prophet without a Vision, an Apostle without being sent, and a Doctor who never had Instruction. See here how his Followers undertake to defend his Heresy. “ We see, say they, in the 5th Chapter of the *Acts*, that St. *Peter* and St. *John*, speaking to the Scribes and Pharisees, tell them, *Judg ye whether it be reasonable to obey you rather than God*, and not to do what he commands us, because you forbid us? Moreover, these Hereticks maintain, “ That if we obey a Man, when we ought not to obey him, we commit a Sin, because then we don’t obey God: *Samuel*, say they, saith to *Saul*, in the 15th of the 1st Book of *Samuel*, that *Disobedience (or Rebellion) is as the Sin of Witchcraft*: Now he that addicts himself to Witchcraft, doth in a manner renounce God; but he that refuseth to obey a Man, doth not therefore commit the Sin of Witchcraft, which Sin is not committed but where a Man refuseth to obey God. We ought therefore to obey God and not Man, because in disobeying Man we are not guilty of that Sin, but only when we disobey God.

The eighth Heresy is what these same *Waldenses* profess, that supposing we ought to obey any Man, it must be such a Man as is not under Sin himself, and that good Priests only have the Power of binding and loosing. This also was one of the Errors of *John Havel*, that is to say, *Wicklef*, an *Englishman*, who amongst many others which he taught, maintained, that a temporal Lord, a Bishop or Prelate, have no Authority as long as they are under mortal Sin. And he hath been followed by another Fox, who asserted the same thing, *John Huss*, a *Bohemian*; and by another Viper, *Jerom* of *Prague*, who were both of them condemned for Hereticks in the Council held

held at *Conſtance* in the Year 1414, in the Preſence of *Martin V.* They ſay therefore that we ought to be obedient to good Prelats, that is to ſay, to thoſe who are no leſs Succeſſors of the Apoſtles in their Lives and Converſation, than in their Charge and Function; but as for thoſe whoſe Life and Converſation has nothing in it Apoſtolic, they are Hirelings, and no true Shepherds: They endeavour to ſupport this their Error firſt, by the Words of *St. Auſtin*, in his Book of Baptiſm; “ That God pardons Sins either immediately by himſelf, or by the Members of his Dove, and that the Saints can either abſolve us of our Sins, or retain them. He ſaith alſo upon *Exodus*, ſpeaking of the Plate of Gold, which was to be always upon the Fore-head of the High Prieſt: “ This Plate was the Teſtimony of a good Life, and that he only who hath the Teſtimony of a good Life, not in a Figure, but in Truth and Reality, can forgive Sins.

So likewiſe *St. Gregory* declares, “ That they only in this World have the Power of binding and looſing, ſo as the Apoſtles had, who retain their Doctrine, and imitate their Examples. And *Origen* ſpeaking of the Power of *St. Peter*, ſaith, That the ſame is alſo granted to thoſe who imitate him, becauſe all thoſe that follow the Foot-ſteps of *St. Peter*, can alſo lawfully bind and looſe. Laſtly, It is ſaid in *Malachy*, Chap. 2. *I will curſe your Bleſſings: And in Ezekiel*, Chap. 13. *Wo to thoſe that quicken the dead Souls, and who declare thoſe dead that don't die.* If God, ſay the Hereticks, do curſe the Bleſſing of wicked Paſtors, and declares that the Souls which they pretend to quicken, do not live; how can he communicate his Grace through their Channel?

The ninth Heresy is profeſſed by the ſame Hereticks, who maintain that it is neither the Office nor the Order, but only the Merit of a good Life, which confers the Power of binding and looſing, of conſecrating and bleſſing; ſo that this is their Conclusion, the Merit of a good and holy Life, ſay they, is of greater Efficacy to confer upon any one the Right of conſecrating and bleſſing, of binding and looſing, than the Order or Office: and therefore they have not received any Orders; yet they believe themſelves to be juſt, and to have

the Merits of the Apostles, and so they take upon them to bless as the Priests do, and say, That they can consecrate, bind and loose; because it is the Merit and not the Office that confers this Power. And because they pretend to be the Apostles Vicegerents, they say, that their Merit, gives them this Charge. In this it is that they chiefly oppose the Faith of the Church, and declare themselves to be Hereticks. But they endeavour to defend their Heresy, by the Authority of *Eficius*, who saith, That the Priests do not bless by their own Authority, but only because they represent Jesus Christ; and that it is because Christ is in them, that they can bestow their plenary Benediction. And they say, moreover, that not only a Priest, but every one that hath Christ in himself, and represents him in his Life, as *Moses* did, has the Power of conferring Blessings.

The tenth Heresy is likewise taught by the same Hereticks, who maintain that the Dispensations or Indulgences which a Bishop grants at the Consecration of a Church, or upon any other occasion, are not of any Value. Their Reason is this; Suppose, say they, that a Man be obliged to a Penance of three Years, at the Consecration of a Church, and one Bishop releases him of a third part of his Penance; a second and third Bishop may do the like, and thus for three Half-pence a Man shall be released of this three Years Penance: And which is more, these sorts of Dispensations are unjust, for there is no Proportion between a Half-penny or a Crown, and one whole Years Penance.

The eleventh Heresy is, That the Prayers which are made for the Dead, by those who are in any mortal Sin, are unprofitable. For, say these Hereticks, how can these Prayers do any Service to the Dead, since they can do none at all to those who make them? Can Prayers which are hurtful to them that make them, be of any Advantage to the Person for whom they are designed? *Item, in 3 q. in gravioribus*, it is said, When a Judge is solicited for his Favour to a Malefactor, by any one that he hath no liking to, it serves only to incense him so much the more, and to make him pronounce a more severe Sentence: So in like manner, if any Man prays without
Devo-

Devotion, it is the ſame thing as if he deſired his own Condemnation; for how can any Man whoſe very Prayer is Sin, obtain by that Prayer any good thing for his Neighbour? Or, how can he whoſe Prayer deſerves nothing at the Hand of God but Punishment, pray profitably for another, ſeeing God ſaith to the Sinner, *Pſalm 49. What haſt thou to do to declare my Statutes, or why doſt thou take my Covenant into thy Mouth?* They call alſo Reaſon to their Aſſiſtance; When a Prieſt, ſay they, celebrates the Maſs, he being in mortal Sin, the Action that he doth is evil, and deſerves eternal Punishment, and by Conſequence he cannot merit for another the Pardon of his Sins, becauſe it is impoſſible to merit Good and Evil, Reward and Punishment by the ſelf-ſame Action. They quote the Canon-Law alſo, which forbids us to aſſiſt at the Maſs of a Prieſt, who we are ſure keeps a Concubine. They prove likewiſe by another Authority, that Men ought not to pray or ſing Pſalms in the Church, as long as they are under mortal Sin.

The twelfth Hereſy is of thoſe who deny Purgatory, and who ſay that it is a meer Invention of the Church to make the People give Alms and Offerings, and to be at the charge of pompous Funerals for the Souls of the deceaſed, or other things of that Nature.

I confeſs he does not mention the *Albigenſes* by Name, and that he confounds theſe pretended Hereſies of the *Albigenſes*, with others that are much more hainous, and ſome that were peculiar to ſome few Monks, and that he attributes ſome of them in particular to the *Vandois*, as if they had been proper to them only.

But one may juſtly imagine that this Monk, who compiled this Work from the Writings of other Monks or Doctors of the Church of *Rome*, had his Eye upon the *Albigenſes*, becauſe he acquaints us that he follows *Alanus*, and that he copies his Arguments. Now we know that *Alanus* wrote againſt the *Waldenſes* and *Albigenſes*, as the manuſcript Titles of his Books inform us, though like the Author of the *Fortalitium fidei*, he confounds them in his Treatiſe with the *Arians*, *Muniches*, and other pernicious Hereſicks, to render the *Waldenſes* and *Albigenſes* ſuſpected of defending all thoſe Hereſies which he oppoſes.

It may be thought strange perhaps that this Monk did not imitate *Alanus*, in attributing to the *Albigenses* the rejecting of Transubstantiation, and the Consequents thereof; but the Wonder will cease, if we consider, that he designed hereby to deprive the Jews, against whom he disputes, of an Advantage which they might reasonably draw from some Christians rejecting that Opinion, though they owned Jesus Christ to be the *Messiah*, and the Books of the New Testament to be of Divine Authority at the same time; and therefore he rather chose to refute the Arguments against Transubstantiation, as coming from the Mouths of the *Jews*, than as Objections made by the *Albigenses*.

And indeed, except the tenth Argument of the Jews against Transubstantiation, which supposes the *Christians* who teach this Doctrine to be no better than brute Beasts, as not having Sense enough to know that *Jesus Christ* being a *Jew* by Birth, could not by the Circumstances of his Institution of the Eucharist, intend any thing but a figurative meaning, as opposed to a real, and that his Apostles being *Jews* likewise, could not form any other meaning in all this Ceremony, but such as was figurative; there is scarce any other which this Monk hath not borrowed from the Disputes which the *Albigenses* and *Vandois* have held with those of the *Romish* Party.

We cannot but look upon *Petrus Oxoniensis*, a Doctor of *Salamanca*, in the Year 1479, as a Disciple of the *Albigenses*, in divers Points, especially those nine Conclusions which this Author was forced to retract by *Sixtus IVth's* Order, who authorized the Archbishop of *Toledo* to condemn them. Any Man that reads these nine Propositions which *Caranza* sets down, would think that it was only these Opinions that offended the Archbishop of *Toledo*; but if we will but read the Bull of *Sixtus IV*, which has been published by *Alphonsus à Castro*, we shall find that this Doctor opposed many other Points of Popery: The Pope's Words which are very remarkable are these. *Et alias propositiones, quas propter earum enormitatem, ut illi qui de eis notitiam habent obliviscantur earum, & qui de eis notitiam non habent, ex presentibus, non instruantur in eis, silentio pratermittendas duximus.* " And there are other Propositions, " which

Caranza, pag.
880, and 881.

De Hæresibus,
lib. 4. voce
confessio, p.
310.

“ which are of fo foul a Nature, that we think it convenient
“ to pafs them over in filence, that fo thofe who know
“ them, may forget them, and thofe that do not know them,
“ may not be instructed in them by thefe our Letters.

C O N C L U S I O N.

THEfe are the Remarks I thought fit to make upon the
History of the Churches of the *Albigenfes*. I fuppofe
the Reader will own that I have deduced their Succeffion
from the Apoftles, and their Independence on the See of
Rome with care enough, tho the Barbarity of the Enemies of
the Truth, has done its utmoft Endeavours to abolifh all the
Monuments, which thefe illuftrious Witneffes of it had left in
thefe Dioceffes.

Neither do I believe, that the Bifhop of *Meaux* will have
any pretence for the future, to accufe them of *Manicheifm*, nor
to reproach the Proteftants, that they can find no other Pre-
deceffors in Antiquity, but a parcel of Men, whofe Doctrines
and Lives were equally execrable. Nothing but a Spirit a-
nimated with fuch a Rage and Fury as produc'd thofe *Crufades*,
can obftinately maintain fuch horrid Calumnies, after all
that we have here alledged for their Juftification.

I might perhaps have been more particular in the Accounts
which I have given of the bad Conftitution the Inquifitors
have put upon their Belief; but befides, that I have fufficiently
difcovered the Injuftice of thefe Minifters of Hell; who is
there amongft the Proteftants, nay amongft the very Papifts
themfelves, that is not fully convinc'd of the Iniquity and
profound Malice of thefe Hearts of Tygers; who under the
name of Defenders of the Christian Faith, have rack'd their
Brains to blacken the moft innocent Lives of the moft religi-

ous

ous Christians; and who have made it their Diversion to exterminate them by the most dismal Torments?

The Bishop of *Meaux* may write as long as he pleases to maintain these diabolical Calumnies: I am persuaded, that if any equitable Members of his Communion will take the pains to compare the Carriage of the Heathens towards the Primitive Christians, with the Behaviour of his Church under *Innocent III*, and *Gregory IX*, against the *Albigenses*; and the Patience of the *Albigenses*, slandered and persecuted by the Church of *Rome*, with the Condition of the Primitive Church, persecuted and slandered by the Heathens, they will find it as difficult to look upon the Church of *Rome*, as the Daughter of the Primitive Church, as it will be easy for them to acknowledge the *Albigenses* as the genuine Off-spring of those Primitive Christians.

I did not think it necessary for my Design, to tie my self Step by Step to every particular, which I might justly have found fault with in the Book where the Bishop of *Meaux* handles the History of the *Albigenses*: It is an endless Labour to trace a Man that follows false Guides, and who hath nothing new besides the Art and turn of Expression: and because the naked Truth hath always the better of Works of this nature, it is sufficient to set it in a clear Light, for the extinguishing that false Lustre which Men bestow upon Lies, by Ornaments put upon them only to hide their Deformity.

And it is my Hope after all, that as God hath illustriously displayed the Care of his Providence, in raising the Church of *Piedmont* from those Ruins, under which the Spirit of Persecution thought for ever to have buried it; so he will be pleased to vouchsafe the same Protection to those desolate Flocks, whom the Violence of the *Romish* Party hath constrain'd to dissemble their Faith, by making a Show of embracing the *Roman* Religion, to avoid the Extremities of their Persecution.

One would think that that God, who hath wrought so many Wonders for their Preservation, so many Ages together; and who even then, when they seem'd reduc'd to nothing

nothing by the bloody Vigilance of the Inquiſitors, who Age after Age have gleaned this Field, after the barbarous Rage of the Cruſades was over, ſhould be unwilling to ſuffer this oppreſſed Light to be wholly extinguished, but that he will make theſe his Witneſſes riſe from their Graves, now after the Church of *Rome* has ſignaliz'd her Joy for their Death and Deſtruction.

God of his great Mercy be pleaſed to reſtore to theſe afflicted Flocks the ſame Joy and the ſame Comfort which their Anceſtors felt at the time of the Reformation, when they gave ſuch publick Evidence of their Zeal, and entred by Crowds into the Boſom of the Reformed Church, whoſe Principles they had maintained ſo many Ages before the Reformation; and to open the Eyes of their Perſecutors, giving them Grace to acknowledg, that they fight againſt God, whiſt they ſtrive to force Mens Conſciences, and to engage the People to own that Religion as Divine, which is only the Product of human Policy, the very Sink of the Corruptions of theſe laſt Times, and the Off-ſpring of the Spirit of Error.

E X T R A C T S

O F

Several Trials

O F S O M E

Pretended Hereticks in the Diocess
of S A R U M,

Taken out of an old Register.

IN the Name of the Holy Trinite, Fadir, Son, and Holy Gosse, his blessed Modir, and al the Holy Compny of Hevyn; We Austyn Stere of Herry Benette of Spene, William Brigger of Thachum, Richard Hignell, William Priour, and Richard Goddard, of Newbery, and every of us severally in the Diocess of Sarum, gretely noted, defamed, detecte, and to you Reverend Fadir in God, Thomas, by God's Grace, Bishop of Sarum, our Iugge and Ordinarie, denounced for untrew belevyng Hen; and also that we and every of us shold hold, asserme, teche, and defende openly and pryvely Heresies, Errours, singular Opinions, and false Doctrines, contrarie to the commen Doctrine of our Modir Holy Church; and with

with Subtilities, evill ſoundyng, and deceyveable to the Eres of true ſympille underſtanding Chriſten People, which be to us and every of us ſeverelly nowe by your Auctorite procedyng of Office promoted, judicially objected.

Fiſt, That I Auguſtyn Stere, have hold affermed and ſeyd, that the Church of Chriſte is but a Sinagoge, and an Houſe of Marchandiſe, and that Priſtis be but Scribis and Phariſais, not proſtyng the Chriſten People, but diſſeyvng them.

Item, I have hold affermed, taught and beleved, that in the Sacramente of the Auter is not the very Body of Chriſte. Farthermore, ſhewing and ſeyng that Priſtis may bie xxx ſuche Goddis for one Peny, and will not ſelle one of them but for two Penys.

Item, I have miſbeleved, and to dyvers manyfeſtly ſhewed that Pmages of Seynts be not to be worſhipped after the Doctrine of a Boke of Commandments, which I have had in my keping, wherein is wretten, that no Man ſhall worſhip eny thing made or graven with mannyſ Hand attending the Words of the ſame literally, and not inclynyng to the ſenſe of the ſame.

Item, I have ſpoken and diverſe tymes ſhewed that Priſtis be the Enemies of Chriſte.

Item, I have belevyd, ſaid and taught, that St. Petir was never Priſte, but a little before his Deth. Ferthermore, ſhewing that Simeon Magos geve hym his Conſure of Pythode, and in Spyte of hym, Goddis Aicar contempnyng hys Power, called hym a Panyer Baker.

Fyrſt, That I Herry Benett, have hold and kepte this Opinion, that Pilgremaggis be not to be made moeved for this Cauſe, for only God is to be worſhyped,

and so not theinmagis of Sayntis, insomoch that I wold never goo a Pilgremage but onys, and I have oftyn tymes reprovèd such as wold spend their Honeý in Pilgremage doýng, seing thei myght better spend hit at home.

Item, I have not belevyd stedfastly in the Sacrament of Chauter, seying of hit this wise, that if there were thre hostys in one Pikkis, one of theim consecrate, and the odir not consecrate, a Howse wold as well ete that hoste consecrate as the odir twayn unconsecrate, the which he myght not if there were the very Body of Criste, for if there were the Fadir, Son, and holy Goste, he myght not ete theim.

Fyrste, That I William Brigger, have erred and mysbelved in the Sacramente of the Auter, seying and holdyng that there shuld not be the very Body of Criste, so taught and enformed in this same grete Erroure and Heresie, by one Richard Sawyer, late of Newbery.

Item, I have spoke and hold ayensse the Sacramente of Pennance, seing in this wise; If I have take a Manis Goode, or stole his Cowe, and be soý in Harte, I may as well be sated as though I were shreven thereof, for it is inowe to be shyve to God.

Item, I have held and seyde ayensse the Doctrine of Ppylys, affermyng of them, that all Ppyles techeth a false and a blynd way to byng us all in to the Hyer. Ferthermore addyng herto, and seying, howe may it be that blynde William Harper may lede anodir blynde Man to Newbery, but both fall yu to the Dyche, so dothe all thes Ppytis to byng us alle to Dampnacion.

Fyrste, That I Richard Hignel, have hold and mysbelved of long tyme in the Sacramente of the Auter, seying

ſeyng that Chriſte offer'd to Simeon is the very Sacramente of Chauter, ſo meanyng and beleuyng in myn Opinion, that the Sacramente in form of Biede ſhuld not be very Godde, but only Chriſte hymſelfe in Hevyn is the Sacramente, and nowe odir, and ſo I have myſbeleuyd and continewd in this Errour and Hereſie unto this tyme of Exammacion.

Item, I have be adherente and associat with Here-ticks abjured, by whos Doctrine I have erred, as I have afore ſpoken.

Fyrſte, That I William Priour, have ſaid and hold ayenſt the Auctorite and Power of Pylis, calling theim Scribis, Phar.ſies, and thennyes of Chriſte, not teching but diſſeyving the Criſten People.

Item, I have beleuyd and divers tymes ſhewid that Imagis of Seynts be not to be wurshypped, nether Oblacions to be made unto theim, ſeyng and holding no ſuch thing to be wurshypped that is graven or made with manys hande.

I Richard Goddard in long tyme here before, have had grete dought howe God myght be in foyme of Biede in Chauter, amoske ſyn the Peres of Diſcrecion; and nowe in ſewe Peres thought and utterly beleved that inasmoche as God is in Hevyn he ſhuld not be in the Sacramente of Chauter, and ſo in this Errour have continewd unto the tyme of this my preſent Abjuracion.

Theſe Articules, and every of them afore reherſed, and to us Auſtyn Stere, Herry Beuer, William Brigger, Richard Hignell, William Priour, and Richard Goddard, and to every of us ſederelly by you judicially objecter, we and every of us ſingularly openly knowlege our ſelfe, and confeſſe of our fre Wille to have

hold, lerned and belevyd, and so have taught and as-
fermyd to edir, which Articles and every of them, as
us concerneth severelly, we and every of us understand
and beleve Heresies, and contrary to the common Do-
ctrine and Determination of the univiersalle Church of
Cristte, and confesse us and every of us here to have
be Heretikes, Lerner and Teachers of Heresies, Er-
rours, Opinions, and falle Doctrines, contrarie to the
Cristten feith. And forasmoch as it is so that the
Lawes of the Church of Cristte and Holy Canons of
Saynts be grounded in Mercy, and God wol not the
Deth of a Synner, but that he be converted and leve.
And also the Church closeth not her Lappe to him, that
woll retorne: We therefor and every of us, willing
to be Partiners of this forsaide Mercy, forsake and
renewce all thes Articles afoze reherfed as us
concerneth particularly, and confesse them to be Here-
sies, Errours, and prohibite Doctrine: And nowwe
contrite and fully repenting them all and every of
them, judicially and solemply them forsake, abjure, and
wilfully renounce for evermore, and not only them, but
all odir Heresies, Errours, and dampnable Doctrines
contrary to the Determination of the univiersall Church
of Cristte: Also that we and every of us shall never
herafter be to eny such Persons or Person, Favorers,
Counselers, Mainteners, or of eny such pryvely or
openly; but if we or eny of us knowe eny such her-
after, we and every of us shall denounce and disclole
them to you Reverend Fadir in God, your Suc-
cessors or Officers of the same, or els to such Persons
of the Church as hath Jurisdiction on the Persons so
fawty, to help us God and all Holy Evangelis, sub-
mytting us and every of us openly, not coacte but of
our

our free Wille to the Payn, Rigour and Sharpness of the Lawe, that a Man relapsed ought to suffre in suche case, if we or eny of us ever do or hold contrarie to this our presente Abjuracion in parte, or the hole thereof: In witnesse whereof, we all and every of us severally subscribe with our hands, making a Cross, and requir all Cristen Men in generall her presente, to record, and witnes ayenst us and every of us, and this our presente Confession and Abjuracion, if we or eny of us from this Day forwards offende or do contrarie to the same; and ye Masters her presente. . .

. . . Lecta & facta fuit ista Abjuracio coram Reverendo in Christo Patre & Domino Thoma, permissione divina Sarum Episcopo, in Ecclesia parochiali Sancti Johannis de Wyndfour nova, per supra scriptos Augustinum Stere, Henricum Benet, Willielmum Brigger, Richardum Hignell, Willielmum Priour, & Richardum Goddard, xxviii die mensis Januarii, anno Domini millesimo cccc nonagesimo, præsentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus viris magistris Laurencio Cokks, Edmundo Martyn, Johanne Mayhowe decretorum doctoribus, Dæye sacre theologiæ professore, Radulpho Hethcote Canonico Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sarum, Willielmo Thynlawe Vicario perpetuo Ecclesiæ præfate, Briano & Willielmo Birley artium magistris, Thoma Clerke in legibus baccalareo, & Johanne Wely scriba & Registrario per dictum Reverendum Patrem in hac parte assumpto, & multis aliis.

Quibus quidem die & loco idem Reverendus Pater injunxit præfato Augustino Stere, in parte pœnitentiæ suæ, quod ipse Augustinus nudus tibias pedes & caput, corpore toga & camisia ac fœmoralibus lineis tantummodo

modo indutus, unum fasciculum, sive fagotum super humerum suum, & unum facem anglicè a *bronde* in manu ejus gestans diebus & locis infra scriptis, viz. die sabbati, xxix die mensis Januarii, anno prædicto, circa mercatum ville de Wyndesour nova, ubi & quando fuerit populi multitudo die dominica extunc sequenti, viz. ultimo die mensis ejusdem, circa Ecclesiam parochialem, beatæ Mariæ Rading die Sabbati, quinto die Februarii, circa mercatum de Newbery, die dominica extunc sequenti, circa Ecclesiam parochialem, ibidem die dominica prima quadragesime in Ecclesia Cathedrali Sarum, die martis extunc sequente, circa mercatum ibidem cæterisque diebus diversis per loca, scil. per Monasteria de Serne, Milton, Abbottesbery, Abyndon & Shirborn, necnon circa Mercatum ibidem Sarum Diocæseos coram processionibus circa Ecclesias Monasteria & loca prædicta, aut in eisdem locis prout aeris temperies permiserit, ut moris est faciendis more humilis pœnitentis incederet, finitifque hujusmodi processionibus vel cum ab aliquo Curatorum hujusmodi Ecclesiarum sive locorum proceditur ad pulpitem quibusdam literis in Anglico scriptis errores & opiniones dampnabiles prædicti Augustini & ipsius Abjuracionem in se continentibus, lectis & declaratis per ipsum Augustinum alta & intelligibili voce sua declarando, exponendo & recitando, ac confitendo publicè, prout in eisdem literis continetur; de qua quidem pœnitentia per ipsum Augustinum bene & fideliter peracta prout sibi mandatum fuerit per curatos & alios de quibus supra sit mencio præfatus Reverendus Pater & Dominus plenarie & sufficienter fuerit certificatus; unde postea idem Reverendus Pater in tempore certificationis hujusmodi sibi factæ in complementum pœnitentiæ

nitentiæ fuæ injunxit quod fingulis diebus vitæ fuæ coram Ymagine crucifixi genuflectendo diceret devote; quinquies oracionem Dominicam, & quinquies falutationem Angelicam, & femel Symbolum Apoftolorum, & quod injuncto die paraffephes & vigiliis beatæ Mariæ per unum annum integrum immediatè fequentem in pane & aqua. Item, quod lapfo termino dierum per dictum Reverendum Patrem affignato ad villam de Newbery, vel ad aliquem locum fituatum infra feptem milliaria à villa de Newbery prædictâ non accideret, nifi ex licentia præfati Reverendi Patris petita primitus & obtenta.

F I N I S.

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