

METUENDA COROLLA DRACONIS



John V. Stewart.
Rock Hill





ECCLÉSIASTICAL HISTORY,

Antiquæ et Modernæ,

OF THE BIRTH OF CHRIST,

UNTIL THE END OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

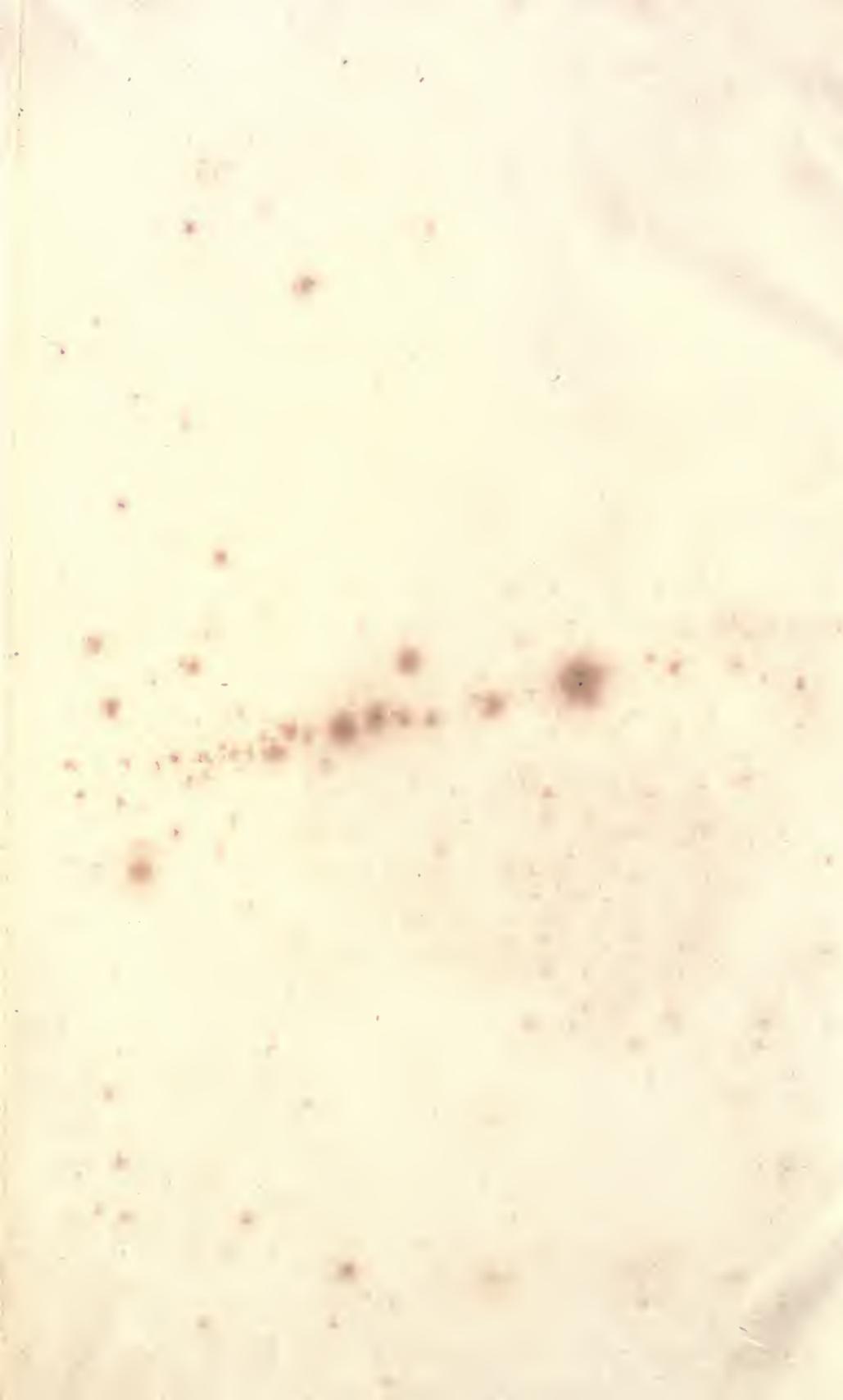
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LONDON.



AN
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,

Ancient and Modern,

FROM

THE BIRTH OF CHRIST,

TO THE

BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

IN WHICH

THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND VARIATIONS OF CHURCH POWER ARE CON-
SIDERED IN THEIR CONNEXION WITH THE STATE OF LEARNING
AND PHILOSOPHY, AND THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF
EUROPE DURING THAT PERIOD.

BY THE LATE LEARNED

JOHN LAWRENCE MOSHEIM, D.D.

AND CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GOTTINGEN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL LATIN,

AND ACCOMPANIED WITH NOTES AND CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES,

BY ARCHIBALD MACLAINE, D. D.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN ACCURATE INDEX.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

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1823.

THE HISTORY OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON

AND

THE ASSOCIATION OF ARTS

AND

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THE
TWELFTH CENTURY.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

*Concerning the prosperous Events that happened
to the Church during this Century.*

I. A CONSIDERABLE part of Europe lay yet involved in pagan darkness, which reigned more especially in the northern provinces. It was, therefore, in these regions of gloomy superstition, that the zeal of the missionaries was principally exerted in this century; though their efforts were not all equally successful, nor the methods they employed for the propagation of the gospel equally prudent. Boleslaus, duke of Poland, having conquered the Pomeranians, offered them peace upon condition that they would receive the Christian doctors, and permit them to exercise their ministry in that vanquished province. This condition was accepted, and Otho, bishop of Bamberg, a man of eminent piety and zeal, was sent, in the year 1124, to inculcate and explain the doctrines of Christianity, among that superstitious and barbarous people. Many were converted to the faith by his ministry, while great

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Several of
the northern
provinces
received the
light of the
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numbers stood firm against his most vigorous efforts, and persisted with an invincible obstinacy in the religion of their idolatrous ancestors. Nor was this the only mortification which that illustrious prelate received in the execution of his pious enterprise; for, upon his return into Germany, many of those whom he had engaged in the profession of Christianity, apostatized in his absence, and relapsed into their ancient prejudices; this obliged Otho to undertake a second voyage into Pomerania, A. D. 1126, in which, after much opposition and difficulty, his labours were crowned with a happier issue, and contributed much to enlarge the bounds of the rising church, and to establish it upon solid foundations (*a*). From this period, the Christian religion seemed to acquire daily new degrees of stability among the Pomeranians; who could not be persuaded hitherto to permit the settlement of a bishop among them. They now received Adalbert, or Albert, in that character, who was accordingly the first bishop of Pomerania.

The Slavonians and inhabitants of the isle of Rugen.

II. Of all the northern princes of this century, none appeared with a more distinguished lustre than Waldemar I. king of Denmark, who acquired an immortal name by the glorious battles he fought against the pagan nations, such as the Slavonians, Venedi, Vandals, and others, who, either by their incursions or this revolt, drew upon them the weight of his victorious arm. He unsheathed his sword, not only for the defence and

(*a*) See-Henr. Canisii *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iii. part II. p. 34. where we find the life of Otho, who, A. D. 1189, was canonized by Clement III. See the *Acta Sanctor. mensis Julii*. tom. i. p. 349. Dan. Crameri *Chronicon. Eccles. Pomeraniæ*, lib. i. as also a learned Dissertation concerning the conversion of the Pomeranians by the ministry of Otho, written in the German language by Christopher Schotgen, and published at Stargard in the year 1724. Add to these Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 123. 146. 323.

happiness of his people, but also for the propagation and advancement of Christianity; and wherever his arms were successful, there he pulled down the temples and images of the gods, destroyed their altars, laid waste their sacred groves, and substituted in their place the Christian worship, which deserved to be propagated by better means than the sword, by the authority of reason, rather than by the despotic voice of power. The island of Rugen, which lies in the neighbourhood of Pomerania, submitted to the victorious arms of Waldemar, A. D. 1168; and its fierce and savage inhabitants, who were, in reality, no more than a band of robbers and pirates, were obliged, by that prince, to hear the instructions of the pious and learned doctors that followed his army, and to receive the Christian worship. This salutary work was brought to perfection by Absalom, archbishop of Lunden, a man of a superior genius, and of a most excellent character in every respect, whose eminent merit raised him to the summit of power, and engaged Waldemar to place him at the head of affairs (*b*).

III. The Finlanders received the gospel in the same manner in which it had been propagated The Finlanders.

(*b*) Saxo-Grammaticus, *Histor. Danic.* lib. xiv. p. 239.—Helmoldus, *Chron. Sclavorum*, lib. ii. cap. xii. p. 234. and *Henr. Bangertus*, ad. h. l.—Pontoppidani *Annales Ecclesiæ Danicæ*, tom. i. p. 404.

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

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among the inhabitants of the isle of Rugen. They were also a fierce and savage people, who lived by plunder, and infested Sweden in a terrible manner by their perpetual incursions, until, after many bloody battles, they were totally defeated by Eric IX. and were, in consequence thereof, reduced under the Swedish yoke. Historians differ about the precise time when this conquest was completed (*c*); but they are all unanimous in their accounts of its effects. The Finlanders were commanded to embrace the religion of the conqueror, which the greatest part of them did, though with the utmost reluctance (*d*). The founder and ruler of this new church was Henry, archbishop of Upsal, who accompanied the victorious monarch in that bloody campaign. This prelate, whose zeal was not sufficiently tempered with the mild and gentle spirit of the religion he taught, treated the new converts with great severity, and was assassinated at last in a cruel manner on account of the heavy penance he imposed upon a person of great authority, who had been guilty of manslaughter. This melancholy event procured Henry the honours of saintship and martyrdom, which were solemnly conferred upon him by Pope Adrian IV. (*e*)

The Livo-
nians.

IV. The propagation of the gospel among the Livonians was attended with much difficulty, and also with horrible scenes of cruelty and bloodshed.

(*c*) Most writers, with Baronius, place this event in the year 1151. Different, however, from this is the chronology of Vastovius and Oernhielmus, the former placing it A. D. 1150, and the latter, A. D. 1157.

(*d*) Oernhielmii *Histor. Eccles. gentis Suecorum*, lib. iv. cap. iv. sect. 13.—Jo. Locenii *Histor. Suecica*. lib. iii. p. 76. ed. Francof.—Erlandi *Vita Erici Sancti*, cap. vii.—Vastovii *Vitis Aquilonia*, p. 65.

(*e*) Vastovii *Vitis Aquilon. seu Vitæ Sanctorum regni Suegothici*, p. 62. Eric Benzeli, *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Suegothica*, part I. p. 33.

The first missionary, who attempted the conversion of that savage people, was Mainard, a regular canon of St. Augustin, in the monastery of Sigeberg, who, towards the conclusion of this century (*f*), travelled to Livonia, with a company of merchants of Bremen, who traded thither, and improved this opportunity of spreading the light of the gospel in that barbarous region of superstition and darkness. The instructions and exhortations of this zealous apostle were little attended to, and produced little or no effect upon that uncivilized nation: whereupon he addressed himself to the Roman pontiff, Urban III. who consecrated him bishop of the Livonians, and, at the same time, declared a holy war against that obstinate people. This war, which was at first carried on against the inhabitants of the province of Esthonia, was continued with still greater vigour and rendered more universal by Berthold, abbot of Lucca, who left his monastery to share the labours and laurels of Mainard, whom he, accordingly, succeeded in the see of Livonia. The new bishop marched into that province at the head of a powerful army which he had raised in Saxony, preached the gospel sword in hand, and proved its truth by blows instead of arguments. Albert, canon of Bremen, became the third bishop of Livonia, and followed, with a barbarous enthusiasm, the same military methods of conversion that had been practised by his predecessor. He entered Livonia, A. D. 1198, with a fresh body of troops drawn out of Saxony, and encamping at Riga, instituted there, by the direction of the Roman pontiff, Innocent III. the military order of the knights sword-bearers (*g*), who were commissioned to dragoon the Livonians into the

(*f*) In the year 1186.

(*g*) Equestris Ordo Militum Ensiferorum.

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profession of Christianity, and to oblige them, by force of arms, to receive the benefits of baptism (*h*). New legions were sent from Germany to second the efforts, and add efficacy to the mission of these booted apostles; and they, together with the knights sword-bearers, so cruelly oppressed, slaughtered, and tormented this wretched people, that exhausted, at length, and unable to stand any longer firm against the arm of persecution, strengthened still by new accessions of power, they abandoned the statues of their pagan deities, and substituted in their places the images of the saints. But while they received the blessings of the gospel, they were, at the same time, deprived of all earthly comforts; for their lands and possessions were taken from them, with the most odious circumstances of cruelty and violence, and the knights and bishops divided the spoil (*i*).

The Sclavonians.

V. None of the northern nations had a more rooted aversion to the Christians, and a more obstinate antipathy to their religion, than the Sclavonians, a rough and barbarous people, who inhabited the coast of the Baltic sea. This excited the zeal of several neighbouring princes, and of a multitude of pious missionaries, who united their efforts, in order to conquer the prejudices of this people, and to open their eyes upon the light of the gospel. Henry, Duke of Saxony, surnamed the Lion, distinguished himself in a particular manner, by the ardour which he discovered in the execution of this pious design, as well as by the wise methods he employed to render it suc-

(*h*) See Hen. Leonh. Schurzfleischii *Historia Ordinis Ensisiferorum Equitum*, Witteberg. 1701, 8vo.

(*i*) See the *Origines Livoniae seu Chronicon vetus Livonicum*, published in folio at Francfort, in the year 1740, by Jo. Daniel Gruberus, and enriched with ample and learned observations and notes, in which the laborious author enumerates all the writers of the Livonian history, and corrects their mistakes.

cessful. Among other measures that were proper for this purpose, he restored from their ruins, and endowed richly, three bishoprics (*k*) that had been ravaged and destroyed by these barbarians; to wit, the bishoprics of Ratzebourg and Schwerin, and that of Oldenbourg, which was afterwards transplanted to Lubec. The most eminent of the Christian doctors, who attempted the conversion of the Slavonians, was Vicelinus, a native of Hamelen, a man of extraordinary merit, who surpassed almost all his contemporaries in genuine piety and solid learning, and who, after having presided many years in the society of the regular canons of St. Augustin at Falderen, was at length consecrated bishop of Oldenbourg. This excellent man had employed the last thirty years of his life (*l*), amidst numberless vexations, dangers, and difficulties, in instructing the Slavonians, and exhorting them to comply with the invitations of the gospel of Christ; and as his pious labours were directed by true wisdom, and carried on with the most indefatigable industry and zeal, so were they attended with much fruit, even among that

 (*k*) Dr. Mosheim's account of this matter is very different from that which is given by Fleury, who asserts, that it was Hartwick, archbishop of Bremen, who restored the three ruined sees, and consecrated Vicelinus, bishop of Oldenbourg; and that having done this without addressing himself to Henry, that prince seized the tithes of Vicelinus, until a reconciliation was afterwards brought about between the offended prince and the worthy bishop. See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles. livr. lxxix. p. 665. 668. edit. Bruxelle.* Fleury, in this and other parts of his history, shows, that he is but indifferently acquainted with the history of Germany, and has not drawn from the best sources. The authorities which Dr. Mosheim produces for his account of the matter, are the *Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. iii. p. 16. 19. 34. 55. 61. 63. 72. 82. with the celebrated Preface of Scheidius, sect. xiv. p. 41. *Ludewig's Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum*, tom. vi. p. 230. *Jo. Ern. de Westphalen, Monumenta inedita Rerum Cimbricarum et Megapolens.* tom. ii. p. 1998.

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

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fierce and untractable people. Nor was his ministry among the Slavonians the only circumstance that redounds to the honour of his memory; the history of his life and actions in general furnishes proofs of his piety and zeal, sufficient to transmit his name to the latest generations (*m*).

The judgment we ought to form of these conversions.

VI. It is needless to repeat here the observation we have had so often occasion to make upon such conversions as these we have been now relating, or to advertise the reader that the savage nations, who were thus dragooned into the church, became the disciples of Christ, not so much in reality, as in outward appearance. [They professed, with an inward reluctance, a religion which was inculcated by violence and bloodshed, which recalled to their remembrance nothing but scenes of desolation and misery; and which, indeed, when considered in the representations that were given of it by the greatest part of the missionaries, was but a few degrees removed from the absurdities of paganism.] The pure and rational religion of the gospel was never presented to these unhappy nations in its native simplicity; they were only taught to appease the Deity, and to render him propitious, by a senseless round of trifling ceremonies and bodily exercises, which, in many circumstances, resembled the superstitions they were obliged to renounce, and might have been easily reconciled with them, had it not been that the name and history of Christ, the sign of the cross, and some diversity between certain rites and ceremonies of the two religions,

(*m*) There is a particular and ample account of Vicelinus in the *Cimbria Literata* of Mollerus, tom. ii. p. 910, and in the *Res Hamburg.* of Lambecius, lib. ii. p. 12. See also upon this subject the *Originis Neomanaster. et Bordsesholmens.* of the most learned and industrious Joh. Ern. de Westphalen, which are published in the second tome of the *Monumenta inedita Cimbrica*, p. 2344, and the Preface to this tome, p. 33. There is in this work a print of Vicelinus well engraven.

opposed this coalition. Besides, the missionaries, whose zeal for imposing the name of Christians upon this people was so vehement, and even furious, were extremely indulgent in all other respects, and opposed their prejudices and vices with much gentleness and forbearance. They permitted them to retain several rites and observances that were in direct opposition to the spirit of Christianity, and to the nature of true piety. The truth of the matter seems to have been this, that the leading views of these Christian heralds and propagators of the faith, a small number excepted, were rather turned towards the advancement of their own interests, and the confirming and extending the dominion of the Roman pontiffs, than towards the true conversion of these savage pagans; that conversion which consists in the removal of ignorance, the correction of error, and the reformation of vice.

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

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The state of
affairs in
Tartary
changes in
favour of
the Chris-
tians.

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when he was seated on the throne (*n*); but his kingly name was Ungchan. The high notions

(*n*) The account I have here given of this famous presbyter, commonly called Prester John, who was, for a long time, considered as the greatest and happiest of all earthly monarchs, is what appeared to me the most probable among the various relations that have been given of the life and adventures of that extraordinary man. This account is moreover confirmed by the testimonies of contemporary writers, whose knowledge and impartiality render them worthy of credit; such as William of Tripoli, (see Dufresne's *Adnot. ad Vitam Ludovici Sti. à Joinvillio scriptam*, p. 89.) as also a certain bishop of Gabala, mentioned by Otto Frising. *Chronic. lib. vii. cap. xxxiii.* See also Guillaume Rubruquis, *Voyage, cap. xviii. p. 36.* in the *Antiqua in Asiam Itinera*, collected by father Bergeron, and Alberic in *Chronico. ad A. 1165, and 1170, in Leibnitii Accessionibus Historicis, tom. ii. p. 345. 355.* It is indeed surprising, that such authentic records as these should have escaped the observation of the learned, and that so many different opinions should have been advanced concerning Prester John, and the place of his residence. But it is too generally the fate of learned men, to overlook those accounts that carry the plainest marks of evidence; and, from a passion for the marvellous, to plunge into the regions of uncertainty and doubt. In the fifteenth century, John II. king of Portugal, employed Pedro Covillanio in a laborious inquiry into the real situation of the kingdom of Prester John. The curious voyager undertook this task, and, for information in the matter, travelled with a few companions into Abyssinia; and, observing in the emperor of the Abyssinians, or Ethiopians, many circumstances that resembled the accounts which, at that time, prevailed in Europe concerning Prester John, he persuaded himself that he had fulfilled his commission, and found out the residence of that extraordinary monarch, who was the object of his researches. His opinion gained easily credit in Europe, which had not as yet emerged out of its ignorance and barbarism. See Morinus, *De Sacris Eccles. Ordinationibus, part II. p. 367.* But a new light was cast upon this matter in the seventeenth century, by the publication of several pieces, which the industry of the curious drew forth from their obscurity, and by which a great number of learned men were engaged to abandon the Portuguese opinion, and were convinced that Prester John reigned in Asia, though they still continued to dispute about the situation of his kingdom, and other particular circumstances. There are, notwithstanding all this, some men of the most eminent learning in our times, who maintain, that John was emperor of the Abyssinians, and thus prefer the Portuguese

the Greeks and Latins generally entertained of the grandeur and magnificence of this royal presbyter were principally owing to the letters he wrote to the Roman emperor Frederic I. and to Emanuel emperor of the Greeks, in which, puffed up with prosperity, and flushed with success, he vaunts his victories over the neighbouring nations that disputed his passage to the throne; describes, in the most pompous and extravagant terms, the splendor of his riches, the grandeur of his state, and the extent of his dominions, and exalts himself far above all other earthly monarchs. All this was easily believed, and the Nestorians were extremely zealous in confirming the boasts of their vain-glorious prince. He was succeeded by his son, or, as others think, his brother, whose name was David, though, in common discourse, he was also called Prester John, as his predecessor had been. The reign of David was far from being happy, nor did he end his days in peace; Genghiz Kan, the great and warlike emperor of the Tartars, invaded his territories towards the conclusion of this century, and deprived him both of his life and his dominions.

VIII. The new kingdom of Jerusalem, which had been erected by the holy warriors of France, towards the conclusion of the preceding century, seemed to flourish considerably at the beginning of this, and to rest upon firm and solid foundations. This prosperous scene was, however, but transitory, and was soon succeeded by the most terrible calamities and desolations. For when the

The affairs of the Christians in Palestine in a declining state.

opinion, though destitute of authentic proofs and testimonies, to the other above mentioned, though supported by the strongest evidence, and the most unquestionable authorities. See Euseb. Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 223. 337. Jos. Franc. Lafitau, *Hist. des Decouvertes des Portugais.* tom. i. p. 58. and tom. iii. p. 57. Henr. le Grand, *Diss. de Johanne Presbytero in Lobo's Voyage de Abyssinie,* tom. i. p. 295.

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Mahometans saw vast numbers of those that had engaged in this holy war returning into Europe, and the Christian chiefs that remained in Palestine divided into factions, and advancing, every one his private interest, without any regard to the public good, they resumed their courage, recovered from the terror and consternation into which they had been thrown by the amazing valour and rapid success of the European legions, and gathering troops and soliciting succours from all quarters, they harassed and exhausted the Christians by invasions and wars without interruption. The Christians, on the other hand, sustained their efforts with their usual fortitude, and maintained their ground during many years; but when Atabec Zenghi (*o*), after a long siege, made himself master of the city of Edessa, and threatened Antioch with the same fate, their courage began to fail, and a diffidence in their own strength obliged them to turn their eyes once more towards Europe. They accordingly implored, in the most lamentable strain, the assistance of the European princes; and requested that a new army of cross-bearing champions might be sent to support their tottering empire in the Holy Land. Their intreaties were favourably received by the Roman pontiffs, who left no method of persuasion unemployed, that might engage the emperor and other Christian princes to execute a new expedition into Palestine.

The crusade
renewed.

IX. This new expedition was not, however, resolved upon with such unanimity and precipita-

(*o*) Atabek was a title of honour given by the sultans to the viceroys or lieutenants, whom they intrusted with the government of their provinces. The Latin authors, who have wrote the history of this holy war, and of whom Bongarsius has given us a complete list, call this Atabek Zenghi, Sanguinus. See Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. at the word Atabek, p. 142.

tion as the former had been ; it was the subject of long deliberation, and its expediency was keenly debated both in the cabinets of princes, and in the assemblies of the clergy and the people. Bernard, the famous abbot of Clairval, a man of the boldest resolution and of the greatest authority, put an end to these disputes under the pontificate of Eugenius III. who had been his disciple, and who was wholly governed by his counsels. This eloquent and zealous ecclesiastic preached the cross, i. e. the crusade in France and Germany, with great ardour and success ; and in the grand parliament assembled at Vezelai, A. D. 1146, at which Lewis VII. king of France, with his queen, and a prodigious concourse of the principal nobility were present, Bernard recommended this holy expedition with such a persuasive power, and declared with such assurance that he had a divine commission to foretel its glorious success, that the king, the queen, and all the nobles, immediately put on the military cross, and prepared themselves for the voyage into Palestine. Conrad III. emperor of Germany, was, for some time, unmoved by the exhortations of Bernard ; but he was soon gained over by the urgent solicitations of the fervent abbot, and followed, accordingly, the example of the French monarch. The two princes, each at the head of a numerous army, set out for Palestine, to which they were to march by different roads. But, before their arrival in the Holy Land, the greatest part of their forces were melted away, and perished miserably, some by famine, some by the sword of the Mahometans, some by shipwreck, and a considerable number by the perfidious cruelty of the Greeks, who looked upon the western nations as more to be feared than the Mahometans themselves. Lewis VII. left his kingdom A.D. 1147, and, in the month of March of

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the following year, he arrived at Antioch, with the wretched remains of his army, exhausted and dejected by the hardships they had endured. Conrad set out also in the year 1147, in the month of May; and in November following, he arrived at Nice, where he joined the French army, after having lost the greatest part of his own, by calamities of various kinds. From Nice, the two princes proceeded to Jerusalem, A. D. 1148, from whence they led back into Europe, the year following, the miserable handful of troops, which had survived the disasters they met with in this expedition. Such was the unhappy issue of this second crusade, which was rendered ineffectual by a variety of causes, but more particularly by the jealousies and divisions that reigned among the Christian chiefs in Palestine. Nor was it more ineffectual in Palestine than it was detrimental to Europe, by draining the wealth of its fairest provinces, and destroying such a prodigious number of its inhabitants (*p*).

The kingdom of Jerusalem overturned.

X. The unhappy issue of this second expedition was not however sufficient, when considered alone, to render the affairs of the Christians in Palestine entirely desperate. Had their chiefs and princes laid aside their animosities and contentions, and attacked the common enemy with their united force, they would have soon repaired their losses, and recovered their glory. But this was far from being the case. A fatal corruption of sentiments and manners reigned among all ranks and orders.

(*p*) Besides the historians enumerated by Bongarsius, see Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 399. 404. 407. 417. 451. Jac. Gervasii *Histoire de l'Abbé Suger*, tom. iii. p. 104. 128. 173. 190. 239. This was the famous Suger, abbot of St. Denis, who had seconded the exhortations of Bernard in favour of the crusade, and whom Lewis appointed regent of France during his absence. Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers de Malte*, tom. i. p. 86. Joh. Jac. Mascovius, *De Rebus Imperii sub Conrado III.*

Both the people and their leaders, and more especially the latter, abandoned themselves without reluctance to all the excesses of ambition, avarice, and injustice; they indulged themselves in the practice of all sorts of vices; and by their intestine quarrels, jealousies, and discords, they weakened their efforts against the enemies that surrounded them on all sides, and consumed their strength by thus unhappily dividing it. Saladin, viceroy, or rather sultan of Egypt and Syria (*q*), and the most valiant chief of whom the Mahometan annals boast, took advantage of these lamentable divisions. He waged war against the Christians with the utmost valour and success; took prisoner Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, in a fatal battle fought near Tiberias, A. D. 1187; and, in the course of the same year, reduced Jerusalem itself under his dominion (*r*). The carnage and desolations that accompanied this dreadful campaign, threw the affairs of the Christians in the east into the most desperate condition, and left them no glimpse of hope, but what arose from the expected succours of the European princes. These succours were obtained for them by the Roman pontiffs with much difficulty, and in consequence of repeated solicitations

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

(*r*) See the *Life of Saladin* by Bohao'ddin Ebn Sheddad, an Arabian writer, whose history of that warlike sultan was published at Leyden in the year 1732, by the late celebrated professor Albert Schultens, and accompanied with an excellent Latin translation. See also Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* at the article Salah'addin, p. 742. and Marigny's *Histoire des Arabes*, tom. iv. p. 289.  But above all, see the learned *History of the Arabians in the Modern Part of the Universal History*.

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and entreaties. But the event, as we shall now see, was by no means answerable to the deep schemes that were concerted, and the pains that were employed, for the support of the tottering kingdom of Jerusalem.

A third
crusade un-
dertaken.

XI. The third expedition was undertaken, A. D. 1189, by Frederic I. surnamed Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, who, with a prodigious army, marched through several Grecian provinces, where he had innumerable difficulties and obstacles to overcome, into the Lesser Asia, from whence, after having defeated the sultan of Iconium, he penetrated into Syria. His valour and conduct promised successful and glorious campaigns to the army he commanded, when, by an unhappy accident, he lost his life in the river Saleph (*s*), which runs through Seleucia. The manner of his death is not known with any degree of certainty; the loss however of such an able chief dejected the spirits of his troops, so that considerable numbers of them returned into Europe. Those that remained continued the war under the command of Frederic, son of the deceased emperor; but the greatest part of them perished miserably by a pestilential disorder, which raged with prodigious violence in the camp, and swept off vast numbers every day. The new general died of this terrible disease, A. D. 1191; those that escaped its fury were dispersed, and few returned to their own country (*t*).

 (*s*) Maimbourg, in his *Histoire des Croisades*, and Margni, in his *Hist. du xii. Siècle*, say, that Frederic perished in the Cydnus, a river in Cilicia. But they are easily to be reconciled with our author, since, according to the descriptions given of the river Saleph by several learned geographers, and among others by Roger the Annalist, it appears that the Saleph and the Cydnus were the same river under different names.

(*t*) See an ample and satisfactory account of this unhappy campaign in the *Life of Frederic I.* written in German by Henry Count Bunau, p. 278. 293. 309.

XII. The example of Frederic Barbarossa was followed, in the year 1190, by Philip Augustus, king of France, and lion-hearted Richard, king of England. These two monarchs set out from their respective dominions with a considerable number of ships of war, and transports (*u*), arrived in Palestine in the year 1191, each at the head of a separate army, and were pretty successful in their first encounters with the infidels. After the reduction of the strong city of Acca, or Ptolemais, which had been defended by the Moslems with the most obstinate valour, the French monarch returned into Europe, in the month of July, 1191, leaving, however, behind him, a considerable part of the army which he had conducted into Palestine. After his departure the king of England pushed the war with the greatest vigour, gave daily marks of his heroic intrepidity and military skill, and not only defeated Saladin in several engagements, but also made himself master of Y'ffa (*w*) and Cæsarea. Deserted, however, by the French and Italians, and influenced by other motives and considerations of the greatest weight, he concluded, A. D. 1192, with Saladin, a truce of three years, three months, and as many days, and soon after evacuated Palestine with his whole army (*x*). Such was the issue of the third expedition against the infidels, which exhausted England, France, and Germany, both of men and money, without bringing any solid advantage, or

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Its issue

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

(*w*) More commonly known by the name of Joppa.

(*x*) Daniel, Histoire de France, tom. iii. p. 426.—Rapin Thoyras, Histoire d'Angleterre, tom. ii. See there the reign of Richard, Cœur de Lion.—Marigny, Histoire des Arabes, tom. iv. p. 285.

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PART I.

Institution
of the mili-
tary order
of knight-
hood.

giving even a favourable turn to the affairs of the Christians in the Holy Land.

XIII. These bloody wars between the Christians and the Mahometans gave rise to three famous military orders, whose office it was to destroy the robbers that infested the public roads, to harass the Moslems by perpetual inroads and warlike achievements, to assist the poor and sick pilgrims, whom the devotion of the times conducted to the holy sepulchre, and to perform several other services that tended to the general good (*y*). The first of these orders was that of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who derived their name, and particularly that of Hospitallers, from an hospital dedicated, in that city, to St. John the Baptist, in which certain pious and charitable brethren were constantly employed in relieving and refreshing with necessary supplies the indigent and diseased pilgrims, who were daily arriving at Jerusalem. When this city became the metropolis of a new kingdom, the revenues of the hospital were so prodigiously increased by the liberality of several princes, and the pious donations of such opulent persons as frequented the holy places, that they far surpassed the wants of those whom they were designed to cherish and relieve. Hence it was that Raymond du Puy, who was the ruler of this charitable house, offered to the king of Jerusalem to make war upon the Mahometans at his own expense, seconded by his brethren, who served under him in this famous hospital. Balduin II. to whom this proposal was made, accepted it readily, and the enterprise was solemnly approved of, and confirmed by the authority of the Roman pontiff. Thus, all of a sudden the world was surprised with the strange transformation of a devout

(*y*) The writers, who have given the history of these three orders, are enumerated by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, Bibliograph. Antiquar. p. 465. but his enumeration is not complete.

fraternity, who had lived remote from the noise and tumult of arms, in the performance of works of charity and mercy, into a valiant and hardy band of warriors. The whole order was upon this occasion divided into three classes; the first contained the knights, or soldiers of illustrious birth, who were to unsheath their swords in the Christian cause; in the second were comprehended the priests, who were to officiate in the churches that belonged to the order; and in the third, the serving brethren, or the soldiers of low condition. This celebrated order gave, upon many occasions, eminent proofs of their resolution and valour, and acquired immense opulence, by their heroic achievements. When Palestine was irrecoverably lost, the knights passed into the isle of Cyprus; they afterwards made themselves masters of the isle of Rhodes, where they maintained themselves for a long time; but being, at length, driven thence by the Turks, they received from the emperor Charles V. a grant of the island of Malta, where their chief, or grand commander, still resides (z).

XIV. Another order, which was entirely of a military nature, was that of the knights templars, so called from a palace, adjoining to the temple of Jerusalem, which was appropriated to their use for a certain time by Balduin II. The foundations of this order were laid at Jerusalem, in the year 1118, by Hugues des Payens, Geoffry of St. Aldemar, or St. Omer, as some will have it, and seven other persons whose names are unknown; but it was not before the year 1128, that it acquired a proper degree of stability, by being con-

The knights
templars.

(z) The best and the most recent history of this order is that which was composed by Vertot at the request of the knights of Malta; it was first published at Paris, and afterwards at Amsterdam, in five volumes 8vo. in the year 1732. See also Helyot's *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. iii. p. 72.

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firmed solemnly in the council of Troyes, and subjected to a rule of discipline drawn up by St. Bernard (*a*). These warlike templars were to defend and support the cause of Christianity by force of arms, to have inspection over the public roads, and to protect the pilgrims, who came to visit Jerusalem, against the insults and barbarity of the Mahometans. The order flourished for some time, and acquired, by the valour of its knights, immense riches, and an eminent degree of military renown; but, as their prosperity increased, their vices were multiplied, and their arrogance, luxury, and inhuman cruelty rose at last to such a monstrous height, that their privileges were revoked, and their order suppressed with the most terrible circumstances of infamy and severity, by a decree of the pope and of the council of Vienne in Dauphiny, as we shall see in the history of the fourteenth century (*b*).

The Teuto-
nic order.

XV. The third order resembled the first in this respect, that, though it was a military institution, the care of the poor, and the relief of the sick were not excluded from the services it prescribed. Its members were distinguished by the title of Teutonic knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem; and as to its first rise, we cannot, with any degree of certainty, trace it farther back than the year 1190, during the siege of Acca, or Ptolemais, though there are historians adventurous enough to seek its origin (which they place at Jerusalem) in a more remote period. During the long and tedious siege of Acca, several pious and charitable

(*a*) See Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 159.

(*b*) See Matthew Paris, *Histor. Major.* p. 56. for an account of the commencement of this order. See also Putean, *Histoire de l'Ordre Militaire des Templiers*, which was republished, with considerable additions, at Brussels, in 4to. in the year 1751. Nic. Gurtleri *Historia Templariorum Militum*, Amstelodam. 1691. in 8vo.

merchants of Bremen and Lubec, touched with compassion at the sight of the miseries that the besiegers suffered in the midst of their success, devoted themselves entirely to the service of the sick and wounded soldiers, and erected a kind of hospital or tent, where they gave constant attendance to all such unhappy objects as had recourse to their charity. This pious undertaking was so agreeable to the German princes, who were present at this terrible siege, that they thought proper to form a fraternity of German knights to bring it to a greater degree of perfection. Their resolution was highly approved of by the Roman pontiff Celestine III. who confirmed the new order by a bull issued out the twenty-third of February, A. D. 1192. This order was entirely appropriated to the Germans, and even of them none were admitted as members of it, but such as were of an illustrious birth. The support of Christianity, the defence of the Holy Land, and the relief of the poor and needy, were the important duties and service to which the Teutonic knights devoted themselves by a solemn vow. Austerity and frugality were the first characteristics of this rising order, and the equestrian garment (c), with bread and water, were the only rewards which the knights derived from their generous labours. But as, according to the fate of human things, prosperity engenders corruption, so it happened that this austerity was of a short duration, and diminished in proportion as the revenues and possessions of the order augmented. The Teutonic knights, after their retreat from Palestine, made themselves masters of Prussia, Livonia, Courland, and Semigallen; but, in process of time, their victorious arms received several checks, and when the light of the reformation arose upon Ger-

(c) This garment was a white mantle with a black cross.

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many, they were deprived of the richest provinces which they possessed in that country; though they still retain there a certain portion of their ancient territories (*d*).

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Calamitous Events that happened to the Church during this Century.

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

I. THE progress of Christianity in the west had disarmed its most inveterate enemies, and deprived them of the power of doing much mischief, though they still entertained the same aversion to the disciples of Jesus. The Jews and pagans were no longer able to oppose the propagation of the gospel, or to oppress its ministers. Their malignity remained, but their credit and authority were gone. The Jews were accused by the Christians of various crimes, whether real or fictitious we shall not determine; but, instead of attacking their accusers, they were satisfied to defend their own lives, and to secure their persons, without daring to give vent to their resentment.

The state of things was somewhat different in the northern provinces. The pagans were yet numerous there in several districts, and wherever they were the majority, they persecuted the Christians with the utmost barbarity, the most unre-

(*d*) See Raymundi Duellii *Histor. Ord. Teutonicæ*, published in folio at Vienna, in 1727.—Petri Dusburg, *Chronicon Prussiæ*, published in 4to. at Jena, in the year 1679. by Christoph. Hartknochius.—Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. iii. p. 140.—*Chronicon Ordinis Teutonicæ* in Anton. Matthæi *Analectis veteris ævi*, tom. v. p. 621. 658. ed. nov.—*Privilegia Ordinis Teutonicæ* in Petr. à Ludewig *Reliquiis Manuscriptor.* tom. vi. p. 43.

lenting and merciless fury (*e*). It is true, the Christian kings and princes, who lived in the neighbourhood of these persecuting barbarians, checked by degrees their impetuous rage, and never ceased to harass and weaken them by perpetual wars and incursions, until, at length, they subdued them entirely, and deprived them, by force, both of their independency and their superstitions.

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II. The writers of this century complain grievously of the inhuman rage with which the Saracens persecuted the Christians in the east, nor can we question the truth of what they relate concerning this terrible persecution. But they pass over in silence the principal reasons that inflamed the resentment of this fierce people, and voluntarily forget that the Christians were the first aggressors in this dreadful war. If we consider the matter with impartiality and candour, the conduct of the Saracens, however barbarous it may have been, will not appear so surprising, particularly when we reflect on the provocations they received. In the first place, they had a right, by the laws of war, to repel, by force, the violent invasion of their country, and the Christians could not expect, without being chargeable with the most frontless impudence, that a people whom they attacked with a formidable army, and whom, in the fury of their misguided zeal, they massacred without mercy, should receive their insults with a tame submission, and give up their lives and possessions without resistance. It must also be confessed, though with sorrow, that the Christians did not content themselves with mak-

Its sufferings in the east.

(*e*) Helmold, *Chronic. Sclavor*, lib. i. cap. xxxiv. p. 88. cap. xxxv. p. 89. cap. xl. p. 99.—Lindenbrogii *Scriptor. Septentrional.* p. 195, 196, 201.—Petri Lambecii *Res Hamburg.* lib. i. p. 23.

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ing war upon the Mahometans in order to deliver Jerusalem and the holy sepulchre out of their hands, but carried their brutal fury to the greatest length, disgraced their cause by the most detestable crimes, filled the eastern provinces, through which they passed, with scenes of horror, and made the Saracens feel the terrible effects of their violence and barbarity wherever their arms were successful. Is it then so surprising to see the infidel Saracens committing, by way of reprisal, the same barbarities that the holy warriors had perpetrated without the least provocation? Is there any thing so new and so extraordinary in this, that a people naturally fierce, and exasperated, moreover, by the calamities of a religious war, carried on against them in contradiction to all the dictates of justice and humanity, should avenge themselves upon the Christians who resided in Palestine, as professing the religion which gave occasion to the war, and attached, of consequence, to the cause of their enemies and invaders?

Prester
John de-
parts this
life.

III. The rapid and amazing victories of the great Genghizkan, emperor of the Tartars, gave an unhappy turn to the affairs of the Christians in the northern parts of Asia, towards the conclusion of this century. This heroic prince, who was by birth a Mogul, and whose military exploits raise him in the list of fame above almost all the commanders either of ancient or modern times, rendered his name formidable throughout all Asia, whose most flourishing dynasties fell successively before his victorious arms. David, or Ungchan, who, according to some, was the son, or, as others will have it, the brother, but who was certainly the successor, of the famous Prester John, and was himself so called in common discourse, was the first victim that Genghizkan sacrificed to his boundless ambition.

He invaded his territory, and put to flight his troops in a bloody battle, where David lost, at the same time, his kingdom and his life (*f*). The princes who governed the Turks, Indians, and the province of Cathay, fell, in their turn, before the victorious Tartar, and were all either put to death or rendered tributary; nor did Genghizkan stop here, but proceeding into Persia, India, and Arabia, he overturned the Saracen dominion in those regions, and substituted that of the Tartars in its place (*g*). From this period the Christian cause lost much of its authority and credit in the provinces that had been ruled by Prester John and his successor David, and continued to decline and lose ground from day to day, until, at length, it sunk entirely under the weight of oppression, and was succeeded in some places by the errors of Mahomet, and in others by the superstitions of paganism. We must

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

(*g*) See Petit de la Croix, *Histoire de Genghizkan*, p. 120, 121. published in 12mo at Paris in the year 1711.—Herbelot, *Biblioth. Oriental.* at the article *Genghizkan*, p. 378.—Assemanni *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. iii. part I. p. 101, and 295.—Jean du Plan Carpin, *Voyage en Tartarie*, ch. v. in the *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, tom. vii. p. 350.

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except, however, in this general account, the kingdom of Tangut, the chief residence of Prester John, in which his posterity, who persevered in the profession of Christianity, maintained, for a long time, a certain sort of tributary dominion, which exhibited, indeed, but a faint shadow of their former grandeur (*h*).

(*h*) Assemani Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican. tom. iii. part II. p. 500.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the State of Letters and Philosophy during this Century.

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

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PART II.

The state
of learning
among the
Greeks.

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PART II.

The state of
philosophy.

doubted marks of learning and genius, as well as of a laudable ambition to obtain the esteem and approbation of future ages.

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

The state of
learning
among the
Latins.

III. In the western world the pursuit of knowledge was now carried on with incredible emu-

(*a*) Theodorus Balsamon, Præf. ad Photii Nomocanonem in Henr. Justelli Bibliotheca juris canonici veteris, tom. ii. p. 814.

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

(*b*) De Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris, tom. ii. p. 463.—Pasquier, Recherches de la France, livr. iii. ch. xxix.—Petri Lambecii Histor. Biblioth. Vindobon, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 260.—Histoire Litter. de la France, tom. ix. p. 60—80.

(*c*) Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. ii. p. 215. Pasquet de

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

la Livoniere, Dissert. sur l'Antiquité de l'Université d'Angers, p. 21. published in 4to. at Angers, 1736.

(*d*) Histoire Gen. de Languedoc, par les Benedictins, tom. ii. p. 517.

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

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

IV. Many were the signal advantages that attended these literary establishments; and what is particularly worthy of notice, they not only rendered knowledge more universal by facilitating the means of instruction, but were also the occasion of forming a new circle of sciences, better digested, and much more comprehensive than that which had been hitherto studied by the greatest adepts in learning. The whole extent of learning and philosophy, before this period, was confined to the seven liberal arts, as they were commonly called, of which three were known by the name of the trivium, which comprehended grammar, rhetoric, and logic; and the other four by the title of quadrivium, which included arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. The greatest part of the learned, as we have formerly observed, were satisfied with their literary acquisitions, when they had made themselves masters of the trivium, while such as, with an adventurous flight, aspired after

A new division of the sciences.

(*f*) See B. Bohmeri Jus. Eccles. Protestant. tom. iv. p. 705.

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

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

four classes of science, or, to use the academical phrase, of the four faculties, which took place in the universities in the following century.

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PART II.

The study
of Roman
law revived.

V. A happy and unexpected event restored in Italy the lustre and authority of the ancient Roman law, and, at the same time, lessened the credit of all the other systems of legislation that had been received for several ages past. This event was the discovery of the original manuscript of the famous Pandect of Justinian, which was found in the ruins of Amalphi, or Melfi, when that city was taken by Lotharius II. in the year 1137, and of which that emperor made a present to the inhabitants of Pisa, whose fleet had contributed, in a particular manner, to the success of the siege. This admirable collection, which had been almost buried in oblivion, was no sooner recovered, than the Roman law became the grand object of the studies and labours of the learned. In the academy of Bologna, there were particular colleges erected expressly for the study of the Roman jurisprudence; and these excellent institutions were multiplied in several parts of Italy, in process of time, and animated other European nations to imitate so wise an example. Hence arose a great revolution in the public tribunals, and an entire change in their judicial proceedings. Hitherto different systems of law were followed in different courts, and every person of distinction, particularly among the Franks, had the liberty of choosing the body of laws that was to be the rule of his conduct. But the Roman law acquired such credit and authority, that it superseded, by degrees, all other laws in the greatest part of Europe, and was substituted in the place of the Salic, Lombard, and Burgundian codes, which before this period were in the highest reputation. It is an ancient opinion, that Lotharius II. pursuant to the counsels and solici-

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tations of Irnerius (*h*), principal professor of the Roman law in the academy of Bologna, published an edict enjoining the abrogation of all the statutes then in force, and substituting in their place the Roman law, by which, for the future, all without exception were to modify their contracts, terminate their differences, and to regulate their actions. But this opinion, as many learned men have abundantly proved (*i*), is far from being supported by sufficient evidence.

Ecclesiastical, or canon law.

VI. No sooner was the civil law placed in the number of the sciences, and considered as an important branch of academical learning, than the Roman pontiffs, and their zealous adherents, judged it, not only expedient, but also highly necessary, that the canon law should have the same privilege. There were not wanting before this time certain collections of the canons or laws of the church; but these collections were so destitute of order and method, and were so defective, both in respect to matter and form, that they could not be conveniently explained in the schools, or be made use of as systems of ecclesiastical polity. Hence it was, that Gratian, a Benedictine monk, belonging to the convent of St. Felix and Nabor at Bologna, and by birth a Tuscan, composed about the year 1130, for the use of the schools, an abridgment, or epitome of

(*h*) Otherwise called Werner.

(*i*) See Herm. Conringius, *De Origine Juris Germanici*, cap. xxii.—Guido Grandus, *Epist. de Pandectis*, p. 21. 69. published at Florence, in 4to. in 1737.—Henry Brenemann, *Historia Pandectar.* p. 41.—Lud. Ant. Muratori *Præf. ad Leges Langobardicas*, scriptor. rerum Italicar. tom. i. part II. p. 4. et *Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. ii. p. 285. There was a warm controversy carried on concerning this matter between George Callixtus and Barthol. Nihusius, the latter of whom embraced the vulgar opinion concerning the edict of Lotharius, obtained by the solicitations of Irnerius: of this controversy there is a circumstantial account in the *Cimbria Litterata* of Molerus, tom. iii. p. 142.

canon law, drawn from the letters of the pontiffs, the decrees of councils, and the writings of the ancient doctors. Pope Eugenius III. was extremely satisfied with this work, which was also received with the highest applause by the doctors and professors of Bologna, and was unanimously adopted, as the text they were to follow in their public lectures. The professors at Paris were the first that followed the example of those of Bologna, which, in process of time, was imitated by the greatest part of the European colleges. But, notwithstanding the encomiums bestowed upon this performance, which was commonly called the decretal of Gratian (*k*), and was entitled by the author himself, the re-union, or coalition of the jarring canons (*l*), several most learned and eminent writers of the Romish communion acknowledge, that it is full of errors and defects of various kinds (*m*). As, however, the main design of this abridgment of the canons was to support the despotism, and to extend the authority of the Roman pontiffs, its innumerable defects were overlooked, its merits were exaggerated; and, what is still more surprising, it enjoys, at this day, in an age of light and liberty, that high degree of veneration and authority, which was inconsiderately, though more excusably, lavished upon it in an age of tyranny, superstition, and darkness (*n*).

(*k*) Decretum Gratiani.

(*l*) Concordia Discordantium Canonum.

(*m*) See, among others, Anton. Augustinus, De Emendatione Gratiani, published in 8vo. at Arnheim, A. D. 1678. with the learned observations of Steph. Baluzius and Ger. a Maastricht.

(*n*) See Gerhard. a Maastricht; Historia juris Ecclesiastici, sect. 293. p. 325.—B. Just. Hen. Bohmeri, Jus. Eccles. Protestant. tom. i. p. 100. and more particularly the learned Preface, with which this last mentioned author enriched the new edition of the Canon Law, published at Hal, in 4to. in the year 1747. See also Alex. Machiavelli Observations

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The state of
philosophy
among the
Latins.

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

ad Sigonii Hist. Bononiensem, tom. iii. Oper. Sigonii, p. 128. This writer has drawn from the Kalendarium Archigymnasii Bononiensis, several particularities concerning Gratian and his work, which were generally unknown, but whose truth is also much disputed. What increases the suspicion of their being fabulous is, that this famous Kalendar, of which the Bolonians boast so much, and which they have so often promised to publish in order to dispel the doubts of the learned, has never as yet seen the light. Besides, in the fragments that have appeared, there are manifest marks of unfair dealing.

(o) These literary anecdotes I have taken from several writers, particularly from Hugo a St. Victor, Didascali Libro ii. cap. ii. p. 7. tom. i. opp. and from the Metalogicum of John of Salisbury.

VIII. The learned, who treated these different branches of science, were divided into various factions, which attacked each other with the utmost animosity and bitterness (*p*). There were, at this time, three methods of teaching philosophy that were practised by different doctors. The first was the ancient and plain method, which confined its researches to the philosophical notions of Porphyry, and the dialectic system, commonly attributed to St. Augustine, and in which was laid down this general rule, that philosophical inquiries were to be limited to a small number of subjects, lest, by their becoming too extensive, religion might suffer by a profane mixture of human subtilty with its divine wisdom. The second method was called the Aristotelian, because it consisted in explications of the works of that philosopher (*q*), several of whose books, being translated into Latin, were now almost every where in the hands of the learned. These translations were, indeed, extremely obscure and incorrect, and led those who made use of them in their academical lectures, into various blunders,

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Dissensions
among the
philoso-
phers.

(*p*) See Godof. de St. Victor. *Carmen de Sectis Philosophi.* published by Le Bœuf, in his *Diss. sur l'Histoire Ecclesiast. et Civile de Paris.* tom. ii. p. 254.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 562.—Ant. Wood. *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 51.—Jo. Sarisburiensis *Metalog. et Policrat.* passim.

(*q*) Rob. de Monte, *Append. ad Sigebertum Gemblacens.* published by Luc. Dacherius, among the works of Guibert, abbot of Nogent, ad A. 1128. p. 753. “*Jacobus Clericus de Venecia transtulit de Græco in Latinum quosdam libros Aristotelis et commentatus est, scilicet Topica, Annal. priores et posteriores et elenchos. Quamvis antiquior translatio super eisdem libros haberetur.*” Thom. Becket, *Epistolar.* lib. ii. ep. xciii. p. 454. edit. Bruxell. 1682. in 4to.” “*Itero preces, quatenus libros Aristotelis, quos habetis, mihi faciatis exscribi. . . Precor etiam iterata supplicatione quatenus in operibus Aristotelis, ubi difficiliora fuerint, notulas fasciatis, eo quod interpretem aliquatenus suspectum habeo, quia licet eloquens fuerit alias, ut sæpe audivi, minus tamen fuit in grammatica institutus.*”

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and often into notions, which were not more absurd than whimsical and singular. The third was termed the free method, employed by such as were bold enough to search after truth, in the manner they thought the most adapted to render their inquiries successful, and who followed the bent of their own genius, without rejecting, however, the succours of Aristotle and Plato. Laudable as this method was, it became an abundant source of sophistry and chicanery, by the imprudent management of those that employed it; for these subtle doctors, through a wanton indulgence of their metaphysical fancies, did little more than puzzle their disciples with vain questions, and fatigue them with endless distinctions and divisions (*r*). These different systems, and vehement contests that divided the philosophers, gave many persons a disgust against philosophy in general, and made them desire, with impatience, its banishment from the public schools.

The contests of the Dialecticians, Realists, and Nominalists described.

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

(*r*) See Jo. Sarisburiensis Policrat. p. 434. et Metalog. p. 814, &c.

(*s*) John of Salisbury, a very elegant and ingenious writer of this age, censures, with a good deal of wit, the crude and unintelligible speculations of these sophists, in his book intitled, Policraticon seu de Nugis Curialium, lib. vii. p. 451. He observes, that there had been more time consumed in

divided long before this period, and which were distinguished by the titles of Realists and Nominalists, not only subsisted still, but were moreover subdivided, each into smaller parties and factions, according as the two opposite and leading schemes were modified by new fancies and inventions. The Nominalists, though they had their followers, were nevertheless much inferior to the Realists, both with respect to the number of their disciples, and to the credit and reputation of their doctrine. A third sect arose under the name of Formalists, who pretended to terminate the controversy, by steering a middle course between the two jarring systems now mentioned; but, as the hypothesis of these new doctors was most obscure and unintelligible, they only perplexed matters more than they had hitherto been, and furnished new subjects of contention and dispute (*t*).

resolving the question relating to genus and species, than the Cæsars had employed in making themselves masters of the whole world; that the riches of Cræsus were inferior to the treasures that had been exhausted in this controversy; and that the contending parties, after having spent their whole lives upon this single point, had neither been so happy as to determine it to their satisfaction, nor to make, in the labyrinths of science where they had been groping, any discovery that was worth the pains they had taken. His words are: "Veterem paratus est solvere questionem de generibus et speciebus (he speaks here of a certain philosopher) in qua laborans mundus jam senuit, in qua plus temporis consumptum est, quam in acquirendo et regendo orbis imperio consumpsêrit Cæsarea domus: plus effusum pecuniæ, quam in omnibus divitiis suis possederit Cræsus. Hæc enim tam diu multos tenuit, ut cum hoc unum tota vita quærerent, tandem nec istud, nec aliud invenirent."

(*t*) See the above-cited author's Policrat. lib. vii. p. 451, where he gives a succinct account of the Formalists, Realists, and Nominalists in the following words: "Sunt qui more mathematicorum Formas abstrahunt, et ad illas quicquid de universalibus dicitur referunt." Such were the Formalists, who applied the doctrine of universal ideas to what the mathematicians call abstract forms. Alii discutunt intellectus et eos universalium nominibus censeri confirmant. Here we

Those among the learned, who turned their pursuits to more interesting and beneficial branches of science, than the intricate and puzzling doctrine of universals, travelled into the different countries, where the kinds of knowledge they were bent upon cultivating, flourished most. The students of physic, astronomy, and mathematics, continued to frequent the schools of the Saracens in Spain. Many of the learned productions of the Arabians were also translated into Latin (*u*); for the high esteem in which the erudition of

find the Realists pointed out, who, under the name of universals, comprehended all intellectual powers, qualities, and ideas. "Fuerunt et qui voces ipsas genera dicerent et species: sed eorum jam explosa sententia est et facile cum autore suo evanuit. Sunt tamen adhuc, qui deprehenduntur in vestigiis eorum, licet erubescant vel auctorem vel sciantium profiteri, solis nominibus, inhærentes, quod rebus et intellectibus subtrahunt, sermonibus ascribunt." This was a sect of the Nominalists, who, ashamed (as this author alleges) to profess the exploded doctrine of Roscellinus, which placed genus and species in the class of mere words, or simple denominations, modified that system by a slight change of expression only, which did not essentially distinguish their doctrine from that of the ordinary Nominalists. It appears from all this, that the sect of the Formalists is of more ancient date than John Duns Scotus, whom many learned men consider as its founder. See Jo. Sarisbur. *Metalogic. lib. ii. cap. xvii. p. 814.* where that eminent author describes at large the various contests of these three sects, and sums up their differences in the following words: "Alius consistit in vocibus, licet hæc opinio cum Roscellino suo fere jam evanuerit: alius sermones intuetur: alius versatur in intellectibus," &c.

(*u*) Gerhard of Cremona, who was so famous among the Italians for his eminent skill in astronomy and physic, undertook a voyage to Toledo, where he translated into Latin several Arabian treatises; see Muratori *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi, tom. iii. p. 936, 937.*—Mirmet, a French monk, travelled into Spain and Africa, to learn geography among the Saracens. See Luc. Dacherii *Spicilegium vel Scriptor. tom. ix. p. 443. ed. Antiq.*—Daniel Morlach, an Englishman, who was extremely fond of mathematical learning, went a journey to Toledo, from whence he brought into his own country a considerable number of Arabian books; *Ant. Wood, Antiquit. Oxon. tom. i. p. 55.*—Peter, abbot of Clugni, sur-

that people was held, together with a desire of converting the Spanish Saracens to Christianity, had excited many to study their language, and to acquire a considerable knowledge of their doctrine.

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CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Doctors and Ministers of the Church, and its Form of Government during this Century.

I. WHEREVER we turn our eyes among the various ranks and orders of the clergy, we perceive in this century the most flagrant marks of licentiousness and fraud, ignorance and luxury, and other vices, whose pernicious effects were deeply felt both in church and state. If we except a very small number; who retained a sense of the sanctity of their vocations, and lamented the corruption and degeneracy of their order, it may be said, with respect to the rest, that their whole business was to satisfy their lusts, to multiply their privileges by grasping perpetually at new honours and distinctions, to increase their opulence, to diminish the authority, and to encroach upon the privileges of princes and magistrates, and, neglecting entirely the interests of religion and the cure of souls, to live in ease and

The lives
and man-
ners of the
clergy.

named the Venerable, after having sojourned for some time among the Spaniards, in order to make himself master of the Arabian language, translated into Latin the Alcoran and the Life of Mahomet; see Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. lib. lxxvii. 345. This eminent ecclesiastic, as appears from the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, p. 1169. found upon his arrival in Spain, persons of learning from England and other nations, who applied themselves with extraordinary assiduity and ardour to the study of astrology. We might multiply the examples of those who travelled in quest of science during this century; but those now alleged are sufficient for our purpose.

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pleasure, and draw out their days in an unmanly and luxurious indolence. This appears manifestly from two remarkable treatises of St. Bernard, in one of which he exposes the corruption of the pontiffs and bishops (*w*), while he describes in the other the enormous crimes of the monastic orders, whose licentiousness he chastises with a just severity (*x*).

The pontiffs
ambitious to
extend
their autho-
rity.

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

(*w*) In the work intitled, *Considerationum Libri v. ad Eugenium Pontificem*.

(*x*) See his defence of the crusades, under the title of *Apologia ad Gulielmum Abbatem*; as also Gerhohus, *De corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu*, in Baluzii *Miscell. tom. v. p. 63.*—*Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 6. App. tom. ii. p. 265. 273, &c. *Boulay Histor. Academ. Paris. tom. ii. p. 490. 690.*

taken an unfavourable turn, and who had not the courage to elect a new pope of their party in the place of Guibert, who died in the year 1100 (*y*).

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Pascal, therefore, unwilling to let pass unimproved the present success of the papal faction, renewed, in a council assembled at Rome, A. D. 1102, the decrees of his predecessors against investitures, and the excommunications they had thundered out against Henry IV. and used his most vigorous endeavours to raise up on all sides new enemies to that unfortunate emperor. Henry, however, opposed, with great constancy and resolution, the efforts of this violent pontiff, and eluded, with much dexterity and vigilance, his perfidious stratagems. But his heart, wounded in the tenderest part, lost all its firmness and courage, when, in the year 1106, an unnatural son, under the impious pretext of religion, took up arms against his person and his cause. Henry V. so was this monster afterwards named, seized his father in a most treacherous manner, and obliged him to abdicate the empire; after which the unhappy prince retired to Liege, where, deserted by all his adherents, he departed this life, and so got rid of his misery, in the year 1106. It has been a matter of dispute, whether it was the instigation of the pontiff, or the ambitious and impatient thirst after dominion, that engaged Henry V. to declare war against his father; nor is it, perhaps, easy to decide this question with a perfect degree

The dispute concerning investitures, is fomented anew.

 (*y*) Dr. Mosheim's affirmation here must be somewhat modified in order to be true; it is certain, that, after the death of Guibert, the imperial party chose in his place a person named Albert, who, indeed, was seized the day of his election, and cast into prison. Theodoric and Magnulf were successively chosen after Albert, but could not support for any time their claim to the pontificate. See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles. livr. lxxv. vol. xiv. p. 10.* Brussels edition in 8vo.

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of evidence. One thing, however, is unquestionably certain, and that is, that Pascal II. dissolved, or rather impiously pretended to dissolve, the oath of fidelity and obedience that Henry had taken to his father; and not only so, but adopted the cause, and supported the interests of this unnatural rebel with the utmost zeal, assiduity, and fervour (z).

The progress of this debate.

III. The revolution that this odious rebellion caused in the empire was, however, much less favourable to the views of Pascal than that lordly pontiff expected. Henry V. could by no means be persuaded to renounce his right of investing the bishops and abbots, though he was willing to grant the right of election to the canons and monks, as was usual before his time. Upon this the exasperated pontiff renewed, in the councils of Guastalla and Troyes, the decrees that had so often been issued out against investitures, and the flame broke out with new force. It was, indeed, suspended during a few years, by the wars in which Henry V. was engaged, and which prevented his bringing the matter to an issue. But no sooner had he made peace with his enemies, and composed the tumults that troubled the tranquillity of the empire, than he set out for Italy with a formidable army, A. D. 1110, in order to put an end to this long and unhappy contest. He advanced towards Rome by slow marches, while the trembling pontiff seeing himself destitute of all succour, and reduced to the lowest and most defenceless condition, proposed to him the following conditions of peace: That he, on the one hand, should renounce the right of investing

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

with the ring and crosier; and that the bishops and abbots should, on the other hand, resign and give over to the emperor all the grants they had received from Charlemagne, of those rights and privileges that belong to royalty, such as the power of raising tribute, coining money, and possessing independent lands and territories, with other immunities of a like nature. These conditions were agreeable to Henry, who accordingly gave a formal consent to them in the year 1111; but they were extremely displeasing to the Italian and German bishops, who expressed their dissent in the strongest terms. Hence a terrible tumult arose in the church of St. Peter, where the contending parties were assembled with their respective followers; upon which Henry ordered the pope to be seized, and to be confined in the castle of Viterbo. After having lain there for some time, the captive pontiff was engaged, by the unhappy circumstances of his present condition, to enter into a new convention, by which he solemnly receded from the article of the former treaty that regarded investitures, and confirmed to the emperor the privilege of inaugurating the bishops and abbots with the ring and crosier. Thus was the peace concluded, in consequence of which the vanquished pontiff arrayed Henry with the imperial diadem (*a*).

IV. This transitory peace, which was the fruit of violence and necessity, was followed by greater tumults and more dreadful wars, than had yet afflicted the church. Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, Rome was filled with the most vehement commotions, and a universal cry

Pascal
breaks this
convention,
and dies.

(*a*) Besides the writers already mentioned, see Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. v. p. 631. and tom. vi. p. 1. at the particular years to which the events here taken notice of belong.

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was raised against the pontiff, who was accused of having violated, in a scandalous manner, the duties and dignity of his station, and of having prostituted the majesty of the church by his ignominious compliance with the demands of the emperor. To appease these commotions, Pascal assembled, in the year 1112, a council in the church of Lateran, and there, not only confessed, with the deepest contrition and humility, the fault he had committed in concluding such a convention with the emperor, but submitted moreover the decision of that matter to the determination of the council, who accordingly took that treaty into consideration, and solemnly annulled it (*b*). This step was followed by many events that gave, for a long time, an unfavourable turn to the affairs of the emperor. He was excommunicated in many synods and councils, both in France and Germany; nay, he was placed in the black list of heretics, a denomination which exposed him to the greatest dangers in these superstitious and barbarous times (*c*); and to complete his anxiety, he saw the German princes revolting from his authority in several places, and taking up arms in the cause of the church. To put an end to the calamities that thus afflicted the empire on all sides, Henry set out a second time for Italy, with a numerous army, in the year 1116, and arrived the year following at Rome, where he assembled the consuls, senators, and nobles, while the fugitive pontiff retired to Benevento.

(*b*) Pascal, upon this occasion, as Gregory VII. had formerly done in the case of Berenger, submitted his proceedings and his authority to the judgment of a council, to which, of consequence, he acknowledged his subordination. Nay, still more, that council condemned his measures, and declared them scandalous.

(*c*) See Gervaise, *Diss. sur l'Herésie des Investitures*, which is the fourth of the Dissertations which he has prefixed to his *History of the Abbot Suger*.

Pascal, however, during this forced absence, engaged the Normans to come to his assistance, and, encouraged by the prospect of immediate succour, prepared every thing for a vigorous war against the emperor, and attempted to make himself master of Rome. But, in the midst of these warlike preparations, which drew the attention of Europe, and portended great and remarkable events, the military pontiff yielded to fate, and concluded his days, A. D. 1118.

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V. A few days after the death of Pascal, John of Gaieta, a Benedictine monk of Montcassin, and chancellor of the Roman church, was raised to the pontificate under the title of Gelasius II. In opposition to this choice, Henry elected to the same dignity Maurice Burdin, archbishop of Braga in Spain (*d*), who assumed the denomination of Gregory VIII (*e*). Upon this, Gelasius, not thinking himself safe at Rome, nor indeed in Italy, set out for France, and in a little time after died at Clugni. The cardinals, who accompanied him in his journey, elected to the papacy, immediately after his departure, Guy, archbishop of Vienne, count of Burgundy, who was nearly related to the emperor, and is distinguished in the lists of the Roman pontiffs by the name of Callixtus II. The elevation of this eminent ecclesiastic was, in the issue, extremely happy both for church and state. Remarkably distinguished by his illustrious birth, and still more by his noble and heroic qualities, this magnanimous pontiff continued to oppose the emperor with

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

(*e*) See Stephani Baluzii Vita Mauriti Burdini Miscellaneor. tom. iii. p. 471.

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courage and success, and to carry on the war both with the sword of the spirit, and with the arm of flesh. He made himself master of Rome, threw into prison the pontiff that had been chosen by the emperor, and fomented the civil commotions in Germany. But his fortitude and resolution were tempered with moderation, and accompanied with a spirit of generosity and compliance, which differed much from the obstinate arrogance of his lordly predecessors. Accordingly, he lent an ear to pacific counsels, and was willing to relinquish a part of the demands upon which the former pontiffs had so vehemently insisted, that he might restore the public tranquillity, and satisfy the ardent desires of so many nations, who groaned under the dismal effects of these deplorable divisions (*f*).

It will appear unquestionably evident to every attentive and impartial observer of things, that the illiberal and brutish manners of those who ruled the church were the only reason that rendered the dispute concerning investitures so violent and cruel, so tedious in its duration, and so unhappy in its effects. During the space of five-and-fifty years, the church was governed by monks, who, to the obscurity of their birth, the asperity of their natural temper, and the unbounded rapacity of their ambition and avarice, joined that inflexible obstinacy which is one of the essential characteristics of the monastic order. Hence those bitter feuds, those furious efforts of ambition and vengeance, that dishonoured the church and afflicted the state during the course of this controversy. But as soon as the papal chair was filled by a man of an ingenuous turn, and of a liberal education, the face of things changed en-

 (*f*) The paragraph following is the note (*t*) of the original placed in the text.

tirely, and a prospect of peace arose to the desires and hopes of ruined and desolate countries.

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

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

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

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

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

“ That the emperor shall no more confer the regalia by the ceremony of the ring and crosier, which are the ensigns of a ghostly dignity, but by that of the sceptre, which is more proper to invest the person elected in the possession of rights and privileges merely temporal (*i*).”

This convention was solemnly confirmed the year following in the general council of Lateran, and remains still in force in our times; though

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

(*h*) From this period the people in Germany were excluded from the right of voting in the election of bishops. See Petr. de Marca, *De Concordia sacerdotii et imperii*, lib. vi. cap. ii. sect. 9. p. 788. edit. Bohmeri.

(*i*) See Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. vi. p. 76.—Schilterus, *De Libertate Eccl. Germanicæ*, lib. iv. cap. iv. p. 545.—Cæsar Rasponus, *De Basilica Lateranensi*, lib. iv. p. 295.

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Two popes
raised at the
same time
to the ponti-
ficate.

the true sense of some of its articles has occasioned disputes between the emperors and pontiffs (*k*).

VII. Callixtus did not long enjoy the fruits of this peace, to which he had so much contributed by his prudence and moderation. He departed this life in the year 1124, and was succeeded by Lambert, bishop of Ostia, who assumed the title of Honorius II. and under whose pontificate nothing worthy of mention was transacted. His death, which happened A. D. 1130, gave rise to a considerable schism in the church of Rome, or rather in the college of cardinals, of whom one party elected to the papal chair, Gregory, a cardinal deacon of St. Angelo, who was distinguished by the name of Innocent II. while the other chose, for successor to Honorius, Peter, the son of Leo, a Roman prince, under the title of Anacletus II. The party of Innocent was far from being numerous in Rome, or throughout Italy in general, for which reason he judged it expedient to retire into France, where he had many adherents, and where he sojourned during the space of two years. His credit was very great out of Italy; for, besides the emperor Lotharius, the kings of England, France, and Spain, with other princes, espoused warmly the cause of Innocent, and that principally by the influence of St. Bernard, who was his intimate friend, and whose counsels had the force and authority of laws in almost all the countries of Europe. The patrons of Anacletus were fewer in number, and were confined to the kings of Sicily and Scotland; his death, however, which happened A. D. 1138, terminated the contest, and left Innocent in the entire and undisputed possession of the apostolic chair. The surviving pontiff

(*k*) It was disputed among other things, whether the consecration of the bishop elect was to precede or follow the collation of the regalia? See Jo. Wilh. Hoffman, *ad concordatum Henrici V. et Callisti II. Vitemberg. 1739, in 4to.*

presided, in the year 1139, at the second council of Lateran, and about four years after ended his days in peace (*l*).

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Succession
of the pon-
tiffs, from
the death of
Innocent to
the end of
this century.

VIII. After the death of Innocent, the Roman see was filled by Guy, cardinal of St. Mark, who ruled the church about five months, under the title of Celestine II. If his reign was short, it was however peaceable, and not like that of his successor Lucius II. whose pontificate was disturbed by various tumults and seditions, and who, about eleven months after his elevation to the papacy, was killed in a riot which he was endeavouring to suppress by his presence and authority. He was succeeded by Bernard, a Cistercian monk, and an eminent disciple of the famous St. Bernard, abbot of Clairval. This worthy ecclesiastic, who is distinguished among the popes by the title of Eugenius III. was raised to that high dignity in the year 1145, and during the space of nine years was involved in the same perils and perplexities that had embittered the ghostly reign of his predecessor. He was often obliged to leave Rome, and to save himself by flight from the fury of the people (*m*); and the same reason engaged him to retire into France, where he sojourned for a considerable time. At length, exhausted by the opposition he met with in supporting what he looked upon

(*l*) Besides the ordinary writers of the papal history, see Jean de Lannes, *Histoire du Pontificat du Pape Innocent II.* Paris. 1741, in 8vo.

(*m*) There was a party formed in Rome at this time, whose design was to restore the Roman senate to its former privileges, and to its ancient splendor and glory; and for this purpose, to reduce the papal revenues and prerogatives to a narrower compass, even to the tithes and oblations that were offered to the primitive bishops, and to the spiritual government of the church, attended with an utter exclusion from all civil jurisdiction over the city of Rome. It was this party that produced the feuds and seditions to which Dr. Mosheim has an eye in this eighth section.

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as the prerogatives of the papacy, he departed this life in the year 1153. The pontificate of his successor Conrad, bishop of Sabino, who, after his elevation to the see of Rome, assumed the title of Anastasius IV. was less disturbed by civil commotions, but it was also of a very short duration; for Anastasius died about a year and four months after his election.

The contest between the emperors and popes is renewed under Frederic Barbarossa and Adrian IV.

IX. The warm contest between the emperors and the popes, which was considered as at an end ever since the time of Callixtus II. was unhappily renewed under the pontificate of Adrian IV. who was a native of England, and whose original name was Nicolas Breakspear. Frederic I. surnamed Barbarossa, was no sooner seated on the imperial throne, than he publicly declared his resolution to maintain the dignity and privileges of the Roman empire in general, and more particularly to render it respectable in Italy; nor was he at all studious to conceal the design he had formed of reducing the overgrown power and opulence of the pontiffs and clergy within narrower limits. Adrian perceived the danger that threatened the majesty of the church, and the authority of the clergy, and prepared himself for defending both with vigour and constancy. The first occasion of trying their strength was offered at the coronation of the emperor at Rome, in the year 1155, when the pontiff insisted upon Frederic's performing the office of equerry, and holding the stirrup to his holiness. This humbling proposal was at first rejected with disdain by the emperor, and was followed by other contests of a more momentous nature, relating to the political interests of the empire.

These differences were no sooner reconciled than new disputes, equally important, arose in the year 1158, when the emperor, in order to put a stop to the enormous opulence of the pontiffs,

bishops, and monks, which increased from day to day, enacted a law to prevent the transferring of fiefs, without the knowledge and consent of the superior, or lord in whose name they were held (*n*), and turned the whole force of his arms to reduce the little republics of Italy under his dominion. An open rupture between the emperor and the pontiff was expected as the inevitable consequence of such vigorous measures, when the death of Adrian, which happened on the first of September, A. D. 1159, suspended the storm (*o*).

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X. In the election of a new pontiff, the cardinals were divided into two factions. The most numerous and powerful of the two raised to the pontificate Roland, bishop of Sienna, who assumed the name of Alexander III. while the opposite party elected to that high dignity Octavian, cardinal of St. Cecilia, known by the title of Victor IV. The latter was patronised by the emperor, to whom Alexander was extremely disagreeable on several accounts. The council of Pavia, which was assembled by the emperor in the year 1160, adopted his sentiments, and pronounced in favour of Victor, who became thereby triumphant in Germany and Italy; so that France alone was left open to Alexander, who accordingly left Rome, and fled thither for safety and protection. Amidst the tumults and commotions which this schism occasioned, Victor died at Lucca, in the year 1164, but his place was imme-

A dispute arises in the election of a new pontiff.

(*n*) This prohibition of transferring the possession of fiefs, from one to another, without the consent of the supreme lord, or sovereign, under whom they were held, together with other laws of a like nature, was the first effectual barrier that was opposed to the enormous and growing opulence and authority of the clergy. See Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. vi. p. 239.

(*o*) See the accurate and circumstantial account of this whole affair that is given by the illustrious and learned Count Bunau, in his *History of Frederic I.* wrote in German, p. 45. 49. 73. 99. 105. &c.

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diately filled by the emperor, at whose desire Guy, cardinal of St. Callixtus, was elected pontiff, under the title of Pascal III. and acknowledged in that character by the German princes assembled in the year 1167, at the diet of Wurtzbourg. In the meantime Alexander recovered his spirits, and returning into Italy maintained his cause with uncommon resolution and vigour, and not without some promising hopes of success. He held at Rome, in the year 1167, the council of Lateran, in which he solemnly deposed the emperor (whom he had, upon several occasions before this period, loaded publicly with anathemas and execrations,) dissolved the oath of allegiance which his subjects had taken to him as their lawful sovereign, and encouraged and exhorted them to rebel against his authority, and to shake off his yoke. But, soon after this audacious proceeding, the emperor made himself master of Rome, upon which the insolent pontiff fled to Benevento, and left the apostolic chair to Pascal, his competitor.

XI. The affairs of Alexander seemed to take soon after a more prosperous turn, when the greatest part of the imperial army being consumed by a pestilential disorder, the emperor was forced to abandon Italy, and when the death of Pascal, which happened in the year 1168, delivered him from such a powerful and formidable rival. But this fair prospect soon vanished. For the imperial faction elected to the pontificate John, abbot of Strum, under the title of Callixtus III. whom Frederic, notwithstanding his absence in Germany, and the various wars and disputes in which he was involved, supported to the utmost of his power. When peace was, in a good measure, restored in the empire, Frederic marched into Italy, A. D. 1174, with a design to chastise the perfidy of the states and cities that had revolted during his absence, and seized the first

favourable opportunity of throwing off his yoke. Had this expedition been crowned with the expected success, Alexander would, undoubtedly, have been obliged to desist from his pretensions, and to yield the papal chair to Callixtus. But the event came far short of the hopes which this grand expedition had excited; and the emperor, after having, during the space of three years, been alternately defeated and victorious, was, at length, so fatigued with the hardships he had suffered, and so dejected at a view of the difficulties he had yet to overcome, that, in the year 1177, he concluded a treaty of peace at Venice with Alexander III. and a truce with the rest of his enemies (*p*). Certain writers affirm, that, upon this occasion, the haughty pontiff trod upon the neck of the suppliant emperor, while he kissed his foot, repeating at the same time those words of the royal Psalmist: "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet (*q*)."^r The greatest part, however, of modern authors have called this event in question, and consider it as utterly destitute of authority, and unworthy of credit (*r*).

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XII. Alexander III. who was rendered so famous by his long and successful contest with Frederic I. was also engaged in a warm dispute

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

(*p*) All the circumstances of these conventions are accurately related by the above-mentioned Count Bunau, in his *History of Frederic I.* p. 115—242.—See also Fortunati Olmi *Istoria della Venuta à Venetia occultamente nel A. 1177. di Papa Alessandro III. Venet. 1629. in 4to.*—Muratori, *Antiq. Italicæ mediæ ævi*, tom. iv. p. 249.—Origines *Guelphicæ*, tom. ii. p. 379.—*Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. April. p. 46. in *Vita Hugonis, Abbatis Bonæ vallis*, et tom. ii. April. in *Vita Galdini Mediolanensis*, p. 596. two famous ecclesiastics, who were employed as ambassadors and arbiters in the treaty of peace here mentioned.

(*q*) Psalm xci. 13.

(*r*) See Bunau's *Life of Frederic I.* p. 242.—Heumann

with Henry II. king of England, which was occasioned by the arrogance of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. In the council of Clarendon, which was held in the year 1164, several laws were enacted, by which the king's power and jurisdiction over the clergy were accurately explained, and the rights and privileges of the bishops and priests reduced within narrower bounds (*s*). Becket refused obedience to these

Pæciles, tom. iii. lib. i. p. 145.—*Bibliothèque Italique*, tom. vi. p. 5. as also the authors mentioned by Caspar Sagitarius, in his *Introduc. in Histor. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 630. tom. ii. p. 600.

(*s*) See *Matth. Paris, Histor. Major.* p. 82, 83. 101. 114.—*Dav. Wilkins, Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, tom. i. p. 434.

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

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

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

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

IV. No archbishops, bishops, or parsons are allowed to depart the kingdom, without a licence from the crown; and, provided they have leave to travel, they shall give security,

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

not to act or solicit any thing during their passage, stay, or return, to the prejudice of the king, or kingdom.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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prerogatives of the Roman pontiffs in particular. Upon this there arose a violent debate between

plaintiff and defendant hold the tenement in question of the same bishop; in which case the cause shall be tried in the court of such bishop or baron, with this farther proviso, that he who is seized of the thing in controversy, shall not be disseized, hanging the suit, (i. e. during the suit, *pendente lite*) upon the score of the verdict abovementioned.

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

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

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

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

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

prerogative, the archbishops, bishops, and archdeacons shall call him to an account, and oblige him to make the crown restitution; i. e. "They were to excommunicate such disseizers and injurious persons in case they proved refractory and incorrigible."

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

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

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

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

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could he be induced by any means to comply with the views and measures of Henry. The consequences of this inflexible resistance were fatal to the haughty prelate, for he was, soon after his return into England, assassinated before the altar, while he was at vespers in his cathedral, by four persons, who certainly did not commit this act of violence without the king's knowledge and connivance (*t*). This event pro-

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

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

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

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

of England; Collier's Ecclesiastical History of England, vol. i. p. 370. The authors which Dr. Mosheim refers to for an account of this matter are as follow: Guiliel. Stephanidæ, *Historia Thomæ Cantuariensis in Spark's Scriptores rerum Anglicarum*, published in folio at London in the year 1723.—Chrisp. Lupi *Epistola et Vita Thomæ Cantuar.*—*Epistolæ Alexandri III. Ludovici VII. Henrici II. in hac causa ex MSS. Vaticano, Bruxelles 1682, 2 vol. 4to.*—*Natalis Alexander, Select. Histor. Eccles. Capitib. Sæc. xii. Diss. x. p. 833.*—*Thomæ Stapletoni Tres Thomæ, sue res gestæ Thomæ Apostoli, S. Thomæ Cantuariensis, et Thomæ Mori. Colon. 1612. in 8vo.*

(*u*) Boulay, *Histor. Academ. Paris. tom. ii. p. 328. et De Die festo ejus, p. 397. Dom. Colonia, Histoire Litteraire de la Ville de Lyon, tom. ii. p. 249.*

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

(*w*) See Natalis Alexander, Select. Histor. Eccles. Capit. Sæc. xii. Diss. ix. p. 819. where he treats particularly concerning this council.—See also tom. vi. part II. Conciliorum Harduini, p. 1671.

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

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

(*y*) Baronius, Annal. ad A. 1179.—Innocentii III. Epistolæ Lib. ep. xlix. p. 54. tom. i. ed. Baluzian.

 Alphonso had been declared, by his victorious army, king of Portugal, in the year 1136, in the midst of the glori-

XIV. Upon the death of Alexander, Ubald, bishop of Ostia, otherwise known by the name of Lucius III. was raised to the pontificate, A. D. 1181, by the suffrages of the cardinals alone, in consequence of the law mentioned in the preceding section. The administration of this new pontiff was embittered by violent tumults and seditions; for he was twice driven out of the city by the Romans, who could not bear a pope that was elected in opposition to the ancient custom, without the knowledge and consent of the clergy and the people. In the midst of these troubles he died at Verona in the year 1185, and was succeeded by Hubert Crivelli, bishop of Milan, who assumed the title of Urban III. and without having transacted any thing worthy of mention during his short pontificate, died of grief in the year 1187, upon hearing that Saladin had made himself master of Jerusalem. The pontificate of his successor Albert (z), whose papal denomination was Gregory VIII. exhibited still a more striking instance of the fragility of human grandeur; for this pontiff yielded to fate about two months after his elevation. He was succeeded by Paul, bishop of Preneste, who filled the papal chair above three years under the title of Clement III. and departed this life, A. D. 1191, without having distinguished his ghostly reign by any memorable achievement, if we except his zeal for draining Europe of its treasures and inhabitants by the publication of new crusades. Celestine III. (a) makes a more shining figure in history than the pontiffs we have been now men-

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ous exploits he had performed in the war against the Moors; so that Alexander III. did no more than confirm this title by an arrogant bull, in which he treats that excellent prince as his vassal.

(z) This prelate, before his elevation to the papacy, was bishop of Benevento, and chancellor of the Roman church.

(a) Whose name was Hyacinth, a native of Rome, and a cardinal deacon.

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tioning; for he thundered his excommunications against the emperor Henry VI. and Leopold, duke of Austria, on account of their having seized and imprisoned Richard I. king of England, as he was returning from the Holy Land; he also subjected to the same malediction Alphonso X. king of Galicia and Leon, on account of an incestuous marriage into which that prince had entered, and commanded Philip Augustus, king of France, to re-admit to the conjugal state and honours, Ingelburg his queen, whom he had divorced for reasons unknown; though this order, indeed, produced but little effect (*b*). But the most illustrious and resolute pontiff that filled the papal chair during this century, and whose exploits made the greatest noise in Europe, was Lotharius, count of Segni, cardinal deacon, otherwise known by the name of Innocent III. The arduous undertakings and bold achievements of this eminent pontiff, who was placed at the head of the church in the year 1198, belong to the history of the following century.

A view of
the other
ecclesiasti-
cal orders,
and their
vices.

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

 (*b*) It was in consequence of the vigorous and terrible proceedings of Innocent III. that the re-union between Philip and Ingelburg was accomplished. See *L'Histoire de France*, par l'Abbé Velly, tom. iii. p. 367, 368, 369.

and sacerdotal orders were exposed, were held in higher esteem than they were. The reign of corruption became, however, so general, that it reached at last even the convents; and the monks, who were gaining with the most ardent efforts the summit of ecclesiastical power and authority, and who beheld both the secular clerks and the regular canons with aversion and contempt (*c*), began, in many places, to degenerate from that sanctity of manners, and that exact obedience to their rules of discipline, by which they had been formerly distinguished, and to exhibit to the people scandalous examples of immorality and vice (*d*). The Benedictines of Clugni, who undoubtedly surpassed, in regularity of conduct and purity of manners, all the monastic orders who lived under their rule, maintained their integrity for a long time, amidst the general decay of piety and virtue. They were, however, at length carried away with the torrent; seduced by the example of their abbot Pontius, and corrupted by the treasures that were poured daily into their convent by the liberality of the opulent and pious, they fell from their primitive austerity; and following the dissolute examples of the other Benedictines, they “gave up themselves to pleasure, and dwelt carelessly (*e*).” Several of the succeeding abbots endeavoured to remedy this disorder, and

(*c*) See Rùperti Epistola in Martene Thesaur. Anecd. tom. i. p. 285. This writer prefers the monks before the apostles.

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

(*e*) Isaiah xlvii. 8.

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to recover the declining reputation of their convent; but their efforts were much less successful than they expected, nor could the monks of Clugni ever be brought back to their primitive sanctity and virtue (*f*).

The prosperous state of the Cistercian Order.

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

(*f*) See Martene, *Amplissima Collectio Monumentorum Veter.* tom. ix. p. 1119.

(*g*) See Jo. Mabillon, *Annal. Ord. Benedict.* tom. vi. *passim*, in *vita Sti. Bernardi*, which he has prefixed to his edition of the works of that saint.—See also Angeli Manriquez, *Annales Cistercienses*, tom. ii. and iii.

with bishops and archbishops that had been formed and prepared for the ministry by his instructions, and he counted also, among the number of his disciples, Eugenius III. one of the best and wisest of the Roman pontiffs.

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

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Jealousies
arise be-
tween the
Cistercians
and the
monks of
Clugni.

 (*h*) This Apology, as it is called, of St. Bernard is well worth the attention of the curious reader, as it exhibits a true and lively picture of monastic opulence and luxury, and shows how the religious orders in general lived in this century. The famous abbot, in this performance, accuses the monks of Clugni of luxury and intemperance at their table, of superfluity and magnificence in their dress, their bedchambers, their furniture, equipage, and buildings. He points out the pride and vanity of the abbots, who looked much more like the governors of provinces, than the spiritual fathers of humble and holy communities, whose original profession it was, to be crucified and dead to the interests and pleasures, the pomps and vanities of a present world. He

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

Lives and
manners of
the canons.

XVIII. The regular canons, who were erected into a fixed and permanent order in the preceding century, employed their time in a much more useful and exemplary manner than the monastic

declares, with a pious concern, that he knew several abbots, each of whom had more than sixty horses in his stable, and such a prodigious variety of wines in his cellar, that it was scarcely possible to taste the half of them at a single entertainment. See Fleury, *Hist. Ecclesiastique*, liv. lxxvii. tom. xiv. p. 351. edit. Bruxelles.

(*i*) See S. Bernardini Apology in *Oper.* tom. i. p. 523—533. The Apology of Peter, abbot of Clugni, surnamed the venerable, which is published among his Epistles, lib. i. ep. 28. in the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, tom. i. p. 657—695. See also the *Dialogus inter Cluniacensem et Cisterciensem*, published by Martene, in his *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 1573—1613. Compare with all these Mabillon *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 80. and Manriquez, *Annal. Cisterc.* tom. i. p. 28.

(*k*) See Angeli Manriquez, *Annal. Cistercienses*, tom. i. p. 232.—Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 212. 479. et *Præfat. ad Opera S. Bernardi*.—Jo. de Lannes, *Histoire du Pontificat d'Innocent II.* p. 68—79.—Jo. Nic. Hertii *Diss. de exemptione Cisterc. à decimis*.

drones, who passed their days in luxury and sloth. They kept public schools for the instruction of youth, and exercised a variety of ecclesiastical functions, which rendered them extremely useful to the church (*l*). Hence they rose daily in credit and reputation, and received many rich and noble donations from several persons, whose opulence and piety rendered them able and willing to distinguish merit, and were also often put in possession of the revenues of the monks, whose dissolute lives occasioned, from time to time, the suppression of their convents. This, as might well be expected, inflamed the rage of the monastic orders against the regular canons, whom they attacked with the greatest fury, and loaded with the bitterest invectives. The canons, in their turn, were far from being backward in making reprisals; they exclaimed, on the contrary, against the monks with the utmost vehemence; enumerated their vices both in their discourses and in their writings, and insisted upon their being confined to their monasteries, sequestered from human society, and excluded from all ecclesiastical honours and functions. Hence arose a long and warm contest between the monks and canons concerning pre-eminence, in which both parties carried their pretensions too high, and exceeded the bounds of decency and moderation (*m*). The champions, who espoused the interests of the monks, were the famous Peter Abelard, Hugh of Amiens, Rupert of Duytz; while the cause of the canons was defended by Philip Harvengius, a learned abbot, and several other men of genius and abilities (*n*).

(*l*) See the *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. ix. p. 112.

(*m*) See *Lamberti Epistola* in *Martene, Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. i. p. 329.

(*n*) *Abelardi Opera*, p. 228. Paris, 1616. in 4to.—*Martene, Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 970—975. 1614. et Am-

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New mona-
stic order.

The effects and remains of this ancient controversy are yet visible in our times.

XIX. A new society of religious Benedictines arose about the commencement of this century, whose principal monastery was erected in a barren and solitary place, called Fontevraud, between Angers and Tours, from whence the order derived its name. Robert of Arbrisselles, its founder, who had been first a hermit, and afterwards a monk, prescribed to his religious of both sexes the rule of St. Benedict, amplified, however, by the addition of several new laws, which were extremely singular and excessively severe. Among other singularities that distinguished this institution, one was, that the several monasteries which Robert had built, within one and the same inclosure, for his monks and nuns, were all subjected to the authority and government of one abbess; in justification of which measure, the example of Christ was alleged, who recommended St. John to the Virgin Mary, and imposed it as an order upon that beloved disciple, to be obedient to her as to his own mother (*o*). This new order, like all other novelties of that kind, gained immediately a high degree of credit; the singularity of its discipline, its form, and its laws, engaged multitudes to embrace it, and thus the

plissima ejusdem Collectio, tom. ix. p. 971, 972.—Phil. Harvengii Opera, p. 385. Duaci 1621. in folio.

(*o*) See the Works of Abelard, p. 48. whose testimony in this matter is confirmed by the present state and constitution of this famous order; though Mabillon, from an excessive partiality in favour of the Benedictines, has endeavoured to diminish its credit in his *Annal. Benedict.* tom. v. p. 423. For an account of Robert and his order, see the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. iii. Februar. p. 593.—Dion. Sammarthani *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 1311.—Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Fontevraud.—Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vi. p. 83.—The present state of this monastery is described by Moleon, in his *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 108. and by Martene, in his *Voyage Litteraire de deux Benedictins*, part II. p. i.

labours of its founder were crowned with remarkable success. [But the association of vigorous monks and tender virgins, in the same community, was an imprudent measure, and could not but be attended with many inconveniences. However that be, Robert continued his pious labours, and the order of his sanctity perfumed all the places where he exercised his ministry.] He was, indeed, suspected by some of too great an intimacy with his female disciples, and it was rumoured about, that in order to try his virtue, by opposing it to the strongest temptations, he exposed it to an inevitable defeat by the manner in which he conversed with these holy virgins. It was even said, that their commerce was softened by something more tender than divine love; against which charge, his disciples have used their most zealous endeavours to defend their master (*p*).

XX. Norbert, a German nobleman, who went into holy orders, and was afterwards archbishop of Magdebourg, employed his most zealous efforts to restore to its primitive severity the discipline of

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The order
of Premon-
tre.

(*p*) See the letters of Geoffry, abbot of Vendôme, and of Marbod, bishop of Rennes, in which Robert is accused of lying in the same bed with the nuns. How the grave abbot was defended against this accusation by the members of his order may be seen in Mainferme's *Clypeus Nascentis Ordinis Fontebraldensis*, published in 8vo. at Paris, in the year 1684; and also by another production of the same author, entitled, *Dissertationes in Epistolam contra Robertum de Arbrissello, Salmurii*, 1682. in 8vo. Bayle's account of this famous abbot, in which there is such an admirable mixture of wit, sense, and malice, has been also attacked by several authors: see, among others, the *Dissertation Apologetique pour le bienheureux Robert d'Arbrisselles sur ce qu'en a dit M. Bayle, Anvers, 1701.* in 8vo.—Mabillon, *Annal.* tom. v. et vi. p. 9, 10.

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

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the regular canons, which was extremely relaxed in some places, and almost totally abolished in others. This eminent reformer founded, in the year 1121, the order of Premontre, in Picardy, whose fame spread throughout Europe with an amazing rapidity, and whose opulence, in a short space of time, became excessive and enormous (q), in consequence of the high esteem which the monks of this community had acquired by the gravity of their manners, and their assiduous application to the liberal arts and sciences. But their overgrown prosperity was the source of their ruin; it soon diminished their zeal for the exercises of devotion, extinguished their thirst after useful knowledge, and thus, step by step, plunged them, at length, into all sorts of vices. The rule which they followed was that of St. Augustin, with some slight alterations, and an addition of certain severe laws, whose authority, however, did not long survive their austere founder (r).

(q) The religious of this order were at first so poor, that they had nothing they could call their own, but a single ass, which served to carry the wood they cut down every morning, and sent to Laon in order to purchase bread. But in a short time they received so many donations, and built so many monasteries, that, thirty years after the foundation of this order, they had above a hundred abbies in France and Germany. In process of time, the order increased so prodigiously, that it had monasteries in all parts of Christendom, amounting to 1000 abbies, 300 provostships, a vast number of priories, and 500 nunneries. But this number is now greatly diminished. Besides what they lost in Protestant countries, of sixty-five abbies, that they had in Italy, there is not one now remaining.

(r) See Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. ii. p. 156.—Chrysost. *Vander Sterie, Vita S. Norberti Præmonstratensium Patriarchæ*, published in 8vo. at Antwerp, in 1656.—Louis Hugues, *Vie de S. Norbert, Luxemb. 1704*, in 4to.—Add to these, notwithstanding his partiality, Jo. Launois, *Inquisit. in Privilegia Ordin. Præmonstrat. cap. i, ii. Oper. tom. iii. part I. p. 448*. For an account of the present state of the order of Præmontré, see Martene's *Voyage Litteraire de deux Benedictins*, tom. ii. p. 59.

XXI. About the middle of this century, a certain Calabrian, whose name was Berthold, set out with a few companions for mount Carmel, and, upon the very spot where the prophet Elias is said to have disappeared, built an humble cottage, with an adjoining chapel, in which he led a life of solitude, austerity, and labour. This little colony subsisted, and the places of those that died were more than filled by new-comers; so that it was, at length (*s*), erected into a monastic community by Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem. This austere prelate drew up a rule of discipline for the new monks, which was afterwards confirmed by the authority of the Roman pontiffs, who modified and altered it in several respects, and, among other corrections, mitigated its excessive rigour and severity (*t*). Such was the origin of the famous Order of Carmelites, or, as they are commonly called, of the Order of our Lady of Mount Carmel, which was afterwards transplanted from Syria into Europe, and obtained the principal rank among the mendicant or begging orders. It is true, the Carmelites reject, with

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Carmelites.

 The Præmonstratenses, or monks of Premontré, vulgarly called White Canons, came first into England, A. D. 1146. Their first monastery, called New House, was built in Lincolnshire, by Peter de Saulia, and dedicated to St. Martial. In the reign of Edward I. the order in question had twenty-seven monasteries in England.

(*s*) In the year 1205.

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

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the highest indignation, an origin so recent and obscure, and affirm to this very day, that the prophet Elias was the parent and founder of their ancient community (*u*). Very few, however, have been engaged to adopt this fabulous and chimerical account of their establishments, except the members of the order, and many Roman catholic writers have treated their pretensions to such a remote antiquity with the utmost contempt (*w*). [And scarcely, indeed, can any thing be more ridiculous than the circumstantial narrations of the occasion, origin, founder, and revolutions of this famous order, which we find in several ecclesiastical authors, whose zeal for this fraternity has rendered them capable of adopting, without reluctance, or, at least, of reciting without shame, the most puerile and glaring absurdities. They tell us that Elias was introduced into the state of monachism by the ministry of angels; that his first disciples were Jonah, Micah, and also Obadiah, whose wife, in order to get rid of an importunate crowd of lovers, who fluttered about her at the court of Achab, after the departure of her husband, bound herself by a vow of chastity, received the veil from the hands of father Elias, and thus became the first abbess of the Carmelite Order. They enter into a vast detail of all the circumstances that relate to the rules of discipline which were drawn up for this community, the habit which distinguished

(*u*) The most concise and accurate of all the Carmelite writers, who have treated this matter, is Thomas Aquinas, a French monk, in his *Dissertatio Histor. Theol. in qua Patriarchatus Ordinis Carmelitarum Prophetæ Eliæ vindicatur*, published in 8vo. at Paris in the year 1632. The modern writers who have maintained the cause of the Carmelites against Papebroch are extremely prolix and tiresome.

(*w*) See Harduini *Opera Posthum.* p. 642.—Labat. *Voyage en Espagne et Italie*, tom. iii. p. 87.—Courayer, *Examen des Defauts Theologiques*, tom. i. p. 455.

its members, and the various alterations which were introduced into their rule of discipline in process of time. They observe, that, among other marks which were used to distinguish the Carmelites from the seculars, the tonsure was one; that this mark of distinction exposed them, indeed, to the mockeries of a profane multitude; and that this furnishes the true explication of the terms bald head, which the children addressed, by way of reproach, to Elisha as he was on his way to Carmel (*x*). They tell us, moreover, that Pythagoras was a member of this ancient order; that he drew all his wisdom from mount Carmel, and had several conversations with the prophet Daniel at Babylon, upon the subject of the Trinity. Nay, they go still farther into the region of fable, and assert, that the Virgin Mary, and Jesus himself, assumed the habit and profession of Carmelites; and they load this fiction with a heap of absurd circumstances, which it is impossible to read without the highest astonishment] (*y*).

(*x*) See 2 Kings ii. 23.

(*y*) For an ample account of all the absurd inventions here hinted at, see a very remarkable work entitled “*Ordres Monastiques, Histoire extraite de tous les Auteurs qui ont conservé a la Posterité ce qu’il y a de plus curieux dans chaque Ordre, enrichie d’un très grand Nombre de Passages des mêmes Auteurs; pour servir de Demonstration que ce qu’on y avance est également veritable et curieux.*” This work, which was first printed at Paris in 1751, under the title of Berlin, and which was suppressed almost as soon as it appeared, is written with great wit, eloquence, and learning; and all the narrations it contains are confirmed by citations from the most eminent authors, who have given accounts of the religious orders. The author’s design seems to have been to expose the monks of every denomination to the laughter of his readers; and it is very remarkable, that, in the execution of this purpose, he has drawn his materials from the gravest authors, and from the most zealous defenders of monachism. If he has embellished his subject, it is by the vivacity of his manner, and the witty

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Greek writ-
ters.

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

Philippus Solitarius, whose *Dioptra*, or controversy between the soul and the body, is sufficiently known :

Eustratius, who maintained the cause of the Greek church against the Latins with great learning and spirit, and who wrote commentaries on certain books of Aristotle ;

Euthymius Zigabenus, who, by his *Anti-heretical Panoply*, together with his commentaries upon several parts of the sacred writings, has acquired a place among the principal authors of this century (z) ;

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

Michael Glycas, who also applied himself to historical composition, as well as to other branches of learning (a) ;

Constantius Harmenopulus, whose commentaries on the civil and canon laws are deservedly esteemed ;

elegance of his style, and not by laying to the charge of the monastic communities any practices which their most serious historians omit or disavow. The authors of the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, at the Hague, have given several interesting extracts of this work in the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes of that literary journal.

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

(z) See Rich Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Eccles.* par M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 318. 324.

(a) Other historians place Glycas in the fifteenth century. See Lami *Dissertatio de Glyca*, which is prefixed to the first volume of his *Deliciæ virorum eruditorum*.

Andronicus Camaterus, who wrote with great warmth and vehemence against the Latins and Armenians;

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

Theodorus Balsamon, who employed great diligence, erudition and labour, in explaining and digesting the civil and ecclesiastical laws of the Greeks (*b*).

XXIII. The most eminent among the Latin Latin writers. writers were,

Bernard, abbot of Clairval, from whom the Cistercian monks, as has been already observed, derived the title of Bernardins; a man who was not destitute of genius and taste, and whose judgment, in many respects, was just and penetrating; but who, on the other hand, discovered in his conduct many marks of superstition and weakness, and, what was still worse, concealed the lust of dominion under the mask of piety, and made no scruple of loading with false accusations, such as had the misfortune to incur his displeasure (*c*);

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

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

(*b*) See the Bibliotheca Græca of Fabricius.

(*c*) The learned Mabillon has given a splendid edition of the works of St. Bernard, and has not only in his preface made many excellent observations upon the life and history of this famous abbot, but has also subjoined to his works, the accounts that have been given, by the ancient writers, of his life and actions.

(*d*) The Epistles of Innocent III. were published at Paris, in two large volumes in folio, by Baluzius, in the year 1682.

Abelard, the disciple of Anselm, and most famous in this century, on account of the elegance of his wit, the extent of his erudition, the power of his rhetoric, and the bitterness of his unhappy fate (*e*);

Geoffry of Vendome, whose Epistles and Dissertations are yet extant;

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

Hugh of St. Victor, a man distinguished by the fecundity of his genius, who treated in his writings of all the branches of sacred and profane erudition, that were known in his time, and who composed several dissertations that are not destitute of merit (*g*);

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

(*e*) See Bayle's Dictionary, at the articles Abelard and Paraclet.—Gervais, *Vie de Pierre Abeillard, Abbe de Ruys, et de Heloise*, published at Paris in two volumes 8vo. in the year 1728. The works of this famous and unfortunate monk were published at Paris in 1616, in one volume 4to. by Franc. Amboise. Another edition, much more ample, might be given, since there are a great number of the productions of Abelard that have never yet seen the light.

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

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

(*h*) *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 669.

Honorius of Autun (*i*), no mean philosopher, and tolerably versed in theological learning ;

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

William of Rheims, the author of several productions, every way adapted to excite pious sentiments, and to contribute to the progress of practical religion ;

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

Gilbertus Porretanus (*l*), a subtle dialectician, and a learned divine, who is, however, said to have adopted several erroneous sentiments concerning The Divine Essence ; The Incarnation ; and The Trinity (*m*) ;

William of Auxerre, who acquired a considerable reputation by his Theological System (*n*) ;

Peter of Blois (*o*), whose epistles and other productions may yet be read with profit ;

(*i*) Such is the place to which Honorius is said to have belonged. But Le Bœuf proves him to have been a German, in his *Dissert. sur l'Hist. Francoise*, tom. i. p. 254.

(*k*) *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 68.

(*l*) Gilbert, *De la Poirée*.

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

(*n*) Le Bœuf, *Dissert. sur la Somme Theologique de Guillaume d'Auxerre*, in Molat's *Continuation des Memoires d'Histoire et de Litterature*, tom. iii. part II. p. 317.

(*o*) Petrus Blesensis.

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

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

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

CHAPTER III.

Concerning the Doctrine of the Christian Church in this Century.

Christianity
corrupted
more and
more.

I. WHEN we consider the multitude of causes which united their influence in obscuring the lustre of genuine Christianity, and corrupting it by a profane mixture of the inventions of superstitious and designing men with its pure and sublime doctrines, it will appear surprising, that the religion of Jesus was not totally extinguished. All orders contributed, though in different ways, to corrupt the native purity of true religion. The Roman pontiffs led the way; they would not suffer any doctrines that had the smallest tendency to diminish their despotic authority; but obliged the public teachers to interpret the precepts of Christianity in such a manner, as to render them subservient to the support of papal dominion and tyranny. This order was so much the more terrible, in that such as refused to comply with it, and to force the words of

scripture into significations totally opposite to the intention of its divine author, such, in a word, as had the courage to place the authority of the gospel above that of the Roman pontiffs, and to consider it as the supreme rule of their conduct, were answered with the formidable arguments of fire and sword, and received death in the most cruel forms, as the fruit of their sincerity and resolution. The priests and monks contributed, in their way, to disfigure the beautiful simplicity of religion; and, finding it their interest to keep the people in the grossest ignorance and darkness, dazzled their feeble eyes with the ludicrous pomp of a gaudy worship, and led them to place the whole of religion in vain ceremonies, bodily austerities and exercises, and particularly in a blind and stupid veneration for the clergy. The scholastic doctors, who considered the decisions of the ancients, and the precepts of the Dialecticians as the great rule and criterion of truth, instead of explaining the doctrines of the gospel, mined them by degrees, and sunk divine truth under the ruins of a captious philosophy; while the Mystics, running into the opposite extreme, maintained, that the souls of the truly pious were incapable of any spontaneous motions, and could only be moved by a divine impulse; and thus not only set limits to the pretensions of reason, but excluded it entirely from religion and morality; nay, in some measure, denied its very existence.

II. The consequences of all this were superstition and ignorance, which were substituted in the place of true religion, and reigned over the multitude with an universal sway. Relics, which were for the most part fictitious, or at least uncertain, attracted more powerfully the confidence of the people, than the merits of Christ, and were supposed by many to be more effectual, than the prayers offered to heaven, through the mediation

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Superstition reigns among the multitude.

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and intercession of that divine Redeemer (*p*). The opulent, whose circumstances enabled them either to erect new temples, or to repair and embellish the old, were looked upon as the happiest of all mortals, and were considered as the most intimate friends of the Most High. While they, whom poverty rendered incapable of such pompous acts of liberality, contributed to the multiplication of religious edifices by their bodily labours, cheerfully performed the services that beasts of burden are usually employed in, such as carrying stones and drawing waggons, and expected to obtain eternal salvation by these voluntary and painful efforts of misguided zeal (*q*). The saints had a greater number of worshippers than the Supreme Being and the Saviour of mankind; nor did these superstitious worshippers trouble their heads about that knotty question, which occasioned much debate and many laborious disquisitions in succeeding times, viz. How the inhabitants of heaven came to the knowledge of the prayers and supplications that were addressed to them from the earth? This question was prevented in this century by an opinion, which the Christians had received from their pagan ancestors, that the inhabitants of heaven descended often from above, and frequented the places in which they had formerly taken pleasure during their residence upon earth (*r*). To finish the horrid portrait of super-

(*p*) See Guibert de Novigento, *De pignoribus* (so were relics called) *sanctorum*, in his Works published by Dacherius, p. 327. where he attacks, with judgment and dexterity, the superstition of these miserable times.

(*q*) See Haymon's Treatise concerning this custom, published by Mabillon, at the end of the sixth tome of his *Annal. Benedict.* See also these *Annals*, p. 392.

(*r*) As a proof that this assertion is not without foundation, we shall transcribe the following remarkable passage of the *Life of St. Altman*, bishop of Padua, as it stands in

stition, we shall only observe, that the stupid credulity of the people in this century went so far, that when any person, either through the frenzy of a disordered imagination, or with a design to deceive, published the dreams or visions, which they fancied, or pretended they had from above, the multitude resorted to the new oracle, and respected its decisions as the commands of God, who in this way was pleased, as they imagined, to communicate counsel, instruction, and the knowledge of his will to men. This appears, to mention no other examples, from the extraordinary reputation which the two famous prophetesses Hildegard, abbess of Bingen, and Elizabeth of Schonauge, obtained in Germany (s).

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III. This universal reign of ignorance and superstition was dexterously, yet basely improved, by the rulers of the church, to fill their coffers, and to drain the purses of the deluded multitude. And, indeed, all the various ranks and orders of the clergy had each their peculiar method of fleecing the people. The bishops, when they wanted money for their private pleasures, or for the exigencies of the church, granted to their flock the power of purchasing the remission of the penalties imposed upon transgressors, by a sum of money, which was to be applied to certain religious purposes, or, in other words, they published indulgences, which became an inexhaustible source of opulence to the episcopal orders, and

The scandalous traffic of indulgences begun by the bishops.

Seb. Tengnagl's Collect. Vet. Monumentor. p. 41. "Vos licet, sancti Domini, somno vestro requiescatis... haud tamen crediderim, spiritus vestros deesse locis quæ viventis tanta devotione construxitis, et dilexistis. Credo vos adesse cunctis illic degentibus, astare videlicet orantibus, succurrere laborantibus, et vota singulorum in conspectu divinæ majestatis promovere."

(s) See Mabillon, Annales Benedict, tom. vi. p. 431. 529. 554.

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enabled them, as is well known, to form and execute the most difficult schemes for the enlargement of their authority, and to erect a multitude of sacred edifices, which augmented considerably the external pomp and splendor of the church (*t*). The abbots and monks, who were not qualified to grant indulgences, had recourse to other methods of enriching their convents. They carried about the country the carcasses and relics of the saints in solemn procession, and permitted the multitude to behold, touch, and embrace these sacred and lucrative remains at certain fixed prices. The monastic orders gained often as much by this raree-show, as the bishops did by their indulgences (*u*).

And afterwards mono-
polized by
the Roman
pontiffs.

IV. When the Roman pontiffs cast an eye upon the immense treasures that the inferior rulers of the church were accumulating by the sale of indulgences, they thought proper to limit the power of the bishops in remitting the penalties imposed upon transgressors, and assumed, almost entirely, this profitable traffic to themselves. In consequence of this new measure, the court of Rome became the general magazine of indulgences; and the pontiffs, when either the wants of the church, the emptiness of their coffers, or the dæmon of avarice, prompted them to look out for new subsidies, published not only an universal, but also a complete, or what they called a plenary

(*t*) Stephanus, Obaziensis in Baluzii Miscellan. tom. iv. p. 130.—Mabillon Annal. Benedict. tom. vi. p. 535, &c.

(*u*) We find in the records of this century innumerable examples of this method of extorting contributions from the multitude. See the Chronicon. Centulense in Dacherii Spicilegio Veter. Scriptor. tom. ii. p. 354.—Vita Stæ. Romanæ, ibid. p. 137.—Mabillon, Annal. Benedict. tom. vi. p. 342. 644.—Acta Sanctor. Mensis Maii, tom. vii. p. 533. where we have an account of a long journey made by the relics of St. Marculus.—Mabillon, Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict. tom. vi. p. 519, 520. and tom. ii. p. 732.

remission of all the temporal pains and penalties, which the church had annexed to certain transgressions. They went still farther, and not only remitted the penalties, which the civil and ecclesiastical laws had enacted against transgressors, but audaciously usurped the authority which belongs to God alone, and impiously pretended to abolish even the punishments which are reserved in a future state for the workers of iniquity; a step this, which the bishops, with all their avarice and presumption, had never once ventured to take (*w*).

The pontiffs first employed this pretended prerogative in promoting the holy war, and shed abroad their indulgences, though with a certain degree of moderation, in order to encourage the European princes to form new expeditions for the conquest of Palestine; but, in process of time, the charm of indulgences was practised upon various occasions of much less consequence, and merely with a view to filthy lucre (*x*). Their introduction, among other things, destroyed the credit and authority of the ancient canonical and ecclesiastical discipline of penance, and occasioned the removal and suppression of the penitentials (*y*), by which the reins were let loose to every kind of vice. Such proceedings stood much in need of a plausible defence, but this was impossible. To justify therefore these scandalous measures of the

(*w*) Morinus, *De administratione sacramenti pœnitentiæ*, lib. x. cap. xx, xxi, xxii. p. 768.—Rich. Simon, *Biblioth. Critique*, tom. iii. cap. xxxiii. p. 371.—Mabillon, *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor. Sæc. v. Acta Sanctor. Benedict.* p. 54. not to speak of the protestant writers, whom I designedly pass over.

(*x*) Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 761.—Franc. Pagi *Breviar. Rom. Pontif.* tom. ii. p. 60.—Theod. Ruinarti *Vita Urbani II.* p. 231. tom. iii. *Opp. Posthum.*

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

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pontiffs, a most monstrous and absurd doctrine was now invented, which was modified and embellished by St. Thomas, in the following century, and which contained among others the following enormities, “ That there actually existed an immense treasure of merit, composed of the pious deeds, and virtuous actions, which the saints had performed beyond what was necessary for their own salvation (*z*), and which were therefore applicable to the benefit of others ; that the guardian and dispenser of this precious treasure was the Roman pontiff ; and that of consequence he was empowered to assign to such as he thought proper, a portion of this inexhaustible source of merit, suitable to their respective guilt, and sufficient to deliver them from the punishment due to their crimes.” It is a most deplorable mark of the power of superstition, that a doctrine, so absurd in its nature, and so pernicious in its effects, should yet be retained and defended in the church of Rome (*a*).

The expositors and commentators of this century.

V. Nothing was more common in this century than expositors and interpreters of the sacred writings ; but nothing was so rare, as to find, in that class of authors, the qualifications that are essentially required in a good commentator. Few of these expositors were attentive to search after

 (*z*) These works are known by the name of Works of Supererogation.

 (*a*) For a satisfactory and ample account of the enormous doctrine of indulgences, see a very learned and judicious work, entitled *Lettres sur les Jubilés*, published in the year 1751, in three volumes 8vo. by the reverend Mr. Chais, minister of the French church in the Hague, on occasion of the universal Jubilee celebrated at Rome the preceding year, by the order of Benedict XIV. In the 2d volume of this excellent work, which we shall have frequent occasion to consult in the course of this history, there is a clear account and a satisfactory refutation of the doctrine in question, as also the history of that monstrous practice from its origin to the present times.

the true signification of the words employed by the sacred writers, or to investigate the precise sense in which they were used; and these few were destitute of the succours which such researches demand. The Greek and Latin commentators, blinded by their enthusiastic love of antiquity, and their implicit veneration for the doctors of the early ages of the church, drew from their writings, without discernment or choice, a heap of passages, which they were pleased to consider as illustrations of the holy scriptures. Such were the commentaries of Euthymius Zigabenus, an eminent expositor among the Greeks, upon the Psalms, Gospels, and Epistles; though it must, at the same time, be acknowledged, that this writer follows, in some places, the dictates of his own judgment, and gives, upon certain occasions, proofs of penetration and genius. Among the Latins, we might give several examples of the injudicious manner of expounding the divine word that prevailed in this century, such as the Lucubrations of Peter Lombard, Gilbert de la Poree, and the famous Abelard, upon the Psalms of David, and the Epistles of St. Paul. Nor do those commentators among the Latins, who expounded the whole of the sacred writings, and who are placed at the head of the expositors of this age, such as Gilbert, bishop of London, surnamed the Universal, on account of the vast extent of his erudition (*b*), and Hervey, a most studious Benedictine monk (*c*), deserve a higher place in our esteem, than the authors already mentioned. The writers that merit the preference among the Latins are Rupert of Duytz, and

(*b*) For an account of this prelate, see Le Boeuf, *Memoires concernant l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. p. 486.

(*c*) An ample account of this learned Benedictine is to be found in Gabr. Liron, *Singularités Historiques et Littéraires*, tom. iii. p. 29.—See also Mabillon, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 477. 719.

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Anselm of Laon ; the former of whom expounded several books of scripture, and the latter composed, or rather compiled, a glossary upon the sacred writings. As to those doctors who were not carried away by an enthusiastical veneration for the ancients, who had courage enough to try their own talents, and to follow the dictates of their own sagacity, they were chargeable with defects of another kind ; for, disregarding and overlooking the beautiful simplicity of divine truth, they were perpetually bent on the search of all sorts of mysteries in the sacred writings, and were constantly on the scent after some hidden meaning in the plainest expressions of Scripture. The people called Mystics excelled peculiarly in this manner of expounding ; and forced, by their violent explications, the word of God into a conformity with their visionary doctrines, their enthusiastic feelings, and the system of discipline which they had drawn from the excursions of their irregular fancies. Nor were the commentators, who pretended to logic and philosophy, and who, in effect, had applied themselves to these profound sciences, free from the contagion of mysticism in their explications of scripture. They followed, on the contrary, the example of these fanatics, as may be seen by Hugh of St. Victor's Allegorical Exposition of the Old and New Testament, by the Mystical Ark of Richard of St. Victor, and by the Mystical Commentaries of Guibert, abbot of Nogent, on Obadiah, Hosea, and Amos (*d*) ; not to mention several other writers, who seem to have been animated by the same spirit.

The manner
of teaching
theology
that now
prevailed.

VI. The most eminent teachers of theology resided at Paris, which city was, from this time forward, frequented by students of divinity from

(*d*) The Prologus in Abdiam has been published by Mabillon, in his *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 637.

all parts of Europe, who resorted thither in crowds, to receive instruction from these celebrated masters. The French divines were divided into different sects. The first of these sects, who were distinguished by the title of The Ancient Theologists, explained the doctrines of religion, in a plain and simple manner, by passages drawn from the holy scriptures, from the decrees of councils, and the writings of the ancient doctors, and very rarely made use of the succours of reason or philosophy in their theological lectures. In this class we place St. Bernard, Peter, surnamed the Chanter, Walter of St. Victor, and other doctors, who declared an open and bitter war against the philosophical divines. The doctors, which were afterwards known by the name of *Positivi* and *Sententiarii*, were not, in all respects, different from these now mentioned. Imitating the examples of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc, Hildebert, and other doctors of the preceding century, they taught and confirmed their system of theology, principally by collecting the decisions of the inspired writers, and the opinions of the ancients. At the same time they were far from rejecting the succours of reason, and the discussions of philosophy, to which they more especially had recourse, when difficulties were to be solved, and adversaries to be refuted, but, in the application of which, all did not discover the same degree of moderation and prudence. Hugh of St. Victor is supposed to have been the first writer of this century, who taught in this manner the doctrines of Christianity, digested into a regular system. His example, however, was followed by many; but none acquired such a shining reputation by his labours, in this branch of sacred erudition, as Peter, bishop of Paris, surnamed Lombard, from the country which gave him birth. The *Four Books of Sentences* of this eminent

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prelate, which appeared in the year 1172 (*e*), were not only received with universal applause, but acquired also such a high degree of authority, as induced the most learned doctors in all places, to employ their labours in illustrating and expounding them. Scarcely was there any divine of note that did not undertake this popular task, except Henry of Gendt, and a few others (*f*); so that Lombard, who was commonly called Master of the Sentences, on account of the famous work now mentioned, became truly a classic author in divinity (*g*).

The scho-
lastics, pro-
perly so
called.

VII. The followers of Lombard, who were called Sententiarii, though their manner of teaching was defective in some respects, and not altogether exempt from vain and trivial questions, were always attentive to avoid entering too far into the subtilties of the Dialecticians, nor did they presumptuously attempt submitting the divine truths of the gospel to the uncertain and obscure

(*e*) Erpoldi Lindenbrogii *Scriptores Septentrionales*, p. 250.

(*f*) A list of the commentators who laboured in explaining the Sentences of Peter Lombard, is given by Anton. Possevinus, in his *Biblioth. Selecta*, tom. i. lib. iii. cap. xiv. p. 242.

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

principles of a refined and intricate logic, which was rather founded on the excursions of fancy than on the nature of things. They had for contemporaries another set of theologians, who were far from imitating their moderation and prudence in this respect; a set of subtile doctors, who taught the plain and simple truths of Christianity, in the obscure terms, and with the perplexing distinctions, used by the Dialecticians, and explained, or rather darkened with their unintelligible jargon, the sublime precepts of the wisdom that is from above. This method of teaching theology, which was afterwards called the scholastic system, because it was in general use in the schools, had for its author, Peter Abelard, a man of the most subtile genius, whose public lectures in philosophy and divinity had raised him to the highest summit of literary renown, and who was successively canon of Paris, and monk and abbot of Ruys (*h*). The fame he acquired by this new method engaged many ambitious divines to adopt it; and, in a short space of time, the followers of Abelard multiplied prodigiously, not only in France, but also in England and Italy. Thus was the pure and peaceable wisdom of the gospel perverted into a science of mere sophistry and chicane; for these subtile doctors never explained or illustrated any subject, but, on the contrary, darkened and disfigured the plainest expressions, and the most evident truths, by their laboured and useless distinctions, fatigued both themselves and others with unintelligible solutions of abstruse and frivolous questions, and through a rage for disputing, maintained with equal vehemence and

(*h*) Abelard acknowledges this himself, Epist. i. cap. ix. p. 20. Oper.—See also Launois, De Scholis Caroli M. p. 67. cap. lix. tom. iv. opp. part I.

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The Christian doctors divided into two classes, called *biblici* and *scholastici*.

ardour the opposite sides of the most serious and momentous questions (*i*).

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

(*i*) Cæs. Egasse de Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 201. 583.—Anton. Wood, *Antiquit. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 58.—Launoïus, *De varia Aristotelis fortuna in Acad. Paris.* cap. iii. p. 187. Edit. Elswichii Vitæ. 1720, in 8vo.

(*k*) See Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 657.

deserted (*l*). The scholastic theology continued in high repute in all the European colleges until the time of Luther.

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

The scholastic divines opposed from different quarters,

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

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

And principally by
St. Bernard.

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

(*m*) In his *Tropologia* in Oseam, p. 203. Opp.

(*n*) *Opuscul.* p. 277. 396. edit. Benedict.

(*o*) In his *Verbum Abbreviat.* cap. iii. p. 6, 7. published at Mons in the year 1639, in 4to. by George Galopin.

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

(*q*) *Ant. Pagi Critic.* in *Baronium*, tom. iv. ad A. 1164. p. 614, 615.

(*r*) *Matth. Paris. Histor. Major.* p. 115.—Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 402.

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

(*s*) See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Abelard.—Gervais, *Vie d'Abelard et d'Heloise*.—Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 63. 84. 324. 395.—Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1139.

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

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which subtle refinements upon mysterious doctrines frequently lead. But it is certain, on the other hand, that St. Bernard, who had much more genius than logic, misunderstood some of the opinions of Abelard, and wilfully perverted others. For the zeal of this good abbot too rarely permitted him to consult in his decisions the dictates of impartial equity; and hence it was, that he almost always applauded beyond measure, and censured without mercy (*u*).

XI. Abelard was not the only scholastic divine who paid dear for his metaphysical refinement upon the doctrines of the gospel, and whose logic exposed him to the unrelenting fury of persecution; Gilbert de la Poree, bishop of Poitiers, who had taught theology and philosophy at Paris, and in other places, with the highest applause, met with the same fate. Unfortunately for him, Arnold and Calo, two of his archdeacons, who had been educated in the principles of the ancient theology, heard him one day disputing, with more subtilty than was meet, concerning the divine nature. Alarmed at the novelty of his doctrine, they brought a charge of blasphemy against him before Pope Eugenius III. who was at that time in France; and, to give weight to their accusation, they gained over St. Bernard, and engaged him in their cause. This zealous abbot treated the matter with his usual

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

vehemence, and opposed Gilbert with the utmost severity and bitterness, first in the council of Paris, A. D. 1147, and afterwards in that which was assembled at Rheims the year following. In this latter council the accused bishop, in order to put an end to the dispute, offered to submit his opinions to the judgment of the assembly, and of the Roman pontiff, by whom they were condemned. The errors attributed to Gilbert were the fruits of an excessive subtilty, and of an extravagant passion for reducing the doctrines of Christianity under the empire of metaphysic and dialectic. He distinguished the divine essence from the Deity, the properties of the three divine persons from the persons themselves, not in reality, but by abstraction, in statu rationis, as the metaphysicians speak; and in consequence of these distinctions, he denied the incarnation of the divine nature. To these he added other opinions, derived from the same source, which were rather vain, fanciful, and adapted to excite surprise by their novelty, than glaringly false, or really pernicious. These refined notions were far above the comprehension of good St. Bernard, who was by no means accustomed to such profound disquisitions, to such intricate researches (*w*).

XII. The important science of morals was not now in a very flourishing state, as may be easily imagined when we consider the genius and spirit of that philosophy, which, in this century, reduced all the other sciences under its dominion, and of which we have given some account in the preceding sections. The only moral writer

The state of
moral and
practical
theology.

(*w*) See Du Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. ii. p. 223. 232.—Mabillon, Annal. Benedictin. tom. vi. p. 343. 415. 433.—Gallia Christiana Benedictin. tom. ii. p. 1175.—Matth. Paris, Histor. Major. p. 56.—Petavii Dogmata Theologica, tom. i. lib. i. cap. viii.—Longueval, Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane, tom. ix. p. 147.

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among the Greeks, who is worthy of mention, is Philip, surnamed the Solitary, whose book, intitled *Dioptra*, which consists in a dialogue between the body and the soul, is composed with judgment and elegance, and contains many things proper to nourish pious and virtuous sentiments.

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

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

Polemic
writers.

XIII. Both Greeks and Latins were seized with that enthusiastic passion for dialectic researches, that raged in this century, and were thereby rendered extremely fond of captious questions and theological contests, while, at the same time, the

love of controversy seduced them from the paths that lead to truth, and involved them in labyrinths of uncertainty and error. The discovery of truth was not, indeed, the great object they had in view; their principal design was to puzzle and embarrass their adversaries, and overwhelm them with an enormous heap of fine-spun distinctions, an impetuous torrent of words without meaning, a long list of formidable authorities, and a specious train of fallacious consequences, embellished with railings and invectives. The principal polemic writers among the Greeks were Constantinus Harmenopulus; and Euthymius Zigabenus. The former published a short treatise *De Sectis Hæreticorum, i. e.* concerning the Heretical Sects. The latter, in a long and laboured work, entitled *Panoplia*, attacked all the various heresies and errors that troubled the church; but, not to mention the extreme levity and credulity of this writer, his manner of disputing was highly defective, and all his arguments, according to the wretched method that now prevailed, were drawn from the writings of the ancient doctors, whose authority supplied the place of evidence. Both these authors were sharply censured in a satirical poem composed by Zonaras. The Latin writers were also employed in various branches of religious controversy. Honorius of Autun wrote against certain heresies; and Abelard combated them all. The Jews, whose credit was now entirely sunk, and whose circumstances were miserable in every respect, were refuted by Gilbert de Castilione, Odo, Petrus Alfonsus, Rupert of Dutz, Petrus Mauritius, Richardus à Sto. Victore, and Petrus Blesensis, according to the logic of the times, and Euthymius, with several other divines, directed their polemic force against the Saracens.

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The con-
tests be-
tween the
Greeks and
Latins con-
tinued.

XIV. The contest between the Greeks and Latins, the subject of which has been already mentioned, was still carried on by both parties with the greatest obstinacy and vehemence. The Grecian champions were Euthymius, Nicetas, and others of less renown, while the cause of the Latins was vigorously maintained by Anselm, bishop of Havelberg, and Hugo Etherianus, who distinguished themselves eminently by their erudition in this famous controversy (*x*). Many attempts were made, both at Rome and Constantinople, to reconcile these differences, and to heal these fatal divisions; and this union was solicited, in a particular manner, by the emperors in the Comnene family, who expected to draw much advantage from the friendship and alliance of the Latins, towards the support of the Grecian empire, which was at this time in a declining, nay, almost in a desperate condition. But as the Latins aimed at nothing less than a despotic supremacy over the Greek church, and as, on the other hand, the Grecian bishops could by no means be induced to yield an implicit obedience to the Roman pontiff, or to condemn the measures and proceedings of their ancestors, the negotiations undertaken for the restoration of peace, widened the breach instead of healing it, and the terms proposed on both sides, but especially by the Latins, exasperated, instead of calming, the resentments and animosities of the contending parties.

Matters of
less moment
controver-
ted among
the Greeks.

XV. Many controversies of inferior moment were carried on among the Greeks, who were extremely fond of disputing, and were scarcely ever without debates upon religious matters. We shall not enter into a circumstantial narration of these theological contests, which are more proper

(*x*) See Leo Allatius, *De perpetua consensione Ecclesiæ Oriental. et Occident. lib. ii. cap. xi. p. 644.*

to fatigue than to amuse or instruct, but shall confine ourselves to a brief mention of those which made the greatest noise in the empire. Under the reign of Emanuel Comnenus, whose extensive learning was accompanied with an excessive curiosity, several theological controversies were carried on, in which he himself bore a principal part, and which fomented such discords and animosities among a people already exhausted and dejected by intestine tumults, as threatened their destruction. The first question that exercised the metaphysical talent of this over-curious emperor and his subtile doctors was this: In what sense it was or might be affirmed, that an incarnate God was at the same time the offerer and the oblation? When this knotty question had been long debated, and the emperor had maintained, for a considerable time, the solution of it that was contrary to the opinion generally received, he yielded at length, and embraced the popular notion of that unintelligible subject. The consequence of this step was, that many men of eminent abilities and great credit, who had differed from the doctrine of the church upon this article, were deprived of their honours and employments (*y*). What the emperor's opinion of this matter was, we find no where related in a satisfactory manner, and we are equally ignorant of the sentiments adopted by the church in relation to this question. It is highly probable that the emperor, followed by certain learned doctors, differed from the opinions generally received among the Greeks concerning the Lord's Supper, and the oblation or sacrifice of Christ in that holy ordinance.

XVI. Some years after this, a still more warm contest arose concerning the sense of those words of Christ, John xiv. 28. "For my Father is greater

The Greeks dispute concerning the words of Christ, John xiv. 28.

(*y*) Nicetas Choniates, Annal. Lib. vii. sect. v. p. 112. ed. Venetæ.

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than I," and divided the Greeks into the most bitter and deplorable factions. To the ancient explications of that important passage new illustrations were now added; and the emperor himself, who, from an indifferent prince, was become a wretched divine, published an exposition of that remarkable text, which he obtruded, as the only true sense of the words, upon a council assembled for that purpose, and was desirous of having received as a rule of faith by all the Grecian clergy. He maintained that the words in question related to the flesh that was hid in Christ, and that was passible, *i. e.* subject to suffering (*z*), and not only ordered this decision to be engraven on tables of stone in the principal church of Constantinople, but also published an edict, in which capital punishments were denounced against all such as should presume to oppose this explication, or teach any doctrine repugnant to it (*a*). This edict, however, expired with the emperor by whom it was issued out, and Andronicus, upon his accession to the imperial throne, prohibited all those contests concerning speculative points of theology, that arose from an irregular and wanton curiosity, and suppressed, in a more particular manner, all inquiry into the subject now mentioned, by enacting the severest penalties against such as should in any way contribute to revive this dispute (*b*).

Concerning
the God of
Mahomet.

XVII. The same theological emperor troubled the church with another controversy concerning the god of Mahomet. The Greek catechisms pronounced anathema against the deity worshipped by that false prophet, whom they represented as a solid and spherical being (*c*); for so they trans-

(z) Κατα την εν αυτω κτιστην και παθητην σαρκα.

(a) Nicetas Choniates, Annal. lib. vii. sect. 6. p. 113.

(b) Nicetas in Andronico, lib. ii. sect. 5. p. 175.

(c) Ολοσφαιριος.

lated the Arabian word *elmed*, which is applied in the Koran to the Supreme Being, and which indeed is susceptible of that sense, though it also signifies eternal (*d*). The emperor ordered this anathema to be effaced in the catechism of the Greek church, on account of the high offence it gave to the Mahometans, who had either been already converted to Christianity, or were disposed to embrace that divine religion, and who were extremely shocked at such an insult offered to the name of God, with whatever restrictions and conditions it might be attended. The Christian doctors, on the other hand, opposed with much resolution and vehemence this imperial order. They observed that the anathema, pronounced in the catechism, had no relation to the nature of God in general, nor to the true God in particular; and that, on the contrary, it was solely directed against the error of Mahomet, against that phantom of a divinity which he had imagined. For that impostor pretended that the Deity could neither be engendered nor engender; whereas the Christians adore God the Father. After the bitterest disputes concerning this abstruse subject, and various efforts to reconcile the contending parties, the bishops, assembled in council, consented, though with the utmost difficulty, to transfer the imprecation of the catechism from the god of Mahomet, to Mahomet himself, his doctrine, and his sect (*e*).

XVIII. The spirit of controversy raged among the Latins, as well as among the Greeks, and various sentiments concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper were propagated, not only in the schools, but also in the writings of the learned. For though all the doctors of the church were

The controversy concerning the Lord's Supper is carried on among the Latins.

(*d*) Reland, *De Religione Mohammedica*, lib. ii. sect. 3. p. 142.

(*e*) Nicetæ Chron. *Annales*, lib. vii. p. 113—116.

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now extremely desirous of being looked upon as enemies to the system of Berenger, yet many of them, and among others (*f*) Rupert of Duytz, differed very little from the sentiments of that great man; at least it is certain, that notwithstanding the famous controversy which had arisen in the church concerning the opinions of Berenger, nothing was, as yet, precisely determined with respect to the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist.

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

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

XIX. These and other controversies of a more private kind, which made little noise in the world, were succeeded, about the year 1140, by one of a more public nature, concerning what was called,

(*f*) Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. ii. p. 30.

(*g*) See Mengoz. Epistola, published by Martene, in his Thesaur. Anecdotor. tom. i. p. 290.—Jo. Mabillon, Annal. Benedict. tom. vi. p. 19, 20. 42. 168. 261.

The Immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary (*h*). Certain churches in France began, about that time, to celebrate the festival consecrated to this pretended conception, which the English had observed before this period in consequence of the exhortations of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, as some authors report. The church of Lyons was one of the first that adopted this new festival, which no sooner came to the knowledge of St. Bernard, than he severely censured the Canons of Lyons on account of this innovation, and opposed the Immaculate conception of the Virgin with the greatest vigour, as it supposed her being honoured with a privilege which belonged to Christ alone. Upon this a warm contest arose; some siding with the Canons of Lyons, and adopting the new festival, while others adhered to the sentiments of St. Bernard (*i*). The controversy, however, notwithstanding the zeal of the contending parties, was carried on, during this century, with a certain degree of decency and moderation. But, in after times, when the Dominicans were established in the academy of Paris, the contest was renewed with the greatest vehemence, and the same subject was debated on both sides, with the utmost animosity and contention of mind. The Dominicans declared for St. Bernard, while the academy patronized the Canons of Lyons, and adopted the new festival.

(*h*) The defenders of this Immaculate conception maintained, that the Virgin Mary was conceived in the womb of her mother with the same purity that is attributed to Christ's conception in her womb.

(*i*) *Sti. Bernardi Epistola* 174. tom. i. p. 170.—*Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 135.—*Mabillon, Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 327.—*Dom. Colonia, Hist. Litt. de la Ville de Lyon,* tom. ii. p. 233.

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church during this Century.

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Rites used
in the Greek
church.

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

II. We may learn from the book *De divinis officiis*, composed by the famous Rupert, or Robert, of Duytz, what were the rites in use among the Latins during this century, as also the reasons on which they were founded. According to the plan we follow, we cannot here enlarge upon the additions that were made to the doctrinal part of religion. We shall therefore only observe, that the enthusiastic veneration for the Virgin Mary, which had been hitherto carried to such an excessive height, increased now instead of diminishing, since her dignity was at this time considerably augmented by the new fiction or invention relating to her immaculate conception. For though, as we observed in the preceding chapter, St. Bernard and others opposed with vigour this chimerical notion, yet their efforts were counteracted by the superstitious fury of the deluded multitude, whose judgment prevailed over the councils of the wise. So that, about the year 1138, there was a solemn festival instituted in honour of this pretended conception, though we know not, with any degree of certainty, by whose authority it was first established, nor in what place it was first celebrated (*k*).

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The Latin
ritual.

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the Divisions and Heresies that troubled the Church during this Century.

I. THE Greek and eastern churches were infested with fanatics of different kinds, who gave them much trouble, and engaged them in the most warm and violent contests. Certain of these

Fanatics of
different
kinds infest
the Greek
church.

(*k*) Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 327. 412.—
Gallia Christiana, tom. i. p. 1198.

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fanatics professed to believe in a double trinity, rejected wedlock, abstained from flesh, treated with the utmost contempt the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, as also all the various branches of external worship; placed the essence of religion in internal prayer alone, and maintained, as it is said, that an evil being, or genius, dwelt in the breast of every mortal, and could be expelled from thence by no other method than by perpetual supplications to the Supreme Being. The founder of this enthusiastical sect is said to have been a person called Lucopetrus. His chief disciple was named Tychicus, who corrupted, by false and fanatical interpretations, several books of the sacred writings, and particularly the Gospel according to St. Matthew (*l*). It is well known, that enthusiasts of this kind, who were rather wrong-headed than vicious, lived among the Greeks and Syrians, and more especially among the monks, for many ages before this period, and also in this century. The accounts, indeed, that have been given of them, are not in all respects to be depended upon: and there are several circumstances which render it extremely probable, that many persons of eminent piety, and zeal for genuine Christianity, were confounded by the Greeks with these enthusiasts, and ranked in the list of heretics, merely on account of their opposing the vicious practices and the insolent tyranny of the priesthood, and their treating with derision that motley spectacle of superstition that was supported by public authority. In Greece, and in all the eastern provinces, this sort of men were distinguished by the general and invidious appellation of Massalians, or Euchites (*m*), as

(*l*) See Euthymii Triumphus de Secta Massalianorum in Jac. Tollii *Insignibus Itineris Italici*. p. 106—125.

(*m*) Massalians and Euchites are denominations that

the Latins comprehended all the adversaries of the Roman pontiff under the general terms of Waldenses and Albigenses. It is, however, necessary to observe, that the names abovementioned were very vague and ambiguous in the way they were applied by the Greeks and the Orientals, who made use of them to characterize, without distinction, all such as complained of the multitude of useless ceremonies, and of the vices of the clergy, without any regard to the difference that there was between such persons in point of principles and morals. In short, the righteous and the profligate, the wise and the foolish, were equally comprehended under the name of Massalians, whenever they opposed the raging superstition of the times, or looked upon true and genuine piety as the essence of the Christian character.

II. From the sect now mentioned, that of the Bogomiles is said to have proceeded, whose founder Basilius, a monk by profession, was burnt at Constantinople, under the reign of Alexius Comnenus, after all attempts to make him renounce his errors had proved ineffectual. By the accounts we have of this unhappy man, and of the errors he taught, it appears sufficiently evident,

signify the same thing, and denote, the one in the Hebrew, and the other in the Greek language, persons that pray. A sect, under this denomination, arose during the reign of the emperor Constantius, about the year 361, founded by certain monks of Mesopotamia, who dedicated themselves wholly to prayer, and held many of the doctrines attributed by Moseheim to the Massalians of the twelfth century. See August. De Hæres. cap. lvii. and Theod. Hærat. Fab. lib. iv. Epiphanius speaks of another sort of Massalians still more ancient, who were mere Gentiles, acknowledged several gods, yet adored only one, whom they called Almighty, and had oratories in which they assembled to pray and sing hymns. This resemblance between the Massalians and Essenes induced Scaliger to think that Epiphanius confounded the former with the latter.

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that his doctrine resembled, in a striking manner, the religious system of the ancient Gnostics and Manichæans; though at the same time, it is possible that the Greeks may have falsified his tenets in some respects. Basilus maintained, that the world and all animal bodies were formed, not by the Deity, but by an evil demon, who had been cast down from heaven by the Supreme Being; from whence he concluded, that the body was no more than the prison of the immortal spirit, and that it was, therefore, to be enervated by fasting, contemplation, and other exercises, that so the soul might be gradually restored to its primitive liberty; for this purpose also wedlock was to be avoided, with many other circumstances which we have often had occasion to explain and repeat in the course of this history. It was in consequence of the same principles, that this unfortunate enthusiast denied the reality of Christ's body, which, like the Gnostics and Manichæans, he considered only as a phantom, rejected the law of Moses, and maintained that the body, upon its separation by death, returned to the malignant mass of matter, without either the prospect or possibility of a future resurrection to life and felicity. We have so many examples of fanatics of this kind in the records of ancient times, and also in the history of this century, that it is by no means to be wondered, that some one of them more enterprising than the rest should found a sect among the Greeks. The name of this sect was taken from the divine mercy, which its members are said to have incessantly implored; for the word bogomilus, in the Mysian language, signifies calling out for mercy from above (*n*).

(*n*) See Anna Comnena Alexiados, lib. xv. p. 384. edit. Venetæ.—Zonaras Annalium, lib. xviii. p. 336.—Jo. Christ. Wolf, *Historia Bogomilorum*, published at Witteberg, in 4to.

III. The Latin sects were yet more numerous than those of the Greeks, and this will not appear at all surprising to such as consider the state of religion in the greatest part of the European provinces. The reign of superstition, the vices of the clergy, the luxury and indolence of the pontiffs and bishops, the encouragement of impiety by the traffic of indulgences, increasing from day to day, several pious, though weak men, who had the cause of Christ and of his religion at heart, easily perceived that both were in a most declining and miserable state, and therefore attempted a reformation in the church, in order to restore Christianity to its primitive purity and lustre. But the knowledge of these good men was not equal to their zeal, nor were their abilities in any proportion to the grandeur of their undertakings. The greatest part of them were destitute both of learning and judgment, and involved in the general ignorance of the times, understood but very imperfectly the holy scriptures, from whence Christianity was derived, and by which the abuses that had been mingled with it could only be reformed. In a word, few of these well-meaning Christians were equal to an attempt so difficult and arduous as an universal reformation; and the consequence of this was, that while they avoided the reigning abuses, they fell into others that were as little consistent with the genius of true religion, and carried the spirit of censure and reformation to such an excessive length, that it degenerated often into the various extravagances of enthusiasm, and engendered a number of new sects, that became a new dishonour to the Christian cause.

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

1712.—Sam. Andreæ Diss. Bogomilis in Jo. Voigtii Bibliotheca Historiæ Hæresiologicæ, tom. i. part II. p. 121. Chr. Aug. Heumanni Dissertat. de Bogomilis.

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The Cathari.

IV. Among the sects that troubled the Latin church during this century, the principal place is due to the Catharists, whom we have had already occasion to mention (*o*). This numerous faction, leaving their first residence, which was in Bulgaria, spread themselves throughout almost all the European provinces, where they occasioned much tumult and disorder; but their fate was unhappy; for, wherever they were caught, they were put to death with the most unrelenting cruelty (*p*). Their religion resembled the doctrine of the Manichæans and Gnostics, on which account they commonly received the denomination of the former, though they differed from the genuine and primitive Manichæans in many respects. They all indeed agreed in the following points of doctrine: viz. That matter was the source of all evil; that the Creator of this world was a being distinct from the Supreme Deity; that Christ was not clothed with a real body, neither could be properly said to have been born, or to have seen death; that human bodies were the production of the evil principle; and that baptism and the Lord's Supper were useless institutions, destitute of all efficacy and power. They exhorted all who embraced their doctrine to a rigorous abstinence from animal food, wine, and wedlock, and recommended to them, in the most pathetic terms, the most severe acts of austerity and mortification. They moreover treated with the utmost contempt all the books of the Old Testament, but expressed a high degree of veneration for the New, particularly for the Four Gospels;

(*o*) See Cent. III. Part II. Ch. V. sect. XVIII. but principally for that sort of Catharists here mentioned, see above Cent. XI. Part II. Ch. V. sect. II.

(*p*) See the accounts given of this unhappy and persecuted sect by Charles Plessis D'Argentre, in his *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, tom. i. in which, however, several circumstances are omitted.

and, to pass over many other peculiarities in their doctrine, they maintained, that human souls, endued with reason, were shut up by an unhappy fate in the dungeons of mortal bodies, from whence they could only be delivered by fasting, mortification, and continence of every kind (*q*).

V. These principles and tenets, though they were adopted and professed by the whole sect, yet were differently interpreted and modified by different doctors. Hence the Catharists were divided into various sects, which, however, on account of the general persecution in which they were all involved, treated each other with candour and forbearance, disputed with moderation, and were thus careful not to augment their common calamity by intestine feuds and animosities. Out of these different factions arose two leading and principal sects of the Catharists, which were distinguished from the rest by the number of their respective followers, and the importance of their differences. The one approached pretty nearly to the Manichæan system, held the doctrine of two eternal Beings, from whom all things are derived, the God of light, who was also the Father of Jesus Christ, and the principle of darkness, whom they considered as the author of the material world. The other believed in one eternal principle, the Father of Christ, and the Supreme God, by whom also they held that the first matter was created; but they added to this, that the evil being, after his rebellion against God, and his fall from heaven, arranged this original matter according to his fancy, and divided it into four elements, in order to the production of this visible

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The Catharists divided into two sects.

(*q*) Besides the writers which shall be mentioned presently, see the *Disputatio inter Catholicum et Paterinum*, published by Martene, in his *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1703. as also *Bonacursi Manifestatio Hæresis Catharorum in Luc. Dacherii Spicilegio*, tom. i. p. 208.

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world. The former maintained, that Christ being clothed with a celestial body descended thus into the womb of the Virgin, and derived no part of his substance from her; while the latter taught, that he first assumed a real body in the womb of Mary, though not from her (*r*). The sect, which held the doctrine of two principles, were called Albanenses, from the name of the place where their spiritual ruler resided; and this sect was subdivided into two, of which one took the name of Balazinansa, bishop of Verona, and the other that of John de Lugio, bishop of Bergamo. The sect which adhered to the doctrine of one eternal principle was also subdivided into the congregation of Baioli, the capital town of the province, and that of Concoregio, or Concorezzo. The Albigenses, who were settled in France, belonged to the church or congregation of Baioli (*s*).

VI. In the internal constitution of the church, that was founded by this sect, there were many rules and principles of a singular nature, which

(*r*) See Bern. Moneta, in summa adversus Catharos et Waldenses, published at Rome in the year 1743, by Thom. August. Richini, who prefixed to it a dissertation concerning the Cathari, that is by no means worthy of the highest encomiums. Moneta was no mean writer for the time in which he lived. See Lib. i. p. 2. et 5. Lib. ii. p. 247, &c.

(*s*) Raineri Sachoni summa de Catharis et Leonistis in Martene Thesaur. Anecd. tom. v. p. 1761. 1768.—Peregrinus Prescianus in Muratorii, Antiq. Ital. medii ævi, tom. v. p. 93. who exhibits, in a sort of table, these different sects, but by a mistake places the Albigenses, who were a branch of the Baiolenses in the place of the Albanenses; this, perhaps, may be an error of the press. The opinions of these Baiolenses or Bagnolenses may be seen in the Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanæ, which Limborch published with his History of the Inquisition. The account, however, which we have in that history (Book I. Ch. VIII.) of the opinions of the Albigenses, is by no means accurate. A great variety of causes has contributed to involve in darkness and perplexity the distinctive characters of these different sects, whose respective systems we cannot enlarge upon at present.

we pass over in silence, as they would oblige us to enter into a detail inconsistent with the brevity we propose to observe in this work. The government of this church was administered by bishops, and each bishop had two vicars, of whom one was called the eldest son, and the other the younger; while the rest of the clergy and doctors were comprehended under the general denomination of deacons (*t*). The veneration which the people had for the clergy in general, and more especially for the bishops and their spiritual sons, was carried to a length that almost exceeds credibility. The discipline observed by this sect was so excessively rigid and austere, that it was practicable only by a certain number of robust and determined fanatics. But that such as were not able to undergo this discipline might not, on that account, be lost to the cause, it was thought necessary, in imitation of the ancient Manichæans, to divide this sect into two classes, one of which was distinguished by the title of the *consolati*, *i. e.* comforted, while the other received only the denomination of *confederates*. The former gave themselves out for persons of consummate wisdom and extraordinary piety, lived in perpetual celibacy, and led a life of the severest mortification and abstinence, without ever allowing themselves the enjoyment of any worldly comfort. The latter, if we except a few particular rules which they observed, lived like the rest of mankind, but at the same time were obliged by a solemn agreement they had made with the church, and which, in Italian, they called *la convenenza*, to enter before their death, in their last moments, if not sooner, into the class of the comforted, and to receive the *consolamentum*, which was the form

(1) (*t*) See Sachoni summa de Catharis, p. 1766.

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The Petro-
brussians.

of inauguration, by which they were introduced into that fanatical order (*u*).

VII. A much more rational sect was that which was founded about the year 1110 in Languedoc and Provence, by Peter de Bruys, who made the most laudable attempts to reform the abuses and to remove the superstitions that disfigured the beautiful simplicity of the gospel, and after having engaged in his cause a great number of followers, during a laborious ministry of twenty years continuance, was burnt at St. Giles', in the year 1130, by an enraged populace, set on by the clergy, whose traffic was in danger from the enterprising spirit of this new reformer. The whole system of doctrine, which this unhappy martyr, whose zeal was not without a considerable mixture of fanaticism, taught to the Petrobrussians, his disciples, is not known; it is however certain, that the five following tenets made a part of his system. 1. That no persons whatever, were to be baptized before they were come to the full use of their reason. 2. That it was an idle superstition to build churches for the service of God, who will accept of a sincere worship wherever it is offered; and that therefore such churches as had already been erected were to be pulled down and destroyed. 3. That the crucifixes, as instruments of superstition, deserved the same fate. 4. That the real body and blood of Christ were not exhibited in the eucharist, but were merely represented, in that holy ordinance, by their figures and symbols. 5. And, lastly, That the oblations, prayers, and good works of the living, could be in no respect advantageous to the dead (*w*).

(*u*) For a further account of this sect, see the writers mentioned above, and particularly the Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanæ.

(*w*) See Petri Venerab. Lib. contra Petrobrussianos in

VIII. This Innovator was succeeded by another, who was an Italian by birth, and whose name was Henry, the founder and parent of the sect called Henricians. It was, no doubt, a rare thing to see a person, who was at the same time monk and hermit, undertaking to reform the superstitions of the times; yet such was the case of Henry, who leaving Lausanne, a city of Switzerland, travelled to Mans, and being banished thence, removed successively to Poitiers, Bourdeaux, and the countries adjacent, and at length to Thoulouse in the year 1147, exercising his ministerial function in all these places with the utmost applause from the people, and declaiming, with the greatest vehemence and fervour, against the vices of the clergy, and the superstitions they had introduced into the Christian church. At Thoulouse he was warmly opposed by St. Bernard, by whose influence he was overpowered, notwithstanding his popularity, and obliged to save himself by flight. But being seized, in his retreat, by a certain bishop, he was carried before Pope Eugenius III. who presided in person at a council then assembled at Rheims, and who, in consequence of the accusations brought against Henry, committed him, in the year 1148, to a close prison, where in a little time after this, he ended his days (*x*). We have no accurate account of the doctrines of this reformer transmitted to our times. All we know of that matter is, that he rejected the baptism of infants; censured with severity the corrupt and licentious

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The Henricians.

Bibliotheca Cluniensi, p. 1117.—Mabillon, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 346.—Basnage, *Histoire des Eglises Reformées*, period iv. p. 140.

(*x*) *Gesta Episcoporum Cenomanens.* in Mabillon, *Analect. veter. ævi*, p. 315. ed. Nov.—Gaufridi *Epistola* in *Lib. vi. Vita Sti. Bernardi.* tom. ii. opp. Bernhard. p. 1207.—Matth. *Histor. Major.* p. 71.—Mabillon, *Præf. ad Opera Bernardi*, sect. vi. et *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 346. 420. 434.

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manners of the clergy; treated the festivals and ceremonies of the church with the utmost contempt; and held clandestine assemblies, in which he explained and inculcated the novelties he taught. Several writers affirm, that he was the disciple of Peter de Bruys; but I cannot see upon what evidence or authority this assertion is grounded (*y*).

The horrid
blasphemy
of Tanque-
linus.

IX. While the Henricians were propagating their doctrines in France, a certain illiterate man, called Tanquelinus, or Tanquelmus, arose in Brabant about the year 1115, excited the most deplorable commotions at Antwerp, and drew after him a most numerous sect. If the accounts that are given us of this heresiarch by his adversaries may be at all depended upon, he must either have been a monstrous impostor, or an outrageous madman. For he walked in public with the greatest solemnity, pretended to be God, or, at least, the Son of God, ordered daughters to be ravished in presence of their mothers, and committed himself the greatest disorders. Such are the enormities that are attributed to Tanquelmus, but they are absolutely incredible, and therefore cannot be true (*x*). What seems most worthy of credit in this matter is, that this new teacher had imbibed the opinions and spirit of the Mystics; that he treated with contempt the ex-

(*y*) That Henry was the disciple of Peter De Bruys is not at all probable: since, not to insist upon other reasons, the latter could not bear the sight of a cross, and in all likelihood owed his death to the multitude of crucifixes which he had committed to the flames: whereas the former, when he entered into any city, appeared with a cross in his hand, which he bore as a standard, to attract the veneration of the people. See Mabillon, *Analecta*, p. 316.

(*z*) *Epistola Trajectens. Ecclesie ad Tridericum Episcopum de Tanchelmo*, in *Sel. Tengnagelii Collectione Veterum Monumentorum*, p. 368.—*Boulay, Histor. Acad. Paris*, tom. ii. p. 98.—*Argentre, Collectio Judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 10.

ternal worship of God, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper and the rite of baptism; and held clandestine assemblies to propagate more effectually his visionary notions. But as, besides all this, he inveighed against the clergy, like the other heretics already mentioned, and declaimed against their vices with vehemence and intrepidity, it is probable that these blasphemies were falsely charged upon him by a vindictive priesthood. Be that as it may, the fate of Tanquelmus was unhappy, for he was assassinated by an ecclesiastic in a cruel manner. His sect, however, did not perish with him, but acquired strength and vigour under the ministry of his disciples, until it was at length extinguished by the famous St. Norbert, the founder of the order of Præmonstratenses, or Premontres (a).

X. In Italy, Arnold of Brescia, a disciple of Abelard, and a man of extensive erudition and remarkable austerity, but also of a turbulent and impetuous spirit, excited new troubles and commotions both in church and state. He was, indeed, condemned in the council of the Lateran, A. D. 1139, by Innocent II. and thereby obliged to retire into Switzerland; but upon the death of that pontiff, he returned into Italy, and raised at Rome, during the pontificate of Eugenius III. several tumults and seditions among the people, who changed, by his instigation, the government of the city, and insulted the persons of the clergy in the most disorderly manner. He fell however at last a victim to the vengeance of his enemies; for, after various turns of fortune, he was seized in the year 1155, by a præfect of the city, by whom he was crucified, and afterwards burned to ashes. This unhappy man seems

Seditions
excited in
Italy by
Arnold of
Brescia.

(a) Lewis Hugo, Vie de S. Norbert, livr. II. p. 126.—
Chrys. vander Sterre Vitæ S. Norberti. cap. xxxvi. p. 164. et
Polyc. de Hertoche, ad illam Annotationes, p. 387.

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

The origin
and history
of the Wal-
denses.

XI. Of all the sects that arose in this century none was more distinguished by the reputation it acquired, by the multitude of its votaries, and the

(*b*) See Otto Frising. de gestis Frederici I. lib. ii. cap. xx.—S. Bernhardus Epist. 195, 196. tom. i. p. 187.—Boulay, Histor. Acad. Paris. tom. ii. p. 157.—Muratori, Droits de l'Empire sur l'Etat Ecclesiastique, p. 137.—Henr. de Bunau Vita Frederici I. p. 41.—Chaufepied, Nouveau Diction. Hist. Crit. tom. ii. p. 482.

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

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

(*d*) See Steph. de Borbone, De septem donis Spiritus sancti, in Echard et Quetif Bibliotheca Scriptor. Dominicanor. tom. i. p. 192.—Anonym. Tractatio de Hæresi Pauperum de Lugduno, in Martene Thesaurò Anecdotor. tom. v. p. 1777.

(*e*) This priest was called Stephanus de Evisa.

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

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

(*g*) Certain writers give different accounts of the origin of the Waldenses, and supposed they were so called from the Valleys in which they had resided for many ages before the birth of Peter Waldus. But these writers have no authority to support this assertion, and, besides this, they are refuted amply by the best historians. I don't mean to deny, that there were in the valleys of Piedmont, long before this period, a set of men, who differed widely from the opinions adopted and inculcated by the church of Rome, and whose doctrine resembled, in many respects, that of the Waldenses; all that I maintain is, that these inhabitants of the valleys above-mentioned are to be carefully distinguished from the Waldenses, who, according to the unanimous voice of history, were originally inhabitants of Lyons, and derived their name from

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

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

(*h*) See the following ancient writers, who have given

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The doctrine, discipline, and views of the Waldenses.

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

accounts of the sect in question, to wit, Sachoni Summa contra Valdenses.—Monetæ, Summa contra Catharos et Valdenses, published by Richini.—Tr. di Hæresi Pauperum de Lugduno, published by Martene, in his Thesaur. Anecd. tom. v. p. 1777.—Pilichdorffius, contra Valdenses, t. xxv. B. B. Max. Patr.—Add to these authors, Jo. Paul Perrin Histoire de Vaudois, published at Geneva in 1619.—Jo. Leger, Histoire Generale des Eglises Vaudoises, livr. i. ch. xiv. p. 136.—Usserii, De Successione Ecclesiarum Occidentis, cap. viii. p. 209.—Jac. Basnage Histoire des Eglises Reformées, tom. i. period. iv. p. 329.—Thom. August. Richini Dissertat. de Valdensibus, prefixed to his edition of the Summa Monetæ, p. 36.—Boulay, Histor. Acad. Paris, tom. ii. p. 292.

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

(*i*) See the Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanæ, published by Limborch, as also the summa Monetæ contra Waldenses, and the other writers of the Waldensian history. Though these writers are not all equally accurate, nor perfectly agreed about the number of doctrines that entered into the system of this sect, yet they are almost all unanimous in acknowledging the sincere piety and exemplary conduct of

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The form of
church-
government
among the
Waldenses.

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

the Waldenses, and show plainly enough that their intention was not to oppose the doctrines that were universally received among Christians, but only to revive the piety and manners of the primitive times, and to combat the vices of the clergy, and the abuses that had been introduced into the worship and discipline of the church.

(*k*) The bishops were also called *majorales*, or elders.

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

continue always in communion with it, provided they might be allowed to live as they thought proper, without molestation or restraint. The latter affirmed, on the contrary, that the church of Rome had apostatized from Christ, was deprived of the Holy Spirit, and was, in reality, that whore of Babylon mentioned in the Revelations of St. John (*m*).

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XIV. Besides these famous sects, which made a great noise in the world, and drew after them multitudes from the bosom of a corrupt and superstitious church, there were other religious factions of lesser importance, which arose in Italy, and more especially in France, though they seem to have expired soon after their birth (*n*). In Lombardy, which was the principal residence of the Italian heretics, there sprung up a very singular sect, known by the denomination of Pasaginians (*o*), and also by that of the circumcised. Like the other sects already mentioned, they had the utmost aversion to the dominion and discipline of the church of Rome; but they were, at the same time, distinguished by two religious tenets that were peculiar to themselves. The first was a notion, that the observation of the law of Moses in every thing except the offering of sacri-

Sects of a
less eminent
kind.
The Pasa-
gini.

(*m*) Monetæ Summa contra Catharos et Valdenses, p. 406. 416, &c. They seem to have been also divided in their sentiments concerning the possession of worldly goods, as appears from the accounts of Stephanus de Borbone, in Echardi, Scriptoribus Dominicis, tom. i. p. 191. This writer divides the Waldenses into two classes, The poor men of Lyons, and the poor men of Lombardy. The former rejected and prohibited all sorts of possessions, the latter looked upon worldly possessions as lawful. This distinction may be also confirmed by several passages of other ancient authors.

(*n*) For an account of these obscurer sects, see Stephanus de Borbone, in Echardi Scriptoribus Dominicis, tom. i. p. 191.

(*o*) The origin of the name of Pasagini, or Pasagii, is not known.

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fices, was obligatory upon Christians, in consequence of which they circumcised their followers, abstained from those meats, the use of which was prohibited under the Mosaic economy, and celebrated the Jewish Sabbath. The second tenet that distinguished this sect was advanced in opposition to the doctrine of three persons in the divine nature; for the Pasaginians maintained that Christ was no more than the first and purest creature of God; nor will their adopting this opinion seem so surprising, if we consider the prodigious number of Arians that were scattered throughout Italy, long before this period of time (*p*).

The Capu-
tati.

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

The sect of the apostolics, whom St. Bernard opposed with such bitterness and fury, and who were so called, as that zealous abbot himself acknowledged, because they professed to exhibit in

(*p*) See F. Bonacursi Manifestatio hæresis Catharorum, in Luc. Dacherii Spicilegio Veter. Scriptor. tom. i. p. 211. edit. nov.—Gerhard. Bergamensis contra Catharos et Pasagios, in Lud. Anton. Muratorii, Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi, tom. v. p. 151.

(*q*) Jac. Le Bœuf, Memoires sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre, tom. i. p. 317.

their lives and manners, the piety and virtues of the holy apostles were very different from the audacious heretics now mentioned. They were a clownish set of men, of the lowest birth, who gained their subsistence by bodily labour; and yet no sooner did they form themselves into a sect, than they drew after them a multitude of adherents of all ranks and orders. Their religious doctrine, as St. Bernard confesses, was free from error, and their lives and manners were irreproachable and exemplary. Yet they were reprehensible, on account of the following peculiarities: 1. They held it unlawful to take an oath. 2. They suffered their hair and their beards to grow to an enormous length, so that their aspect was inexpressibly extravagant and savage. 3. They preferred celibacy before wedlock, and called themselves the chaste brethren and sisters. Notwithstanding which, 4. Each man had a spiritual sister with him, after the manner of the apostles, with whom he lived in a domestic relation, lying in the same chamber with her, though not in the same bed (*r*).

XVI. In the council, which was assembled at Rheims in the year 1148, and at which Pope Eugenius III. presided, a certain gentleman of the province of Bretagne, whose name was Eon, and whose brain was, undoubtedly, disordered, was condemned for pretending to be the Son of God. Having heard, in the form that was used for exorcising malignant spirits, these words pronounced: per Eum, qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuus, he concluded, from the resemblance that there was between the word Eum, and his name, that he was the person who was to come and judge both quick and dead. This poor man should

Eon, a
wrong-
headed
fanatic.

(*r*) St. Bernardus, Sermo lxxv. in Canticum, tom. iv. Opp. p. 1495. edit. Mabillon.

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rather have been delivered over to the physicians than placed in the list of heretics. He ended his days in a miserable prison, and left a considerable number of followers and adherents, whom persecution and death in the most dreadful forms could not persuade to abandon his cause, or to renounce an absurdity, which one would think could never have gained credit, but in such a place as Bedlam (*s*). This remarkable example is sufficient to show, not only the astonishing credulity of the stupid multitude, but also how far even the rulers of the church were destitute of judgment, and strangers to the knowledge of true and genuine religion.

(*s*) Matth. Paris. *Historia Major*. p. 68.—Guil. Neubrigensis, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, lib. i. p. 50.—Boulay, *Historia Acad. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 241.

THE
THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

*Concerning the Prosperous Events that happened
to the Church during this Century.*

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

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The state of
Christianity
in the north-
ern parts of
Asia, and in
China.

(*a*) Gregor. Abulpharais, *Historia Dynastiæ*. p. 281.

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Nestorians (*b*). But the religion of Mahomet, which was so adapted to flatter the passions of men, infected, by degrees, these noble converts, opposed with success the progress of the gospel, and, in process of time, triumphed over it so far, that not the least glimpse or remains of Christianity were to be perceived in the courts of these eastern princes.

A papal embassy is sent to the Tartars.

II. The Tartars having made an incursion into Europe in the year 1241, and having laid waste, with the most unrelenting and savage barbarity, Hungary, Poland, Silesia, and the adjacent countries, the Roman pontiffs thought it incumbent upon them to endeavour to calm the fury, and soften the ferocity, of these new and formidable enemies. For this purpose, Innocent IV. sent an embassy to the Tartars, which consisted in a certain number of Dominican and Franciscan friars (*c*). In the year 1274, Abaka, the emperor of that fierce nation, sent ambassadors to the council of Lyons, which was held under the pontificate of Gregory X (*d*). About four years after this, Pope Nicolas III. paid the same compliment to Coblai, emperor of the whole Tartar nation, to whom he sent a solemn embassy of Franciscan monks, with a view to render that prince propitious to the Christian cause. The last expedition of this kind that we shall mention at present was that of Johannes à

(*b*) See Marc. Paul. Venetus, *De Regionibus Oriental.* lib. i. c. iv. lib. ii. c. vi.—Haytho the Armenian's *Histor. Oriental.* cap. xix. p. 35. cap. xxiii. p. 39. cap. xxiv. p. 41.—Jo. Sims. *Assemani Biblioth. Orient. Vatic.* tom. III. part II. p. 526. See particularly the *Ecclesiastical History of the Tartars*, published in Latin at Helmstadt, in the year 1741, in 4to.

(*c*) See Luc. Waddingi *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 116. 149. 175. 256.

(*d*) Wadding. *loc. cit.* tom. iv. p. 35. tom. v. p. 128. See particularly an accurate and ample account of the negotiations that passed between the pontiffs and the Tartars, in the *Historia Ecclesiastica Tartarorum*, already mentioned.

Monte Corvino, who was sent in company with other ecclesiastics to the same emperor, by Nicolas IV. and who carried letters to the Nestorians from that zealous pontiff. This mission was far from being useless, since these spiritual ambassadors converted many of the Tartars to Christianity, engaged considerable numbers of the Nestorians to adopt the doctrine and discipline of the church of Rome, and erected churches in different parts of Tartary and China. In order to accelerate the propagation of the gospel among these darkened nations, Johannes à Monte Corvino translated the New Testament and the Psalms of David into the language of the Tartars (*e*).

III. The Roman pontiffs employed their most zealous and assiduous efforts in the support of the Christian cause in Palestine, which was now in a most declining, or rather in a desperate state. They had learned, by a delicious experience, how much these Asiatic wars, undertaken from a principle, or at least carried on under a pretext of religion, had contributed to fill their coffers, augment their authority, and cover them with glory; and therefore they had nothing more at heart than the renewal and prolongation of these sacred expeditions (*f*). Innocent III. therefore, sounded the charge; but the greatest part of the European princes and nations were deaf to the voice of the holy trumpet. At length, however, after many unsuccessful attempts in different

Crusades
renewed.

(*e*) Odor. Raynaldus, Annal. Ecclesiastic. tom. xiv. ad A. 1278. sect. 17. p. 282. et ad A. 1289. sect. 59. p. 419. edit. Colon.—Pierre Bergeron, Traité des Tartares, chap. xi. p. 61. See also the writers mentioned in the *Historia Ecclesiastica Tartarorum*.

(*f*) This is remarked by the writers of the twelfth century, who had soon perceived the avaricious and despotic views of the pontiffs, in the encouragement they gave to the crusades. See Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major*. p. 174. 365. et passim.

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countries, a certain number of French nobles entered into an alliance with the republic of Venice, and set sail for the east with an army that was far from being formidable. Besides, the event of this new expedition was by no means answerable to the expectations of the pontiff. The French and Venetians, instead of steering their course towards Palestine, sailed directly for Constantinople, and in the year 1203 took that imperial city by storm, with a design to restore to the throne Isaac Angelus, who implored their succour against the violence of his brother Alexius, who had usurped the empire. The year following, a dreadful sedition was raised at Constantinople, in which the emperor Isaac was put to death, and his son, the young Alexius, was strangled by Alexius Ducas the ringleader of this furious faction (g). The account of this parricide no sooner came to the ears of the chiefs of the crusade, than they made themselves masters of Constantinople for the second time, dethroned and drove from the city the tyrant Ducas, and elected Baldwin, count of Flanders, emperor of the Greeks. This proceeding was a source of new divisions; for about two years after this the Greeks resolved to set up, in opposition to this Latin emperor, one of their own nation, and elected for that purpose, Theodore Lascaris, who chose Nice in Bithynia for the place of his imperial residence. From this period until the year 1261, two emperors reigned over the Greeks; the one of their own nation, who resided at Nice; and the other of Latin or French extraction, who lived at Constantinople, the ancient metropolis of the empire. But, in the year 1261, the face of things was changed by the Grecian emperor, Michael Palæologus, who, by the valour and stra-

(g) The learned authors of the Universal History call this ringleader, by mistake, John Ducas.

tagems of his general, Cæsar Alexius, became master of Constantinople, and forced the Latin emperor Baldwin II. to abandon that city, and save himself by flight in Italy. Thus fell the empire of the Franks at Constantinople after a duration of fifty-seven years (*h*).

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

Another
crusade un-
dertaken.

(*h*) See, for a full account of this empire, Du Fresne, *Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople sous les Empereurs François*; in the former part of which we find the *Histoire de la Conquête de la Ville de Constantinople par les François*, written by Godfrey de Ville Harduin, one of the French chiefs concerned in the expedition. This work makes a part of the Byzantine history. See also Claude Fontenay, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. x. p. 216.—Guntheri Monachi *Histor. captæ à Latinis Constantinopoleos*, in Henr. Canisii *Lectionis Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 1.—Innocentii III. *Epistol. à Baluzio editas*, passim.

(*i*) See Jac. de Vitriaco, *Histor. Oriental. et Martin Sanctus*, *Secret. fidel. crucis inter Bongarsianos de sacris bellis scriptores, seu gesta Dei per Francos*.

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

V. The legates and missionaries of the court of Rome still continued to animate the languishing zeal of the European princes in behalf of the Christian cause in Palestine, and to revive the spirit of crusading, which so many calamities and disasters had almost totally extinguished. At length, in consequence of their lively remonstrances, a new army was raised, and a new expedition undertaken, which excited great expectations, and drew the attention of Europe, and that so much the more, as it was generally believed, that this army was to be commanded by the emperor Frederic II. That prince had, indeed, obliged himself by a solemn promise, made to the Roman pontiff, to take upon him the direction of this expedition; and what added a new degree of force to this engagement, and seemed to render the violation of it impossible, was the marriage that Frederic had contracted, in the year 1223, with Jolanda, daughter of John, count of Brienne, and king of Jerusalem, by which alliance that kingdom was to be added to his European dominions. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the emperor put off his voyage from time to time under various pretexts, and did not set out until the year 1228, when, after having been excommunicated on account of his delay, by the incensed pontiff Gregory IX (*k*), he fol-

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

lowed with a small train of attendants the troops, who expected, with the most anxious impatience, his arrival in Palestine. No sooner did he land in that disputed kingdom than, instead of carrying on the war with vigour, he turned all his thoughts towards peace, and, without consulting the other princes and chiefs of the crusade, concluded, in the year 1229, a treaty of peace, or rather a truce of ten years, with Melic-Camel, sultan of Egypt. The principal thing stipulated in this treaty was, that Frederic should be put in possession of the city and kingdom of Jerusalem: this condition was immediately executed; and the emperor, entering into the city with great pomp, and accompanied by a numerous train, placed the crown upon his head with his own hands; and, having thus settled matters in Palestine, he returned without delay into Italy, to appease the discords and commotions which the vindictive and ambitious pontiff had excited there in his absence. So that, in reality, notwithstanding all the reproaches that were cast upon the emperor by the pope and his creatures, this expedition was by far the most successful of any that had been yet undertaken against the infidels (*l*).

VI. The expeditions that followed this were less important and also less successful. In the year 1239, Theobald VI. (*m*) count of Champagne and king of Navarre, set out from Marseilles for the Holy Land, accompanied by several French and German princes, as did also, the year following, Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. king of England. The issue of

(*l*) See the writers that have composed the History of the Holy Wars, and of the Life and Exploits of Frederic II. See also Muratori Annales Italiæ, and the various authors of the Germanic History.

(*m*) Dr. Mosheim calls him, by a mistake, Theobald V. unless we are to attribute this fault to an error of the press.

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these two expeditions was by no means answerable to the preparations which were made to render them successful. The former failed through the influence of the emperor's (*n*) ambassadors in Palestine, who renewed the truce with the Mahometans; while, on the other hand, a considerable body of Christians were defeated at Gaza, and such as escaped the carnage returned into Europe. This fatal event was principally owing to the discords that reigned between the templars and the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Hence it came to pass, that the arrival of Richard, which had been industriously retarded by Gregory IX. and which had revived, in some degree, the hopes of the vanquished, was ineffectual to repair their loss; and all that this prince could do was to enter, with the consent of the allies, into a truce upon as good conditions as the declining state of their affairs would admit of. This truce was accordingly concluded with the sultan of Egypt in the year 1241, after which Richard immediately set sail for Europe (*o*).

The expedition of Lewis IX.

VII. The affairs of the Christians in the east declined from day to day. Intestine discords and ill-conducted expeditions had reduced them almost to the last extremity, when Lewis IX. king of France, who was canonised after his death, and is still worshipped with the utmost devotion, attempted their restoration. It was in

 (*n*) Frederic II. who had still a great party in Palestine, and did not act in concert with the clergy and the creatures of his bitter enemy, Gregory IX. from which division the Christian cause suffered much.

(*o*) All these circumstances are accurately related and illustrated by the learned George Christ. Gebaverus, in his *Historia Richardi Imperatoris*, lib. i. p. 34.—It appears however by the *Epistolæ Petri de Vineis*, that Richard was created by Frederic II. his lord-lieutenant of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and this furnishes a probable reason why Gregory IX. used all possible means to retard Richard's voyage.

consequence of a vow, which this prince had made in the year 1248, when he was seized with a painful and dangerous illness, that he undertook this arduous task, and, in the execution of it, he set sail for Egypt with a formidable army and a numerous fleet, from a notion that the conquest of this province would enable him to carry on the war in Syria, and Palestine, with more facility and success. The first attempts of the zealous monarch were crowned with victory; for Damietta, that famous Egyptian city, yielded to his arms; but the smiling prospect was soon changed, and the progress of the war presented one uniform scene of calamity and desolation. The united horrors of famine and pestilence, overwhelmed the royal army, whose provisions were cut off by the Mahometans, in the year 1250; Robert, earl of Artois, the king's own brother, having surprised the Saracen army, and, through an excess of valour, pursued them too far, was slain in the engagement; and, a few days after, the king himself, with two more of his brothers (*p*), and the greatest part of his army, were taken prisoners in a bloody action, after a bold and obstinate resistance. This valiant monarch, who was endowed with true greatness of mind, and who was extremely pious, though after the manner that prevailed in this age of superstition and darkness, was ransomed at an immense price (*q*), and after having spent about

 (*p*) Alphonsus earl of Poitiers, and Charles earl of Anjou.

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

* See Collier's Eccles. Histor. Cent. xiii. vol. i. p. 456.

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four years in Palestine, returned into France, in the year 1254, with a handful of men (*r*), the miserable remains of his formidable army.

A second
crusade un-
dertaken by
the same
monarch.

VIII. No calamities could deject the courage nor damp the invincible spirit of Lewis; nor did he look upon his vow as fulfilled by what he had already done in Palestine. He therefore resolved upon a new expedition, fitted out a formidable fleet with which he set sail for Africa, accompanied by a splendid train of princes and nobles, and proposed to begin in that part of the world his operations against the infidels, that he might either convert them to the Christian faith, or draw from their treasures the means of carrying on more effectually the war in Asia. Immediately after his arrival upon the African coast, he made himself master of the fort of Carthage; but this first success was soon followed by a fatal change in his affairs. A pestilential disease broke out in the fleet, in the harbour of Tunis, carried off the greatest part of the army, and siezed, at length, the monarch himself, who fell a victim to its rage, on the 25th of August, in the year 1270 (*s*). Lewis was the last of the European princes that embarked in the holy war; the dangers and difficulties, the calamities and dis-

(*r*) Of 2800 illustrious knights, who set out with Lewis from France, there remained about a hundred when he sailed from Palestine. See Joinville's *Hist. de S. Louis IX.* p. 81.

(*s*) Among the various histories that deserve to be consulted for an ampler account of this last crusade, the principal place is due to the *Histoire de S. Louis IX. du nom, Roy de France, écrite par Jean Sr. de Joinville, enrichie de nouvelles Dissertations et Observations Historiques, par Charles du Fresne, Paris, 1668, Fol.* See also Filleau de la Chaize, *Histoire de S. Louis, Paris, 1688, 2 vol. in 8vo.*—Menconis *Chronicon, in Ant. Matthæi Analectis veteris ævi, tom. iii. p. 172. 179.*—Luc. Waddingi *Annales Minorum, tom. iv. p. 294. 307. et passim.*—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris, tom. iii. p. 212. 392. &c.*—Pierre Claude Fontenay, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane, tom. xi. p. 337. 405: 575.*

orders, and the enormous expenses that accompanied each crusade, disgusted the most zealous, and discouraged the most intrepid promoters of these fanatical expeditions. In consequence of this, the Latin empire in the east declined apace, notwithstanding the efforts of the Roman pontiffs to maintain and support it; and in the year 1291, after the taking of Ptolomais, or Acra, by the Mahometans, it was entirely overthrown (*t*). It is natural to inquire into the true causes that contributed to this unhappy revolution in Palestine; and these causes are evident. We must not seek for them either in the councils or in the valour of the infidels, but in the dissensions that reigned in the Christian armies, in the profligate lives of those, who called themselves the champions of the cross, and in the ignorance and obstinacy, the avarice and insolence of the pope's legates.

IX. Christianity as yet had not tamed the ferocity, nor conquered the pagan superstitions and prejudices, that still prevailed in some of the western provinces. Among others, the Prussians, a fierce and savage nation, retained still the idolatrous worship of their ancestors with the most obstinate perseverance; nor did the arguments and exhortations employed by the missionaries that were sent among them, from time to time, produce the least effect upon their stubborn and intractable spirits. The brutish firmness of these pagans induced Conrad, duke of Massovia, to have recourse to more forcible methods than reason and argument, in order to bring about their conversion. For this purpose, he addressed himself, in the year 1230, to the knights of the Teutonic order of St. Mary, who, after their expulsion from Pa-

Conversion
of the Prus-
sians.

(*t*) Ant. Matthæi *Analecta veteris ævi*, tom. v. p. 748.—
Jac. Echardi *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 422.—Imola
in *Dantem*, in *Muratori Antiq. Italicæ mediæ ævi*, tom. i. p.
1111, 1112.

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lestine, had settled at Venice, and engaged them, by pompous promises, to undertake the conquest and conversion of the Prussians. The knights accordingly arrived in Prussia, under the command of Herman de Saltza, and after a most cruel and obstinate war, of fifty years standing, with that resolute people, obliged them, with difficulty, to acknowledge the Teutonic order for their sovereigns, and to embrace the Christian faith (*u*). After having established Christianity, and fixed their own dominion in Prussia, these booted apostles made several excursions into the neighbouring countries, and particularly into Lithuania, where they pillaged, burned, massacred, and ruined all before them, until they forced the inhabitants of that miserable province to profess a feigned submission to the gospel, or rather to the furious and unrelenting missionaries, by whom it was propagated in a manner so contrary to its divine maxims, and to the benevolent spirit of its celestial author (*w*).

Of the
Arabians
in Spain.

X. In Spain the cause of the gospel gained ground from day to day. The kings of Castile, Leon, Navarre, and Arragon, waged perpetual war with the Saracen princes, who held still under their dominion the kingdoms of Valentia, Granada, and Murcia, together with the province of Andalusia; and this war was carried on with such success, that the Saracen dominion declined apace,

(*u*) See Matthæi *Analecta vet. ævi*, tom. iii. p. 18. tom. v. p. 684—689.—Petri de Duisburgh, *Chronicon Prussiæ*, published by Hartknochius at Jena, in the year 1679.—Christoph. Hartknochius, his *History of the Prussian Church*, written in the German language, book I. ch. i. p. 33. and *Antiquitates Prussiæ*, Diss. xiv. p. 201.—Baluzii *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 427. 478.—Waddingi, *Annales Minor.* tom. iv. p. 40. 63. Solognac, *Histoire de Pologne*, tom. ii. p. 238.

(*w*) Besides the authors mentioned in the preceding note, see Ludwegii *Reliquæ Manuscriptorum omnis ævi*, tom. i. p. 336.

and was daily reduced within narrower bounds, while the limits of the church were extended on every side. The princes that contributed principally to this happy revolution were Ferdinand, king of Leon and Castile, who, after his death, obtained a place in the Kalendar, his father Alphonsus IX. king of Leon, and James I. king of Arragon (*x*). The latter, more especially, distinguished himself eminently by his fervent zeal for the advancement of Christianity; for no sooner had he made himself master of Valentia, in the year 1236, than he employed, with the greatest pains and assiduity, every possible method of converting to the faith his Arabian subjects, whose expulsion would have been an irreparable loss to his kingdom. For this purpose he ordered the Dominicans, whose ministry he made use of principally in this salutary work, to learn the Arabic tongue; and he founded public schools at Majorca and Barcelona, in which a considerable number of youths were educated in a manner that might enable them to preach the gospel in that language. When these pious efforts were found to be ineffectual, the Roman pontiff Clement IV. exhorted the king to drive the Mahometans out of Spain. The obsequious prince followed the counsel of the inconsiderate pontiff; in the execution of which, however, he met with much difficulty, both from the opposition which the Spanish nobles made to it on the one hand, and from the obstinacy of the Moors on the other (*y*).

(*x*) See Joh. Ferreras, History of Spain, vol. iv.

(*y*) See Geddes, his History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes, in his Miscellaneous Tracts, vol. i. p. 26.

CHAPTER II.

*Concerning the Calamitous Events that happened to the Church during this Century.*CENT.
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happy state
of the
affairs
of the
Christians
in the east.

I. THE accounts we have already given of the conquests of the Tartars, and of the unhappy issue of the crusades, will be sufficient to give us a lively idea of the melancholy condition to which the Christians were reduced in Asia; and had the Saracens been infected with the same odious spirit of persecution that possessed the crusaders, there would not perhaps have remained a single Christian in that part of the world. But though these infidels were chargeable with various crimes, and had frequently treated the Christians in a rigorous and injurious manner, yet they looked with horror upon those scenes of persecution, which the Latins exhibited as the exploits of heroic piety, and considered it as the highest and most atrocious mark of cruelty and injustice to force unhappy men, by fire and sword, to abandon their religious principles, or to put them to death merely because they refused to change their opinions. After the destruction of the kingdom of Jerusalem, many of the Latins remained still in Syria, and retiring into the dark and solitary recesses of mount Liban, lived there in a savage manner, and lost, by degrees, all sense both of religion and humanity, as appears in the conduct and character of their descendants, who still inhabit the same uncultivated wilds, and who seem almost entirely destitute of all knowledge of God and religion (z).

(z) A certain tribe called Derusi, or Drusi, who inhabit the recesses of the mounts Liban and Antiliban, pretend to descend from the ancient Franks, who were once masters of Palestine. This derivation is, indeed, doubtful. It is however

II. The Latin writers of this age complain in many places of the growth of infidelity, of daring and licentious writers, some of whom attacked publicly the doctrines of Christianity, while others went so far as atheistically to call in question the perfections and government of the Supreme Being. These complaints, however they might have been exaggerated in some respects, were yet far from being entirely destitute of foundation; and the superstition of the times was too naturally adapted to create a number of infidels and libertines among men who had more capacity than judgment, more wit than solidity. Persons of this character, when they fixed their attention only upon that absurd system of religion, which the Roman pontiffs and their dependents exhibited as the true religion of Christ, and maintained by the odious influence of bloody persecution, were, for want of the means of being better instructed, unhappily led to consider the Christian religion as a fable invented and propagated by a greedy and ambitious priesthood, in order to fill their coffers, and to render their authority respectable. The philosophy of Aristotle, which flourished in all the European schools, and was looked upon as the very essence of right reason, contributed much to support this delusion, and to nourish a proud and presumptuous spirit of infidelity. This quibbling and intricate philosophy led many to reject some of the most evident and important doctrines both of natural and revealed religion, such as the doctrine of a divine providence governing the universe, the immortality of the soul, the scripture account of the origin of the world, and other points of less moment. These doctrines were not

certain that there still remain in these countries descendants of those, whom the holy war brought from Europe into Palestine; though they do very little honour to their ancestors, and have nothing of Christians but the name.

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Complaints
of infidelity
and atheism
among the
Latins.

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only rejected, but the most pernicious errors were industriously propagated in opposition to them, by a set of Aristotelians, who were extremely active in gaining proselytes to their impious jargon (a).

Frederic II.
accused of
impiety.

III. If the accusations brought against Frederic II. by the Roman pontiff Gregory IX. deserve any credit, that prince may be ranked among the most inveterate and malignant enemies of

(a) See *Sti. Thomæ Summa contra gentes*, and *Bernhardi Monetæ Summa contra Catharos et Waldenses*. This latter writer, in the work now mentioned, combats, with great spirit, the enemies of Christianity which appeared in his time. In the fourth chapter of the fifth book, p. 416. he disputes, in an ample and copious manner, against those who affirmed, that the soul perished with the body; refutes, in the eleventh chapter, p. 477. those Aristotelian philosophers, who held, that the world had existed from all eternity, and would never have an end; and, in the fifteenth chapter, p. 554. he attacks those, who despising the authority of the sacred writings, deny the existence of human liberty, and maintain that all things, and even the crimes of the wicked, are the effects of an absolute and irresistible necessity. Add to these authors, *Stephani Tempierii, Episcopi Parisiensis, Indiculus errorum, qui a nonnullis Magistris Lutetiæ publice privatimque docebantur, Anno 1277.* in *Bibliotheca Patrum Maxima*, tom. xxv. p. 233; as also *Boulay, Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 433. and *Gerard duBois, Hist. Eccles. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 501. The tenets of these doctors will, no doubt, appear of a surprising nature; for they taught, "that there was only one intellect among all the human race; that all things were subject to absolute fate or necessity; that the universe was not governed by a divine providence; that the world was eternal, and the soul mortal;" and they maintained these and such like monstrous errors, by arguments drawn from the philosophy of Aristotle. But, at the same time, to avoid the just resentment of the people, they held up, as a buckler against their adversaries, that most dangerous and pernicious distinction between theological and philosophical truth, which has been since used, with the utmost cunning and bad faith, by the more recent Aristotelians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. "These things, said they, (as we learn from Stephen Tempier) are true in philosophy, but not according to the catholic faith." *Vera sunt hæc secundum philosophum, non secundum fidem catholicam.*

the Christian religion, since he was charged by Gregory with having said, that the world had been deceived by three impostors, Moses, Christ, and Mahomet (*b*). This charge was answered by a solemn and public profession of his faith, which the emperor addressed to all the kings and princes of Europe, to whom also had been addressed the accusation brought against him by the pontiff. The accusation, however, was founded upon the testimony of Henry Raspon, landgrave of Thuringia, who declared that he had heard the emperor pronounce the abominable blasphemy above-mentioned (*c*). It is, after all, difficult to decide with sufficient evidence concerning the truth of this fact. Frederic, who was extremely passionate and imprudent, may, perhaps, in a fit of rage, have let some such expression as this escape his reflection, and this is rendered probable enough by the company he frequented, and the number of learned Aristotelians that were always about his person, and might suggest matter enough for such impious expressions, as that now under consideration. It was this affair that gave occasion, in after-times, to the invention of that fabulous account (*d*), which supposes the detestable book Concerning the three Impostors, to have been composed by the emperor himself; or, by Peter de Vineis, a native of Capua, a man of great credit and authority, whom that prince (*e*) had

(*b*) Matth. Paris, *Histor. Major.* p. 408. 459.—Petr. de Vineis *Epistolarum lib. i.*

(*c*) Herm. Gygantis *Flores Temporum*, p. 126.—Chr. Frid. Ayrmann *Sylloge Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 639.

(*d*) See Casim. Oudini *Comment. de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, tom. iii. p. 66.—Alb. Henr. de Sallengre, *Memoires d'Histoire et de Litterature*, tom. i. part I. p. 386.

(*e*) The book entitled *Liber de III Impostoribus, sive Tractatus de Vanitate Religionum*, is really a book which had no existence at the time that the most noise was made about it, and was spoken of by multitudes before it

chosen for his prime minister, and in whom he placed the highest confidence.

had been seen by any one person. Its supposed existence was probably owing to an impious saying of Simon of Tournay, doctor of divinity in the university of Paris in the thirteenth century, which amounts to this, "That the Jews were seduced out of their senses by Moses, the Christians by Jesus, and the Gentiles by Mahomet." This, or some expressions of a similar kind, were imputed to the emperor Frederic, and other persons, and that perhaps without any real foundation; and the imaginary book, to which they have given rise, has been attributed by different authors to Frederic, to his chancellor Peter de Vineis; to Alphonso, king of Castile; to Boccace, Pogge, the Aretins, Pomponace, Machiavel, Erasmus, Ochinus, Servetus, Rabelais, Giordano, Bruno, Campanella, and many others. In a word, the book was long spoken of before any such work existed; but the rumour that was spread abroad encouraged some profligate traders in licentiousness to compose, or rather compile a bundle of miserable rhapsodies, under the famous title of the Three Impostors, in order to impose upon such as are fond of these pretended rarities. Accordingly, the *Spaccio della Bestia Triomphante* of Giordano Bruno, and a wretched piece of impiety called the *Spirit of Spinoza*, were the ground-work of materials from whence these hireling compilers, by modifying some passages, and adding others, drew the book which now passes under the name of the Three Impostors, of which I have seen two copies in manuscript, but no printed edition. See *La Monnoye's Dissertation sur le Livre de III Imposteurs*, published at Amsterdam in 1715, at the end of the fourth volume of the *Menagiana*. See also an Answer to this Dissertation, which was impudently exposed to the public eye, in 1716, from the press of Scheurleer in the Hague, and which contains a fabulous story of the origin of the book in question. Whoever is desirous of a more ample and a very curious account of this matter, will find it in the late Prosper Merchand's *Dictionnaire Historique*, vol. ii. at the article *Impostoribus*.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the State of Learning and Philosophy during this Century.

I. THE Greeks, amidst the dreadful calamities, discords, and revolutions, that distracted and perplexed their unhappy country, had neither that spirit, nor that leisure, that are necessary to the culture of the arts and sciences. Yet, under all these disadvantages, they still retained a certain portion of their former spirit, and did not entirely abandon the cause of learning and philosophy, as appears by the writers that arose among them during this century. Their best historians were Nicetas, Choniates, Georgius Acropolita, Gregorius Pachymeres, and Joel, whose Chronology is yet extant. We learn from the writings of Gregory Pachymeres, and Nicephorus Blemmida, that the Peripatetic philosophy was not without its admirers among the Greeks; though the Platonic was most in vogue. The greatest part of the Grecian philosophers, following the example of the later Platonists, whose works were the subject of their constant meditation, inclined to reduce the wisdom of Plato, and the subtilties of the Stagirite into one system, and to reconcile, as well as they could, their jarring principles. It is not necessary to exhibit a list of those authors, who wrote the lives and discourses of the saints, or distinguished themselves in the controversy with the Latin church, or of those who employed

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their learned labours in illustrating the canon law of the Greeks. The principal Syrian writer, which this century produced, was Gregory Abul Farai, primate of the Jacobites, a man of true genius and universal learning, who was a judicious divine, an eminent historian, and a good philosopher (a). George Elmacin, who composed the history of the Saracens, was also a writer of no mean reputation.

The progress of learning in the west.

II. The sciences carried a fairer aspect in the western world, where every branch of erudition was cultivated with assiduity and zeal, and, of consequence, flourished, with increasing vigour, from day to day. The European kings and princes had learned, by a happy experience, how much the advancement of learning and arts con-

(a) See Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Abulpharage; as also Jos. Sim. Assemanni Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican. tom. ii. cap. xlii. p. 244.

 Abulpharagius, or Abul Farai, was a native of Malatia, a city in Armenia, near the source of the river Euphrates, and acquired a vast reputation in the east on account of his extensive erudition. He composed An Abridgment of Universal History, from the beginning of the world to his own times, which he divided into ten parts, or dynasties. The first comprehends the history of the ancient Patriarchs from Adam to Moses. The second, that of Joshua and the other judges of Israel. The third, fourth, fifth, and sixth, contain the history of the kings of Israel, of the Chaldean princes, of the Persian Magi, and of the Grecian Monarchs. The seventh relates to the Roman history; the eighth, to that of the Greek emperors of Constantinople. In the ninth he treats concerning the Arabian Commanders; and in the tenth, concerning the Moguls. He is more to be depended upon in his history of the Saracens and Tartars than in his accounts of other nations. The learned Dr. Edward Pocock translated this work into Latin, and published his translation in 1663; together with a supplement which carries on the history of the oriental princes, where Abul Farai left it. The same learned translator had obliged the public, in 1650, with an abridgment of the ninth dynasty under the following title: "Specimen Historiæ Arabum; sive Georgii Abulfaragii Malatiensis de Origine et Moribus Arabum succincta Narratio."

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

(*b*) Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. iii. p. 115. Giannone, Hist. de Naples, tom. ii. p. 497. Add to these the observations of Jo. Alb. Fabricius, Biblioth. Latin. medii ævi, tom. ii. p. 618.

(*c*) Nic. Antonii Bibliotheca vetus Hispan. lib. viii. c. v. p. 217. Jo. de Ferreras, Histoire d'Espagne, tom. iv. p. 347.

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The state of
the Euro-
pean aca-
demies.

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

(*d*) This arrangement was executed about the year 1260. See Du Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 557. 564.

rity (*e*). The college set apart for the study of divinity was first erected and endowed, in the year 1250, by an opulent and pious man, whose name was Robert de Sorbonne, a particular friend and favourite of St. Lewis, whose name was adopted, and is still retained by that theological society (*f*).

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

The acad-
demical
course.

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

(*f*) See Du Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. iii. p. 223.*—Du Fresne's *Annotations upon the life of St. Lewis*, written by Joinville, p. 36.

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in the preceding century, by the professors of law in the academy of Bologna, and, in this century, it was transmitted to that of Paris, where it was first practised by the divinity-colleges, and afterwards by the professors of physic and of the liberal arts. In this account of the trial and installation of the professors of Paris, we may perceive the origin of what we now call academical degrees, which, like all other human institutions, have degenerated sadly from the wise ends for which they were at first appointed, and grow more insignificant from day to day (*g*).

The state of
literature or
humanity.

V. These public institutions, consecrated to the advancement of learning, were attended with remarkable success; but that branch of erudition, which we call humanity, or polite literature, derived less advantage from them than the other sciences. The industrious youth either applied themselves entirely to the study of the civil and canon laws, which was a sure path to preferment, or employed their labours in philosophical researches, in order to the attainment of a shining reputation, and of the applause that was lavished upon such as were endowed with a subtle and metaphysical genius. Hence the bitter complaints that were made by the pontiffs and other bishops, of the neglect and decline of the liberal arts and sciences; and hence also the zealous, but unsuccessful efforts they used to turn the youth from jurisprudence and philosophy, to the study of humanity and philology (*h*). Notwithstanding

(*g*) Besides the writers abovementioned, see Jo. Chr. Itterus, *De Gradibus Academicis*.—Just. Henn. Bohmeri *Præf. ad Jus Canonicum*, p. 14.—Ant. Wood *Antiquit. Oxoniens. tom. i. p. 24*.—Boulay, *Histor. Academ. Paris. tom. ii. p. 256. 682. 684, &c.*

(*h*) Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. iii. p. 265*. where there is an epistle of Innocent III. who seems to take this matter seriously to heart.—Ant. Wood *Antiq. Oxon. tom. i. p. 124*.—Imola in *Dantem in Muratori Antiquit. Ital. medii ævi, tom. i. p. 1262*.

all this, the thirteenth century produced several writers, who were very far from being contemptible, such as Guil. Brito (*i*), Gualtherus Mapes (*k*), Matthew of Vendosme, Alain de l'Isle (*l*), Guntherus, Jacobus de Vitriaco, and several others, who wrote with ease, and were not altogether destitute of elegance. Among the historians, the first place is due to Matthew Paris, a writer of the highest merit, both in point of knowledge and prudence, to whom we may add Rodericus Ximenius, Rigordus (*m*), Vincent of Beauvais, Robert of St. Marino (*n*), Martinus, a native of Poland, Gervais of Tilbury (*o*), Conrad of Lichtenau, Gulielmus Nangius, whose names are worthy of being preserved from oblivion. The writers who have laboured to transmit to posterity the lives and exploits of the saints, have rather related the superstitions and miseries of the times than the actions of these holy men. Among these biographers, James of Vitri, mentioned above, makes the greatest figure; he also composed a History of the Lombards, that is full of insipid and trifling stories (*p*).

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

(*k*) *Jo. Wolfii Lectiones Memorabil.* tom. i. p. 430.

(*l*) Called in Latin, Alanus de Insulis.

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

(*n*) See *Le Boeuf, Memoires pour l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. p. 490. where there is also a learned account of Vincent of Beauvais, p. 494.

(*o*) Jervais of Tilbury was nephew to Henry II. king of England, and was in high credit with the emperor Otho IV. to whom he dedicated a description of the world and a Chronicle, both of which he had himself composed. He wrote also a History of England, and one of the Holy Land, with several treatises upon different subjects.

(*p*) See *Schellhornii Amœnitates Litterariæ*, tom. xi. p. 324.

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The study
of the Greek
and Oriental
languages.

VI. Roger Bacon (*q*), John Balbi, and Robert Capito, with some other learned men, whose number was but inconsiderable, applied themselves to the study of Greek literature. The Hebrew language and theology were much less cultivated; though it appears that Bacon and Capito, already mentioned, and Raymond Martin, author of an excellent treatise, entitled, *Pugio Fidei Christianæ*, or, *The Dagger of the Christian Faith*, were extremely well versed in that species of erudition. Many of the Spaniards, and more particularly the Dominican Friars, made themselves masters of the Arabian learning and language, as the kings of Spain had charged the latter with the instruction and conversion of the Jews and Saracens who resided in their dominions (*r*). As to the Latin Grammarians, the best of them were extremely barbarous and insipid, and equally destitute of taste and knowledge. To be convinced of this, we have only to cast an eye upon the productions of Alexander de Villa Dei, who was looked upon as the most eminent of them all, and whose works were read in almost all the schools from this period until the sixteenth century. This pedantic Franciscan composed, in

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

(*r*) See Rich. Simon's *Lettres Choises*, tom. iii. p. 112.—
Nic. Antonii *Bibliotheca vetus Hispanica*.

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

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

The state of
philosophy.

(*s*) Franc. Patricii *Discussiones Peripateticæ*, tom. i. lib. xi. p. 145. Jo. Launoïus, *de varia Aristot. fortuna in Acad. Parisiensi*, cap. i. p. 127. ed. Elswich. It is commonly reported, that the books of Aristotle here mentioned, were translated from Arabic into Latin. But we are told positively, that these books were brought from Constantinople, and translated from Greek into Latin. See Rigordus, *De gestis Philippi regis Francorum ad A. 1209.* in Andr. Chesnii *Script. Histor. Franc.* p. 119.

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

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

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

(*w*) Nat. Alexander. *Select. Histor. Eccles. Capita.* tom. viii. cap. iii. sect. 7. p. 76.

(*x*) Petr. de Vineis *Epistolar.* lib. iii. ep. lxxvii. p. 503. This epistle is addressed "ad magistros et scholares Bononienses," *i. e.* "to the masters and scholars of the academy of Bologna;" but it is more than probable, that the emperor sent letters upon this occasion to the other European schools. It is a common opinion, that this learned prince had all the works of Aristotle, that were then extant, translated into Latin about the year 1220; but this cannot be deduced from the letter abovementioned, nor from any other sufficient testimony that we know of.

was still farther augmented by the translations, which were made of some of the books of the Grecian sage by several Latin interpreters, such as Michael Scot, Philip of Tripoly, William Fleming, and others; though these men were quite unequal to the task they undertook, and had neither such knowledge of the languages, nor such an acquaintance with philosophy, as were necessary to the successful execution of such a difficult enterprise (*y*).

VIII. The Aristotelian philosophy received the very last addition that could be made to its authority and lustre, when the Dominican and Franciscan friars adopted its tenets, taught it in their schools, and illustrated it in their writings. These two mendicant orders were looked upon as the chief depositaries of all learning, both human and divine; and were followed, with the utmost eagerness and assiduity, by all such as were ambitious of being distinguished from the multitude by their superior knowledge. Alexander Hales, an English Franciscan, who taught philosophy at Paris, and acquired, by the strength of his metaphysical genius, the title of the Irrefragable Doctor (*z*), and Albert the Great, a German of the Dominican order, and bishop of Ratisbon, a man of vast abilities, and an universal dictator at this time (*a*), were the two first emi-

Thomas Aquinas and others adopt and maintain the Aristotelian system.

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

(*z*) See Lucæ Waddingi *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 233. —Du Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 200. 673.

(*a*) Jo. Alb. Fabricii *Bibliotheca Latina medii ævi*, tom. i. p. 113.

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nent writers who illustrated, in their learned productions, the Aristotelian system. But it was the disciple of Albert, Thomas Aquinas, the Angelic Doctor, and the great luminary of the scholastic world, that contributed most to the glory of the Stagirite (*b*), by inculcating, illustrating, and enforcing his doctrines, both in his lectures and in his writings; and principally by engaging one of his learned colleagues to give, under his inspection, a new translation of the works of the Grecian sage, which far surpassed the former version in exactness, perspicuity, and elegance (*c*). By these means the philosophy of Aristotle, notwithstanding the opposition of several divines, and even of the Roman pontiffs themselves, who beheld its progress with an unfriendly eye, triumphed in all the Latin schools, and absorbed all the other systems that had flourished before this literary revolution.

The limits
of science
are extended
by several
eminent
men.

IX. There were, however, at this time in Europe several persons of superior genius and penetration, who, notwithstanding their veneration for Aristotle, thought the method of treating philosophy, which his writings had introduced, dry, inelegant, and proper to confine and damp

(*b*) The Dominicans maintain, that this Angelic Doctor was the disciple of Albert the Great, and their opinion seems to be founded in truth. See Antoine Touron, *Vie de St. Thomas*, p. 99. The Franciscans, however, maintain as obstinately, that Alexander Hales was the master of Thomas. See Waddingii *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 133.

(*c*) It has been believed by many, that William de Moerbeka, a native of Flanders, of the Dominican order, and archbishop of Corinth, was the author of the new Latin translation of the works of Aristotle, which was carried on and finished under the auspicious inspection of Thomas Aquinas. See J. Echard, *Scriptores Dominican.* tom. i. p. 338. Casim. Oudinus, *Comm. de Scriptor. Eccles.* tom. iii. p. 468. Jo. Franc. Foppens *Bibliotheca Belgica*, tom. i. p. 416. Others, however, suppose, though indeed with less evidence, that this translation was composed by Henry Koshein, who was also a Dominican. See Echard, *Script. Dominic.* tom. i. p. 469.

the efforts of the mind in the pursuit of truth, and who, consequently, were desirous of enlarging the sphere of science by new researches and new discoveries (*d*). At the head of these noble adventurers we may justly place Roger Bacon, a Franciscan friar, of the English nation, known by the appellation of the admirable doctor, renowned on account of his most important discoveries, and who, in the progress he had made in natural philosophy, mathematics, chemistry, the mechanic arts, and the learned languages, soared far beyond the genius of the times (*e*).

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

(*e*) That Bacon deserves this high rank in the learned world appears evidently from his book, entitled *Opus Majus*, which was dedicated to the Roman pontiff, Clement IV. and which Doctor Jebb published at London in 1733, from a manuscript which still exists in the university of Dublin, enriching it with a learned preface and a considerable number of judicious observations. The other works of Bacon, which are very numerous, lie as yet for the most part concealed in the libraries of the curious. For a farther account of this eminent man, see Wood *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 136.—*Waddingi Annales Minor.* tom. iv. p. 264. tom. v. p. 51.—*Thom. Gale ad Jambicium de Mysteriis Ægyptior.* p. 235. *General Hist. and Crit. Dictionary*, at the article Bacon.

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With him we may associate Arnold of Villa Nova, whose place of nativity is fixed by some in France, by others in Spain, and who acquired a shining reputation by his knowledge in chemistry, poetry, philosophy, languages, and physic (*f*); as also Petrus de Abano, a physician of Padua, who was surnamed the Reconciler, from a book he wrote with a design to terminate the dissensions and contests that reigned among the philosophers and physicians (*g*), and who was profoundly versed in the sciences of philosophy, astronomy, physic, and mathematics (*h*). It must, however, be observed, to the eternal dishonour of the age, that the only fruits which these great men enjoyed of their learned labours, and their noble, as well as successful, efforts for the advancement of the arts and sciences, were the furious clamours of an enraged and superstitious multitude, who looked upon them as heretics and magicians, and thirsted so eagerly after their blood, that they escaped with difficulty the hands of the public executioner. Bacon was confined many years to a loathsome prison; and the other two were, after their death, brought before the tribunal of the inquisition, and declared worthy of being committed to the flames for the novelties they had introduced into the republic of letters.

X. The state of theology, and the method of teaching and representing the doctrines of Chris-

The study
of law and
physic.

(*f*) See Nic. Antonii Biblioth. vetus Hispan. tom. ii. lib. ix. c. i. p. 74.—Pierre Joseph, Vie d'Arnaud de Ville Neuve, Aix, 1719.—Niceron, Memoires des Hommes illustres, tom. xxxiv. p. 82.—Nicol. Eymerici Directorium Inquisitorum, p. 282. where, among other things, we have an account of his errors.

(*g*) This book was entitled, Conciliator Differentiarum Philosophorum et Medicorum.

(*h*) There is a very accurate account of this philosopher given by Joh. Maria Mazzuchelli Notizie Storiche e Critiche intorno alla Vita di Pietro d' Abano, in Angeli Calogerae Opusculi Scientifici et Philologici, tom. xxiii. p. i.—liv.

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

(*i*) See Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 98.

(*k*) Gerh. a Mastricht, *Historia Juris Ecclesiastici*, sect. 353. p. 384.—Jo. Chiflet, *De Juris utriusque Architectis*, cap. vi. p. 60.—Echard et Quetif, *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 106.—*Acta Sanctor.* Antwerp. tom. i. Januarii ad d. vii. p. 404.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Doctors and Ministers of the Church, and its Form of Government during this Century.

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The corrup-
tion of the
clergy.

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

And of the
Roman pontiff.

II. The history of the popes presents a lively and horrible picture of the complicated crimes that dishonoured the ministers of the church, who were peculiarly obliged, by their sacred office, to exhibit to the world distinguished models

(*l*) See the remarkable letter of the Roman pontiff, Gregory IX. to the archbishop of Bourges, which was written in the year 1227, with a design to reprove and reform the vices which had infested all the various orders of the clergy, and which is published by Dion. Sammarthanus, in his *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. in Append. p. 21.—See also Du Fresne, *Annotat. in Vitam Ludovici Sti.* p. 99.

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

(*m*) As a specimen of this, the reader may peruse the letters of Innocent III. and the emperor Otho IV. which have been collected by the learned George Christ. Gebaur, in his History of the Emperor Richard, written in German, p. 611—614. Other princes, and more especially the kings of England and France, displayed, in the defence of their rights and privileges, the same zeal that animated Otho.

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

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

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

(*n*) Many examples of this may be taken from the history of this century. See Steph. Baluzii Miscellan. tom. vii. p. 443. 466. 470. 488. 491. 493.—Gallia Christiana, tom. i. p. 69. Append.—Luc. Waddingi Annal. Minor. in Diplom.—Wood, Antiquit. Oxon. tom. i. p. 148. 201, 202.

(*o*) See the Epistle of Innocent IV. in Baluz. Miscellan. tom. vii. p. 468.

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

IV. The legates, whom the pontiffs sent into the provinces, to represent their persons, and execute their orders, imitated perfectly the avarice and insolence of their masters. They violated the privileges of the chapters; disposed of the smaller, and sometimes of the more important ecclesiastical benefices, in favour of such as had gained them by bribes, or such like considerations (*r*);

The authority of the pope's legates.

(*p*) Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 659. and principally tom. iv. p. 911.

(*q*) *Idem.* ib. p. 389.

(*r*) See Baluzii *Miscellanæ*, tom. vii. p. 437. 475. 480, &c.

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extorted money from the people, by the vilest and most iniquitous means; seduced the unwary by forged letters and other stratagems of that nature; excited tumults among the multitude, and were, themselves, the ringleaders of the most furious and rebellious factions; carried on, in the most scandalous manner, the impious traffic of relics and indulgences, and distinguished themselves by several acts of profligacy still more heinous than the practices now mentioned. Hence we find the writers of this age complaining unanimously of the flagitious conduct and the enormous crimes of the pope's legates (*s*). Nay, we see the Roman pontiff Alexander IV. enacting, in the year 1256, a severe law against the avarice and frauds of these corrupt ministers (*t*), which, however, they easily evaded, by their friends and their credit at the court of Rome.

The wealth and revenues of the pontiffs augmented.

V. From the ninth century to this period, the wealth and revenues of the pontiffs had not received any considerable augmentation; but at this time they were vastly increased under Innocent III. and Nicolas III. partly by the events of war, and partly by the munificence of kings and emperors. Innocent was no sooner seated in the papal chair, than he reduced under his jurisdiction the præfect of Rome, who had hitherto been considered as subject to the emperor, to whom he had taken an oath of allegiance in entering upon his office. He also seized upon Ancona, Spoleto, Assisi, and several cities and for-

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

(*t*) This edict is published by Lami, in his *Deliciæ Eruditorum*, tom. ii. p. 300.

tresses, which had, according to him, been unjustly alienated from the patrimony of St. Peter (*u*). On the other hand, Frederic II. who was extremely desirous that the pope should espouse his quarrel with Otho IV. loaded the Roman see with the richest marks of his munificence and liberality, and not only made a noble present in valuable lands to the pope's brother (*w*), but also permitted Richard, count of Fundi, to leave, by will, all his possessions to the Roman see (*x*), and confirmed the immense donation that had formerly been made to it by the opulent Matilda. Such was the progress that Innocent III. made, during his pontificate, in augmenting the splendour and wealth of the church. Nicolas IV. followed his example with the warmest emulation, and, in the year 1278, gave a remarkable proof of his arrogance and obstinacy, in refusing to crown the emperor Rodolphus I. before he had acknowledged and confirmed, by a solemn treaty, all the pretensions of the Roman see, of which, if some were plausible, the greatest part were altogether groundless, or, at least, extremely dubious. This agreement, to which all the Italian princes, that were subject to the emperor, were obliged to accede, was no sooner concluded, than Nicolas reduced under his temporal dominion several cities and territories in Italy, that had formerly been annexed to the imperial crown, particularly Romania and Bologna. It was therefore under these two pontiffs, that the see of Rome arrived, partly by force, and partly by artifice, at that high degree of grandeur

(*u*) See Franc. Pagi Breviar. Romanor. Pontif. tom. iii. p. 161.—Muratorii Antiq. Italicæ, tom. i. p. 328.

(*w*) This brother of the pontiff was called Richard. See for an account of this transaction, Muratorii's Antiquitat. Italicæ, tom. v. p. 652.

(*x*) Odor. Raynaldus, Continuat. Annal. Baronii, ad a. 1212. sect. ii.

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The tyrannic pontificate of Innocent III. proved by several examples.

and opulence, which it yet maintains in our times (*y*).

VI. Innocent III. who remained at the head of the church until the year 1216, followed the steps of Gregory VII. and not only usurped the despotic government of the church, but also claimed the empire of the world, and thought of nothing less than subjecting the kings and princes of the earth to his lordly sceptre. He was a man of learning and application; but his cruelty, avarice, and arrogance (*z*) clouded the lustre of any good qualities which his panegyrists have thought proper to attribute to him. In Asia and Europe, he disposed of crowns and sceptres with the most wanton ambition. In Asia, he gave a king to the Armenians: in Europe, he usurped the same extravagant privilege in the year 1204, and conferred the regal dignity upon Primislaus, duke of Bohemia (*a*). The same year he sent to Johanicus, duke of Bulgaria and Walachia, an extraordinary legate, who, in the name of the pontiff, invested that prince with the ensigns and honours of royalty, while, with his own hand, he crowned Peter II. of Arragon, who had rendered his dominions subject and tributary to the church, and saluted him publicly at Rome, with the title of King (*b*). We omit many other examples of this frenetic pretension to universal empire, which might be produced from the letters of this arrogant pontiff, and many other acts of despotism, which Europe beheld with astonishment, but, also, to its eternal reproach, with the ignominious silence of a passive obedience.

(*y*) See Raynaldus, loc. cit. ad a. 1278, sect. 47.

(*z*) See Matth. Paris, *Histor. Major*, p. 206. 230.

(*a*) Other historians affirm, that it was the emperor Philip, that conferred the royal dignity upon Primislaus, in order to strengthen his party against Otho.

(*b*) Muratorii *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. vi. p. 116. Jo. de Ferrara, *Histoire d'Espagne*, tom. iv. p. 8.

VII. The ambition of this pope was not satisfied with the distribution and government of these petty kingdoms. He extended his views farther, and resolved to render the power and majesty of the Roman see formidable to the greatest European monarchs, and even to the emperors themselves. When the empire of Germany was disputed, towards the commencement of this century, between Philip, duke of Swabia, and Otho IV. third son of Henry Lion, he espoused, at first, the cause of Otho, thundered out his excommunications against Philip, and, upon the death of the latter, which happened in the year 1209, he placed the imperial diadem upon the head of his adversary. But as Otho was, by no means, disposed to submit to this pontiff's nod, or to satisfy to the full his ambitious desires, he incurred, of consequence, his lordly indignation; and Innocent, declaring him, by a solemn excommunication, unworthy of the empire, raised in his place Frederic II. his pupil, the son of Henry VI. and king of the two Sicilies, to the imperial throne in the year 1212 (c). The same pontiff excommunicated Philip Augustus, king of France, for having dissolved his marriage with Ingerburg, a princess of Denmark, and espoused another in her place; nor did he cease to pursue this monarch with his anathemas, until he engaged him to receive the divorced queen, and to restore her to her lost dignity (d).

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VIII. But of all the European princes none felt, in so dishonourable and severe a manner, the despotic fury of this insolent pontiff as John, surnamed Sans Terre, king of England. This

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

(d) Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 8. Daniel, *Histoire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 475. Gerhard du Bois, *Histor. Eccles. Paris*, tom. ii. p. 204—257.

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prince, opposed vigorously the measures of Innocent, who had ordered the monks of Canterbury to choose Stephen Langton, a Roman cardinal of English descent, archbishop of that see, notwithstanding the election of John de Gray to that high dignity, which had been regularly made by the convent, and had been confirmed by royal authority (*e*). The pope, after having consecrated Langton at Viterbo, wrote a soothing letter in his favour, to the king, accompanied with four rings, and a mystical comment upon the precious stones with which they were enriched. But this present was not sufficient to avert the just indignation of the offended monarch, who sent a body of troops to drive out of the kingdom the monks of Canterbury, who had been engaged by the pope's menaces to receive Langton as their archbishop. The king also declared to the pontiff, that, if he persisted in imposing a prelate upon the see of Canterbury, in opposition to a regular election already made, the consequences of such presumptuous obstinacy would, in the issue, prove fatal to the papal authority in England. Innocent was so far from being terrified by this menacing remonstrance, that, in the year 1208, he sent orders to the bishops of London, Worcester, and Ely, to lay the kingdom under an interdict, in case the monarch refused to yield and to receive Langton. John, alarmed at this terrible menace, and unwilling to break entirely with the pope, declared his readiness to confirm the elec-

 (*e*) Dr. Mosheim passes lightly over this rupture between king John and Innocent III. mentioning in a few lines the interdict under which England was laid by that pontiff, the excommunication he issued out against the king's person, and the impious act by which he absolved the English from their allegiance. The translator, however, thought this event of too great importance to be treated with such brevity, and has, therefore, taken the liberty to enlarge considerably this eighth section, which contains but eleven lines in the original.

tion made at Rome; but, in the act that was drawn up for this purpose, he wisely threw in a clause to prevent any interpretation of this compliance, that might be prejudicial to his rights, dignity, and prerogative. This exception was rejected, and the interdict was proclaimed. A stop was immediately put to divine service; the churches were shut; the administration of all the sacraments was suspended except that of baptism; the dead were buried in the highways without the usual rites or any funeral solemnity. But, notwithstanding this interdict, the Cistercian order continued to perform divine service, and several learned and respectable divines, among which were the bishops of Winchester, and Norwich, protested against the injustice of the pope's proceedings.

The interdict not producing the effects that were expected from it, the pontiff proceeded to a still farther degree of severity and presumption, and denounced a sentence of excommunication against the person of the English monarch. This sentence, which was issued out in the year 1208, was followed about three years after by a bull, absolving all his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and ordering all persons to avoid him, on pain of excommunication. But it was in the year 1212, that Innocent carried his impious tyranny to the most enormous length, when, assembling a council of cardinals and prelates, he deposed John, declared the throne of England vacant, and wrote to Philip Augustus, king of France, to execute this sentence, to undertake the conquest of England, and to unite that kingdom to his dominions for ever. He, at the same time, published another bull, exhorting all Christian princes to contribute, whatever was in their power, to the success of this expedition, promising such as seconded Philip in this grand enterprise, the same indulgences that were granted

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to those who carried arms against the infidels in Palestine. The French monarch entered into the views of the Roman pontiff, and made immense preparations for the invasion of England. The king of England, on the other hand, assembled his forces, and was putting himself in a posture of defence, when Pandulf, the pope's legate, arrived at Dover, and proposed a conference, in order to prevent the approaching rupture, and to conjure the storm. This artful legate terrified the king, who met him at that place, with an exaggerated account of the armament of Philip on the one hand, and of the disaffection of the English on the other; and persuaded him that there was no possible way left of saving his dominions from the formidable arms of the French king, but that of putting them under the protection of the Roman see. John, finding himself in such a perplexing situation, and full of diffidence both in the nobles of his court and in the officers of his army, complied with this dishonourable proposal, did homage to Innocent, resigned his crown to the legate, and received it again as a present from the see of Rome, to which he rendered his kingdoms tributary, and swore fealty as a vassal and feudatory (*f*). In the act by which he resigned, thus scandalously, his kingdoms to the papal jurisdiction, he declared that he had neither been compelled to this measure by fear nor by force; but that it was his own voluntary deed, performed by the advice and with the consent of the barons of his kingdom. He obliged himself and his heirs to pay an annual sum of seven hundred marks for England, and

(*f*) For a full account of this shameful ceremony, see Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*, p. 189. 192. 195. As also, Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 67. Rapin Thoyras, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, tom. ii. p. 304.

three hundred for Ireland, in acknowledgment of the pope's supremacy and jurisdiction; and consented that he or such of his successors as should refuse to pay the submission, now stipulated, to the see of Rome, should forfeit all their right to the British crown (*g*). "This shameful ceremony " was performed," says a modern historian (*h*), " on Ascension-day, in the house of the Templars at Dover, in the midst of a great concourse of people, who beheld it with confusion and indignation. John, in doing homage to the pope, presented a sum of money to his representative, which the proud legate trampled under his feet, as a mark of the king's dependence. Every spectator glowed with resentment, and the archbishop of Dublin exclaimed aloud against such intolerable insolence. Pandulf, not satisfied with this mortifying act of superiority, kept the crown and sceptre five whole days, and then restored them as a special favour of the Roman see. John was despised before this extraordinary resignation; but now he was looked upon as a contemptible wretch, unworthy to sit upon a throne: while he himself seemed altogether insensible of his disgrace."

IX. Innocent III. was succeeded in the pontificate by Concio Savelli, who assumed the title of Honorius III. ruled the church above ten years, and whose government, though not signalized by such audacious exploits as those of his predecessor, discovered, nevertheless, an ardent zeal for maintaining the pretensions, and supporting the despotism, of the Roman see. It was in

Honorius
III.

 (*g*) Cadet a jure regni, is the expression used in the charter of resignation, which may be seen at length in the Hist. Major of Matthew Paris.

 (*h*) See the Complete History of England, by Dr. Smollett, vol. i. p. 437.

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consequence of this zeal that the new pontiff opposed the measures, and drew upon him the indignation of Frederic II. that magnanimous prince, on whose head he himself had placed, in the year 1220, the imperial crown. This spirited prince, following the steps of his illustrious grandfather, had formed the resolution of confirming the authority and extending the jurisdiction of the emperors in Italy, of depressing the small states of Lombardy, and reducing to narrower limits the immense credit and opulence of the pontiffs and bishops; and it was with a view to the execution of these grand projects, that he deferred the fulfilling of the solemn vow, by which he had engaged himself to march a formidable army against the infidels in Palestine. The pontiff, on the other hand, urged, with importunity, the emperor's departure, encouraged, animated, and strengthened, by secret succours, the Italian states that opposed his pretensions, and resisted the progress of his power by all the obstacles which the most fertile invention could suggest. These contests, however, had not, as yet, brought on an open rupture.

The calamities that arose from the ambition of Gregory IX.

X. In the year 1227, Hugolinus, bishop of Ostia, whose advanced age had not extinguished the fire of his ambition, nor diminished the firmness and obstinacy of his spirit, was raised to the pontificate, assumed the title of Gregory IX. and kindled the feuds and dissensions, that had already secretly subsisted between the church and the empire, into an open and violent flame. No sooner was he placed in the papal chair, than, contrary to all justice and order, he excommunicated the emperor for putting off his expedition against the Saracens another year; though that delay was manifestly owing to a fit of sickness, which seized that prince when he was ready to embark for Palestine. In the year 1228, Frede-

ric at last set out and arrived in the Holy Land; but, instead of carrying on the war with vigour, as we have had already occasion to observe, he entered into a truce with Saladin, and contented himself with the recovery of Jerusalem. The pretended vicar of Christ, forgetting (or rather unwilling to persuade himself) that his master's kingdom was not of this world; made war upon the emperor in Apuglia during his absence (*i*), and used his utmost efforts to arm against him all the European powers. Frederic, having received information of these perfidious and violent proceedings, returned into Europe in the year 1229, defeated the papal army, retook the places he had lost in Sicily and in Italy, and the year following made his peace with the pontiff, from whom he received a public and solemn absolution. This peace, however, was but of a short duration; nor was it possible for the emperor to bear the insolent proceedings, and the imperious temper of Gregory. He therefore broke all measures with that headstrong pontiff, distressed the states of Lombardy that were in alliance with the see of Rome, seized upon the island of Sardinia, which Gregory looked upon as a part of his spiritual patrimony, and erected it into a kingdom for his son Entius. These, with other steps that were equally provoking to the avarice and ambition of Gregory, drew the thunder of the Vatican anew upon the emperor's head in the year 1239. Frederic was excommunicated publicly with all the circumstances of severity that vindictive rage could invent, and was charged with the most flagitious crimes, and the most impious blasphemies,

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

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by the exasperated pontiff, who sent a copy of this terrible accusation to all the courts of Europe. The emperor, on the other hand, defended his injured reputation by solemn declarations in writing, while, by his victorious arms, he avenged himself of his adversaries, maintained his ground, and reduced the pontiff to the greatest straits. To get rid of these difficulties, the latter convened, in the year 1240, a general council at Rome, with a view to depose Frederic by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals and prelates, that were to compose that assembly. But the emperor disconcerted that audacious project by defeating, in the year 1241, a Genoese fleet, on board of which the greatest part of these prelates were embarked, and by seizing, with all their treasures, these reverend fathers, who were all committed to close confinement. This disappointment, attended with others which gave an unhappy turn to his affairs, and blasted his most promising expectations, dejected and consumed the despairing pontiff, and contributed probably to the conclusion of his days, which happened soon after this remarkable event (*k*).

anocent
IV.

XI. Geoffry, bishop of Milan, who succeeded Gregory IX. under the title of Celestine IV. died before his consecration, and, after a vacancy of twenty months, the apostolic stool was filled by Sinabald, one of the counts of Fiesque, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1243,

(*k*) Besides the original and authentic authors collected by Muratori, in his *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, and the German and Italian historians, few or none of whom are absolutely void of partiality in their accounts of these unhappy contests between the empire and the papacy, see Petrus de Viniis, *Epistol. lib. i.* and Matth. Paris, *Historia Major*. Add to these Reynaldi *Annal.*—Muratori *Annal. Italiae*, tom. vii. et *Antiquit. Italic.* tom. iv. p. 325. 517. It must however be observed, that this branch of history stands yet in need of farther illustrations.

assumed the denomination of Innocent IV. and yielded to none of his predecessors in arrogance and fury (*l*). His elevation, however, offered at first a prospect of peace, as he had formerly been attached to the interests of the emperor, and accordingly the conferences were opened, and a reconciliation was proposed; but the terms offered by the new pope were too imperious and extravagant, not to be rejected with indignation by the emperor (*m*). Hence it was that Innocent, not thinking himself safe in any part of Italy, set out from Genoa, the place of his birth, for Lyons in the year 1244, and assembling there a council the following year, deposed, in their presence, though not with their approbation, the emperor Frederic, and declared the imperial throne vacant (*n*). This unjust and insolent measure was regarded with such veneration, and looked upon as so weighty by the German princes, seduced and blinded by the superstition of the times, that they proceeded instantly to a new election, and raised first, Henry, landgrave of Thuringia, and after his death, William, count of Holland, to the head of the empire. Frederic, whose firm and heroic spirit, supported without dejection these cruel vicissitudes, continued to carry on the war in Italy, until a violent dysentery ended his days in Apulia, the 13th of December, 1250. Upon the death of his formidable and magnanimous adversary, Innocent returned into

(*l*) See Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*. ad a. 1254. p. 771.

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

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

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Italy (*o*), hoping now to enjoy with security the fruits of his ambition. It was principally from this period, that the two famous factions, called Guelphs and Ghibelines, of which the latter espoused the cause of the emperors, and the former that of the pontiffs, involved all the Italian states in the most fatal dissensions, though their origin is much earlier than this century (*p*).

Alexander
IV.

XII. Raynald, count of Segni, and bishop of Ostia, was raised to the pontificate after the death of Innocent, in the year 1254, and is distinguished in the list of the popes by the name of Alexander IV. During the six years and six months that he governed the see of Rome, his time was less employed in civil affairs, than in regulating the internal state of the church, if we except the measures he took for the destruction of Conradin, grandson of Frederic II. and for composing the tumults that had so long reigned without interruption in Italy. The mendicant friars, in particular, and among them the Dominicans and Franciscans, were much favoured by this pontiff, and received several marks of his peculiar bounty.

Urban IV.

He was succeeded in the Roman see, A. D. 1261, by Urban IV. a native of Troyes, of obscure birth, who, before his elevation to the pontificate, was patriarch of Jerusalem, and after that period was more distinguished by his instituting the Festival of the body of Christ, than by any other circumstance in the course of his reign. He had, indeed, formed several important projects, but their execution was prevented by his death, which happened in the year 1264, after a short

(*o*) Besides the writers already mentioned, see Nicol. de Currio, Vita Innocentii IV. in Baluzii Miscellan. tom. vii. p. 353.

(*p*) See Muratori Dissertat. de Guelphis et Ghibellinis, in his Antiq. Ital. medii ævi, tom. iv. p. 606.

reign of three years. His successor Gui Fulcodi, or Clemens IV. a native of France, and bishop of Sabino, who was raised to the see of Rome in the year 1265, did not enjoy much longer that high dignity. His name, however, makes a greater figure in history, and was rendered famous in many respects, and more especially by his conferring the kingdom of Naples upon Charles of Anjou, brother to Lewis IX. king of France. The consequences of this donation are well known, and the fate of Conradin, the last descendant of Frederic II. who, after an unfortunate battle fought against Charles, was publicly beheaded by the barbarous victor, if not by the counsel, yet certainly with the consent, of the Roman pontiff, are well known to such as have the smallest acquaintance with the history of these unhappy times.

XIII. Upon the death of Clement IV (*q*), Gregory X. there arose warm and vehement contests among the cardinals concerning the election of a new pontiff. These debates, which kept the Roman see vacant during the space of three years, were at length terminated in favour of Theald, or Thibald, a native of Placentia, and archbishop of Liege, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1271, and assumed the title of Gregory X (*r*). This devout ecclesiastic was in the Holy Land when he received the news of his election; and, as he had been an eye-witness of the miserable condition of the Christians in that country, he had nothing so much at heart as the desire of contributing to their relief. Hence it was, that, immediately after his consecration, he summoned a council to meet at Lyons, in the year 1274, in

(*q*) Which happened in the year 1268.

(*r*) The records of this election are published by Luc. Waddingus, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 330.

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which the relief and maintenance of the Christians in Palestine, and the re-union of the Greek and Latin churches, were the two great points that were to come principally under deliberation. This assembly is acknowledged as the fourteenth general council, and is rendered particularly remarkable by the new regulations that were introduced into the manner of electing the Roman pontiff, and more especially by the famous law, which is still in force, and by which it was enacted, that the cardinal electors should be shut up in the conclave during the vacancy of the pontificate. With respect to the character and sentiments of the new pope we shall only observe, that though he seemed to be actuated by a milder spirit than many of his predecessors, yet he inculcated, without the least hesitation, that odious maxim of Gregory VII. that declared the bishop of Rome the lord of the world, and, in a more especial manner, of the Roman empire. It was in consequence of this presumptuous system, that in the year 1271, he wrote an imperious and threatening letter to the German princes, in which, deaf to the pretensions and remonstrances of Alphonsus, king of Castile (*s*), he ordered them to elect an emperor without delay, assuring them, that if they did not do it immediately, he would do it for them. This letter produced the designed effect; an electoral diet was assembled at Frankfurt, and Rodolphus, count of Hapsburg, was raised to the imperial throne.

 (*s*) Alphonsus, king of Castile, had been elected emperor in the year 1256, by the archbishop of Trier, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the king of Bohemia, in opposition to Richard, duke of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. king of England, who was at the same time raised to the same dignity by the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, the count palatine of the Rhine, and the duke of Bavaria.

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

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Innocent V.
Adrian V.
John XXI.
Nicolas III.

XV. He was succeeded in the year 1281, about six months after his departure from this life, by Simon de Brie, who adopted the name of Martin IV. and was not inferior to Nicolas III. in ambition, arrogance, and constancy of mind, of which he gave several proofs during his pontificate. Michael Palæologus, the Grecian emperor, was one of the first princes, who was solemnly ex-

Martin IV.
Nicolas IV.

 (*t*) We read in the Latin Adrian VI. which is more probably an error of the press than a fault of the author.

 (*u*) In the original, Dr. Mosheim observes, that these three successors of Gregory were elected and carried off by death in the year 1276; but here he has fallen into a slight mistake; for John XXI. died the 16th of May, 1277.

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communicated by this audacious priest, and that, under the pretext of his having broken the peace that had been concluded between the Greek and Latin churches, at the council of Lyons (*w*). The same insult was committed against Peter, king of Arragon, whom Martin not only excluded from the bosom of the church, but also deposed from his throne, on account of his attempt upon Sicily, and made a grant of his kingdom, fiefs, and possessions to Charles, son of Philip the Bold (*x*), king of France. It was during the execution of such daring enterprises as these, and while he was meditating still greater things for the glory of the Roman hierarchy, that a sudden death, in the year 1285, obliged him to leave his schemes unfinished. They were, however, prosecuted with great spirit by his successor, James Saveli, who chose the denomination of Honorius IV. but was also stopt short, in the midst of his career, in the year 1287, having ruled the church only two years. Jerome d'Ascoli, bishop of Palæstrina, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1288, and is known by the name of Nicolas IV. distinguished himself, during the four years that he remained at the head of the church, by his assiduous application both to ecclesiastical and political affairs. Sometimes we see the disputes of sovereign powers left to his arbitration, and terminated by his decision; at other times, we find him maintaining the pretensions and privileges of the church with the most resolute zeal and the most obstinate perseverance; at other times, again, we see him employing, with the utmost assiduity, every probable method of propagating the gospel among the

(*w*) This council had been held under the pontificate of Gregory X.

(*x*) Philippe le Hardi, as he is called by the French.

Tartars and other eastern nations. But the object which, of all others, occupied most the thoughts of this vigilant and zealous pontiff, was the desperate state of the Christians in Palestine, who were now reduced to the greatest extremities of misery and weakness. His laborious efforts were therefore employed for the restoration of their former grandeur; they were however employed in vain, and his death, which happened in the year 1292, disconcerted all the projects he had formed for that purpose.

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

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pleasure of seeing their advice followed with the utmost docility. The good man resigned his dignity, the fourth month after his election, and died in the year 1296, in the castle of Fumone, where his tyrannic and suspicious successor kept him in captivity, that he might not be engaged, by the solicitations of his friends, to attempt the recovery of his abdicated honours. His memory was precious to the virtuous part of the church, and he was elevated to the rank of a saint by Clement V. It was from him that the branch of the Benedictine order, called Celestines, and which yet subsists in France and Italy, derived its origin (*y*).

Boniface
VIII.

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

(*y*) Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. vi. p. 180.

(*z*) The reasons they alleged for disputing the title of Boniface to the pontificate were, that the resignation of Celestine was not canonical, and moreover, that it was brought about by fraudulent means.

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

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

(*a*) There is a history of this pontiff written by Jo. Rubeus, a Benedictine monk, whose work, which is entitled *Bonifacius VIII. e familia Cajetanorum principum Romanus pontifex*, was published at Rome, in the year 1651, in 4to.

(*b*) In this account of the popes, I have chiefly followed Daniel Papebroch, Francis Pagi, and Muratori, in his *Annales Italiæ*, consulting at the same time the original sources collected by the last mentioned author in his *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*.

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

Several of
the monas-
tic institu-
tions sup-
pressed.

XIX. Of the religious societies that arose in this century some are now entirely suppressed, while others continue to flourish, and are in high repute at this present time. Among the former we may reckon the Humiliate (a title expressive of great humility and self-abasement), whose origin may be traced to a much earlier period than the present century, though their order was confirmed and new modelled by Innocent III. who subjected it to the rule of St. Benedict. These humble monks became so shockingly licentious in process of time, that, in the year 1571, Pope Pius V. was obliged to dissolve their society (c). We may also place in the list of the suppressed monasteries the Jacobins, who were

(c) Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vi. p. 152.

erected into a religious order by Innocent III (*d*), and who, in this very century, not long after the council of Lyons, were deprived of their charter; the Vallischoles, or scholars of the valley, so called from their being instituted by the scholars, *i. e.* the four professors of divinity in the university of Paris, and from a deep vale in the province of Champagne in which they assembled and fixed their residence in the year 1234 (*e*). This society, whose foundation was laid about the commencement of this century, was formerly governed by the rule of St. Augustine, but is now incorporated into the order of the regular canons of St. Genievieve. To the same class belong the order of the blessed Virgin Mary the mother of Christ, which had its commencement in the year 1266, and was suppressed in 1274 (*f*); the Knights of Faith and Charity, who undertook to disperse the bands of robbers that infested the public roads in France, and who were favoured with the peculiar protection and approbation of Gregory IX (*g*); the Hermits of St. William duke of Aquitaine (*h*); not to mention the Brethren of the Sack, the Bethlehemites, and other orders of inferior note, that started up in this century, which, of all others, was the most remarkable for the number and variety of monastic establishments, that date their origin from it (*i*).

(*d*) Matth. Paris, Hist. Major. p. 161.

(*e*) Boulay, Histor. Acad. Paris. tom. iii. p. 15.—Acta Sanct. Mens. Februar. tom. ii. p. 482.

(*f*) Dion. Sammarthani Gallia Christiana, tom. i. p. 653.

(*g*) Gallia Christ. tom. i. Append. p. 165.—Martene, Voyage Litter. de deux Benedictins, tom. ii. p. 23.

(*h*) Jo. Bollandi De ordine Eremitar, S. Guilielmi Comm. in actis SS. Februar. tom. ii. p. 472.

(*i*) Matth. Paris, Hist. Major. p. 815. edit. Watts, where speaking of the prodigious number of convents that were founded in England during this century, he expresseth himself thus: "Tot jam apparuerunt ordines in Anglia, ut ordinum confusio videretur inordinata."

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The con-
vents that
still subsist.

XX. Among the convents that were founded in this century, and still subsist, the principal place is due to that of the Servites, *i. e.* the servants of the Blessed Virgin, whose order was first instituted, A. D. 1233, in Tuscany, by seven Florentine merchants, and afterwards made a great progress under the government of Philip Benizi, its chief. This order, though subjected to the rule of St. Augustine, was, nevertheless, erected in commemoration of the most holy widowhood of the Blessed Virgin; for which reason its monks wear a black habit (*k*), and observe several rules unknown to other monasteries. The prodigious number of Christians, that were made prisoners, by the Mahometans in Palestine, gave rise, towards the conclusion of the twelfth century, to the institution of the order, entitled, The Fraternity of the Trinity, which, in the following age, received a still greater degree of stability, under the pontificate of Honorius III. and also of his successor Clement IV. The first founders of this institution were John de Matha, and Felix de Valois, two pious men who led an austere and solitary life at Cerfroy, in the diocese of Meaux, which is still the seat of the principal convent of the order. The monks of this society are called the Brethren of the Holy Trinity, because all their churches are solemnly dedicated to that profound mystery; they are also styled Mathurins, from their having a monastery at Paris, erected in a place where there is a chapel consecrated to St. Mathurin, and Brethren of the Redemption of Captives (*l*), because the grand design of their in-

(*k*) Besides the ordinary writers of the Monastic History, see Pauli Florentini Dialog. de origine Ordinis Servorum, in Lamii Deliciis eruditorum, tom. i. p. 1—48.

(*l*) Broughton and some other writers make a distinction between the Order of the Redemption of Captives, and the Fraternity, or Brethren of the Holy Trinity. They

stitution was to find out means for restoring liberty to the Christian captives in the Holy Land, in which charitable work they are obliged to employ the third part of their revenue. Their manner of life was, at first, extremely abstemious and austere; but its austerity has been from time to time considerably mitigated by the indulgence and lenity of the pontiffs (*m*).

XXI. The religious society that surpassed all the rest in the purity of its manners, the extent of its fame, the number of its privileges, and the multitude of its members, was that of the Mendicant, or begging friars, whose order was first established in this century, and who, by the tenor of their institution, were to remain entirely destitute of all fixed revenues and possessions. The present state and circumstances of the church rendered the establishment of such an order absolutely necessary. The monastic orders, who wallowed in opulence, were, by the corrupting influence of their ample possessions, lulled in a luxurious indolence. They lost sight of all their

The mendicant order.

allege, that the latter order was instituted at Rome by St. Philip Neri, in the year 1548, about 350 years after the first establishment of the former; and that the monks who composed it were obliged, by their vow, to take care of the pilgrims who resorted from all parts of the world to Rome, to visit the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul.

(*m*) Beside Helyot and the other writers of the monastic History, see Toussaint de Plessis, *Hist. de l'Eglise de Meaux*, tom. i. p. 172. and 566. Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. ii. p. 523. Ant. Wood, *Antiq. Oxoniens*, tom. i. p. 133. In the ancient records, this society is frequently styled the Order of Asses, on account of the prohibition of the use of horses, which made a part of their rule, and which obliged the mendicant monks to ride upon asses. See Car. du Fresne's *Notes upon Joinville's Life of St. Lewis*, p. 81. But at present, through the indulgence of the Roman pontiffs, they are permitted to make use of horses when they find them necessary. An order of the same kind was instituted in Spain, in the year 1228, by Paul Nolasco, under the title of the Order of St. Mary for the Redemption of Captives. See the *Acta Sanctorum Januar.* tom. ii. p. 980.

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religious obligations, trampled upon the authority of their superiors, suffered heresy to triumph unrestrained, and the sectaries to form assemblies in several places; in short, they were incapable of contributing in any respect to promote the true interests of the church, and abandoned themselves, without either shame or remorse, to all manner of crimes. On the other hand, the enemies of the church, the various sects which had left its communion, followed certain austere rules of life and conduct, which formed a strong contrast between them and the religious orders, and contributed to render the licentiousness of the latter still more offensive and shocking to the people. These sects maintained that voluntary poverty was the leading and essential quality in a servant of Christ, obliged their doctors to imitate the simplicity of the apostles, reproached the church with its overgrown opulence, and the vices and corruptions of the clergy that flowed from thence as from their natural source, and by this commendation of poverty and contempt of riches, acquired a high degree of respect, and gained a prodigious ascendancy over the minds of the multitude. All this rendered it absolutely necessary to introduce into the church a set of men, who, by the austerity of their manners, their contempt of riches, and the external gravity and sanctity of their conduct and maxims, might resemble the doctors, who had gained such reputation to the heretical sects, and who might be so far above the allurements of worldly profit and pleasure, as not to be seduced, by the promises or threats of kings and princes, from the performance of the duties they owed to the church, or from persevering in their subordination to the Roman pontiffs. Innocent III. was the first of the popes who perceived the necessity of instituting such an order; and, accordingly, he gave such monastic societies as made a

profession of poverty the most distinguishing marks of his protection and favour. They were also encouraged and patronized by the succeeding pontiffs, when experience had demonstrated their public and extensive usefulness. But when it became generally known, that they had such a peculiar place in the esteem and protection of the rulers of the church, their number grew to such an enormous and unwieldy multitude, and swarmed so prodigiously in all the European provinces, that they became a burthen, not only to the people, but to the church itself.

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XXII. The great inconveniency that arose from the excessive multiplication of the mendicant orders, was remedied by Gregory X. in a general council which he assembled at Lyons, in the year 1272. For here all the religious orders, that had sprung up after the council held at Rome, in the year 1215, under the pontificate of Innocent III. were suppressed, and the extravagant multitude of mendicants, as Gregory called them, were reduced to a smaller number, and confined to the four following societies, or denominations, viz. the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Carmelites, and the Hermits of St. Augustin (*n*). The Carmelite order, which had been instituted in Palestine during the preceding century, was, in this, transplanted into Europe, and in the year 1226, was favoured by pope Honorius III. with a place among the monastic societies, which enjoyed the protection and approbation of the church. The Hermits of St. Augustin had for their

(*n*) Concil. Lugd. II. A. 1274. Can. xxiii. in Jo. Harduini Conciliis, tom. vii. p. 715. Importuna potentium inhiatio religionum (so were the religious orders entitled) multiplicatorem extorsit, verum etiam aliquorum præsumptuosa temeritas diversorum ordinum, præcipue Mendicantium—effrænatam multitudinem adinvenit—Hinc ordines Mendicantes post dictum concilium (*i. e.* the council of Lateran held in 1215) adinventos—perpetuæ prohibitioni subijcimus.

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founder Alexander IV. (o) who, observing that the Hermits were divided into several societies, some of which followed the maxims of the famous William, others the rule of St. Augustin, while others again were distinguished by different denominations, formed the wise project of uniting them all into one religious order; and subjecting them to the same rule of discipline, even that which bears the name of St. Augustin. This project was put in execution in the year 1256.

Attracts the
veneration
and esteem
of the public.

XXIII. As the pontiffs allowed these four Mendicant orders the liberty of travelling wherever they thought proper, of conversing with persons of all ranks, of instructing the youth and the multitude wherever they went; and, as these monks exhibited, in their outward appearance and manner of life, more striking marks of gravity and holiness than were observable in the other monastic societies, they arose all at once to the very summit of fame, and were regarded with the utmost esteem and veneration throughout all the countries of Europe. The enthusiastic attachment to these sanctimonious beggars went so far, that, as we learn from the most authentic records, several cities were divided, or cantoned out, into four parts, with a view to these four orders: the first part was assigned to the Dominicans; the second, to the Franciscans; the third, to the Carmelites; and the fourth, to the Augustinians. The people were unwilling to receive the sacraments from any other hands than those of the Mendicants, to whose churches they crowded to perform their devotions, while living, and were extremely desirous to deposit there also their remains after death; all which occasioned grievous complaints among the ordinary priests, to

(o) This edict of Pope Alexander IV. is to be found in the new edition of the Bullarium Romanum, tom. i. p. 110.—See also Acta Sanctor. Mens. Februar. tom. ii. p. 472.

whom the cure of souls was committed, and who considered themselves as the spiritual guides of the multitude. Nor did the influence and credit of the Mendicants end here; for we find in the history of this and of the succeeding ages, that they were employed, not only in spiritual matters, but also in temporal and political affairs of the greatest consequence, in composing the differences of princes, concluding treaties of peace, concerting alliances, presiding in cabinet-councils, governing courts, levying taxes, and other occupations, not only remote from, but absolutely inconsistent with the monastic character and profession.

XXIV. We must not however imagine, that all the Mendicant friars attained to the same degree of reputation and authority; for the power of the Dominicans and Franciscans surpassed greatly that of the other two orders, and rendered them singularly conspicuous in the eyes of the world. During three centuries, these two fraternities governed, with an almost universal and absolute sway, both state and church, filled the most eminent posts ecclesiastical and civil, taught in the universities and churches with an authority, before which all opposition was silent, and maintained the pretended majesty and prerogatives of the Roman pontiffs against kings, princes, bishops, and heretics, with incredible ardour and equal success. The Dominicans and Franciscans were, before the Reformation, what the Jesuits have been since that happy and glorious period, the very soul of the hierarchy, the engines of the state, the secret springs of all the motions of the one and the other, and the authors or directors of every great and important event both in the religious and political world. Dominic, a Spaniard by birth, a native of the village of Calaroga, descendant of the illustrious house of Gusman,

The Domi-
nicans.

and regular canon of Osma, a man of a fiery and impetuous temper, and vehemently exasperated by the commotions and contests which the heretics of different denominations had excited in the church, set out for France with a few companions, in order to combat the sectaries, that were multiplied in that kingdom. This enterprise he executed with the greatest vigour, and, we may add, fury, attacking the Albigenses and the other enemies of the church with the power of eloquence, the force of arms, the subtilty of controversial writings, and the terrors of the inquisition, which owed its form to this violent and sanguine priest. Passing from thence into Italy, he was honoured by the Roman pontiffs Innocent III. and Honorius III. with the most distinguished marks of their protection and favour; and, after many labours in the cause of the church, obtained from them the privilege of erecting this new fraternity, whose principal design was the extirpation of error, and the destruction of heretics. The first rule which he adopted for the new society was that of the Canons of St. Augustin, to which he added several austere precepts and observances. But he afterwards changed the discipline of the canons for that of the monks; and, holding a chapter of the order at Bologna in the year 1220, he obliged the brethren to take a vow of absolute poverty, and to abandon entirely all their revenues and all their possessions. He did not live long enough to see the consequences of this reformation, for he died the year following at Bologna (*p*). His monks were, at

(*p*) See Jac. Echard. and Quetif in *Scriptoribus Ord. Dominic.* tom. i. p. 84.—*Acta Sanctor.* April. tom. iii. p. 872.—*Nicol. Jansenii Vita S. Dominici*, Antwerp, 1622. in 8vo. Add to these the long list of writers mentioned by Fabricius, in his *Bibliotheca Lat. Med. Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 137. and also Antonii Bremondi *Bullarium Ordinis Dominicani*, published some years ago at Rome.

first, distinguished by the denomination of preaching friars, because public instruction was the main end of their institution; but were afterwards called Dominicans after their founder (*r*). [Just before his death, Dominic sent Gilbert de Fresney with twelve of the brethren into England, where they founded their first monastery at Oxford in the year 1221, and soon after, another at London. In the year 1276, the mayor and aldermen of the city of London gave them two whole streets by the river Thames, where they erected a very commodious convent, whence that place is still called Black-friars, for so the Dominicans were called in England.]

XXV. Francis, the founder of the famous order that bears his name, was the son of a merchant of Assisi, in the province of Umbria, and a young man who led, for some time, a most debauched and dissolute life. Upon his recovery from a severe fit of sickness, which was the consequence and punishment of his licentious conduct, he changed his method of living, and, as extremes are natural to men of warm imaginations, fell into an extravagant kind of devotion, that looked less like religion than alienation of mind. Some time after this (*s*), he happened to be in a church, where he heard that passage of the scriptures repeated, in which Christ addresses his apostles in the following manner: "Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses,

The Fran-
ciscans.

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

(*s*) In the year 1208.

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nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves, for the workman is worthy of his meat (*t*).” This produced a powerful effect upon his mind, made him consider a voluntary and absolute poverty as the essence of the gospel and the soul of religion, and prescribe this poverty as a sacred rule both to himself and to the few that followed him. Such was the commencement of the famous Franciscan order, whose founder and chief was, undoubtedly, a pious and well-meaning man, though grossly ignorant, and manifestly weakened in his intellect by the disorder from which he had but lately recovered. Nevertheless the new society, which appeared to Innocent III. extremely adapted to the present state of the church, and proper to restore its declining credit, was solemnly approved and confirmed by Honorius III. in the year 1223, and had already made a considerable progress when its devout founder was called from this life in the year 1226. Francis, through an excessive humility, would not suffer the monks of his order to be called Fratres, i. e. brethren, or friars, but Fraterculi, i. e. little brethren, or friars-minors (*u*), by which denomination they still continue to be distinguished (*w*). The Franciscans came into

(*t*) Matthew x. 9, 10.

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

(*w*) Bonaventure wrote a life of St. Francis, which has passed through several editions. But the most ample and circumstantial accounts of this extraordinary man are given by Luke Wadding, in the first volume of his *Annal. Minorum*, which contains a complete history of the Franciscan order, confirmed by a great number of authentic records, and the best edition of which is that published at Rome in 1731, and the following years, in eighteen volumes in folio, by Joseph Maria Fonseca ab Eboræ. It is to the same Wadding that we are obliged for the *Opuscula Sti. Francisci*, and the *Bibliotheca Ordinis Minorum*, the former of which was published in 4to. at Antwerp, in the year 1623, and the latter at Rome,

England in the reign of Henry III. and their first establishment was at Canterbury.

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

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The eminent services rendered to the Roman pontiffs by the Dominicans and Franciscans.

in 4to. likewise, in 1650. The other writers, who have given accounts of the Franciscan order, are mentioned by Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Bibliotheca Lat. Medii Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 573.

(*x*) The popes were so infatuated with the Franciscans, that those whom they could not employ more honourably in their civil negotiations or domestic affairs, they made their publicans, beadles, &c. See, for a confirmation of this, the following passages in the *Histor. Major. of Matthew Paris*: ‘*Fratres minores et prædicatores (says he) invitos, ut credimus, jam suos fecit dominus papa, non sine ordinis eorum læsione et scandalo, telonarios et bedellos,*’ p. 634.—‘*Non cessavit papa pecuniam aggregare, faciens de Fratibus prædicatoribus et minoribus, etiam invitis, non jam piscatoribus hominum, sed nummorum,*’ p. 639. Cons. p. 662. 664.—‘*Erant Minores et Prædicatores magnatum consiliatores et nuntii, etiam domini papæ secretarii: nimis in hoc gratiam sibi secularem comparantes;*’ ad an. 1236. p. 354.—‘*Facti sunt eo tempore Prædicatores et Minores regum consiliarii et nuntii speciales, ut sicut quondam mollibus induti in domibus regum erant, ita tunc qui vilibus vestiebantur, in domibus, cameris, et palatiis essent principum:*’ ad an. 1239. p. 465.

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they received from the pontiffs, of preaching to the multitude, hearing confession, and pronouncing absolution, without any licence from the bishops, and even without consulting them; to which we may add the treasure of ample and extensive indulgences, whose distribution was committed by the popes to the Franciscans, as a mean of subsistence, and a rich indemnification for their voluntary poverty (*y*). These acts of liberality and marks of protection, lavished upon the Dominican and Franciscan friars with such an ill-judged profusion, as they overturned the ancient discipline of the church, and were a manifest encroachment upon the rights of the first and second orders of the ecclesiastical rulers, produced the most unhappy and bitter dissensions between the Mendicant orders and the bishops. And these dissensions, extending their contagious influence beyond the limits of the church, excited throughout all the European provinces, and even in the city of Rome (*z*), under the very eye of the pontiffs, the most dreadful disturbances and tumults. The measures taken by the popes to appease these tumults were various, but ineffectual; because their principal view was to support the cause of their faithful servants and creatures, the Mendicant friars, and to maintain them in the possession of their honours and advantages (*a*).

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

(*z*) Baluzii Miscellan. tom. vii. p. 441.

(*a*) See Jô. Launoii Explicata Ecclesiæ Traditio circa Canonem omnis utriusque Sexus, tom. i. part. I. Opp. p. 247.—Rich. Simon, Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccle-

XXVII. Among all the controversies which were maintained by the Mendicants, whether against the bishops, abbots, schools, or other religious orders, none was so famous, as that which arose, in the year 1228, between the Dominicans and the university of Paris, and was prolonged, with various success, until the year 1259. The Dominicans claimed, as their unquestionable right, two theological classes in that celebrated university, one of which had been taken from them, and an academical law passed, that no religious order should have what the Dominicans demanded. These latter, however, persisted obstinately in reclaiming the professorship they had lost; while the doctors of the university, perceiving the restless and contentious spirit that animated their efforts, excluded them from their society, and formed themselves into a separate body. This measure was considered as a declaration of war, and, accordingly, the most vehement commotions arose between the contending parties. The debate was brought before the tribunal of the Roman pontiff in the year 1255; and the decision, as might well have been expected, was in favour of the monks. Alexander IV. ordered the university of Paris not only to restore the Dominicans to their former place in that learned society, but moreover to make a grant to them of as many classes or professorships as they should think proper to demand. This unjust and despotic sentence was opposed by the university with the utmost vigour, and thus the contest was renewed with double fury. But the magistrates of Paris were, at length, so terrified and over-

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The dispute
between
the Domi-
nicans and
the univer-
sity of Paris.

siastiques, par M. du Pin, tom. i. p. 326. Lenfant, Histoire du Concile de Pise, tom. i. p. 310. tom. ii. p. 8.—Echardi *Scriptores Dominicani*, tom. i. p. 404. The circumstances of these flaming contests are mentioned by all the writers, both of this and the following centuries.

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whelmed with the thundering edicts and formidable mandates of the exasperated pontiff, that, in the year 1259, they yielded to superior force, and satisfied the demands not only of the Dominican, but also of the Franciscan order, in obedience to the pope, and to the extent of his commands (*b*). Hence arose that secret enmity, that silent ill-will, which prevailed so long between the university of Paris and the Mendicant orders, especially the Dominicans, and which are not yet entirely extinguished.

The Dominicans meet with a formidable adversary.

XXVIII. In this famous debate none pleaded the cause of the university with greater spirit, and asserted its rights with greater zeal and activity, than Guillaume de St. Amour, doctor of the Sorbonne, a man of true genius, worthy to have lived in better times, and capable of adorning a more enlightened age. This vigorous and able champion attacked the whole Mendicant tribe in various treatises with the greatest vehemence, and more especially in a book Concerning the Perils of the latter Times. He maintained publicly, that their discipline was in direct opposition to the precepts of the gospel; and that, in confirming and approving it, the popes had been guilty of temerity, and the church was become chargeable with error (*c*). What gave occasion to the remarkable title of this famous book was the author's being entirely persuaded that the prophecy of St. Paul, relating to the perilous times that were to come in the last days (*c*), was fulfilled in the esta-

(*b*) See Cæs. Egass. du Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 138. 240. 244. 248. 266, &c.—Jo. Cordesii, or (to mention him by the name he assumes) Jo. Alitophili, *Præf. Histor. et Apologetica ad Opera Guilielmi de S. Amore*.—Antoine Touron, *Vie de S. Thomas*, p. 134.—Waddingi *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 247. 366. tom. iv. p. 14. 52. 106. 263.—Matth. Paris, *Histor. Major. ad an. 1228*, & *Nangis Chronicon.* apud Dacherium; *Spicilegii*, tom. iii. p. 38.

(*c*) 2 Timothy iii. 1.

blishment of the Mendicant friars. This notion St. Amour maintained in the warmest manner, and proved it, principally from the book called the Everlasting Gospel, which was explained publicly by the Dominicans and Franciscans, and of which we shall have occasion to speak more fully hereafter. The fury and resentment of the Mendicants were therefore kindled in a peculiar manner against this formidable adversary, whom they persecuted without interruption, until, in the year 1256, Alexander VI. ordered his book to be publicly burnt, and banished its author out of France, lest he should excite the Sorbonne to renew their opposition to these ghostly beggars. St. Amour submitted to the papal edict, and retired into the Franche Comte, which was the place of his birth; but, under the pontificate of Clement IV. he returned to Paris, where he illustrated the tenets of his famous book, in a more extensive work, and died universally esteemed and regretted by all ranks and orders of men, except the Mendicants (*e*).

(*e*) The doctors of the university of Paris profess still a high respect for the memory of St. Amour, esteem his book, and deny obstinately that he was ever placed in the list of heretics. The Dominicans, on the contrary, consider him as a heretic of the first magnitude, if we may use that expression. Such of his works as could be found were published in 4to. in the year 1632, at Paris (though the title bears Constantiæ) by Cordesius, who has prefixed to them a long and learned preface, in which he defends the reputation and orthodoxy of St. Amour in a triumphant manner. This learned editor, to avoid the resentment and fury of the Mendicants, concealed his real name, and assumed that of Jo. Alitophilus. This did not, however, save his book from the vengeance of these friars, who obtained from Lewis XIII. in the year 1633, an edict for its suppression, which Touron, a Dominican friar, has published in his *Vie de St. Thomas*, p. 164.—For a farther account of the life of this famous doctor, see Wadding, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 366.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 266.—*Nat. Alex. Hist. Eccles. Sæc. xiii. cap. iii. art. vii.* p. 95.—Rich. Simon, *Critique de la Biblioth. Eccles. de M. Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 345.

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

XXIX. While the pontiffs accumulated upon the Mendicants the most honourable distinctions, and the most valuable privileges which they had to bestow, they exposed them still more and more to the envy and hatred of the rest of the clergy; and this hatred was considerably increased by the audacious arrogance that discovered itself every where in the conduct of these supercilious orders. They had the presumption to declare publicly, that they had a divine impulse and commission to illustrate and maintain the religion of Jesus; they treated with the utmost insolence and contempt all the different ranks and orders of the priesthood; they affirmed, without a blush, that the true method of obtaining salvation was revealed to them alone, proclaimed with ostentation the superior efficacy and virtue of their indulgences, and vaunted, beyond measure, their interests at the court of heaven, and their familiar connexions with the Supreme Being, the Virgin Mary, and the saints in glory. By these impious wiles, they so deluded and captivated the miserable and blinded multitude, that they would not entrust any others but the Mendicants with the care of their souls, their spiritual and eternal concerns (*f*). We may give as a specimen of these notorious frauds, the ridiculous fable, which the Carmelites impose upon the credulous, relating to Simon Stockius, the general of their order, who died about the beginning of this century. To this ecclesiastic, they tell us, that the Virgin Mary appeared, and gave him a solemn promise, that the souls of such as left the world with the Carmelite cloak or scapulary upon their shoulders, should be infallibly preserved from eternal dam-

(*f*) See Matth. Paris, ad a. 1246, *Histor. Major.* p. 607. 630, &c.

nation (*g*). And here let it be observed to the astonishment of all, in whom the power of superstition has not extinguished the plainest dictates of common sense, that this fiction, ridiculous and impious as it was, found patrons and defenders even among the pontiffs (*h*).

XXX. It is however certain, that the Mendicant orders, though they were considered as the main pillars of the hierarchy, and the principal supports of the papal authority, involved the pontiffs, after the death of Dominic and Francis, in many perplexities and troubles, which were no sooner dispelled, than they were unhappily renewed; and thus the church was often reduced to a state of imminent danger. These tumults and perplexities began with the contests between the Dominicans and Franciscans about pre-eminence, in which these humble monks loaded each other with the bitterest invectives and the severest accusations, both in their writings and their discourse, and opposed each other's interests with all the fury of disappointed ambition. Many schemes were formed, and various measures were employed, for terminating these scandalous dissensions; but the root of the evil still remained, and the flame was rather covered than extinguished (*i*). Besides this, the Franciscans were early divided among themselves, and split into several factions, which

Contests
between the
Dominicans
and Francis-
cans.

(*g*) See Jo. Launoii Lib. de Viso Stockii Oper. tom. ii. part. II. p. 379.—Acta Sanctor. tom. iii. Mensis Maii ad diem xvi.—Theoph. Rainaudi Scapulare Marianum, tom. vii. opp. p. 614.

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

(*i*) See the Alcoran des Cordeliers, tom. i. p. 256. 266. 278, &c. Luc. Waddingi Annales Minor. tom. iii. p. 380.

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gathered strength and consistence from day to day, and not only disturbed the tranquillity of the church, but struck at the supreme jurisdiction and prerogatives of the Roman pontiffs. And whoever considers with attention the series of events that happened in the Latin church from this remarkable period, will be fully convinced that the Mendicant orders, whether through imprudence or design we shall not determine, gave several mortal blows to the authority of the church of Rome, and excited in the minds of the people those ardent desires of a reformation in the church, which produced, in after-times, such substantial and such glorious effects.

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

XXXI. The occasion of these intestine divisions among the Franciscans was a dispute about the precise meaning of their rule. Their founder and chief had made absolute poverty one of their indispensable obligations. The religious orders before his time were so constituted, that, though no single monk had any personal property, yet the whole community, considered as one collective body, had possessions and revenues, from whence each individual drew the means of his subsistence. But the austere chief of the Franciscans absolutely prohibited both separate and collective property to the monks of his order; and neither the individual nor the community were permitted to possess either fund, revenue, or any worldly goods (*k*). This injunction appeared so severe to several of the Friars minors, that they took the liberty to dispense with it as soon as their founder was dead; and in this they were seconded by the

(*k*) The words of the rule itself relating to this point are as follow: C. vi. "Fratres sibi nihil approprient, nec domum, nec locum, nec aliquam rem: sed sicut peregrini et advenæ in hoc sæculo, in paupertate et humilitate famulantes Domino, vadant pro eleemosyna confidenter—(*i. e.* let them be sturdy beggars).—Hæc est illa celsitudo altissimæ paupertatis, quæ vos carissimos meos fratres hæredes et reges regni cœlorum instituit."

Roman pontiff, Gregory IX. who in the year 1231, published an interpretation of this rule, which mitigated considerably its excessive rigour, (*l*). But this mitigation was far from being agreeable to all the Franciscans; it shocked the austere monks of that order, those particularly who were called the Spiritual (*m*), whose melancholy temper rendered them fond of every thing harsh and gloomy, and whose fanatical spirit hurried them always into extremes. Hence arose a warm debate, which Innocent IV. decided, in the year 1245, in favour of those who were for mitigating the severity of the rule in question. By this decree of the pontiff it was enacted, that the Franciscan friars should be permitted to possess certain places, habitations, goods, and chattles, books, &c. and to make use of them, but that the property of all these things should reside in St. Peter or the Roman church; so that without the consent of the Roman pontiff they might neither be sold, changed, nor transferred, under any pretext whatsoever. This edict was considered by the gloomy part of the order as a most pernicious depravation of their holy rule; and was, consequently, opposed and rejected by them with indignation. Hence many of these spiritual malcontents retired into the woods and deserts, while others were apprehended, by Crescentius, the general of the society, and sent into exile (*n*).

XXXII. The face of affairs was, however, soon changed in their favour, when, in the year

(*l*) This bull was published by Emmanuel Roderic, in his *Collectio Privilegiorum regularium Mendicantium, et non Mendicantium*, tom. i. p. 8.

(*m*) Luc. Waddingii *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 99. they were also called Zelatores, and Cæsarians, from their chief, Cæsarius.

(*n*) Luc. Waddingii *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 128. and tom. iii. p. 171.

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1247, John of Parma was chosen general of the order. This famous ecclesiastic, who was zealously attached to the sentiments of the Spiritual, recalled them from their exile, and inculcated upon all his monks a strict and unlimited obedience to the very letter of the rule that had been drawn up by St. Francis (*o*). By this reform, he brought back the order to its primitive state; and the only reward he obtained for his zealous labours was to be accused as a rebellious heretic at the tribunal of the Roman pontiff, Alexander IV. in consequence of which he was obliged to resign his post. He had also the mortification to see the monks who adhered to his sentiments cast into prison, which unhappy lot he himself escaped with great difficulty (*p*). His successor, the famous Bonaventura, who was one of the most eminent scholastic divines of this century, proposed steering a middle course between the two contending factions, having nothing so much at heart as to prevent an open schism. Nevertheless, the measures he took to reconcile the jarring parties, and to maintain a spirit of union in the order, were not attended with that degree of success which he expected from them; nor were they sufficient to hinder the less austere part of the Franciscans from soliciting and obtaining, in the year 1247, from Alexander IV. a solemn renewal of the mild interpretation which Innocent IV. had given of the rule of their founder (*q*). On the other hand, the faction that adhered to the sentiments of John of Parma, maintained their cause with such success, that, in an assembly of the order, held in the year 1260, the explication of Innocent was abrogated and annulled, especially in those points wherein it

(*o*) Luc. Waddingii Annal. Minor. tom. iii. p. 171.

(*p*) Id. ibid. tom. iv. p. 4.

(*q*) This edict of Alexander IV. is published by Waddingius, Annal. Min. tom. iv. p. 446. among the Records.

differed from that which had been formerly given by Gregory IX (*q*).

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

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

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

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

(*s*) The Merlin of the English, the Malachy of the Irish, and Nostradamus of the French, those pretended soothsayers, who, under the illusory, or feigned persuasion of a divine impulse, sung, in uncouth verse, the future revolutions of church and state, are just what we may suppose the Joachim of the Italians to have been. Many predictions of this latter were formerly handed about, and are still to be seen; nay, they have passed through various editions, and have been illustrated by the lucubrations of several commentators. It is not to be doubted, that Joachim was the author of various predictions; and that he, in a particular manner, foretold the reformation of the church, of which he might easily see the absolute necessity. It is however certain, that the greatest part of the predictions and writings, which

whether a real or fictitious person we shall not pretend to determine, among many other future events, foretold the destruction of the church of Rome, whose corruptions he censured with the greatest severity, and the promulgation of a new and more perfect gospel in the age of the Holy Ghost, by a set of poor and austere ministers, whom God was to raise up and employ for that purpose. For he divided the world into three ages, relative to the three dispensations of religion that were to succeed each other in it. The two imperfect ages, to wit, the age of the Old Testament, which was that of the Father, and the age of the New, which was under the administration of the Son, were, according to the predictions of this fanatic, now past, and the third age, even that of the Holy Ghost, was at hand. The Spiritual, *i. e.* the austere Franciscans, who were, for the most part, well-meaning, but wrong-headed enthusiasts, not only swallowed down, with the most voracious and implicit credulity, the prophecies and doctrines that were attributed to Joachim, but applied these predictions to themselves, and to the rule of discipline established by their holy founder St. Francis (*t*); for they maintained, that were formerly attributed to him, were composed by others; and this we may affirm even of the Everlasting Gospel, the work, undoubtedly, of some obscure, silly, and visionary author, who thought proper to adorn his reveries with the celebrated name of Joachim, in order to gain them credit, and to render them more agreeable to the multitude. The title of this senseless production is taken from Revelations xiv. 6. and it contained three books; the first was entitled, *Liber Concordiæ veritatis, i. e.* The book of the Harmony of Truth; the second, *Apocalypsis Nova, or New Revelations*; and the third, *Psalterium decem Chordarum, i. e.* The Ten-stringed Harp. This account was taken from a manuscript of that work, in the library of the Sorbonne, by Jac. Echard, who has published it in his *Scriptores Dominic.* tom. i. p. 202.

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

he delivered to mankind the true gospel, and that he was the angel whom St. John saw flying in the midst of heaven (*u*).

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Gerhard's
book con-
demned.

XXXIV. At the very time that the intestine divisions among the Franciscans were at the greatest height, one of the Spiritual friars, whose name was Gerhard, undertook the explication of the Everlasting Gospel attributed to Joachim, in a book which appeared in the year 1250, under the title of Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel (*w*).

(*u*) Revel. xiv. 6. And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven having the Everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, &c.—See on this subject Baluzii Miscellan. tom. i. p. 221. 228. 235. 246.—Echardi Scriptor. Dominic. tom. i. p. 202.—Codex Inquisit. Tholosanæ a Limborchio edit. p. 301, 302. 305, &c.

(*w*) As the accounts given of this book, by ancient and modern writers, are not sufficiently accurate, it may not be improper to offer here some observations that may correct their mistakes. 1. They almost all confound the Everlasting Gospel, or The Gospel of the Holy Ghost, (for so it was also called, as we are told by Guill. de St. Amour, in his book *De Periculis noviss. Tempor.* p. 38.) with the Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel. But these two productions must be carefully distinguished from each other. The Everlasting Gospel was attributed to the abbot Joachim, and it consisted of three books, as has been already observed. But the Introduction to this Gospel was the work of a certain Franciscan monk, who explained the obscure predictions of the pretended Gospel, and applied them to his order. The Everlasting Gospel was neither complained of by the university of Paris, nor condemned by the Roman pontiff, Alexander IV., but the Introduction was complained of, condemned, and burnt, as appears evidently from the letters of the above-mentioned pontiff, which are to be seen in Boulay's *Histor. Academ. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 292. The former consisted, as productions of that nature generally do, in ambiguous predictions and intricate riddles, and was consequently despised or neglected; but the latter was dangerous in many respects. 2. It is farther to be observed, that the ancient writers are not agreed concerning the author of this Introduction. They are unanimous in attributing it to one of the Mendicant friars; but the votaries of St. Francis maintain, that the author was a Dominican; while the Dominican party affirm as obstinately, that he was a Franciscan. It is however certain, that the greatest part of the learned

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In this book the fanatical monk, among other enormities, as insipid as impious, inculcated the

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

following detestable doctrine: "That St. Francis, who was the angel mentioned in the Revelations, xiv. 6. had promulgated to the world the true and everlasting gospel of God; that the gospel of Christ was to be abrogated in the year 1260, and to give place to this new and everlasting gospel, which was to be substituted in its room; and that the ministers of this great reformation were to be humble and barefooted friars, destitute of all worldly emoluments (x)." When this strange book was published at Paris in the year 1254, it excited in the doctors of the church, and, indeed, in all good men, the most lively feelings of horror and indignation against the Mendicant friars, who

that the charge ought not to be extended even to all the members of this faction, but to such alone as placed an idle and enthusiastic confidence in the abbot Joachim, and gave credit to all his pretended prophecies. These observations are necessary to the true understanding of what has been said concerning the Everlasting Gospel by the following learned men; Jo. Andr. Schmidius, *Singular. Dissertat. Helmst. 1700, in 4to.*—Usserius, *De Successione Ecclesiar. Occident. c. ix. sect. 20. p. 337.*—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. iii. p. 292.*—Natal. Alexander, *Histor. Eccles. Sæc. xiii. Artic. iv. p. 78.*—Luc. Wadding, *Annal. Minor. tom. iv. p. 9.*—Upon the whole, it may be affirmed, that the book under consideration is not, as the greatest part of the learned have imagined, a monument of the arrogance of the Mendicant orders, but rather a proof of the impious fanaticism and extravagance of a handful of Franciscans.

(x) See Guil. de St. Amore, *De Periculis noviss. Tempor. p. 38, 39.* who observes, that the book under consideration was not indeed published before the year 1254, but that the opinions contained in it had an earlier origin, and were propagated even in the year 1200. Several of the ancient writers have given large extracts from this infamous book, see Herm. Corneri *Chronicon, in Eccardi Corpore Histor. Medii Ævi, tom. ii. p. 850.*—*Chronicon Egmondanum, in Ant. Matthæi Analectis Veteris Ævi, tom. ii. p. 517.*—Ricoaldus *apud Eccardum, loc. cit. tom. i. p. 1215.*—But there is a great difference between these extracts, which seems to have arisen from this, that some drew their citations from the Everlasting Gospel of Joachim, while others drew theirs from the Introduction of Gerhard, not sufficiently distinguishing the one work from the other.

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

The famous constitution of Nicolas III. relating to the rule of St. Francis.

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

(*y*) See Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris, tom. iii. p. 299.—
Jordani Chronicon, in Muratorii Antiq. Ital. tom. iv. p. 998.

(*z*) Some affirm, that this famous Constitution was issued out by Nicolas IV. but their opinion is refuted by Wadding, in his Annal. Min. tom. v. p. 73.

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

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

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Excites new troubles and exasperates the Spiritual.

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

(*b*) In some ancient records, this ringleader is called Petrus Betterrensis, i. e. Peter of Beziers, because he resided

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quired a shining reputation by his writings, and whose eminent sanctity and learning drew after him a great number of followers; nor is it to be denied, that there were many important truths and wise maxims in the instructions he delivered. One of the great objects, which he never lost sight of in his writings, was the corruption of the church of Rome, which he censured with a peculiar freedom and severity, in a work entitled, *Postilla*, or *A Commentary on the Revelations*, affirming boldly, that that church was represented by the whore of Babylon, the mother of harlots, whom St. John beheld sitting upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns (*c*). It is, however, to be observed, that this severe censor of a corrupt church was, himself, a most superstitious fanatic in several respects, having imbibed the greatest part of those monstrous opinions, which the Spiritual pretended to have received from the abbot Joachim; to which he added an impious and extravagant veneration for St. Francis, whom he considered as wholly and entirely transformed into the person of Christ (*d*). In the debate concerning the sense of the rule of this famous chief, he seemed to adhere to neither of the contending parties; for he allowed his followers the bare use of the necessaries of life; and being called upon, at different times, by the authority of his superiors, to declare his sentiments upon this head, he pro-

for a long time in the convent of Beziers, where he performed the functions of a public teacher. By others, he is named Petrus de Serignano, from the place of his nativity. This remark is so much the more necessary, as certain authors have taken these three denominations for three distinct persons.

(*c*) Revelations xvii. 3, 4, 5.

(*d*) Totum Christo configuratum. See the *Litera Magistrorum de Postilla Fratris P. Joh. Olivi*, in *Baluzii Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 213.—*Waddingi Annales Minor.* tom. v. p. 51.

fessed his assent to the interpretation that had been given of the rule in question by Nicolas III. He leaned, nevertheless, to the side of those austere and Spiritual Franciscans, who not only opposed the introduction of property among the individuals of the order, but also maintained, that the whole community, considered collectively, was likewise to be excluded from possessions of every kind. His zeal for these gloomy Franciscans was great, and he defended their cause with warmth (*e*); hence he is looked upon as the chief of that faction, which disputed so often, and so vehemently, with the Roman pontiffs, in favour of the renunciation of property, in consequence of the institution of St. Francis (*f*).

XXXVII. The credit and authority of Pierre d'Olive, whom the multitude considered, not only as a man of unblemished sanctity, but also as a prophet sent from above, added new force and vigour to the Spiritual, and encouraged them to renew the combat with redoubled fury. But the prudence of the heads of the order prevented, for some time, the pernicious effects of these

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Continuation of these debates.

(*e*) The real sentiments of Pierre d'Olive will be best discovered in the last discourse he pronounced, which is yet extant in Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 535. and in Wadding's *Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 378.

(*f*) For an account of this famous friar, see not only the common monastic historians, such as Raynaldus, Alexander, and Oudinus, but also the following: Baluzii *Miscell.* tom. i. p. 213. and in *Vitis Pontif. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 752.—*Car. Plessis d'Argentre, Collectio Judiciorum de novis Ecclesiæ Erroribus*, tom. i. p. 226.—*Wadding, Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 52. 108. 121. 140. 236. and more especially p. 378. where he makes an unsuccessful attempt to justify this enthusiast.—*Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 535.—*Schelhornii Amœnitates Litterariæ*, tom. ix. p. 678. *Histoire Generale de Languedoc, par les Moines Benedictins*, tom. iv. p. 91. 179. 182. The bones of Pierre d'Olive were raised by the order of the Roman Pontiff John XXII. and burnt publicly with his writings, in the year 1325. See Raynald. ad an. 1325. sect. 20.

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violent efforts, and so over-ruled the impetuous motions of this enthusiastic faction, that a sort of equality was preserved between the contending parties. But the promotion of Matthew of Aqua Sparta, who was elected general of the order in the year 1287, put an end to these prudential measures, and changed entirely the face of affairs. This new chief suffered the ancient discipline of the Franciscans to dwindle away to nothing, indulged his monks in abandoning even the very appearance of poverty, and thus drew upon him not only the indignation and rage of the austerer part of the Spiritual Franciscans, but also the disapprobation of the more moderate members of that party. Hence arose various tumults and seditions, first in the marquisate of Ancona, and afterwards in France, which the new general endeavoured to suppress by imprisonment, exile, and corporal punishments; but, finding all these means ineffectual, resigned his place in the year 1289 (*g*). His successor Raymond Goffredi employed his utmost efforts to appease these troubles. For this purpose he recalled the banished friars, set at liberty those that had been cast into prison, and put out of the way several of the austerer Franciscans, who had been the principal fomenters of these unhappy divisions, by sending them into Armenia in the character of missionaries. But the disorder was too far gone to admit of a remedy. The more moderate Franciscans, who had a relish for the sweets of property and opulence, accused the new general of a partial attachment to the Spiritual, whom he treated with peculiar affection and respect, and therefore employed their whole credit to get him removed from his office, which, with much difficulty, they, at length, effected, under the pontificate of

Boniface VIII. On the other hand, the more rigid part of the Spiritual faction renounced all fellowship, even with such of their own party as discovered a pacific and reconciling spirit; and forming themselves into a separate body, protested publicly against the interpretation which Nicolas III. had given of the rule of St. Francis. Thus, from the year 1290, the affairs of the Franciscans carried a dismal aspect, and portended nothing else than seditions and schisms in an order, that had been so famous for its pretended disinterestedness and humility (*h*).

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XXXVIII. In the year 1294, a certain number of Italian Franciscans, of the Spiritual party, addressed themselves to Celestin V. for a permission to form a separate order, in which they might not only profess, but also observe, in the strictest manner, that austere rule of absolute poverty, which St. Francis had prescribed to his followers. The good pontiff, who, before his elevation to the head of the church, had led a solitary and austere life (*i*), and was fond of every thing that looked like mortification and self-denial, granted, with the utmost facility, the request of these friars, and placed at the head of the new order, a monk, whose name was Liberatus, and who was one of the greatest self-torment-

(*h*) Id. Ibid. tom. v. p. 108. 121. 140. and more especially p. 235. 236.

(*i*) This pope, whose name was Peter Meuron, had retired very young to a solitary mountain, in order to devote himself entirely to prayer and mortification. The fame of his piety brought many to see him from a principle of curiosity, several of whom renounced the world, and became the companions of his solitude. With these he formed a kind of community, in the year 1254, which was approved by Urban IV. in 1264, and erected into a distinct order, called The Hermits of St. Damien. Upon Meuron's elevation to the pontificate, and his assuming the name of Celestin V. his order, which must not be confounded with the new Franciscan Celestin Hermits, took the title of Celestins.

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tors of all the monastic tribe (*k*). Soon after this, Celestin, finding himself unfit for the duties of his high and important office, resigned the pontificate, in which he was succeeded by Boniface VIII. who annulled every act that had been passed during the short reign of his predecessor, and suppressed, among other institutions, the new order, which had assumed the title of the Celestin Hermits of St. Francis (*l*). This disgrace was, as it were, the signal which drew upon them the most furious attacks of their enemies. The worldly minded Franciscans persecuted them with the most unrelenting bitterness, accused them of various crimes, and even cast upon them the odious reproach of Manicheism. Hence many of these unhappy fanatics retired into Achaia, from whence they passed into a small island, where they imagined themselves secure from the rage of their adversaries, and at liberty to indulge themselves in all the austerities of that miserable life, which they looked upon as the perfection of holiness here below. But no retreat was sufficient to screen them from the vigilance and fury of their cruel persecutors, who left no means unemployed to perpetuate their miseries. In the mean time, that branch of the Spiritual Franciscans that remained in Italy, continued to observe the rigorous laws of their primitive institution in spite of Boniface VIII. who used his utmost efforts to conquer their obstinacy. They erected societies of their order first in the kingdom of Naples, afterwards in the Milanese, and in the marquise of Ancona; and, at length spreading themselves through the greatest part of Europe, they continued in the most violent state of war with the church of Rome, until the face of

(*k*) Waddingi Annales, tom. v. p. 324. 338.

(*l*) Id. Ibid. tom. vi. p. 1. Bullarium Magnum Contin. III. IV. p. 108, 109.

things was changed by the Reformation. In these conflicts they underwent trials and sufferings of every kind, and multitudes of them perished in the flames, as miserable victims to the infernal fury of the Inquisition (*m*).

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(*m*) The writers that serve generally as guides in this part of the history of the church, and whom I have been obliged to consult upon the divisions of the Franciscans, whose history, as will soon appear, is peculiarly interesting and important, are far from meriting the encomiums that are due to perspicuity and exactness. This part of the Ecclesiastical History of what is called the Middle Age, has not hitherto been accurately illustrated by any writer, though it be, every way, worthy of the labours of the learned, and of the attention of Christians. Its principal merit consists herein, that it exhibits striking examples of piety and learning struggling against the power of superstition and ignorance, and against that spiritual tyranny of which they were the principal supports. Nay, these very rebellious Franciscans, though fanatical and superstitious in several respects, deserve, nevertheless, an eminent rank among those who prepared the way for the reformation in Europe, and who excited in the minds of the people, a just aversion to the church of Rome, Raynaldus, Bzovius, Spondanus, in their Annals, Eymericus, in his Directorium Inquisitorum, and Natalis Alexander, in his Ecclesiastical History, relate the revolutions that happened in the Franciscan order, and in the church in general, during this period: but their accounts are neither so accurate, nor so ample, as the importance of the events deserved. And as it is from these authors that the protestant historians have drawn their materials, we need not be surprised at the defects with which these latter abound. Wadding, who merits the highest encomiums as a laborious and learned writer, is yet an uncertain guide, when he treats of the matters now under consideration. His attachment to one party, and his fears of the other, lay him under restraints, that prevent his declaring the truth with a noble freedom. He shades his picture with dexterity. He conceals, dissembles, excuses, acknowledges, and denies, with such a timorous prudence and caution, that the truth could not but suffer considerably under his pen. He appears to have been attached to the rigid Franciscans, and yet had not the courage to declare openly, that they had been injured by the pontiffs. He saw, on the other hand, the tumults and perplexities in which these rigid Franciscans had involved the church of Rome, and the strokes they had levelled, with no small success, at the majesty of the pontiffs: but he has taken all imaginable

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The Fratricelli and Beguards.

XXXIX. Towards the conclusion of this century arose in Italy the enthusiastic sect of the Fratricelli and Bizochi, which, in Germany and France, received the denomination of Beguards. They were condemned by Boniface VIII (*n*), and by several of his successors; and the inquisitors were charged by these despotic pontiffs to persecute them until they were entirely extirpated, which commission they executed with their usual barbarity. The Fratricelli, or Little Brethren, were Franciscan monks, who separated themselves from the grand community of St. Francis, with a design to observe the laws of their parent and founder in a more strict and rigorous manner than they were observed by the other Franciscans; and who, accordingly, renounced every kind of possession and property, both common and personal, and begged from door to door

pains to throw such a shade upon this part of their conduct, as conceals its violence from the view of his readers. Such then being the characters of the writers who have handed down to us the history of the church in this important period, I could follow none of them as a sure or constant guide in all the events they relate, the judgments they form, or the characters they describe. I have not, however, been destitute of a clue to conduct me through the various windings of this intricate labyrinth. The testimonies of ancient authors, with several manuscripts that have never yet been published, such as the Diplomas of the Pontiffs and Emperors, the Acts of the Inquisition, and other records of that kind, are the authentic sources from whence I have drawn my accounts of many things that have been very imperfectly represented by other historians.

(*n*) See Trithemius, *Annal. Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 74. though this author is defective in several respects, and more especially in his accounts of the origin and sentiments of the Fratricelli. It is also to be observed, that he confounds, through the whole of his history, the sects and orders of this century one with another, in the most ignorant and unskilful manner. See rather Du Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 541. where the edict published in the year 1297, by Boniface VIII. against the Bizochi, or Beguards, is inserted; as also Jordani *Chronicon.* in *Muratorii Antiq. Italiæ.* tom. iv. p. 1020.

their daily subsistence (*o*). They alleged that neither Christ nor his apostles had any possessions, either personal or in common; and that they were the models, whom St. Francis commanded his followers to imitate. After the example also of their austere founder, they went about clothed with sordid garments, or rather with loathsome rags, declaimed against the corruption of the church of Rome, and the vices of the pontiffs and bishops, foretold the reformation of the church and the restoration of the true gospel of Christ by the genuine followers of St. Francis, and declared their assent to almost all the doctrines, which were published under the name of the abbot Joachim. They esteemed and respected Celestin V. because, as has been already observed, he was, in some measure, the founder of their society, by permitting them to erect themselves into a separate order. But they refused to acknowledge, as true and lawful heads of the church, his successor Boniface and the other pontiffs after

(*o*) The Fratricelli resemble the Spiritual in many of their maxims and observances: they, however, are a distinct body, and differ from them in various respects. The Spiritual, for instance, continued to hold communion with the rest of the Franciscans, from whom they differed in points of considerable moment, nor did they ever pretend to erect themselves into a particular and distinct order; the Fratricelli, on the contrary, renounced all communion with the Franciscans, and withdrawing their obedience from the superiors of that society, chose for themselves a new chief, under whom they formed a new and separate order. The Spiritual did not absolutely oppose their order's possessing certain goods jointly and in common, provided they renounced all property in these goods, and confined their pretensions to the mere use of them; whereas the Fratricelli rejected every kind of possession, whether personal or in common, and embraced that absolute poverty and want which St. Francis had prescribed in his Rule and in his last Testament. We omit the mention of other less important differences that might be alleged here.

him, who opposed the Fratricelli, and persecuted their order (*p*).

(*p*) The accounts of the Fratricelli, that are given by ancient and modern writers, even by those that pretend to the greatest exactness, are extremely confused and uncertain. Trithemius, in his *Annal. Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 74. affirms that they derived their origin from Tanchelinus, and thus ignorantly confounds them with the Catharists, and other sects that arose in those times. The Franciscans leave no means unemployed to clear themselves from all relation to this society, and to demonstrate that such a pestilential and impious sect, as that of the Fratricelli, did not derive their origin from the order of St. Francis. In consequence of this they deny that the Fratricelli professed the Franciscan rule; and maintain, on the contrary, that the society which was distinguished by this title was a heap of rabble, composed of persons of all kinds and of all religions, whom Hermon Pongilup, towards the conclusion of this century, gathered together at Ferrara in Italy, and erected into a distinct order. See *Luc. Wadding, Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 279. This author employs all his eloquence to defend his order from the infamous reproach of having given rise to that of the Fratricelli; but his efforts are vain, for he acknowledges, nay, even proves by unquestionable authorities, that this hated sect professed and observed, in the most rigorous manner, the rule of St. Francis; and nevertheless, he denies that they were Franciscans; by which he means, and indeed can only mean that they were not such Franciscans as those who lived in subjection to the general of the order, and adopted the interpretation which the pontiffs had given of the rule of their founder. All Wadding's boasted demonstration, therefore, comes to no more than this, that the Fratricelli were Franciscans who separated themselves from the grand order of St. Francis, and rejected the authority of the general of that order, and the laws and interpretations, together with the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiffs; and this no mortal ever took it into his head to deny. Hermannus, or, as he is called by many, Armannus Pongilup, whom Wadding and others consider as the Parent of the Fratricelli, lived in this century at Ferrara, in the highest reputation, on account of his extraordinary piety; and when he died, in the year 1269, was interred with the greatest magnificence and pomp in the principal church of that city. His memory was, for a long time, honoured with a degree of veneration equal to that which is paid to the most illustrious saints, and it was supposed that the Supreme Being bore testimony to his eminent sanctity by various miracles. But as Pongilup had been

XL. As the Franciscan order acknowledged, as its companions and associates, a set of men,

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suspected of heresy by the Inquisitors *, on account of the peculiar austerity of his life, which resembled that of the Catharists, they made, even after his death, such an exact and scrupulous inquiry into his maxims and morals, that, many years after he was laid low in the grave, his impiety was detected and published to the world. Hence it was, that, in the year 1300, his tomb was destroyed, his bones dug up, and burned by the order of Boniface VIII. and the multitude effectually cured of the enthusiastic veneration they had for his memory. The judicial acts of this remarkable event are recorded by Muratori, in his *Antiquit. Italic. Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 93—147. and it appears evidently from them, that those learned men, who consider Pongilup as the founder of the order of the Fratricelli, are entirely mistaken. So far was he from being the founder of this sect, that he was dead before it was in being. The truth of the matter is, that this famous enthusiast was a Catharist, infected with Paulician or Manichean principles, and that he was a member of the sect entitled Bagnolists, from a town of that name in Provence, where they resided. Some modern writers, indeed, have seen so far into the truth, as to perceive that the Fratricelli were a separate branch of the rigid and austere Franciscans; but they err in this, that they consider them as the same sect with the Beguards or Beguins, under a different denomination. Such is the opinion adopted by Limborch, in his *Hist. Inquisit.* lib. i. cap. xix. p. 69. who appears to have been very little acquainted with the matters now under consideration; by Baluzius, in his *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 195. et *Vit. Pontif. Avenionens.* tom. i. p. 509. by Beausobre, in his *Dissertation concerning the Adamites*, subjoined to the *History of the Wars of the Hussites*, p. 380. and by Wadding, in his *Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 376. But notwithstanding the authorities of these learned men, it is certain, as we shall show in its place, that there was a real difference between the Fratricelli and the Beguards, not indeed with respect to their opinions, but in their rule of discipline and their manner of life.

Tertiaries,
Bocasoti,
and Be-
guins.

The principal cause of the errors that have obscured the History of the Fratricelli is the ambiguity that there is in the denomination of their order. Fratricellus, Fraterculus, or Little Brother, was an Italian nickname, or term of derision, that was applied in this century to all those who, without belonging to any of the religious orders, affected a monkish air in their clothing, their carriage, and their man-

* These formidable censors were entitled, Inquisitors of Heretical Pravity.

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who observed the third rule that was prescribed by St. Francis, and were from thence commonly

ner of living, and assumed a sanctimonious aspect of piety and devotion. See Villani *Istorie Fiorentine*, lib. viii. c. 84. p. 423.—Imola in Dantem, p. 1121. in Muratori *Antiq. Ital.* tom. i. And as there were many vagabonds of this kind, that wandered about from place to place during this century, it happened that this general term of Fratricelli was applied to them all, though they differed much from one another in their opinions and in their methods of living. Thus the Catharists, the Waldenses, the Apostles, and many other sects who had invented new opinions in religion, were marked with this denomination by the multitude: while the writers of foreign nations, unacquainted with this ludicrous application of the word, were puzzled in their inquiries after the sect of the Fratricelli, who had given so much trouble to the Roman pontiffs, nay, were led into the grossest mistakes, and imagined, at one time, that this order was that of the Catharists, at another, that it was the sect of the Waldenses, &c. But, in order to have distinct ideas of this matter, it must be considered that the word *Fraterculus*, or *Little Brother*, bore a quite different sense from the ludicrous one now mentioned, when it was applied to the austere part of the Franciscans, who maintained the necessity of observing, in the strictest manner, the rule of their founder. Instead of being a nickname, or a term of derision when applied to them, it was an honourable denomination, in which they delighted, and which they preferred infinitely before all other titles. *Fratricelli*, or *Little Brothers*, is a word of the same signification with *Friars-minors*; and every one knows, that this latter appellation was adopted by the Franciscans, as an expression of their extraordinary humility and modesty. In assuming this title, therefore, these monks did not, properly speaking, assume a new name, but only translated the ancient name of their order into the Italian language; for what the Latins called *Fratres Minores*, i. e. *Friars-minors*, that the Italians called *Fratricelli*. Of the many proofs we might draw from the best authors in favour of this account of the matter, we shall only allege one, from the *Life of Thom. Aquinas*, by *Guilielmus de Thoco* in *Actis Sancto. Martii*, tom. i. cap. ii. sect. xxi. “*Destruxit (says that biographer) et tertium pestiferum pravitatis errorem S. Thomas...cujus sectatores simul et inventores se nominant fraterculos de vita paupere, ut etiam sub hoc humilitatis sophistico nomine simplicium corda seducant...Contra quem errorem pestiferum Johannes Papa XXII. mirandam edidit Decretalem.*”

Now this very Decretal of John XXII. against the *Fratricelli*, which *Thoco* calls *Admirable*, is, to mention no

called Tertiaries (*q*); so likewise the order of the Fratricelli, who were desirous of being considered

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other testimonies, a sufficient and satisfactory proof of what I have affirmed in relation to that sect. In this Decretal, which is to be seen in the Extravagantia Joh. XXII. Corporis Juris Canon. tom. ii. p. 1112. edit. Bœhmerianæ, the pontiff expresses himself thus: “Nonnulli profanæ multitudinis viri, qui vulgariter Fratricelli seu Fratres de paupere vita, Bizochi, sive Beguini, nuncupantur in partibus Italiæ, in insula Siciliæ——publice medicare solent.” The pontiff afterwards divides the Fratricelli into monks and Tertiaries, or (which amounts to the same thing, as we shall show in its place) into Fratricelli and Beguins. With respect to the Fratricelli, properly so called, he expresses himself thus: Plurimi regulam seu ordinem Fratrum Minorum——Se profiteri ad litteram conservare confingunt, prætendentes se a sanctæ memoriæ Cœlestino Papa Quinto, prædecessore nostro, hujus status suæ vitæ privilegium habuisse. Quod tamen, etsi ostenderent, non valeret, cum Bonifacius Papa Octavus ex certis causis rationabilibus omnia ab ipso Cœlestino concessa——viribus penitus evacuaverit.” Here the pontiff describes clearly those Fratricelli, who, separating themselves from the Franciscans with a view to observe more strictly the rule of St. Francis, were erected into a distinct order by pope Celestine V. And in the following passage he characterises, with the same perspicuity, the Bizochi or Beguins, who intitled themselves of The Third Order of the Penitents of St. Francis: “Nonnulli ex ipsis asserentes se esse de tertio ordine beati Francisci pænitentium vocato, prædictum statum et ritum eorum sub velamine talis nominis satagunt palliare.”

(*q*) Besides two very austere rules drawn up by St. Francis, the one for the Friars-minors, and the other for the Poor Sisters, called Clarisses, from St. Clara their founder; this famous chief drew up a third, whose demands were less rigorous, for such as, without abandoning their worldly affairs, or resigning their possessions, were, nevertheless, disposed to enter, with certain restrictions, into the Franciscan order, and desirous of enjoying the privileges that were annexed to it. This rule prescribed fasting, continence, hours of devotion and prayer, mean and dirty apparel, gravity of manners, and things of that nature; but neither prohibited contracting marriage, accumulating wealth, filling civil employments, nor attending to worldly affairs. All the Franciscan historians have given accounts of this third rule, more especially Wadding. Annal. Min. tom. ii. p. 7.—Helyot, Hist. des Ordres, tom. vii. p. 214. They, that professed this third rule, were called Friars of the penance of Christ, and sometimes, also, on account of the meanness of their garments, Brethren of the Sack, but they were more generally

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as the only genuine followers of St. Francis, had a great number of Tertiaries, attached to their cause.

These Tertiaries, or half-monks, were called, in Italy, Bizochi and Bocasoti; in France, Beguines; and in Germany, Beguards, or Beghards, which last was the denomination by which they were commonly known in almost all places (*r*).

known by the denomination of Tertiaries. The greatest part of the religious orders of the church of Rome imitated this institution of St. Francis, as soon as they perceived the various advantages that were deducible from it. And hence, at this day, these orders continue to have their Tertiaries.

(*r*) The Tertiaries that were connected with the order of the Fratricelli arose about the year 1296, in the marquisate of Ancona and the neighbouring countries, and were called Bizochi, as we learn from the edict issued out against them, in the year 1297, by Boniface VIII. and published by Du Boulay, in his *Histor. Acad. Paris. tom. iii. p. 541.* They are mentioned under the same title by John XXII. in the bull already cited. Add to all these authorities, that of the learned Du Fresne, who, in his *Glossar. Latinit. mediæ, tom. i. p. 1188,* observes, that this denomination is derived from Bizochus, which signifies in French *une besace*, i. e. a sack or wallet, such as beggars in general, and these holy beggars in particular, were used to carry about with them. The term Bocasotus, or Vocasotus, as Du Boulay writes it (in his *Histor. Acad. Paris. tom. iii. p. 510.*), has no doubt the same origin, and bears the same signification. It is used by Jordan, in his *Chronicle*, from whence we shall cite a remarkable passage in the following note. The denominations of Beghards and Beguins, that were given to the Tertiaries in France and in Italy, are very frequently to be met with in the *Ecclesiastical History of the Middle Age*. The accounts, however, which both ancient and modern writers generally give of these famous names, are so uncertain, and so different from each other, that we need not be surprised to find the history of the Beghards and Beguins involved in greater perplexity and darkness, than any other part of the *Ecclesiastical Annals of the Age now mentioned*. It is therefore my present design to remove this perplexity, and to dispel this darkness, as far as that can be done in the short space to which I am confined, and to disclose the true origin of these famous denominations.

The words Beghard or Beggehard, Begutta, Beghinus, and Beghina, which only differ in their termination, have all one and the same sense. The German and Belgic nations wrote Beghard and Begutte, which terminations are extremely common in the language of the ancient Germans. But the French substituted the Latin termination in place of the

They differed from the Fratricelli not in their opinions and doctrine, but only in their manner

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German, and changed Beghard into Beghinus and Beghina; so that those who in Holland and Germany were called Beghard and Begutte, were denominated in France, Beghini and Beghinæ. Nay, even in Germany and Holland, the Latin termination was gradually introduced instead of the German, particularly in the feminine term Begutta, of which change we might allege several probable reasons, were this the proper place for disquisitions of that nature. There are many different opinions concerning the origin and signification of these terms, which it would be too tedious to mention, and still more so to refute. Besides, I have done this in a large work now almost finished, concerning the Beghards and Beghins, wherein I have traced out with the utmost pains and labour, in records, the greatest part of which have never seen the light, the history of all the different sects to whom these names have been given, and have, at the same time, detected the errors into which many learned men have fallen, in treating this part of the history of the church*. At present, therefore, setting aside many opinions and conjectures, I shall confine myself to a brief inquiry into the true origin and signification of these words. They are undoubtedly derived from the old German word *beggen*, *beggeren*, which signifies to seek any thing with importunity, zeal, and earnestness. In joining to this word the syllable *hard*, which is the termination of many German words, we have the term *Beggehard*, which is applicable to a person who asks any thing with ardour and importunity. And as none are so remarkable for asking in this manner as common beggars, who subsist upon the liberality of the public, therefore, in the ancient German language, they were called *Beghard*, from which the English word *beggar* is manifestly derived. *Begutta* signifies a female beggar.—When Christianity was introduced into Germany, the word *beggen*, or *beggeren*, was used in a religious sense, and expressed the act of devout and fervent prayer to the Supreme Being. Accordingly, we find in the Gothic translation of the Four Gospels attributed to Ulphilas, the word *beggen*, employed to express the duty of earnest and fervent prayer. Hence, when any person distinguished himself from others by the frequency and fervour of his devotional services, he was called a *Beghard*, i. e. a devout man; and the denomination of *Begutta* was given, in the same sense, to women of uncommon piety. And as they who distinguished themselves from others by the frequency of their prayers, assumed by that means a more striking air of external devotion than the rest of their

↪ * The work here hinted at has not as yet appeared; though we hope that those who are entrusted with the papers of the learned author will prevent such a valuable production being lost to the republic of letters.

of living. The Fratricelli were real monks, subjected to the rule of St. Francis; while the

fellow Christians; hence it came to pass that all those who were ambitious of appearing more religious and devout than their neighbours, were called Beghardi, or Beguttæ.

The observations we have hitherto made with respect to the origin and signification of the words in question will serve as a clue to deliver the attentive reader from that labyrinth of difficulties in which the history of the Beghards and Beghinæ has been involved. They will also enable him to account for the prodigious multitudes of Beghards and Beguines that sprung up in Europe in the thirteenth century; and will show him how it happened, that these denominations were given to above thirty sects or orders, which differed widely from each other in their opinions, their discipline, and manner of living. The first and original signification of the word Beghard (or Beggert, as it was pronounced by the common people) was importunate beggar. Therefore, when the people saw certain persons, not only embracing with resignation, but also with the most voluntary choice, and under a pretext of devotion, the horrors of absolute poverty, begging their daily bread from door to door, and renouncing all their worldly possessions and occupations, they called all such persons Beghards, or, if they were women, Beghurts, without ever once considering the variety of opinions and maxims by which they were distinguished. The sect called Apostles, the rigid Franciscans, the Brethren of the Free Spirit (of whom hereafter), all embraced this sordid state of beggary; and though among these orders there was not only the widest difference, but even the greatest opposition, the Germans called them indiscriminately Beghards, from the miserable state which they had all embraced. Nor is this to be wondered at; the character which they possessed in common was striking, while the sentiments and maxims that divided them escaped the observation of the multitude.

But the word Beghard acquired a second, and a new signification in this century, being employed, as we have already observed, to signify a person who prayed with uncommon frequency, and who distinguished himself from those about him by an extraordinary appearance of piety. The force of this term, in its new signification, is the same with that of the word Methodist, which is at present the denomination of a certain sect of fanatics in these kingdoms. Such, therefore, as departed from the manner of living that was usual among their fellow-citizens, and distinguished themselves by the gravity of their aspect, and the austerity of their manners, were comprehended under the general denomination of Beghards and Beguttæ in Germany, and

Bizochi, or Beguins, if we except their sordid habit, and certain observances and maxims, which they followed in consequence of the injunctions of the famous saint now mentioned, lived after the manner of other men, and were therefore consi-

of Beguins and Beguines in France. The use of these terms was, at first, so extensive, that, as we could show by many examples, they were applied even to the monks themselves; but in process of time, they were applied with less extent, and were confined to those who formed a sort of an intermediate order between the monks and citizens, and who resembled the former in their manner of living, without assuming their name, or contracting their obligations. The Tertiaries, therefore, or half-monks of the Dominican, Franciscan, and, in general, of all the religious orders, were called Beghards; for though, as lay-citizens, they belonged to the body politic, yet they distinguished themselves by their monkish dispositions, and their profession of extraordinary piety and sanctity of manners. The Fraternity of Weavers, the Brethren of St. Alexius, the followers of Gerhard the Great, in a word, all who pretended to an uncommon degree of sanctity and devotion, were called Beghards, although they procured themselves the necessaries of life by honest industry, without having recourse to the sordid trade of begging.

The denominations, therefore, of Beghards, Beguttes, Beguins, and Beguines, are rather honourable than otherwise, when we consider their origin; and they are mentioned as such, in several records and deeds of this century, whose authority is most respectable, particularly in the Testament of St. Lewis, king of France. But, in process of time, these terms lost gradually, as the case often happens, their primitive signification, and became marks of infamy and derision. For, among these religious beggars and these sanctimonious pretenders to extraordinary piety, there were many whose piety was nothing more than the most senseless superstition; many, also, whose austere devotion was accompanied with the opinions of a corrupt nature, and entirely opposite to the doctrine of the church, and (what was still more horrible) many artful hypocrites, who, under the mask of religion, concealed the most abominable principles, and committed the most enormous crimes. These were the fools and knaves who brought the denomination of Beghards into disrepute, and rendered it both ridiculous and infamous; so that it was only employed to signify idiots, heretics, or hypocrites. The denomination of Lolhards, of which we shall have occasion to speak more amply hereafter, met with the same fate, and was rendered contemptible by the persons who masked their iniquity under that specious title.

dered in no other light, than as seculars and laymen (*s*). It is, however, to be observed, that the Bizochi were divided into two classes, which derive their different denominations of perfect and imperfect, from the different degrees of austerity that they discovered in their manner of living. The perfect lived upon alms, abstained from wedlock, and had no fixed habitations. The imperfect, on the contrary, had their houses, wives, and possessions, and were engaged, like the rest of their fellow-citizens, in the various affairs of life (*t*).

XLI. We must not confound these Beguins and Beguines, who derived their origin from an austere

A great difference between the Franciscan Beguins and those of Germany and the Netherlands.

(*s*) See the *Acta Inquis. Theol.* published by Limborch, p. 298. 302. 310. 313, and particularly 307. 329. 382. 389, &c. Among the various passages of ancient writers, which tend to illustrate the history of the Fratricelli and Beguins, I shall quote only one, which is to be found in Jordan's *Chronicon*, published by Muratori, in his *Antiq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. iv. p. 1020. and confirms almost every thing we have said upon that head: Anno 1294, " Petrus de Macerata et Petrus de Forosemproneo Apostatæ fuerunt ordinis Minorum et hæretici. His petentibus eremitice vivere, ut regulam B. Francisci ad litteram servare possent. Quibus plures Apostatæ adhæserunt, qui statum communitatis damnabant et declarationes Regulæ, et vocabant se Fratres S. Francisci (he ought to have said Fratricellos) Sæculares; (i. e. the Tertiaries, who were the friends and associates of the Fratricelli, without quitting, however, their secular state, or entering into the monastic order,) Sæculares autem vocarunt Bizocios aut Fratricellos vel Bocasotos," (here Jordan is mistaken) in affirming, that the Sæculares were called Fratricelli; for this latter name belonged only to the true monks of St. Francis, and not to the Tertiaries. The other circumstances of this account are exact, and show that the more austere professors of the Franciscan rule were divided into two classes, *viz.* into friars and seculars, and that the latter were called Bizochi. " *Ii dogmatizabant, quod nullus summus Pontifex Regulam B. Francisci declarare potuit. Item, quod Angelus abstulit a Nicolao tertio Papatus auctoritatem. . . Et quod ipsi soli sunt in via Dei et vera ecclesia,*" &c.

(*t*) This division is mentioned, or supposed, by several authors, and more especially in the *Acta Inquisit. Tholosanæ*, p. 303. 310. 312, 313. 319, &c.

branch of the Franciscan order, with the German and Belgic Beguines, who crept out of their obscurity in this century, and multiplied prodigiously in a very short space of time (*u*). Their origin was of earlier date than this century, but it was only now that they acquired a name, and made a noise in the world. Their primitive establishment was, undoubtedly, the effect of virtuous dispositions and upright intentions. A certain number of pious women, both virgins and widows, in order to maintain their integrity and preserve their principles from the contagion of a vicious and corrupt age, formed themselves into societies, each of which had a fixed place of residence, and was under the inspection and government of a female head. Here they divided their time between exercises of devotion, and works of

(*u*) In the last century, there was a great debate carried on in the Netherlands, concerning the origin of the Beghards and Beguines, of which I have given an ample account in a work not yet published. In the course of this controversy, the Beguines produced the most authentic and unexceptionable records and diplomas, from which it appeared, that, so early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there had been several societies of Beguines established in Holland and Flanders. It is true, they had no more than three of these authentic acts to offer as a proof of their antiquity; the first was drawn up in the year 1065, the second in the year 1129, the third in 1151; and they were all three drawn up, at Vilvorden, by the Beguines, who, at that time, were settled there. See Aub. Miræi Opera Diplomatico-historica, tom. ii. c. xxvi. p. 948. and tom. iii. p. 628. edit. nov.—Erycius Puteanus, De Beghinarum apud Belgas instituto et nomine suffragio. This treatise of Puteanus is to be found with another of the same author, and upon the same subject, in a work entitled Josephi Guldolphia Ryckel Vita S. Veggæ cum Adnotationibus, p. 65—227. Duaci, 1631, in 4to. Now, though we grant that those writers are mistaken, who place the first rise of the Beguines in the twelfth or thirteenth century, yet the small number of authentic records which they have to produce, in favour of their antiquity, is an incontestable proof of the obscurity in which they lay concealed before the time in which these writers place their origin, and may render it almost probable, that the only convent of Beguines, that existed before the thirteenth century, was that of Vilvorden in Brabant.

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honest industry, reserving to themselves the liberty of entering into the state of matrimony, as also of quitting the convent, whenever they thought proper. And as all those among the female sex, who made extraordinary professions of piety and devotion, were distinguished by the title of *Beguines*, i. e. persons who were uncommonly assiduous in prayer, that title was given to the women of whom we are now speaking (*w*). The first society of this kind that we read of, was formed at Nivelles in Brabant, in the year 1226 (*x*); and was followed by so many institutions of a like nature in France, Germany, Holland, and Flanders, that, towards the middle of the thirteenth century, there was scarcely a city of any note, that had not its *beguinage*, or *vineyard*, as it was sometimes called, in conformity to the style of the *Song of Songs* (*y*). All these female societies

(*w*) All the *Beghards* and *Beguines* that yet remain in Flanders and Holland, where their convents have almost entirely changed their ancient and primitive form, affirm unanimously that both their name and institution derive their origin from *St. Begghe*, duchess of Brabant, and daughter of *Pepin*, mayor of the palace to the king of *Austrasia*, who lived in the seventh century. This lady, therefore, they consider as their patroness, and honour her as a kind of tutelary divinity with the deepest sentiments of veneration and respect. See *Jos. Geld. a Ryckel, in vita S. Beggæ cum Adnotat. Duaci et Lovanii edita*; a work of great bulk and little merit, and full of the most silly and insipid fables. Those who are no well wishers to the cause of the *Beguines* adopt a quite different account of their origin, which they deduce from *Lambert le Begue*, a priest and native of *Liege*, who lived in the twelfth century, and was much esteemed on account of his eminent piety. The learned *Peter Coens*, canon of *Antwerp*, has defended this opinion with more erudition than any other writer, in his *Disquisitio Historica de Origine Beghinarum et Beghinagiorum in Belgio*, *Leod. 1672*, in 12mo.

 (*x*) Other historians say, in the year 1207.

(*y*) See *Matth. Paris, Histor. Major. ad an. 1243 and 1250, p. 540. 696.*—*Thomas Cantipratensis in Bono Universali de Apibus, lib. ii. cap. li. p. 478. edit. Colvenerii.*—*Petrus de Herenthal, in his Annals, from which, though they are not yet published, we have a very remarkable passage cited by Jos.*

were not governed by the same laws; but in the greatest part of them, the hours that were not devoted to prayer, meditation, or other religious exercises, were employed in weaving, embroidering, and other manual labours of various kinds. The poor, sick, and disabled Beguines were supported by the pious liberality of such opulent persons as were friends to the order.

XLII. This female institution was soon imitated in Flanders by the other sex; and considerable numbers of unmarried men, both bachelors and widowers, formed themselves into communities of the same kind with those of the Beguines, under the inspection and government of a certain chief, and with the same religious views and purposes; still, however, reserving to themselves the liberty of returning to their former method of life (z). These pious persons were, in the style of this age, called *Beghards*, and by a corruption of that term usual among the Flemish and Dutch, *Bogards*; from others they received the denomination of *Lollards*; in France they were distinguished at first by that of *Bons Valets*, or *Bons Garçons*, and afterwards by that of *Beguins*: they were also called the *Fraternity of Weavers*, from the trade which the greatest part of them exercised. The first society of the *Beghards* seems to have been that which was established at Antwerp in the year 1228, and continues still in a flourishing state; though the brethren of whom it is composed have long since departed from their

Beghards,
or *Lollards.*

Geld. a Ryckel, in his *Observationes ad Vitam S. Beggæ*, sect. cxvi. p. 355. The origin and charters of the convents of Beguines, that were founded during this and the following century in Holland and Flanders, are treated in an ample manner by Aub. Miræus, in his *Opera Historico-diplomatica*, John Bapt. Grammaye, in his *Antiquitates Belgicæ*, Anton Sanders, in his *Brabantia et Flandria illustrata*, and by the other writers of Belgic history.

(z) Matth. Paris, *Hist. Major.* ad an. 1253, p. 539, 540.

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primitive rule of discipline and manners. This first establishment of the Beghards was followed by many more in Germany, France, Holland, and Flanders; though, after all their success, their congregations were less numerous than those of the Beguines (*a*). It is worthy of observation, that the Roman pontiffs never honoured the societies of the Beghards and Beguines with their solemn or explicit approbation, nor confirmed their establishments by the seal of their authority. They however granted them a full toleration, and even defended them often against the stratagems and violence of their enemies, who were many in number. This appears by the edicts in favour of the Beghards, which the pontiffs granted in compliance with the earnest solicitations of many illustrious personages, who wished well to that society. It did not, however, continue always in a flourishing state. The greatest part of the convents, both of the Beghards and Beguines, are now either demolished or converted to other uses. In Flanders, indeed, a considerable number of the latter still subsist, but few of the former are to be found any where.

Greek writers.

XLIII. After the accounts hitherto given of the rulers of the church, and of the monastic and other religious orders that were instituted or became famous during this century, it will not be improper to conclude this chapter, by mentioning

(*a*) See Ryckelii Vita S. Beggæ, p. 635.—Ant. Sanderii Flandria Illustrata, lib. c. xvi. p. 136.—Jo. Bapt. Gramayei Antiquit. Fland. et in Gandavo, p. 22.—Aub. Miræi Opera Diplom. Hist. tom. iii. c. clxviii. p. 145.—Helyot, Hist. des Ordres, tom. vii. p. 248, who is, nevertheless, chargeable with many errors.—“Gerhardus Antoninus, Pater Minister” (so the head of the order is called in our times) “Beghardorum Antwerpensium in Epistola ad Ryckium de Beghardorum origine et fatis,” in Ryckelii Vita S. Beggæ, p. 489. This author, indeed, from a spirit of partiality to his order, conceals the truth designedly in various places.

briefly the Greek and Latin writers, who, during the same period, acquired a name by their learned productions. The most eminent among the Greeks were,

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Nicetas Acominatus, who composed a work entitled, *The History and Treasure of the Orthodox Faith* ;

Germanus, the Grecian patriarch, of whom we have yet extant, among other productions of less note, *A Book against the Latins*, and an *Exposition of the Greek Liturgy* ;

Theodorus Lascaris, who left behind him several treatises upon various subjects of a religious nature, and who also entered the lists against the Latins, which was the reigning passion among such of the Greeks as were endowed with any tolerable parts, and were desirous of showing their zeal for the honour of their nation ;

Nicephorus Blemmida, who employed his talents in the salutary work of healing the divisions between the Greeks and Latins ;

Arsenius, whose *Synopsis of the Canon Law of the Greeks*, is far from being contemptible ;

Georgius Acropolita, who acquired a high degree of renown, not only by his historical writings, but also by the transactions and negotiations in which he was employed by the emperor Michael ;

Johannes Beccus or Veccus, who involved himself in much trouble, and made himself many enemies, by defending the cause of the Latins against his own nation with too much zeal ;

George Metochita, and Constantine Meliteniota, who employed, without success, their most earnest efforts to bring about a reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins ;

George Pachymeres, who acquired a name by his commentary upon Dionysius, the pretended

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chief of the mystics, and by a history which he composed of his own time; and,

George the Cyprian, whose hatred of the Latins, and warm opposition to Veccus abovementioned, rendered him more famous than all his other productions (*b*).

Latin writers.

XLIV. The prodigious number of Latin writers that appeared in this century renders it impossible for us to mention them all; we shall therefore confine our account to those among them, who were the most eminent, and whose theological writings demand most frequently our notice in the course of this history. Such are,

Joachim, abbot of Flora in Calabria, who, though esteemed on account of his piety and knowledge, was, nevertheless, a man of mean parts and of a weak judgment, full of enthusiastic and visionary notions, and therefore considered, during his life and after his death, by the miserable and blinded multitude, as a prophet sent from above. The pretended prophecies of this silly fanatic are abundantly known, and have been frequently published (*c*);

Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, who wrote commentaries upon the greatest part of the books of scripture (*d*);

Francis, the founder of the famous society of Friars-minors, or Franciscans, whose writings were

(*b*) For a more ample account of all these writers, the reader may consult the *Bibliotheca Græca* of Fabricius.

(*c*) The life of Joachim was written in Italian by Gregory di Lauro, and published in 4to. at Naples in the year 1660. The first edition of his prophecies was printed at Venice, in the year 1517, and was followed by several new editions, to satisfy the curiosity of the populace, great and small.

(*d*) Langton was a learned and polite author for the age he lived in. It is to him we are indebted for the division of the Bible into chapters. He wrote commentaries upon all the Books of the Old Testament, and upon St. Paul's Epistles.

designed to touch the heart, and excite pious and devout sentiments, but discover little genius, and less judgment ;

Alan de l'Isle, a logician, who made no mean figure among the disputatious tribe, who applied himself also to the study of chemistry, and published several moral discourses, in which there are many wise and useful exhortations and precepts (*e*);

Jacobus de Vitriaco, who acquired a name by his *Oriental History* ; and Jacobus de Voragine, whose *History of the Lombards* (*f*) was received with applause.

The writers of this century, who obtained the greatest renown on account of their laborious researches in what was called philosophical or dialectical theology, were Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Bonaventura, who were, each of them, truly possessed of an inquisitive turn of mind, a sublime and penetrating genius, accompanied with an uncommon talent of sounding the most hidden truths, and treating with facility the most abstruse subjects, though they are all chargeable with errors and reveries that do little honour to their memories (*g*). The

(*e*) Several of the name of Alan lived in this century, who have been strangely confounded, both by ancient and modern writers. See *Jaq. le Bœuf, Memoires sur l'Hist. d'Auxerre*, tom. i. p. 300. and *Dissert. sur l'Hist. Civil et Eccles. de Paris*, tom. ii. p. 293.

(*f*) *Jac. Echardi Scriptor. Domin. tom. i. p. 454.*—*Bollandi Præf. ad Acta Sanctor. tom. i. p. 9.*

(*g*) For an account of Albert, see *Echard. Script. Dom. tom. i. p. 162.*—For an account of Thomas Aquinas, who was called the Angel of the Scholastics, among other splendid titles, see the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. Martii, p. 655. and *Ant. Turon, Vie de St. Thomas, Paris, 1737, in 4to.*—We have also a circumstantial relation of whatever concerns the life, writings, and exploits of Bonaventura, the tutelary saint of the Lionnois, in France, in the two following books, viz. *Colonia, Histoire Litteraire de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 307, and the

other writers, who trod the same intricate paths of metaphysical divinity, were many in number, and several of them justly admired, though much inferior in renown to the celebrated triumvirate now mentioned; such were Alexander de Hales, the interpreter of Aristotle, William of Paris (*h*), Robert Capito (*i*), Thomas Cantipratensis, John de Peckham, William Durand, Roger Bacon (*k*), Richard Middleton, Ægidius de Columna, Armand de Bello Visu, and several others.

Hugo de St. Caro gained much applause by the Concordance, which he composed of the Holy Bible (*l*).

Guillaume de St. Amour carried on with great spirit and resolution, but with little success, a literary and theological war against the Mendicant Friars, who looked upon begging as a mark of sanctity.

Humbert de Romanis drew up a system of rules and precepts with a view to put under a better regulation the lives and manners of the monastic orders.

Histoire de la Vie et du Culte de S. Bonaventure, par un Religieux Cordelier, à Lyon, 1747, in 8vo.

(*h*) See the *Gallia Christiana*, published by the Benedictines, tom. vii. p. 95.

(*i*) The learned Anthony Wood has given an ample account of Robert Capito, in his *Antiquitat. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 81. 105.

 (*k*) We are surprised to find Roger Bacon thrust here into a crowd of vulgar literati, since that great man, whose astonishing genius and universal learning have already been taken notice of, was, in every respect, superior to Albert and Bonaventura, two of the heroes of Dr. Mosheim's triumvirate.

 (*l*) Hugo de St. Caro, or St. Cher, composed also a very learned collection of the various readings of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin manuscripts of the Bible. This work, which he entitled *Correctorium Bibliæ*, is preserved in manuscript in the Sorbonne library. We must not forget to observe also, that his Concordance is the first that ever was compiled.

Guilielmus Peraldus arose in this century to the highest degree of literary renown, in consequence of a system of morals he published under the title of *Summa Virtutem et Vitiorum* (*m*).

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Raymond Martin yet survives the oblivion that has covered many of his cotemporaries; and his *Pugio Fidei*, or *Sword of Faith*, which he drew against the Jews and Saracens, has escaped the ruins of time.

John of Paris deserves an eminent rank among the glorious defenders of truth, liberty, and justice; since he maintained the authority of the civil powers, and the majesty of kings and princes, against the ambitious stratagems and usurpations of the Roman pontiffs, and declared openly his opposition to the opinion that was commonly adopted with respect to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and the presence of Christ in that holy ordinance (*n*).

CHAPTER III.

Concerning the Doctrine of the Christian Church, during this Century.

I. HOWEVER numerous and deplorable the corruptions and superstitious abuses were, that had hitherto reigned in the church, and deformed the beautiful simplicity of the gospel, they were nevertheless increased in this century, instead of being reformed, and the religion of Christ

The general state of religion.

(*m*) See *Colonia, Histoire Litteraire de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 322.

(*n*) We may learn his opinion concerning the eucharist from his treatise, entitled, *Determinatio de S. Cœna*, and published in 8vo. at London, by the learned Dr. Alix, in the year 1686.—See also *Echardi Scriptor. Dominican.* tom. i. p. 501.—*Baluzii Vitæ Pontif. Avenionens.* tom. i. p. 4. 576, 577.

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continued to suffer under the growing tyranny of fanaticism and superstition. The progress of reason and truth was retarded among the Greeks and Orientals, by their immoderate aversion to the Latins, their blind admiration of whatever bore the stamp of antiquity, the indolence of their bishops, the stupidity of their clergy, and the calamities of the times. Among the Latins, many concurring causes united to augment the darkness of that cloud that had already been cast over the divine lustre of genuine Christianity. On the one hand, the Roman pontiffs could not bear the thoughts of any thing that might have the remotest tendency to diminish their authority, or to encroach upon their prerogatives; and therefore they laboured assiduously to keep the multitude in the dark, and to blast every attempt that was made towards a reformation in the doctrine or discipline of the church. On the other hand, the school divines, among whom the Dominican and Franciscan monks made the greatest figure on account of their unintelligible jargon and subtilty, shed perplexity and darkness over the plain truths of religion by their intricate distinctions and endless divisions, and by that cavilling, quibbling, disputatious spirit, that is the mortal enemy both of truth and virtue. It is true, that these scholastic doctors were not all equally chargeable with corrupting the truth; the most enormous and criminal corrupters of Christianity were those who led the multitude into the two following abominable errors; that it was in the power of man to perform, if he pleased, a more perfect obedience than God required; and that the whole of religion consisted in an external air of gravity, and in certain composed bodily gestures.

II. It will be easy to confirm this general account of the state of religion by particular facts.

In the fourth council of the Lateran that was held by Innocent III. in the year 1215, and at which a prodigious number of ecclesiastics were assembled (*o*), that imperious pontiff, without deigning to consult any body, published no less than seventy laws or decrees, by which not only the authority of the popes and the power of the clergy were confirmed and extended, but also new doctrines, or articles of faith, were imposed upon Christians. Hitherto the opinions of the Christian doctors, concerning the manner in which the body and blood of Christ were present in the eucharist, were extremely different; nor had the church determined, by any clear and positive decree, the sentiment that was to be embraced in relation to that important matter. It was reserved for Innocent to put an end to the liberty, which every Christian had hitherto enjoyed, of interpreting this presence in the manner he thought most agreeable to the declarations of scripture, and to decide in favour of the most monstrous doctrine that the frenzy of superstition was capable of inventing. This audacious pontiff pronounced the opinion, that is embraced at this day in the church of Rome relating to that point, to be the only true and orthodox account of the matter; and he had the honour of introducing and establishing the use of the term Transubstantiation, which was hitherto absolutely unknown (*p*). The same pontiff placed, by his own authority, among the duties prescribed by the divine laws, that of auricular confession to a priest; a confession that implied not only a general acknowledgment, but also a particular enumeration of the sins and follies of the penitent. Before

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New arti-
cles of faith
imposed by
Innocent
III.

 (*o*) At this council there were present 412 bishops, 800 abbots and priors, besides the ambassadors of almost all the European princes.

(*p*) See Edm. Albertinus, *De Eucharistia*, lib. iii. p. 972.

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this period several doctors, indeed, looked upon this kind of confession as a duty inculcated by divine authority; but this opinion was not publicly received as the doctrine of the church. For though the confession of sins was justly looked upon as an essential duty, yet it was left to every Christian's choice to make this confession mentally to the Supreme Being, or to express it in words to a spiritual confidant and director (*q*). These two laws, which, by the authority of Innocent, were received as laws of God, and adopted, of consequence, as laws of the church, occasioned a multitude of new injunctions and rites, of which not even the smallest traces are to be found in the sacred writings, or in the apostolic and primitive ages; and which were much more adapted to establish and extend the reign of superstition than to open the eyes of the blinded multitude upon the enormous abuses of which it had been the source.

The sect of
the Flagel-
lantes, or
Whippers.

III. There is nothing that will contribute more to convince us of the miserable state of religion in this century, and of the frenzy that almost generally prevailed in the devotion of these unhappy times, than the rise of the sect called Flagellantes, or Whippers, which sprung up in Italy in the year 1260, and was propagated from thence through almost all the countries of Europe. The societies that embraced this new discipline presented the most hideous and shocking spectacle that can well be conceived; they ran in multitudes, composed of persons of both sexes, and of all ranks and ages, through the public places of the most populous cities, and also through the fields and deserts, with whips in their hands, lashing their naked bodies with the most astonishing severity, filling the air with their wild

(*q*) See the book of the learned Daille, Concerning Auricular Confession.

shrieks, and beholding the firmament with an air of distraction, ferocity, and horror; and all this with a view to obtain the divine mercy for themselves and others, by their voluntary mortification and penance (*r*). This method of appeasing the Deity was perfectly conformable to the notions concerning religion that generally prevailed in this century; nor did these fanatical Whippers do any thing more, in this extravagant discipline, than practise the lessons they had received from the monks, especially from those of the Mendicant orders. Hence they attracted the esteem and veneration, not only of the populace, but also of their rulers, and were honoured and revered by all ranks and orders, on account of their extraordinary sanctity and virtue. Their sect, however, did not continue always in the same high degree of credit and reputation; for though the primitive Whippers were exemplary in point of morals, yet their societies were augmented, as might naturally be expected, by a turbulent and furious rabble, many of whom were infected with the most ridiculous and impious opinions. Hence both the emperors and pontiffs thought proper to put an end to this religious frenzy, by declaring all devout whipping contrary to the divine law, and prejudicial to the soul's eternal interests.

IV. The Christian interpreters and commentators of this century differ very little from those of the preceding times. The greatest part of them pretended to draw from the depths of truth (or rather of their imaginations) what they called the internal juice and marrow of the scriptures,

The method of interpreting and explaining the scriptures little altered in this century.

(*r*) Christ. Schotgenii *Historia Flagellantium*.—Jaques Boileau, *Histoire des Flagellans*, chap. ix. p. 253. We have also a lively picture of this fanatical discipline of the Whippers exhibited in Martene's *Voyage Litteraire de deux Benedictins*, tom. ii. p. 105. with which the reader may compare *Muratorii Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. vi. p. 469.

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i. e. their hidden and mysterious sense; and this they did with so little dexterity, so little plausibility and invention, that the most of their explications must appear insipid and nauseous to such as are not entirely destitute of judgment and taste. If our readers be desirous of a proof of the justice of this censure, or curious to try the extent of their patience, they have only to peruse the explications that have been given by archbishop Langton, Hugh de St. Cher, and Antony of Padua, of the various books of the Old and New Testament. The Mystic doctors carried this visionary method of interpreting scripture to the greatest height, and displayed the most laborious industry, or rather the most egregious folly, in searching for mysteries, where reason and common sense could find nothing but plain and evident truths. They were too penetrating and quick-sighted not to perceive clearly in the holy scriptures all those doctrines that were agreeable to their idle and fantastic system. Nor were their adversaries, the schoolmen, entirely averse to this arbitrary and fanciful manner of interpretation; though their principal industry was employed rather in collecting the explications given by the ancient doctors than in inventing new ones, as appears from the writings of Alexander Hales, Guilielmus Alvernus, and Thomas Aquinas himself. We must not, however, omit observing, that the scholastic doctors in general, and more especially these now mentioned, had recourse often to the subtilties of logic and metaphysic, to assist them in their explications of the sacred writings. To facilitate the study and interpretation of these divine books, Hugh de St. Cher composed his Concordance (*s*), and the Dominicans, under the eye of their supreme chief,

(*s*) Echardi Scriptor. Ord. Prædicator. tom. i. p. 194.

the learned Jordan, gave a new edition of the Latin translation of the Bible, carefully revised and corrected from the ancient copies (*t*). The Greeks contributed nothing that deserves attention towards the illustration of the Holy Scriptures; the greatest part of which were expounded with great learning by Gregory Abulpharaius, that celebrated Syrian, whose erudition was famous throughout all the east, and whom we have already had occasion to mention in the course of this history (*u*).

V. Systems of theology and morals were multiplied exceedingly in this century; and the number of those writers, who treated of the divine perfections and worship, and of the practical rules of virtue and obedience, is too great to permit our mentioning them particularly. All such as were endowed with any considerable degree of genius and eloquence employed their labours upon these noble branches of sacred science, more especially the academical and public teachers, among whom the Dominicans and Franciscans held the most eminent rank. It is, indeed, neither necessary to mention the names, nor to enumerate the productions of these doctors, since whoever is acquainted with the characters and writings of Albert the Great, and Thomas Aquinas, will know every thing that is worthy of note in the rest, who were no more than their echos. The latter of these two truly great men, who is commonly called the Angel of the Schools, or the Angelic Doctor, sat unrivalled at the head of the divines of this century, and deservedly obtained the principal place among those who digested the doctrines of Christianity into a regular

The state
of the di-
dactic theo-
logy.

(*t*) Rich. Simon, Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccles. par M. Du Pin.

(*u*) Jos. Sim. Assemani Biblioth. Orient. Vatican. tom. ii. p. 277.

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system, and illustrated and explained them in a scientific manner. For no sooner had his system, or sum of theology and morals, seen the light, than it was received universally with the highest applause, placed in the same rank with the famous Book of Sentences of Peter Lombard, and admitted as the standard of truth, and the great rule according to which the public teachers formed their plans of instruction, and the youth their method of study. Certain writers, indeed, have denied that Thomas was the author of the celebrated system that bears his name (*w*); but the reasons they allege in support of this notion are utterly destitute of evidence and solidity (*x*).

The scholastic doctors, for the most part, Realists *.

VI. The greatest part of these doctors followed Aristotle as their model, and made use of the logical and metaphysical principles of that subtile philosopher, in illustrating the doctrines of Christianity, and removing the difficulties with which some of them were attended. In their philosophical explications of the more sublime truths of that divine religion they followed the hypothesis of the Realists, which sect, in this century, was much more numerous and flourishing than that of the Nominalists, on account of the lustre and credit it derived from the authority of Thomas Aquinas and Albert, its learned and venerable patrons. Yet, notwithstanding all the subtilty and

(*w*) See Jo. Launoi Traditio Ecclesie circa Simoniam, p. 290.

(*x*) See Natalis Alexander, *Histor. Eccles. Sæc. xiii.* p. 391. —Echard and Quetif, *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator. Sæc. xiii.* tom. i. p. 293.—Ant. Touron, *Vie de St. Thomas*, p. 604.

 * In the original we find *Positivi* in the margin, which is manifestly a fault; since the *Positivi* were quite opposite, in their method of teaching, to the schoolmen, and were the same with *Biblici* mentioned in the following section. See above, Cent. XII. Part II. Ch. III. sect. VIII.

penetration of these irrefragable, seraphic, and angelic doctors, as they were commonly styled, they often appeared wiser in their own conceit than they were in reality, and frequently did little more than involve in greater obscurity the doctrines which they pretended to place in the clearest light. For, not to mention the ridiculous oddity of many of their expressions, the hideous barbarity of their style, and their extravagant and presumptuous desire of prying into matters that infinitely surpass the comprehension of short-sighted mortals, they were chargeable with defects in their manner of reasoning, which every true philosopher will, of all others, be most careful to avoid. For they neither defined their terms accurately, and hence arose innumerable disputes merely about words; nor did they divide their subject with perspicuity and precision, and hence they generally treated it in a confused and unsatisfactory manner. The great Angelic Doctor himself, notwithstanding his boasted method, was defective in these respects; his definitions are often vague, or obscure, and his plans or divisions, though full of art, are frequently destitute of clearness and proportion.

VII. The method of investigating divine truth by reason and philosophy prevailed so universally, and was followed with such ardour, that the number of those, who, in conformity with the example of the ancient doctors, drew their systems of theology from the holy scriptures and the

The number of compilers, or Biblicists *, greatly diminished.

 * In the margin of the original, instead of Biblicists, which we find in the text, Dr. Mosheim has wrote Sententiarum, which is undoubtedly an oversight. The Sententiarum, or followers of Peter Lombard, who is considered as the father of the scholastic philosophy, are to be placed in the same class with the philosophical divines, mentioned in the preceding section, and were quite opposite to the Biblici, both in their manner of thinking and teaching. See above, Cent. XII. Part II. chap. III. sect. VIII.

writings of the fathers, and who acquired on that account the name of Biblicists, diminished from day to day. It is true, indeed, that several persons of eminent piety (*y*), and even some of the Roman pontiffs (*z*), exhorted with great seriousness and warmth the scholastic divines, and more especially those of the university of Paris, to change their method of teaching theology, and, laying aside their philosophical abstraction and subtilty, to deduce the sublime science of salvation from the holy scriptures with that purity and simplicity with which it was there delivered by the inspired writers. But these admonitions and exhortations were without effect; the evil was become too inveterate to admit of a remedy, and the passion for logic and metaphysic was grown so universal and so violent, that neither remonstrances nor arguments could check its presumption, or allay its ardour. In justice however to the scholastic doctors, it is necessary to observe, that they did not neglect the dictates of the gospel, nor the authority of tradition; though what they drew from these two sources proves sufficiently that they had studied neither with much attention or application of mind (*a*). And it is moreover certain, that, in process of time, they

(*y*) See Du Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 9. 129. 180.—Ant. Wood, *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 91, 92. 94.

(*z*) See the famous epistle of Gregory IX. to the professors in the university of Paris, published in Du Boulay's *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 129. The pontiff concludes that remarkable epistle with the following words: "Mandamus et stricte præcipimus, quatenus sine fermento mundanæ scientiæ, doceatis Theologicam puritatem non adulterantes verbum Dei Philosophorum figmentis... sed contenti terminis a patribus institutis mentes auditorum vestrorum fructu cœlestis eloquii saginetis, ut hauriant a fontibus salvatoris.

(*a*) Faydit, *Alteration du Dogme Theologique par la Philosophie d'Aristote*, p. 289.—Richard Simon, *Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccles.* par M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 170. 187.

committed to others the care of consulting the sources now mentioned, and reserved to themselves the much respected province of philosophy, and the intricate mazes of dialectical chicanery. And, indeed, independent of their philosophical vanity, we may assign another reason for this method of proceeding, drawn from the nature of their profession, and the circumstances in which they were placed. For the greatest part of these subtle doctors were Dominican or Franciscan friars; and as the monks of these orders had no possessions, not even libraries, and led, besides, wandering and itinerant lives, such of them as were ambitious of literary fame, and of the honours of authorship, were, for the most part, obliged to draw their materials from their own genius and memory, being destitute of all other succours.

VIII. The opinions which these philosophical divines instilled into the minds of the youth appeared to the votaries of the ancient fathers highly dangerous and even pernicious; and hence they used their utmost efforts to stop the progress of these opinions, and to diminish the credit and influence of their authors. Nor was their opposition at all ill-grounded; for the subtle doctors of the school not only explained the mysteries of religion in a manner conformable to the principles of their presumptuous logic, and modified them according to the dictates of their imperfect reason, but also propagated the most impious sentiments and tenets concerning the Supreme Being, the material world, the origin of the universe, and the nature of the soul. And when it was objected to these sentiments and tenets, that they were in direct contradiction to the genius of Christianity, and to the express doctrines of scripture, these scholastic quibblers had recourse, for a reply, or rather for a method of escape, to

Much opposition made to the scholastic doctors.

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that perfidious distinction, which has been frequently employed by modern deists, that these tenets were philosophically true, and conformable to right reason, but that they were, indeed, theologically false, and contrary to the orthodox faith. This kindled an open war between the Biblicists, or Bible-divines, and the scholastic doctors, which was carried on with great warmth throughout the whole course of this century, particularly in the universities of Oxford and Paris, where we find the former loading the latter with the heaviest reproaches in their public acts and in their polemic writings, and accusing them of corrupting the doctrines of the gospel, both in their public lessons, and in their private discourse (*b*). Even St. Thomas himself was accused of holding opinions contrary to the truth; his orthodoxy, at least, was looked upon as extremely dubious by many of the Parisian doctors (*c*). He accordingly saw a formidable scene of opposition arising against him, but had the good fortune to conjure the storm, and to escape untouched. Others, whose authority was less extensive, and their names less respectable, were treated with more severity. The living were obliged to confess publicly their errors; and the dead, who had persevered in them to the last, had their memories branded with infamy.

The Mystics oppose the schoolmen.

IX. But the most formidable adversaries the scholastic doctors had to encounter were the Mystics, who, rejecting every thing that had the least resemblance of argumentation or dispute about

(*b*) See Matth. Paris, *Histor. Major.* p. 541.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 397. 430. 433. 472, &c.

(*c*) See Jo. Launoi *Hist. Gymnas. Navarreni*, part III. lib. iii. cap. cxvi. tom. iv. opp. part I. p. 485.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. iv. p. 204.—Petri Zornii *Opuscula Sacra*, tom. i. p. 445.—R. Simon, *Lettres Choisiés*, tom. ii. p. 266.—Echardi *Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator.* tom. i. p. 435.

matters of doctrine and opinion, confined their endeavours to the advancement of inward piety, and the propagation of devout and tender feelings, and thus acquired the highest degree of popularity. The people, who are much more affected with what touches their passions than with what is only addressed to their reason, were attached to the Mystics in the warmest manner; and this gave such weight to the reproaches and invectives which they threw out against the schoolmen, that the latter thought it more prudent to disarm these favourites of the multitude by mild and submissive measures, than to return their reproaches with indignation and bitterness. They accordingly set themselves to flatter the Mystics, and not only extolled their sentimental system, but employed their pens in illustrating and defending it; nay, they associated it with the scholastic philosophy, though they were as different from each other as any two things could possibly be. It is well known that Bonaventura, Albert the Great, Robert Capito, and Thomas Aquinas contributed to this reconciliation between Mysticism and Dialectics by their learned labours, and even went so far as to write commentaries upon Dionysius, the chief of the Mystics, whom these subtile doctors probably looked upon with a secret contempt.

X. Both the schoolmen and Mystics of this century treated, in their writings, of the obligations of morality, the duties of the Christian life, and of the means that were most adapted to preserve or deliver the soul from the servitude and contagion of vice; but their methods of handling these important subjects were, as may be easily conceived, entirely different. We may form an idea of mystical morality from the Observations of George Pachymeres, upon the writings of Dionysius, and from the Spiritual Institutes, or Abridg-

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ment of Mystic Theology, composed by Humbert de Romanis, of which productions the first was written in Greek, and the second in Latin. As to the scholastic moralists, they were principally employed in defining the nature of virtue and vice in general, and the characters of the various virtues and vices in particular; and hence the prodigious number of sums, or systematical collections of virtues and vices, that appeared in this century. The schoolmen divided the virtues into two classes. The first comprehended the moral virtues, which differ, in no respect, from those which Aristotle recommended to his disciples. The second contained the theological virtues, which, in consequence of what St. Paul says, 1 Corinth. xiii. 13. they made to consist in Faith, Hope, and Charity. In explaining and illustrating the nature of the virtues, comprehended in these two classes, they seemed rather to have in view the pleasure of disputing, than the design of instructing; and they exhausted all their subtilty in resolving difficulties which were of their own creation. Thomas Aquinas shone forth as a star of the first magnitude, though, like the others, he was often covered with impenetrable fogs. The second part of his famous sum was wholly employed in laying down the principles of morality, and in deducing and illustrating the various duties that result from them; and this part of his learned labours has had the honour and misfortune of passing through the hands of a truly prodigious number of commentators.

An important remark relating to the manner of treating morals in this century.

XI. It is absolutely necessary to observe here, that the moral writers of this and the following centuries must be read with the utmost caution; and with a perpetual attention to this circumstance, that, though they employ the same terms that we find in the sacred writings, yet they use them in a quite different sense from that which

they bear in these divine books. They speak of justice, charity, faith, and holiness; but as these virtues are illustrated by these quibbling sophists, they differ much from the amiable and sublime duties which Christ and his disciples have inculcated under the same denominations. A single example will be sufficient to render this evident beyond contradiction. A pious and holy man, according to the sense annexed by our Saviour to these terms, is one, who consecrates his affections and actions to the service of the Supreme Being, and accounts it his highest honour and felicity, as well as his indispensable duty, to obey his laws. But, in the style of the moral writers of this age, he was a pious and holy man, who deprived himself of his possessions to enrich the priesthood, to build churches, and found monasteries, and whose faith and obedience were so implicitly enslaved to the imperious dictates of the Roman pontiffs, that he believed and acted without examination, as these lordly directors thought proper to prescribe. Nor were the ideas which these writers entertained concerning justice at all conformable to the nature of that virtue, as it is described in the holy scriptures, since in their opinion it was lawful to injure, revile, torment, persecute, and even to put to death, a heretic, i. e. any person who refused to obey blindly the decrees of the pontiffs, or to believe all the absurdities which they imposed upon the credulity of the multitude.

XII. The writers of controversy in this century were more numerous than respectable. Nicetas Acominatus, who made a considerable figure among the Greeks, attacked all the different sects in his work entitled, *The Treasure of the Orthodox Faith*; but he combated after the Grecian manner, and defended the cause he undertook to maintain rather by the decrees of councils,

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and the decisions of the fathers, than by the dictates of reason, and the authority of scripture. Raymond of Pennafort was one of the first among the Latins who abandoned the unchristian method of converting infidels by the force of arms and the terrors of capital punishments, and who undertook to vanquish the Jews and Saracens by reason and argument (*d*). This engaged in the same controversy a considerable number of able disputants, who were acquainted with the Hebrew and Arabic languages; among whom Raymond Martin, the celebrated author of the *Sword of Faith* (*e*), is unquestionably entitled to the first rank. Thomas Aquinas also appeared with dignity among the Christian champions; and his book against the Gentiles (*f*) is far from being contemptible: nor ought we to omit mentioning a learned book of Alan de l'Isle, which was designed to refute the objections of both Jews and Pagans (*g*). The writers, who handled other more particular branches of theological controversy, were far inferior to these now mentioned in genius and abilities; and their works seemed less calculated to promote the truth than to render their adversaries odious.

The controversy between the Greeks and Latins continued.

XIII. The grand controversy between the Greek and Latin church was still carried on; and all the efforts that were made, during this century, to bring it to a conclusion, one way or another, proved ineffectual. Gregory IX. employed the ministry of the Franciscan monks to bring about an accommodation with the Greeks, and

(*d*) Echard et Quetif in *Scriptoribus Ordinis Prædicator.* tom. 1. sect. xiii. p. 106.

(*e*) Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Martini.—Pauli Colomesii *Hispania Orient.* p. 209.

(*f*) Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Delect. Argumentorum et Scriptor. pro veritate Relig. Christian.* p. 270.

(*g*) *Liber contra Judæos et Paganos.*

pursued with zeal this laudable purpose from the year 1232, to the end of his pontificate, but without the least appearance of success (*h*). Innocent IV. embarked in the same undertaking, in the year 1247, and sent John of Parma, with other Franciscan friars, to Nice for the same purpose; while the Grecian pontiff came in person to Rome, and was declared legate of the Apostolic see (*i*). But these previous acts of mutual civility and respect, which could not but excite the hopes of such as longed for the conclusion of these unhappy discords, did not terminate in the reconciliation that was expected. New incidents arose to blast the influence of these salutary measures, and the flame of dissension recovered new vigour. Under the pontificate of Urban IV. the aspect of things changed for the better, and the negotiations for peace were renewed with such success, as promised a speedy conclusion of these unhappy divisions. For Michael Palæologus had no sooner driven the Latins out of Constantinople, than he sent ambassadors to Rome to declare his pacific intentions, that thus he might establish his disputed dominion, and gain over the Roman pontiff to his side (*k*). But during the course of these negotiations, Urban's death left matters unfinished, and suspended, once more, the hopes and expectations of the public. Under the pontificate of Gregory X. proposals of peace were again made by the same emperor, who, after much opposition from his own clergy, sent ambassadors to the council that was assembled at Lyons

(*h*) See Wadding. Annal. Minor. tom. ii. p. 279. 296. & Echard Scriptor. Ordin. Prædicator. tom. i. p. 103. 911.—Add to these Matth. Paris, Histor. Major. p. 386.

(*i*) See Baluzii Miscellan. tom. vii. p. 370. 388. 393. 397. 497, 498.—Wadding. Annal. Minor. tom. iii. and iv. p. 37.

(*k*) Wadding. Annal. Minor. tom. iv. p. 181. 201. 223. 269. 303.

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in the year 1274 (*l*), and there, with the solemn consent of John Veccus, patriarch of Constantinople, and several Greek bishops, publicly agreed to the terms of accommodation proposed by the Roman pontiff (*m*). This re-union, however, was not durable; for the situation of affairs in Greece and Italy being changed some years after this convention, and that in such a manner as to deliver the former from all apprehensions of a Latin invasion, Andronicus, the son of Michael, assembled a council at Constantinople, in the palace of Blachernæ, A. D. 1284, in which, by a solemn decree, this ignominious treaty was declared entirely null, and the famous Veccus, by whose persuasion and authority it had been concluded, was sent into exile (*n*). This resolute measure, as may well be imagined, rendered the divisions more violent than they had been before the treaty now mentioned; and it was also followed by an open schism, and by the most unhappy discords among the Grecian clergy.

(*l*) See Wadding. Annal. Minor. tom. iv. p. 343. 371. tom. v. p. 9. 29. 62.—Colonia, Hist. Litter. de la Ville de Lyon, tom. ii. p. 284.

 (*m*) Joseph, and not Veccus, was patriarch of Constantinople, when this treaty was concluded. The former had bound himself by a solemn oath never to consent to a reconciliation between the Greek and Latin churches; for which reason the emperor, when he sent his ambassadors to Lyons, proposed to Joseph the following alternative: that, if they succeeded in bringing about an accommodation, he should renounce his patriarchal dignity; but, if they failed in their attempt, he was to remain patriarch, advising him, at the same time, to retire to a convent, until the matter was decided. The ambassador succeeded, Joseph was deposed, and Veccus elected in his place; when, and not before, this latter ratified the treaty in question by his solemn consent, to the ignominious article of supremacy and pre-eminence, which it confirmed to the Roman pontiff.

(*n*) Leo Allatius de perpetua Consensione Eccles. Orient. et Occident. lib. ii. c. xv. xvi. p. 727.—Fred. Spanheim de perpet. Dissensione Græcor. et Latin: tom. ii. opp. p. 488, &c.

XIV. We pass over several controversies of a more private kind, and of inferior moment, which have nothing in their nature or circumstances that deserves the attention of the curious; but we must not forget to observe that the grand dispute concerning the eucharist was still continued in this century, not only in France, but also in several other places. For though Innocent III. had, in the council held at the Lateran, in the year 1215, presumptuously taken upon him to place Transubstantiation among the avowed doctrines of the Latin church, yet the authority of this decree was called in question by many, and several divines had the courage to maintain the probability of the opinions that were opposed to that monstrous doctrine. Those who, adopting the sentiments of Berenger, considered the bread and wine in no other light than as signs or symbols of the body and blood of Christ, did not venture either to defend or profess this opinion in a public manner. Many, also, thought it sufficient to acknowledge, what was termed a real presence, though they explained the manner of this presence quite otherwise than the doctrine of Innocent had defined it (*o*). Among these, John, surnamed Pungens Asinus, a subtile doctor of the university of Paris, acquired an eminent and distinguished name, and, without incurring the censure of his superiors, substituted Consubstantiation in the place of Transubstantiation towards the conclusion of this century (*p*).

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The dis-
putes con-
cerning the
presence of
Christ's
body in the
eucharist
continued.

(*o*) Pet. Allix. Præf. ad F. Johannis Determinat. de Sacramento Altaris, published at London in 8vo, in the year 1686.

(*p*) The book of this celebrated doctor was published by the learned Allix abovementioned. See Baluzii Vitæ Pontif. Avenion. tom. i. p. 576.—Dacherii Spicileg. Veter. Scriptor. tom. iii. p. 58.—Echardi Scriptorum Dominicani, tom. i. p. 561.

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church during this Century.

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Rites multiplied.

I. IT would be endless to enumerate the additions that were made in this century to the external part of divine worship, in order to increase its pomp and render it more striking. These additions were owing partly to the public edicts of the Roman pontiffs, and partly to the private injunctions of the Sacerdotal and Monastic orders, who shared the veneration which was excited in the multitude by the splendor and magnificence of this religious spectacle. Instead of mentioning these additions, we shall only observe in general, that religion was now become a sort of a raree-show in the hands of the rulers of the church, who, to render its impressions more deep and lasting, thought proper to exhibit it in a striking manner to the external senses. For this purpose, at certain stated times, and especially upon the more illustrious festivals, the miraculous dispensations of the divine wisdom in favour of the church, and the more remarkable events in the Christian history, were represented under certain allegorical figures and images, or rather in a kind of mimic show (*q*). But these scenic representations, in which there was a motley mixture of mirth and gravity, these tragi-comical spectacles, though they amused and affected in a certain manner the gazing populace, were highly detrimental, instead of being useful, to the cause of religion; they degraded its dignity, and furnished abundant matter of laughter to its enemies.

(*q*) It is probable enough, that this licentious custom of exhibiting mimic representations of religious objects, derived its origin from the Mendicant friars.

II. It will not appear surprising that the bread, consecrated in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, became the object of religious worship; for this was the natural consequence of the monstrous doctrine of Transubstantiation. But the effects of that impious and ridiculous doctrine did not end here; it produced all that train of ceremonies and institutions that are still used in the church of Rome, in honour of that deified bread, as they blasphemously call it. Hence those rich and splendid receptacles, that were formed for the residence of God under this new shape (*r*), and the lamps and other precious ornaments that were designed to beautify this habitation of the Deity. And hence the custom that still prevails of carrying about this divine bread in solemn pomp through the public streets, when it is to be administered to sick or dying persons, with many other ceremonies of a like nature, which are dishonourable to religion, and opprobrious to humanity. But that which gave the finishing touch to this heap of absurdities, and displayed superstition in its highest extravagance, was the institution of the celebrated annual Festival of the Holy Sacrament, or, as it is sometimes called, of the body of Christ, whose origin was as follows: a certain devout woman, whose name was Juliana, and who lived at Liege, declared that she had received a revelation from

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The rites
instituted
in relation
to the eu-
charist.

 (*r*) This blasphemous language, which Dr. Mosheim is obliged to use in representing the absurdities of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, is nothing in comparison with the impious figures that were made use of by the abettors of that monstrous tenet to accommodate it, in some measure, to the capacities of the multitude. We need not wonder, that the pagans metamorphosed their Jupiter into a bull, a swan, and other such figures, when we see the rulers of the Christian church transforming the Son of God into a piece of bread; a transformation so vile, and, even were it not vile, so useless, that it is inconceivable how it could enter into the head of any mortal, and equally so, how the bishops of Rome could confide so far in the credulity of the people, as to risk their authority by propagating such a doctrine.

heaven, intimating to her, that it was the will of God, that a peculiar festival should be annually observed in honour of the holy sacrament, or rather of the real presence of Christ's body in that sacred institution. Few gave attention or credit to this pretended vision, whose circumstances were extremely equivocal and absurd (*s*), and which would have come to nothing, had it not been supported by Robert, bishop of Liege, who, in the year 1246, published an order for the celebration of this festival throughout the whole province, notwithstanding the opposition which he knew would be made to a proposal founded only on an idle dream. After the death of Juliana, one of her friends and companions, whose name was Eve, took up her cause with uncommon zeal, and had credit enough with Urban IV. to engage him to publish, in the year 1264, a solemn edict, by which the festival in question was imposed upon all the Christian churches without exception. This edict, however, did not produce its full and proper effect, on account of the death of the pontiff, which happened soon after its publication; so that the festival under consideration was not celebrated universally throughout the Latin churches before the pontificate of Clement V. (*t*), who, in the council, held at Vienne in France, in the year 1311, con-

 (*s*) This fanatical woman declared, that as often as she addressed herself to God, or to the saints in prayer, she saw the full moon with a small defect or breach in it; and that, having long studied to find out the signification of this strange appearance, she was inwardly informed by the Spirit, that the moon signified the church, and that the defect or breach was the want of an annual festival in honour of the holy sacrament.

(*t*) See Barthol. Fisen. *Origo prima Festi Corporis Christi ex Viso Sanctæ Virgini Julianæ oblato*, published in 8vo. at Liege, in the year 1619.—Dallæus, *De Cultus Religiosi Object.* p. 287.—*Acta Sanctor.* April. tom. i. p. 437. 903.—And above all Benedict. Pont. Max. *de Festis Christi et Mariæ*, lib. i. c. xiii. p. 360. tom. x. opp.

firmed the edict of Urban, and thus, in spite of all opposition, established a festival, which contributed more to render the doctrine of transubstantiation agreeable to the people, than the decree of the council of the Lateran under Innocent III. or than all the exhortations of his lordly successors.

III. About the conclusion of this century, Boniface VIII. added to the public rites and ceremonies of the church, the famous jubilee, which is still celebrated at Rome, at a stated period, with the utmost profusion of pomp and magnificence. In the year 1299, a rumour was spread abroad among the inhabitants of that city, that all such as visited, within the limits of the following year, the church of St. Peter, should obtain the remission of all their sins, and that this privilege was to be annexed to the performance of the same service once every hundred years. Boniface no sooner heard of this than he ordered strict inquiry to be made concerning the author and the foundation of this report, and the result of this inquiry was answerable to his views; for he was assured, by many testimonies worthy of credit (*u*), (say the Roman-catholic

The year of jubilee added to the rites of the church.

 (*u*) These testimonies worthy of credit have never been produced by the Romish writers, unless we rank in that class, that of an old man, who had completed his 107th year, and who, being brought before Boniface VIII. declared, (if we may believe the Abbé Fleury) that his father, who was a common labourer, had assisted at the celebration of a jubilee, a hundred years before that time. See Fleury, Hist. Eccles. towards the end of the twelfth century.—It is, however, a very unaccountable thing, if the institution of the jubilee year was not the invention of Boniface, that there should be neither in the acts of councils, nor in the records of history, nor in the writings of the learned, any trace, or the least mention of its celebration before the year 1300; this, with other reasons of an irresistible evidence, have persuaded some Roman catholic writers to consider the institution of the jubilee year, as the invention of this pontiff, who, to render it more respectable, pretended that it was of a much earlier

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historians) that, from the remotest antiquity, this important privilege of remission and indulgence was to be obtained by the services abovementioned. No sooner had the pontiff received this information than he issued out an epistolary mandate, addressed to all Christians, in which he enacted it as a solemn law of the church, that those who, every hundredth or jubilee year, confessed their sins, and visited, with sentiments of contrition and repentance, the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, should obtain thereby the entire remission of their various offences (*w*). The successors of Boniface were not satisfied with adding a multitude of new rites and inventions, by way of ornaments, to this superstitious institution, but, finding by experience that it added to the lustre, and augmented the revenues of the Roman church, they rendered its return more frequent, and fixed its celebration to every five and twentieth year (*x*).

date. See Ghilen. et Victorell. apud Bonanni Numism. Pontif. Rom. tom. i. p. 22, 23.

(*w*) So the matter is related by James Cajetan, cardinal of St. George, and nephew to Boniface, in his *Relatio de Centesimo seu Jubilæo anno*, which is published in his *Magna Bibliotheca Vet. Patrum*, tom. vi. p. 426. 440. and in the *Bibliotheca Maxima Patrum*, tom. xxv. p. 267. Nor is there any reason to believe that his account is erroneous and false, nor that Boniface acted the part of an impostor from a principle of avarice upon this occasion.

 N. B. It is not without astonishment, that we hear Dr. Mosheim deciding in this manner with respect to the good faith of Boniface, and the relation of his nephew. The character of that wicked and ambitious pontiff is well known, and the relation of the cardinal of St. George has been proved to be the most ridiculous, fabulous, motley piece of stuff that ever usurped the title of an historical record. See the excellent *Lettres de M. Chais sur les Jubilés* (that are mentioned more at large in the following note), tom. i. p. 53.

(*x*) The various writers who have treated of the institution of the Roman jubilee, are enumerated by Jo. Albert Fabricius in his *Bibliogr. Antiquar.* p. 316. Among the authors that may be added to this list, there is one whom we think it necessary to mention particularly, viz. the Reverend

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the Divisions and Heresies that troubled the Church during this Century.

I. WE have no account of any new sects that arose among the Greeks during this century. Those of the Nestorians and Jacobites, which were settled in the remoter regions of the east,

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Nestorians
and Jacobites.

Charles Chais, whose *Lettres Historiques et Dogmatiques sur les Jubilés, et des Indulgences*, were published at the Hague in three volumes 8vo. in the year 1751.

These letters of Mr. Chais (minister of the French church at the Hague, and well known in the republic of letters) contain the most full and accurate account that has been ever given of the institution of the jubilee, and of the rise, progress, abuses, and enormities of the infamous traffic of indulgences. This account is judiciously collected from the best authors of antiquity, and from several curious records that have escaped the researches of other writers; it is also interspersed with curious and sometimes ludicrous anecdotes, that render the work equally productive of entertainment and instruction. In the first volume of these letters, the learned author lays open the nature and origin of the institution of the jubilee; he proves it to have been a human invention, which owed its rise to the avarice and ambition of the popes, and its credit to the ignorance and superstition of the people, and whose celebration was absolutely unknown before the thirteenth century, which is the true date of its origin. He takes notice of the various changes it underwent with respect to the time of its celebration, the various colours with which the ambitious pontiffs covered it in order to render it respectable and alluring in the eyes of the multitude; and exposes these illusions by many convincing arguments; whose gravity is seasoned with an agreeable and temperate mixture of decent raillery. He proves, with the utmost evidence, that the papal jubilee is an imitation of the Secular Games, that were celebrated with such pomp in pagan Rome. He points out the gross contradictions that reign in the bulls of the different popes, with respect to the nature of this institution, and the time of its celebration. Nor does he pass over in silence the infamous traffic of indulgences, the worldly pomp and splendour, the crimes, debaucheries, and disorders of every kind that were observable at the return of each jubi-

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and who equalled the Greeks in their aversion to the rites and jurisdiction of the Latin church, were frequently solicited, by the ministry of Franciscan and Dominican missionaries sent among them by the popes, to receive the Roman yoke. In the year 1246, Innocent IV. used his utmost efforts to bring both these sects under his dominion; and in the year 1278, terms of accommodation were proposed by Nicolas IV. to the Nestorians, and particularly to that branch of the sect which resided in the northern parts of Asia (*y*). The leading men both among the Nestorians and Jacobites seemed to give ear to the proposals that were made to them, and were by no means averse to a reconciliation with the church of Rome; but the prospect of peace soon vanished, and a variety of causes concurred to prolong the rupture.

The con-
tests of the
Roman pon-
tiffs with va-
rious sects,
whom they
branded in-
discrimi-
nately with
the name of
heretics.

II. During the whole course of this century, the Roman pontiffs carried on the most barbarous and inhuman persecution against those whom they branded with the denomination of heretics; i. e. against all those who called their pretended authority and jurisdiction in question, or taught doctrines different from those which were adopted and propagated by the church of Rome. For the

lee year. He lays also before the reader an historical view of all the jubilees that were celebrated from the pontificate of Boniface VIII. in the year 1300, to that of Benedict XIV. in 1750, with an entertaining account of the most remarkable adventures that happened among the pilgrims who repaired to Rome on these occasions. The second and third volumes of these interesting Letters treat of the indulgences that are administered in the church of Rome. The reader will find here their nature and origin explained, the doctrine of the Roman catholic divines relating to them stated and refuted, the history of this impious traffic accurately laid down, and its enormities and pernicious effects circumstantially exposed with learning, perspicuity, and candour.

(*y*) Odor. Renaldus, *Annal. Eccles.* tom. xiii. ad a. 1247, sect. xxxii. & tom. xv. ad a. 1303. sect. xxii. & ad a. 1304, sect. xxiii.—*Matth. Paris, Hist. Major.* p. 372.

sects of the Catharists, Waldenses, Petrobrussians, &c. gathered strength from day to day, spread imperceptibly throughout all Europe, assembled numerous congregations in Italy, France, Spain, and Germany, and formed by degrees such a powerful party, as rendered them formidable to the Roman pontiffs, and menaced the papal jurisdiction with a fatal revolution. To the ancient sects new factions were added, which, though they differed from each other in various respects, yet were all unanimously agreed in this one point, viz. "That the public and established religion was a motley system of errors and superstition; and that the dominion which the popes had usurped over Christians, as also the authority they exercised in religious matters, were unlawful and tyrannical." Such were the notions propagated by the sectaries, who refuted the superstitions and impostures of the times by arguments drawn from the holy scriptures, and whose declamations against the power, the opulence, and the vices of the pontiffs and clergy were extremely agreeable to many princes and civil magistrates, who groaned under the usurpations of the sacred order. The pontiffs, therefore, considered themselves as obliged to have recourse to new and extraordinary methods of defeating and subduing enemies, who, both by their number and their rank, were every way proper to fill them with terror.

III. The number of these dissenters from the church of Rome was nowhere greater than in Narbonne Gaul (z), and the countries adjacent, where they were received and protected in a singular manner by Raymond VI. earl of Thoulouse, and other persons of the highest distinction; and where the bishops, either through humanity or

The rise of the inquisition in Narbonne Gaul.

(z) That part of France, which, in ancient times, comprehended the provinces of Savoy, Dauphiné, Provence, and Languedoc.

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indolence, were so negligent and remiss in the prosecution of heretics, that the latter, laying aside all their fears, formed settlements, and multiplied prodigiously from day to day. Innocent III. was soon informed of all these proceedings; and about the commencement of this century, sent legates extraordinary into the southern provinces of France, to do what the bishops had left undone, and to extirpate heresy, in all its various forms and modifications, without being at all scrupulous in using such methods as might be necessary to effect this salutary purpose. The persons charged with this ghostly commission were Rainier (*a*), a Cistercian monk, Pierre de Castelnau (*b*), archdeacon of Maguelone, who became also afterwards a Cistercian friar. These eminent missionaries were followed by several others, among whom was the famous Spaniard Dominic, founder of the order of preachers, who, returning from Rome in the year 1206, fell in with these delegates, embarked in their cause, and laboured both by his exhortations and actions in the extirpation of heresy. These spiritual champions, who engaged in this expedition upon the sole authority of the pope, without either asking the advice, or demanding the succours of the bishops, and who inflicted capital punishment upon such of the heretics as they could not convert by reason and argument, were distinguished in common discourse by the title of Inquisitors, and from them the formidable and odious tribunal called the Inquisition, derived its original.

 (*a*) Instead of Rainier, other historians mention one Raoul, or Ralph, as the associate of Pierre de Castelnau. See Fleury, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, livr. lxxvi. sect. xii.

(*b*) The greatest part of the Roman writers consider Pierre de Castelnau as the first inquisitor. It will appear hereafter in what sense this assertion may be admitted. For an account of this legate, see the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. Martii, p. 411.

IV. When this new set of heresy-hunters (c) had executed their commission, and purged the provinces to which they were sent of the greatest part of the enemies of the Roman faith, the pontiffs were so sensible of their excellent services, that they established missionaries of a like nature, or, in other words, placed Inquisitors in almost every city whose inhabitants had the misfortune to be suspected of heresy, notwithstanding the reluctance which the people showed to this new institution, and the violence with which they frequently expelled, and sometimes massacred, these bloody officers of the popish hierarchy. The council held at Thoulouse, in the year 1229, by Romanus, cardinal of St. Angelo, and pope's legate, went still farther, and erected in every city a council of inquisitors, consisting of one priest, and three laymen (d). This institution was, however, superseded, in the year 1233, by Gregory IX. who intrusted the Dominicans, or preaching friars, with the important commission of discovering and bringing to judgment the heretics that were lurking in France, and in a former epistle discharged the bishops from the burthen of that painful office (e). Immediately after this, the bishop of Tournay, who was the pope's legate in France, began to execute this new resolution, by appointing Pierre Cellan, and Guillaume

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The form
of the in-
quisition
settled.

 (c) The term of Heresy-hunters, for which the translator is responsible, will not seem absurd, when it is known, that the missionaries, who were sent into the provinces of France to extirpate heresy, and the inquisitors who succeeded them, were bound by an oath, not only to seek for the heretics in towns, houses, cellars, and other lurking places, but also in woods, caves, fields, &c.

(d) See Harduini Concilia, tom. vii. p. 175.

(e) Bernhard Guidonis in Chronico Pontif. MS. ap. Jac. Echardum Scriptor. Prædicator. tom. i. p. 88.—Percini Historia Inquisit. Tholosanæ, subjoined to his Historia Conventus FF. Prædicat. Tolosæ, 1693, in 8vo.—Histoire Generale de Languedoc, tom. iii. p. 394, 395.

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Arnaud, inquisitors of heretical pravity at Thoulouse, and afterwards proceeded in every city, where the Dominicans had a convent, to constitute officers of the same nature, chosen from among the monks of that celebrated order (*f*). From this period we are to date the commencement of the dreadful tribunal of the inquisition, which in this and the following ages subdued such a prodigious multitude of heretics, part of whom were converted to the church by terror, and the rest committed to the flames without mercy. For the Dominicans erected, first at Thoulouse, and afterwards at Carcassone, and other places, a tremendous court, before which were summoned not only heretics and persons suspected of heresy, but likewise all who were accused of magic, sorcery, judaism, witchcraft, and other crimes of that kind. This tribunal, in process of time, was erected in the other countries of Europe, though not every where with the same success (*g*).

(*f*) Echard and Percinus, loc. citat.

(*g*) The accounts we have here given of the first rise of the Inquisition, though founded upon the most unexceptionable testimonies and the most authentic records, are yet very different from those that are to be found in most authors. Certain learned men tell us, that the Tribunal of the Inquisition was the invention of St. Dominic, and was first erected by him in the city of Thoulouse: that he, of consequence, was the first inquisitor: that the year of its institution is indeed uncertain; but that it was undoubtedly confirmed in a solemn manner, by Innocent III. in the council of the Lateran in the year 1215. See Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his *Lux Evangelii toti orbi exoriens*, p. 569.—Phil. Limborchi *Historia Inquisitionis*. lib. i. c. x. p. 39. and the other writers mentioned by Fabricius. I will not affirm, that the writers who give this account of the matter have advanced all this without authority; but this I will venture to say, that the authors, whom they have taken for their guides, are not of the first rate in point of merit and credibility. Limborch, whose *History of the Inquisition* is looked upon as a most important and capital work, is generally followed by modern writers in their accounts of that odious tribunal. But, however laudable that historian may have been in point of fidelity and diligence,

V. The method of proceeding in this court of inquisition was at first simple, and almost in every respect similar to that which was observed in the ordinary courts of justice (*h*). But this simplicity was gradually changed by the Dominicans, to whom experience suggested several new methods of augmenting the pomp and majesty of their spiritual tribunal, and who made such alterations

it is certain, that he was but little acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of the middle age; that he drew his materials, not from the true and original sources, but from writers of a second class, and thus has fallen, in the course of his history, into various mistakes. His account of the origin of the inquisition is undoubtedly false: nor does that which is given by many other writers approach nearer to the truth. The circumstances of this account, which I have mentioned in the beginning of this note, are more especially destitute of all foundation. Many of the Dominicans, who, in our times, have presided in the court of inquisition, and have extolled the sanctity of that pious institution, deny, at the same time, that Dominic was its founder, as also that he was the first inquisitor, nay, that he was an inquisitor at all. They go still farther, and affirm, that the court of inquisition was not erected during the life of St. Dominic. Nor is all this advanced inconsiderately, as every impartial inquirer into the proofs they allege will easily perceive. Nevertheless, the question, Whether or not St. Dominic was an inquisitor? seems to be merely a dispute about words, and depends entirely upon the different significations of which the term inquisitor is susceptible. That word, according to its original meaning, signified a person invested with the commission and authority of the Roman pontiff to extirpate heresy and oppose its abettors, but not clothed with any judicial power. But it soon acquired a different meaning, and signified a person appointed by the Roman pontiff to proceed judicially against heretics and such as were suspected of heresy, to pronounce sentence according to their respective cases, and to deliver over to the secular arm such as persisted obstinately in their errors. In this latter sense Dominic was not an inquisitor; since it is well known that there were no papal judges of this nature before the pontificate of Gregory IX. but he was undoubtedly an inquisitor in the original sense that was attached to that term.

(*h*) The records, published by the Benedictines in their *Histoire Gener. de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 371. show the simplicity that reigned in the proceedings of the inquisition at its first institution.

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in the forms of proceeding, that the manner of taking cognizance of heretical causes became totally different from that which was usual in civil affairs. These friars were, to say the truth, entirely ignorant of judicial matters; nor were they acquainted with the procedures of any other tribunal, than that which was called, in the Roman church, the Tribunal of Penance. It was, therefore, after this, that they modelled the new court of Inquisition, as far as a resemblance between the two was possible; and hence arose that strange system of inquisitorial law, which, in many respects, is so contrary to the common feelings of humanity, and the plainest dictates of equity and justice. This is the important circumstance by which we are enabled to account for the absurd, imprudent, and iniquitous proceedings of the inquisitors, against persons that are accused of holding, what they call, heretical opinions.

The rights
and privi-
leges grant-
ed to the In-
quisition.

VI. That nothing might be wanting to render this spiritual court formidable and tremendous, the Roman pontiffs persuaded the European princes, and more especially the emperor Frederic II. and Lewis IX. king of France, not only to enact the most barbarous laws against heretics, and to commit to the flames, by the ministry of public justice, those who were pronounced such by the inquisitors, but also to maintain the inquisitors in their office, and grant them their protection in the most open and solemn manner. The edicts to this purpose issued out by Frederic II. are well known; edicts every way proper to excite horror, and which rendered the most illustrious piety and virtue incapable of saving from the cruellest death such as had the misfortune to be disagreeable to the inquisitors (*i*). These abominable laws were not, how-

(*i*) The law of the emperor Frederic, in relation to the inquisitors, may be seen in Limborch's History of the Inquisi-

ever, sufficient to restrain the just indignation of the people against these inhuman judges, whose barbarity was accompanied with superstition and arrogance, with a spirit of suspicion and perfidy, nay, even with temerity and imprudence. Accordingly they were insulted by the multitude in many places, were driven, in an ignominious manner, out of some cities, and were put to death in others; and Conrad, of Marpurg, the first German inquisitor, who derived his commission from Gregory IX. was one of the many victims that were sacrificed upon this occasion to the vengeance of the public (*k*), which his incredible barbarities had raised to a dreadful degree of vehemence and fury (*l*).

tion, as also in the Epistles of Pierre de Vignes, and in Bzovius Raynaldus, &c. The edict of St. Lewis, in favour of these ghostly judges, is generally known under the title of *Cupientes*; for so it is called by the French lawyers on account of its beginning with that word. It was issued out in the year 1229, as the Benedictine monks have proved sufficiently in their *Hist. Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 378. 575. It is also published by Catelius, in his *Histor. Comit. Tolosanor.* p. 340. and in many other authors. This edict is as severe and inhuman, to the full, as the laws of Frederic II. For a great part of the sanctity of good king Lewis consisted in his furious and implacable aversion to heretics, against whom he judged it more expedient to employ the influence of racks and gibbets, than the power of reason and argument. See Du Fresne, *Vita Ludovici a Joinvillio scripta*, p. 11. 39.

(*k*) The life of this furious and celebrated inquisitor has been composed from the most authentic records that are extant, and also from several valuable manuscripts by the learned John Herman Schminkius. See also Wadding. *Annal. Minor.* tom. ii. p. 151. 355. & Echard. *Scriptor. Dominican.* tom. i. p. 487.

(*l*) The Abbé Fleury acknowledges the brutal barbarity of this unrelenting inquisitor, who, under the pretext of heresy, not only committed to the flames a prodigious number of nobles, clerks, monks, hermits, and lay-persons of all ranks, but moreover caused them to be put to death, the very same day they were accused, without appeal. See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. lxxx. sect. xxiv.

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Severer methods are employed against the heretics.

VII. When Innocent III. perceived that the labours of the first inquisitors were not immediately attended with such abundant fruits as he had fondly expected, he addressed himself, in the year 1207, to Philip Augustus, king of France, and to the leading men of that nation, soliciting them, by the alluring promise of the most ample indulgences, to extirpate all whom he thought proper to call heretics, by fire and sword (*m*). This exhortation was repeated with new accessions of fervour and earnestness the year following, when Pierre de Castelnau, the legate of this pontiff, and his inquisitor in France, was put to death by the patrons of the people, called heretics (*n*). Not long after this, the Cistercian monks, in the name of this pope, proclaimed a crusade against the heretics throughout the whole kingdom of France, and a storm seemed to be gathering against them on all sides, Raymond VI. earl of Thoulouse, in whose territories Castelnau had been massacred, was solemnly excommunicated, and to deliver himself from this ecclesiastical malediction, changed sides, and embarked in the crusade now mentioned. In the year 1209, a formidable army of cross-bearers commenced against the heretics, who were comprehended under the general denomination of Albigenses (*o*),

(*m*) Innocentii III. Epistolæ, Lib. x. Epist. 49.

(*n*) Id. *ibid.* Lib. xi. Ep. 26, 27, 28, 29.—Acta Sanctor. Mart. tom. i. p. 411.

(*o*) The term Albigenses is used in two senses, of which the one is general, and the other more confined. In its more general and extensive sense it comprehends all the various kinds of heretics who resided at this time in Narbonne-Gaul, . *e.* in the southern parts of France. This appears from the following passage of Petrus Sarnensis, who, in the Dedication of his History of the Albigenses to Innocent III. expresses himself thus: Tolosani et aliarum civitatum, et castrorum hæretici, et defensores eorum generaliter Albigenses vocantur. The same author divides afterwards the Albigenses into various sects (Cap. ii. p. 3. & 8.)

an open war which they carried on with the utmost exertions of cruelty, though with various success for several years. The chief director of this ghostly war was Arnald, abbot of the Cisterrians, and legate of the Roman pontiff; and the commander in chief of the troops employed in this noble expedition was Simon, earl of Montford. Raymond VI. earl of Thoulouse, who, consulting his safety rather than his conscience, was engaged in the crusade against the heretics, had obliged to change sides, and to attack their persecutors. For Simon, who had embarked in this war, not so much from a principle of zeal for religion, or of aversion to the heretics, as from a desire of augmenting his fortune, cast a greedy eye upon the territories of Raymond, and his selfish views were seconded and accomplished by the court of Rome. After many battles, sieges, and a multitude of other exploits conducted with the most intrepid courage and the most abominable barbarity, he received from the hands of Innocent III. at the council of Lateran, A. D. 1215, the county of Thoulouse and the other lands, be-

of which he considers that of the Waldenses as the least pernicious. *Mali erant Waldenses, sed comparatione aliorum hæreticorum longe minus perversi.* It was not, however, from the city of Albigia, or Albi, that the French heretics were comprehended under the general title of Albigenses, but from another circumstance, to wit, that the greatest part of Narbonne-Gaul was, in this century, called *Albigensium*, as the Benedictine monks have clearly demonstrated in their *Histoire Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. not. xiii. p. 552. The term *Albigenses*, in its more confined sense, was used to denote those heretics who inclined towards the Manichæan system, and who were otherwise known by the denominations of Catharists, Publicans, or Paulicians, and Bulgarians. This appears evidently from many incontestable authorities, and more especially from the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosanæ*, published by Limborch, in his *History of the Inquisition*, and in which the *Albigenses* are carefully distinguished from the other sects that made a noise in this century.

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longing to that earl, as a reward for his zeal in supporting the cause of God and of the church. About three years after this, he lost his life at the siege of Thoulouse. Raymond, his valiant adversary, died in the year 1222.

The fruitless opposition made by the earl of Thoulouse to the Roman pontiff.

VIII. Thus were the two chiefs of this deplorable war taken off the scene; but this removal was far from extinguishing the infernal flame of persecution on the side of the pontiffs, or calming the restless spirit of faction on that of the pretended heretics. Raymond VII. earl of Thoulouse, and Amalric, earl of Montford, succeeded their fathers at the head of the contending parties, and carried on the war with the utmost vehemence, and with such various success as rendered the issue for some time doubtful. The former seemed at first more powerful than his adversary, and the Roman pontiff Honorius III. alarmed at the vigorous opposition he made to the orthodox legions, engaged Lewis VIII. king of France, by the most pompous promises, to march in person with a formidable army against the enemies of the church. The obsequious monarch listened to the solicitations of the lordly pontiff, and embarked with a considerable military force in the cause of the church, but did not live to reap the fruits of his zeal. His engagements, however, with the court of Rome, and his furious designs against the heretics, were executed with the greatest alacrity and vigour by his son and successor Lewis the Saint; so that Raymond, pressed on all sides, was obliged, in the year 1229, to make peace upon the most disadvantageous terms, even by making a cession of the greatest part of his territories to the French monarch, after having sacrificed a considerable portion of them, as a peace-offering to the church of Rome (*p*). This treaty

 (*p*) It was in consequence of this treaty (of which the articles were drawn up at Meaux, and afterwards confirmed at

of peace gave a mortal blow to the cause of heresy, and dispersed the champions that had appeared in its defence. The inquisition was established at Thoulouse, and the heretics were not only exposed to the pious cruelties of Lewis, but, what was still more shocking, Raymond himself, who had formerly been their patron, became their persecutor, and treated them upon all occasions with the most inhuman severity. It is true, this prince broke the engagements into which he had entered by the treaty above mentioned, and renewed the war against Lewis and the inquisitors, who abused their victory and the power they had acquired in the most odious manner. But this new effort in favour of the heretics was attended with little or no effect; and the unfortunate earl of Thoulouse, the last representative of that noble and powerful house, dejected and exhausted by the losses he had sustained, and the perplexities in which he was involved, died, in the year 1249, without male issue. And thus ended a civil war, of which religion had been partly the cause, and partly the pretext, and which in its consequences was highly profitable both to the kings of France and to the Roman pontiffs (q).

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Paris, in presence of Lewis) that the university of Thoulouse was founded, Raymond having bound himself thereby to pay the sum of 4000 silver marcs, in order to the support of two professors of divinity, two of canon law, two of grammar, and six of the liberal arts during the space of ten years. We must also observe, that what Dr. Mosheim say of the cession that Raymond made of his lands is not sufficiently clear and accurate. These lands were not to be transferred till after his death, and they were to be transferred to the brother of Lewis IX. who, according to the treaty, was to espouse the daughter of Raymond. See Fleury, Hist. Eccles. liv. lxxix. sect. 50.

(q) Many writers, both ancient and modern, have related the circumstances of this religious war, that was carried on against the earls of Thoulouse and their confederates, and also against the heretics, whose cause they maintained. But none of the historians, whom I have consulted on this subject, have

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thren and
Sisters of
the Free
Spirit.

IX. The severity which the court of Rome employed in the extirpation of heresy, and the formidable arguments of fire and sword, racks and gibbets, with which the popes and their creatures reasoned against the enemies of the church, were not sufficient to prevent the rise of new and most pernicious sects in several places. Many of these sects were inconsiderable in themselves, and transitory in their duration, while some of them made a noise in the world, and were suppressed with difficulty. Among the latter, we may reckon that of the Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit, which about this time gained ground secretly and imperceptibly in Italy, France, and Germany, and seduced into its bosom multitudes of persons of both sexes, by the striking appearance of piety that was observed in the conduct of the members that composed it. How far the councils of this century proceeded against this new sect, we

treated it with that impartiality which is so essential to the merit of historical writing. The protestant writers, among whom Basnage deserves an eminent rank, are too favourable to Raymond and the Albigenses; the Roman catholic historians lean with still more partiality to the other side. Of these latter, the most recent are Benedict, a Dominican monk, author of the *Histoire des Albigeois, des Vaudois, et de Barbets*, published at Paris, in 1691, in two volumes 12mo. — J. Bapt. Langlois, a Jesuit, who composed the *Histoire des Croisades contre les Albigeois*, which was published in 12mo. at Rouen, in 1703, to which we must add, Jo. Jac. Percini, *Monumenta Conventus Tolosani Ordinis FF. Prædicator. in quibus Historia hujus Conventus distribuitur, et refertur totius Albigenensium facti narratio, Tolosæ, 1693, fol.* These writers are chargeable wth the greatest partiality and injustice in the reproaches and calumnies they throw out so liberally against the Raymonds and the Albigenses, while they disguise, with a perfidious dexterity, the barbarity of Simon of Montfort, and the ambitious views of extending their dominions that engaged the kings of France to enter into this war. The most ample and accurate account of this expedition against the heretics is that which is given by the learned Benedictines Claude le Vic and Joseph Vaissette, in their *Histoire Generale de Languedoc*, Paris, 1730, tom. iii. in which, however, there are several omissions, which render that valuable work defective.

cannot say with any certainty; because we have upon record but a few of the decrees that were issued out upon that occasion. Perhaps the obscurity of the rising factions skreened it, in a great measure, from public view. But this was not the case in the following age; the Brethren and Sisters above mentioned came forth from their retreats in proportion as their numbers increased; they drew upon them the eyes of the world, and particularly those of the inquisitors, who committed to the flames such of these unhappy enthusiasts as fell into their hands; while the councils, held in Germany and other nations, loaded them with excommunications and damnatory edicts.

This new sect took their denomination from the words of St. Paul (*r*), and maintained that the true children of God were invested with the privilege of a full and perfect freedom from the jurisdiction of the law (*s*). They were called, by the Germans and Flemish, Beghards and Beguttés, which, as we have seen already, was a name usually given to those who made an extraordinary profession of piety and devotion. They

(*r*) Romans viii. 2. 14.

(*s*) The accounts we here give of these wretched fanatics are, for the most part, taken from authentic records, which have not been as yet published, from the decrees of synods and councils held in France and Germany, from the diplomas of the Roman pontiffs, the sentences pronounced by the inquisitors, and the other sources of information to which I have had access. I have also a collection of extracts from certain books of these enthusiasts, and more especially from that which treated of the Nine Spiritual Rocks, and which was in the highest esteem among the Free Brethren, who considered it as a treasure of divine wisdom and doctrine. As I cannot expose here these records to the examination of the curious reader, I beg leave to refer him to a long and ample edict issued out against these brethren by Henry I. archbishop of Cologne, and published in the *Statuta Coloniensia*, A. 1554, p. 53. This edict is, in every respect, conformable to those published on the same occasion, at Mentz, Aschaffenburg, Paderborn, Beziers, Triers, and other places.

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received from others, the reproachful denomination of Bicorni, *i. e.* Idiots. In France they were known by the appellation of Beghins and Beghines, while the multitude distinguished them by that of Turlupins, the origin and reason of which title I have not been able to learn (*t*). Nothing carried a more shocking air of lunacy and distraction than their external aspect and manners. They ran from place to place clothed in the most singular and fantastic apparel, and begged their bread with wild shouts and clamours, rejecting with horror every kind of industry and labour, as an obstacle to divine contemplation, and to the ascent of the soul towards the Father of spirits. In all their excursions they were followed by women, with whom they lived in the most intimate familiarity (*u*). They distributed among the people books which contained the substance of their doctrine, held nocturnal assemblies in places remote from public view, and seduced many from frequenting the ordinary institutions of divine worship.

The mystical doctrines of this sect.

X. These brethren, who gloried in the freedom which they pretended to have obtained, through the spirit, from the dominion and obligation of the law, adopted a certain rigid and fantastic system of mystic theology, built upon pretended philosophical principles, which carried a striking resemblance of the impious doctrines of the

(*t*) Many have written, but none with accuracy and precision, concerning the Turlupins. See Beausobre's Dissertation sur les Adamites, part II. p. 384. where that learned author has fallen into several errors, as usually happens to him when he treats subjects of this kind. I know not the origin of the word Turlupin, but I am able to demonstrate, by the most authentic records, that the persons so called, who were burnt at Paris and in other parts of France, were no other than the Brethren of the Free Spirit, who were condemned by the Roman pontiffs, and also by various councils.

(*u*) Hence they were called in Germany, Schwestriones, as appears by the decrees of several councils.

Pantheists. For they held, “ That all things
 “ flowed by emanation from God, and were finally
 “ to return to their divine source ; that rational
 “ souls were so many portions of the Supreme
 “ Deity, and that the universe, considered as one
 “ great whole, was God : that every man, by the
 “ power of contemplation, and by calling off his
 “ mind from sensible and terrestrial objects, might
 “ be united to the Deity in an ineffable manner,
 “ and become one with the Source and Parent
 “ of all things ; and that they, who, by long and
 “ assiduous meditation, had plunged themselves,
 “ as it were, into the abyss of the Divinity,
 “ acquired thereby a most glorious and sublime
 “ liberty, and were not only delivered from the
 “ violence of sinful lusts, but even from the com-
 “ mon instincts of nature.” From these and
 such like doctrines, the brethren under considera-
 tion, drew this impious and horrid conclusion,
 “ That the person who had ascended to God in
 “ this manner, and was absorbed by contem-
 “ plation in the abyss of Deity, became thus a
 “ part of the Godhead, commenced God, was the
 “ Son of God in the same sense and manner that
 “ Christ was, and was thereby raised to a glo-
 “ rious independence, and freed from the obli-
 “ gation of all laws human and divine.” It was
 in consequence of all this, that they treated with
 contempt the ordinances of the Gospel, and every
 external act of religious worship, looking upon
 prayer, fasting, baptism, and the sacrament of the
 Lord’s supper, as the first elements of piety
 adapted to the state and capacity of children, and
 as of no sort of use to the perfect man, whom long
 meditation had raised above all external things,
 and carried into the bosom and essence of the
 Deity (w).

(w) It may not be improper to place here a certain number of sentences translated faithfully from several of the more secret books of these heretics. The following will be sufficient to give the curious reader a full idea of their impiety.

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Among these heretics there were some that distinguished themselves by their eminent probity, and others that were licentious in an infamous degree.

XI. Among these Fanatics there were several persons of eminent probity, who had entered into this sect with the most upright intentions, and who extended that liberty of the spirit, which they looked upon as the privilege of true believers, no further than to an exemption from the duties of external worship, and an immunity from the positive laws of the church. The whole of religion was placed by this class of men in internal devotion, and they treated with the utmost contempt the rules of monastic discipline, and all other

‘Every pious and good man is the only begotten Son of God, whom God engendered from all eternity:’ (for these heretics maintained, that what the scriptures taught concerning the distinction of Three Persons in the divine nature is by no means to be understood literally, and therefore explained it according to the principles of their mystical and fantastic system).

‘All created things are non-entities, or nothing: I do not say that they are small and minute, but that they are absolutely nothing.

‘There is in the soul of man something that is neither created, nor susceptible of creation, and that is, rationality, or the power of reasoning.

‘God is neither good, nor better, nor best: whosoever therefore calls the Deity good, does as foolishly as he who calls an object black, which he knows to be white.

‘God still engenders his only begotten son, and begets still the same son, whom he had begotten from eternity. For every operation of the Deity is uniform and one; and therefore he engenders his son without any division.

‘What the scriptures say concerning Christ is true of every good, of every divine man: And every quality of the divine nature belongs equally to every person whose piety is genuine and sincere.’

To these horrid passages we may add the following sentences, in which John, bishop of Strasbourg, (in an edict he published against the Brethren of the Free Spirit, or Beghards, in the year 1317, the Sunday before the feast of the assumption of the Virgin Mary) discovers farther the blasphemous doctrines of this impious sect. ‘Deus (say these Heretics) est formaliter omne quod est. Quilibet homo perfectus est Christus per naturam. Homo perfectus est liber in totum, nec tenetur ad servandum præcepta ecclesiæ data a Deo. Multa sunt poetica in evangelio, quæ non sunt vera, et homines credere magis debent conceptibus ex amina sua Deo juncta profectis, quam evangelio; &c.

external rites and institutions, as infinitely beneath the attention of the perfect. Nor were their exhortations and their examples without effect; for about the middle of this century they persuaded a considerable number of monks and devout persons in Swabia, “to live without any rule, and to “serve God in the liberty of the spirit, which was “the most acceptable service that could be presented to the Deity (*x*)”. The inquisitors, however, stopped these poor enthusiasts in the midst of their career, and committed several of them to the flames, in which they expired, not only with the most unclouded serenity, but even with the most triumphant feelings of cheerfulness and joy.

But there were among these Brethren of the Free Spirit another class of fanatics very different from these now mentioned, and much more extravagant, whose system of religion was as dangerous, as it was ridiculous and absurd, since it opened a door to the most licentious manners. These wretched enthusiasts maintained, that, by continual contemplation, it was possible to eradicate all the instincts of nature out of the heaven-born mind, and to introduce into the soul a certain divine stupor, and holy apathy, which they looked upon as the great characteristics of Christian perfection. The persons who adopted these sentiments took strange liberties in consequence of their pretended sanctity, and showed, indeed, by their conduct, that they had little regard to external appearances; for they held their secret assemblies stark naked, and lay in the same beds with their spiritual sisters, or indiscriminately, with other women, without the smallest scruple or hesitation. This shocking violation of decency was a consequence of their pernicious

(*x*) See Mart. Crusius, *Annal. Suevicorum*, part III. lib. ii. cap. xiv. ad. A. 1261. p. 99. edit. vet.—This author has taken his materials from Felix Faber, an impartial writer.

system. They looked upon decency and modesty as marks of inward corruption, as the characters of a soul that was still under the dominion of the sensual, animal, and lascivious spirit, and that was not, as yet, re-united to the divine nature, its centre and source. And they considered, as at a fatal distance from the Deity, all such as either felt the carnal suggestions of nature, or were penetrated with warm emotions at the view or approach of persons of a different sex, or were incapable of vanquishing and suppressing the rising fervour of lust and intemperance (*y*).

There were, moreover, in this fanatical troop, certain enthusiasts, who far surpassed in impiety the two classes we have been now mentioning; who abused the system and doctrines of the sect, so as to draw from them an apology for all kinds

(*y*) Certain writers, whose principal zeal is employed in the defence of these heretics, and who have accustomed themselves to entertain a high idea of the sanctity of all those who, in the middle age, separated themselves from the communion of the church of Rome, suspect the inquisitors of having attributed falsely these impious doctrines to the Brethren of the Free Spirit, with a view to blacken these pious men, and to render them odious. But this suspicion is entirely groundless; and the account of this matter, which we have given in the text, is conformable to the strictest truth. The inquisitors have been less fabulous in their accusations of these heretics than many are apt to imagine. They acknowledge that the Beghards, though destitute of shame, were not chargeable, generally speaking, with a breach of the duties of chastity and abstinence. They were indeed of opinion, that this firmness and insensibility of heart which rendered them proof against female charms and deaf to the voice of nature, was a privilege granted them by the devil. For they adopted the opinion of honest Neider, (Formicar. lib. iii. cap. v. p. 346.) and affirmed that it was in the power of that evil spirit to render men cold, and to extinguish the warm and lascivious solicitations of nature; and that Satan wrought this miracle upon his friends and adherents, in order to procure them a high reputation of sanctity, and make them appear superior in virtue to the rest of mankind. "Credo (saith Neider, who was both a Dominican and an inquisitor) quosdam ex eis dæmonis opera affectos fuisse, ne moverentur ad naturales actus incontinentiæ . . . Facilimum enim est dæmonibus infrigidare."

of wickedness; and who audaciously maintained, that the divine man, or the believer, who was intimately united to God, could not sin, let his conduct be ever so horrible and atrocious. This execrable doctrine was not, indeed, explained in the same manner by all the Brethren of the Free Spirit that were so outrageous as to adopt it. Some held, that the motions and actions of the body had no relation at all to the soul, which, by its union with God, was blended with the divine nature; others fell into a notion infinitely injurious to the Supreme Being, and maintained, that the propensities and passions, that arose in the soul of the divine man after his union with the Deity, were the propensities and affections of God himself, and were, therefore, notwithstanding their apparent deformity and opposition to the law, holy and good, seeing that the Supreme Being is infinitely exalted above all law and all obligation (z). It is necessary to observe before we leave

(z) This account will be confirmed by the following passage faithfully translated from the famous book of the Nine Rocks, written originally in German: "Moreover the divine man operates and engenders whatever the Deity operates and engenders. For in God he produced and formed the heavens and the earth. He is also the father of the eternal word. Neither could God produce any thing without this divine man, who is therefore obliged to render his will conformable to the will of God, that so whatsoever may be agreeable to the Deity, may be agreeable to him also. If therefore it be the will of God that I should commit sin, my will must be the same, and I must not even desire to abstain from sin. This is true contrition. And although a man, who is well and truly united to God, may have committed a thousand mortal sins, he ought not even to wish that he had not committed them; nay, he should rather die a thousand deaths than omit one of these mortal sins." Hence the accusation brought by the inquisitors against this impious sect, whom they reproach with maintaining that the "sin of a man united to God is not sin, since God works in him and with him whatever he does." Henry Suso, a Dominican monk, and one of the most celebrated mystic writers, composed in the following century another Book concerning the Nine Rocks, which is to be found in the edition of his works published by

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this subject, that flagitious and impious impostors mingled themselves sometimes with this sect, and took the name of Beghards, that by a feigned piety they might impose upon the multitude, and deceive the simple into their snares (a).

Laurent. Surius. But this book is entirely different from that which was in such high esteem among the Beghards, though it bears the same title. The latter is of much older date, and was in vogue in Germany, among the Brethren of the Free Spirit, long before Suso was born. There fell some time ago into my hands an ancient manuscript, composed in Alsace, during the fifteenth century, and containing an account of various revelations and visions of that age. In this manuscript I found a piece entitled, *Declaratio Religiosi cujusdam super Revelatione Carthusiano cuidam de Ecclesiæ per gladium reformatione, Leodii, a. 1453, facta*; and almost in the beginning of this declaration the following passage relating to the Book of the Nine Rocks: "Homo quidam devotissimus, licet Laicus, Librum de novem Rupibus conscripsit a Deo compulsus, ubi multa ad præsens pertinentia continentur de Ecclesiæ renovatione et prævia gravi persecutione." These Nine Rocks signified, according to the fanatical doctrine of this wrong-headed sect, the different steps by which the divine man ascended to the Deity.

(a) The founder of this famous sect, the place of its origin, and the precise date of its first appearance, are not known with any degree of certainty. I have actually in my possession Eighty-nine Sentences of the Beghards, vulgarly called Schwestrones, but who style themselves Brethren of the Sect of the Free Spirit and of Voluntary Poverty, with a refutation of the said sentences, written at Worms towards the conclusion of this century, by some one or other of the inquisitors. The 79th of these sentences runs thus: "To say that the truth is in Rhetia, is to fall into the heresy of Donatus, who said, that God was in Africa, and not elsewhere." From these words it appears evident, that Rhetia was the place where the church of the Brethren of the Free Spirit was fixed and established, and that from this province they passed into Germany. I am not, however, of opinion, that this sect had its first rise in that province; but am rather inclined to think that Italy was its country, and that, being driven from thence, it took refuge in Rhetia. Nor is it at all improbable, that Italy, which saw so many religious factions arise in its bosom, was also the nursing mother of this blasphemous sect. We shall be almost fully confirmed in this opinion when we consider that, in a long letter from Clement V. to Rainier bishop of Cremona (published by Odor. Raynaldus, *Annal. tom. xv. A. 1311, n. 66. p. 90.*) the zealous pontiff exhorts

XII. The famous Amalric, native of Bene, and professor of logic and theology at Paris, whose bones were dug up and publicly burnt in the year 1209, although he had abjured his errors before his death, and a considerable number of whose disciples and followers were committed to the flames on account of their absurd and pernicious doctrine, was, undoubtedly, of the same way of thinking with the sect whose opinions we have been now considering (*b*). For though the writers of this barbarous age have given very different and confused accounts of this man's opinions, and even attributed some doctrines to him which he never maintained, it is nevertheless certain, that he taught, that all things were the parts of one substance, or, in other words, that the universe was God, and that not only the forms of all things, but also their matter or substance, proceeded from the Deity, and must return to the source from whence they were derived (*c*). From these absurd and blasphemous principles

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Amalric.

that prelate to suppress and extirpate, with all his might, the sect of the Brethren of the Free Spirit, which was settled in several parts of Italy, and particularly in the province of Spoleto and the countries adjacent. Such are the terms of the pontiff's letter: "In nonnullis Italiæ partibus, tam Spoletanæ provinciæ, quam circumjacentium regionum."

(*b*) This did not escape the notice of the enemies of the Beghards, or Brethren of the Free Spirit, in Germany, much less that of the inquisitors, who, in their Refutation of the 89 Sentences of the Beghards mentioned in the preceding note, express themselves thus: (Sententia 68.) "Dicere quod omnis creatura est Deus, hæresis Alexandri* est, qui dixit, materiam primam et Deum et Hominem, hoc est mentes, esse in substantia, quod postea quidam David de Dinanto sequutus est, qui temporibus nostris de hac hæresi de Francia fugatus est, et punitus fuisset, si deprehensus fuisset."

(*c*) The account given by Fleury, in his Ecclesiastical History, of the opinions of Amalric, is very different from that which is here given by Dr. Mosheim. The former observes, that Amalric, or Amauri, taught that every Chris-

* The person here mentioned is Alexander, the Epicurean, of whom Plutarch speaks in his Simposium.

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PART II.

he deduced that chimerical system of fanatical devotion, which we have already exposed to the view of the reader, pretended to demonstrate the possibility of incorporating or translating the human nature into the divine, and rejected all kinds of external worship, as insignificant and useless. The disciples of this enthusiast were men of exemplary piety, were distinguished by the gravity and austerity of their lives and manners, and suffered death in the most dreadful forms with the utmost resolution and constancy. One of the most eminent among these was David of Dinant, a Parisian doctor, who usually expressed the fundamental principle of his master in the following proposition: "God is the primary matter or substance of all things." He composed a work entitled *Quaternarii*, with several other productions, which were chiefly designed to affect and gain the multitude; but, after all, was obliged to save himself by flight (*d*). The bishops assembled

tian was obliged to believe himself a member of Jesus Christ, and that without this belief none could be saved, and he observes also, that his disciples introduced errors still more pernicious, such as the following: "That the power of the Father had continued only during the Mosaic dispensation, that of the Son 1200 years after his entrance upon earth, and that, in the thirteenth century, the age of the Holy Spirit commenced, in which the sacraments and all external worship were to be abolished; that there would be no resurrection: that heaven and hell were mere fictions;" and many more sentiments of that nature, which, as the learned Spanheim* imagines, were falsely imputed to Amalric, in order to render his memory odious because he had opposed the worship of saints and images. See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. lxxvi. sect. lix.—Dr. Mosheim looks upon Amalric to have been a Pantheist, and many men of eminent learning are of this opinion. See among others, Joh. Gerson apud Jac. Thomasium, and also Brucker's *Hist. Philosoph.* tom. iii. p. 688.

(*d*) See Marteni *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. iv. p. 163. where there is an account of the heresies, for which several priests were burnt at Paris in the year 1209.—Natal. Alexander, *Hist.*

* See Spanhemii *Hist. Eccl. Sæc.* xxii. p. 1694.

in council at Paris in the year 1209, considered the philosophy of Aristotle as the source of all these impious doctrines, and, on that account, prohibited the reading, or explaining, either in public or private, the metaphysical, and other productions of the Grecian sage (*e*).

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XIII. If we may depend upon the accounts given by certain writers, Amalric and his followers received with the utmost docility and faith the predictions attributed to Joachim, abbot of Flora, concerning the reformation that was soon to be brought about in the church by the power of the sword; the approaching Age of the Holy Ghost, that was to succeed those of the Father and the Son, and other things of that nature, which raised the hopes and occupied the thoughts of the Spiritual Franciscans. Whether these accounts may be depended upon or not, we shall not determine. To us they appear extremely doubtful. It is, however, true, that certain persons were so far deluded by these pretended prophecies, as to form new sects with a view to their accomplishment, and to declare war against the established church, its system of doctrine, and its forms of worship. Among other fanatical sectaries, there arose one of the most extraordinary kind; a Bohemian woman, named Wilhelmina, who resided in the territory of Milan. This delirious and wrong-headed woman, having studied with attention the predictions concerning the Age of the Holy Ghost, was extravagant enough to persuade herself, and, what is still more amazing, had influence enough to persuade others, that the

Joachim
Wilhel-
mina.

Eccl. Sæc. xiii. cap. iii. art. ii. p. 76.—Du Bois, *Historia Eccles. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 244.—Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 24. 48. 53.—Jac. Thomasius, *De Exustione Mundi Stoica*, p. 199.

(*e*) Launois, *De varia Aristot. Fortuna* in *Acad. Paris.* p. 127.

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Holy Ghost was become incarnate in her person, for the salvation of a great part of mankind. According to her doctrine, "None were saved by the blood of Jesus, but true and pious Christians; while the Jews, Saracens, and unworthy Christians, were to obtain salvation through the Holy Spirit which dwelt in her, and that, in consequence thereof, all that had happened to Christ, during his appearance upon earth in the human nature, was to be exactly renewed in her person, or rather in that of the Holy Ghost, which was united to her." This mad woman died at Milan in the year 1281, in the most fragrant odour of sanctity, and her memory was not only held in the highest veneration by her numerous followers and the ignorant multitude, but was also honoured with religious worship both in public and in private. Her sect, nevertheless, was discovered by the curious eye of persecution in the year 1300, and fell into the clutches of the inquisitors, who destroyed the magnificent monument that had been erected in her honour, had her bones raised and committed to the flames, and in the same fire consumed the chief leaders of this wretched faction, among which there were persons of both sexes (*f*).

The sect
called Apo-
stles.

XIV. It was upon predictions similar to those mentioned in the preceding section, that the sect of the apostles founded its discipline. The members of this sect made little or no alterations in the doctrinal part of the public religion; what they principally aimed at, was, to introduce

(*f*) The Milanese historians, such as Bernard, Corius, and others, have related the adventures of this odd woman; but their accounts are very different from those given by the learned Muratori, in his *Antiq. Italicæ Medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 91. and which he has drawn from the judicial proceedings of the court, where the extraordinary case of this female fanatic was examined. We are informed by the same excellent author, that a learned writer, named Puricelli, composed a history of Wilhelmina, and of her sect.

among Christians the simplicity of the primitive times, and more especially the manner of life that was observed by the apostles. Gerhard Sagarelli, the founder of this sect, obliged his followers to go from place to place as the apostles did, to wander about clothed in white, with long beards, dishevelled hair, and bare heads, accompanied with women whom they called their Sisters. They were also obliged to renounce all kinds of property and possessions, and to preach in public the necessity of repentance, while in their more private assemblies they declared the approaching destruction of the corrupt church of Rome, and the establishment of a purer service, and a more glorious church, that, according to the prophecies of the abbot Joachim, was to arise from its ruins. No sooner was the unhappy leader of this faction committed to the flames (*g*), than he was succeeded in that character by a bold and enterprising fanatic, named Dulcinus, a native of Novara, who published his predictions with more courage, and maintained them with more zeal, than his predecessor had done, and who did not hesitate to declare that, in a short time, the Roman pontiff Boniface VIII. with the corrupt priests and the licentious monks, were to perish by the hand of the emperor Frederic III. son of Peter, king of Arragon, and that a new and most holy pontiff was to be raised to the head of the church. These visionary predictions were, no doubt, drawn from the dreams of the abbot Joachim, who is said to have declared among other things, that an emperor called Frederic III. was to bring to perfection what Frederic II. had left unfinished. Be that as it may, Dulcinus appeared with intrepid assurance at the head of the apostles; and acting, not only in the cha-

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(*g*) This unhappy man was burnt alive at Parma, in the year 1300.

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racter of a prophet, but also in that of a general, he assembled an army to maintain his cause, and perhaps to accomplish, at least in part, his predictions. He was opposed by Raynerius, bishop of Vercelli, who defended the interests of the Roman pontiff, and carried on, during the space of two years and more, a most bloody and dreadful war against this chief of the apostles. The issue of this contest was fatal to the latter, who, after several battles fought with obstinate courage, was at length taken prisoner, and put to death at Vercelli in the most barbarous manner, in the year 1307, together with Margaret, whom he had chosen for his spiritual sister, according to the custom of his sect. The terrible end of Dulcinus was not immediately followed by the downfall of his sect, which still subsisted in France, Germany, and in other countries, and stood firm against the most vehement efforts of its enemies, until the beginning of the fifteenth century, when under the pontificate of Boniface IX. it was totally extirpated (*h*).

A true account of the heresy that was imputed to Joachim.

XV. This famous Joachim, abbot of Flora, whose fanatical predictions turned the heads of so many well-meaning people, and excited them to

(*h*) I composed in the German language an accurate history in three books, of this famous sect, which is very little known in our times, and I have in my hands materials, that will furnish an interesting addition to that history. That this sect subsisted in Germany, and in some other countries, until the pontificate of Boniface IX. is evident from the Chronicle of Herman Cornerus, published by Jo. George Echard, in his *Corpus Historicum Medii Ævi*, tom. ii. p. 906. and may be sufficiently demonstrated by other authentic testimonies. In the year 1402, a certain member of this apostolic sect, whose name was William, or Wilhelmus, was burnt alive at Lubeck. See Cornerus, loc. cit. p. 1185. The Germans, who were accustomed to distinguish by the name of Beghards all those who pretended to extraordinary piety, and sought, by poverty and begging, an eminent reputation for sanctity and virtue, gave this title also to the sect of the Apostles.

attempt reforming the church by the sword, and to declare open war against the Roman pontiffs, did not fall under the suspicion of heresy on account of these predictions, but in consequence of a new explication he had given of the doctrine of a Trinity of persons in the Godhead. He had in an elaborate work attacked very warmly Peter Lombard, the master of the sentences, on account of the distinction this latter writer had made between the Divine Essence and the three Persons in the Godhead; for Joachim looked upon this doctrine as introducing a fourth object, even an essence, into the Trinity. But the good man was too little versed in metaphysical matters to carry on a controversy of such a subtile nature, and he was betrayed by his ignorance so far as to advance inconsiderately the most rash and most exceptionable tenets. For he denied that there was any thing, or any essence, that belonged in common to the three persons in the Trinity, or was jointly possessed by them; by which doctrine the substantial union between the three Persons was taken away, and the unity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost was reduced from a natural simple, and numerical unity, to a moral one only; that is, to such an unity as reigns in the councils and opinions of different persons, who embrace the same notions, and think and act with one accord. This explication of the Trinity was looked upon by many as very little different from the Arian system; and therefore the Roman pontiff, Innocent III. pronounced, in the year 1215, in the council of the Lateran, a damnatory sentence against the doctrine of Joachim, which sentence, however, did not extend to the person or fame of the abbot himself. And, indeed, notwithstanding this papal sentence, Joachim has at this day a considerable number of adherents and defenders, more especially among those of the Franciscans, who are

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called Observants. Some of these maintain that the book of this abbot was corrupted and interpolated by his enemies, while the rest are of opinion that his doctrine was not thoroughly understood by those that opposed it (*i*).

(*i*) See Dan. Papebrochius, *Disquis. Histor. de Florensi Ordine, Prophetiis, Doctrina, B. Joachimi, in Actis Sanctorum. Maii, tom. vi. p. 486.* which contains The Life of Joachim, and several other pieces of consequence. See also Natal. Alexander, *Hist. Eccles. Sæc. xiii. Diss. ii. p. 331.*—*Luc. Waddingi Annal. Minor. tom. iv. p. 6.*

THE
FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

*Concerning the Prosperous Events that happened
to the Church during this Century.*

I. SEVERAL attempts were made by the monarchs and princes of the west, set on by the instigation of the Roman pontiffs, to renew the war in Palestine against the Turks and Saracens, and to deliver the whole province of Syria from the oppressive yoke of these despotic infidels. The succession of pontiffs that resided at Avignon were particularly zealous for the renovation of this religious war, and left no artifice, no methods of persuasion unemploy'd, that could have the least tendency to engage the kings of England and France in an expedition to the Holy Land. But their success was not answerable to their zeal; and notwithstanding the powerful influence of their exhortations and remonstrances, something still happened to prevent their producing the desired effect. Clement V. urged the renewal of this holy war with the greatest ardour in the years 1307, 1308, and set apart an immense sum of

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PART I.

Fruitless
attempts to
renew the
crusades.

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PART I.

money, for carrying it on with alacrity and vigour (*a*). John XXII. ordered a fleet of ten ships to be fitted out in the year 1319, to transport an army of pious adventurers into Palestine (*b*), and had recourse to the power of superstition, that is, to the influence of indulgences, for raising the funds necessary to the support of this great enterprize. These indulgences he offered to such as contributed generously to the carrying on the war, and appointed legates to administer them in all the countries in Europe that were subject to his ghostly jurisdiction. But, under this fair show of piety and zeal, John is supposed to have covered the most selfish and groveling views; and we find Lewis of Bavaria, who was at that time emperor, and several other princes, complaining loudly that this pontiff made use of the holy war as a pretext to disguise his avarice and ambition (*c*); and indeed the character of this pope was proper to give credit to such complaints. Under the pontificate of Benedict XII. a formidable army was raised in the year 1330, by Philip de Valois, king of France, with a view, as was said, to attempt the deliverance of the Christians in Palestine (*d*); but when he was just ready to embark his troops, the apprehension of an invasion from England obliged him to lay aside this weighty enterprize. In the year 1345, Clement V. at the request of the Venetians, engaged, by the persuasive power of indulgences, a prodigious number of adventurers to embark for Smyrna, where they composed a numerous army under the command

(*a*) Baluzii Vitæ Pontif. Avenion. tom. i. p. 15. 594. tom. ii. p. 55. 57. 374. 391, &c. Ant. Matthæi Analecta Veteris Ævi, tom. ii. p. 577.

(*b*) Baluzii Vitæ Pontif. Avenion. tom. i. p. 125. tom. ii. p. 515.

(*c*) Baluzius, loc. cit. tom. i. p. 175. 786. Matthæi Analecta Vet. Ævi, tom. ii. p. 595. 598.

(*d*) Baluzius, loc. cit. tom. i. p. 200.

of Guido or Guy, dauphin of Vienne; but the want of provisions obliged this army to return with their general into Europe in a short time after their departure (*e*). This disappointment did not, however, damp the spirits of the restless pontiffs; for another formidable army was assembled in the year 1363, in consequence of the zealous exhortations of Urban V. and was to be employed in a new expedition against the infidels, with John, king of France, at its head; but the unexpected death of that prince blasted the hopes that many had entertained from this grand project, and occasioned the dispersion of that numerous body which had repaired to his standards (*f*).

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II. The missionaries that had been sent by the Roman pontiffs into China, Tartary, and the adjacent countries, in the preceding century, found their labours crowned with the desired success, and established a great number of Christian churches in these unenlightened nations. In the year 1307, Clement V. erected Cambalu (which at this time was the celebrated metropolis of Cathay, and is, undoubtedly, the same with Peking, the capital city at present of the Chinese empire) into an archbishopric, which he conferred upon John de Monte Corvino, an Italian friar, who had been employed in propagating the gospel in that country for many years. The same pontiff sent soon after to assist this prelate in his pious labours seven other bishops of the Franciscan order (*g*). John XXII. exerted in this good

The state of
Christianity
in China
and Tar-
tary.

(*e*) *Fragmenta Histor. Romanæ*, in *Muratorii Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 368.

(*f*) *Baluzii Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 366. 386. 371. 401.

(*g*) *Waddingus, Annal. Ordin. Minor.* tom. vi. ad a. 1305. sect. xii. p. 69. ad a. 1307, p. 91. 368. tom. vii. p. 53. 221. tom. viii. p. 235.—*J. S. Assemani Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.*

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cause the same zeal which had distinguished the pontificate of his predecessors. Upon the death of John de Monte Corvino, in the year 1330, he sent Nicolas of Bentra to fill the vacant archbishopric of Cambalu, and charged him with letters to the emperor of the Tartars, who, at that time, was in possession of the Chinese dominions. In the year 1338, Benedict XII. sent new legates and missionaries into Tartary and China, in consequence of a solemn embassy (*h*) with which he was honoured at Avignon from the Kan of the Tartars. During the time that the princes of this latter nation maintained themselves in the empire of China, the Christian religion flourished in these vast regions, and both Latins and Nestorians not only made a public profession of their faith, but also propagated it without any apprehension of danger, throughout the northern provinces of Asia.

Conversion
of the Li-
thuanians.

III. There remained in this century scarcely any European prince unconverted to Christianity, if we except Jagello, duke of Lithuania, who continued in the darkness of paganism, and worshipped the gods of his idolatrous ancestors, until the year 1386, when he embraced the Christian faith, received in baptism the name of Vladislaus, and persuaded his subjects to open their eyes upon the divine light of the gospel. We shall not pretend to justify the purity of the motives that first engaged this prince to renounce the religion of his fathers, as they were accompanied, at least, with views of policy, interest, and ambition. Upon the death of Lewis, king of Poland, which happened in the year 1382, Jagello was named among the competitors who

tom. iii. sect. ii. p. 521.—J. Echardi Scriptor. Prædicator. tom. i. p. 537.—Acta Sanctor. tom. i. Januarii, p. 984.—Moshemii Historia Eccles. Tartar.

(*h*) Baluzii Vitæ Pontificum Avenionensium, tom. i. p. 242.

aspired after the vacant throne; and as he was a rich and powerful prince, the Poles beheld his pretensions and efforts with a favourable eye. His religion was the only obstacle that lay in his way to the accomplishment of his views. Hedwige, the youngest daughter of the deceased monarch, who, by a decree of the senate, was declared heiress of the kingdom, was as little disposed to espouse, as the Poles were to obey, a pagan, and hence Jagello was obliged to make superstition yield to royalty (*i*). On the other hand, the Teutonic knights and crusaders extirpated by fire and sword any remains of paganism that were yet to be found in Prussia and Livonia, and effected, by force, what persuasion alone ought to have produced.

We find also in the annals of this century a great many instances of Jews converted to the Christian faith. The cruel persecutions they suffered in several parts of Europe, particularly in France and Germany, vanquished their obstinacy, and bent their untractable spirits under the yoke of the gospel. The reports (whether false or true we shall not determine) that had been industriously spread abroad, of their poisoning the public fountains, of their killing infants and drinking their blood, of their profaning, in the most impious and blasphemous manner, the consecrated wafers that were used in the celebration of the eucharist, with other accusations equally enormous, excited every where the resentment of the magistrates and the fury of the people, and brought the most terrible sufferings that unrelenting vengeance could invent, upon that wretched and devoted nation.

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PART I.

Many of
the Jews
become
Christians
through
compul-
sion.

(*i*) Odor. Raynaldus, Annal. Eccles. ad a. 1386. sect. iv. —Waddingi Annal. Minor. tom. ix. p. 71.—Solignac, Histoire de Pologne, tom. iii. p. 241.

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PART I.

A scheme
laid for the
expulsion
of the Sara-
cens out of
Spain.

IV. The Saracens maintained, as yet, a considerable footing in Spain. The kingdoms of Granada and Murcia, with the province of Andalusia, were subject to their dominion; and they carried on a perpetual war with the kings of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre, in which, however, they were not always victorious. The African princes, and particularly the emperors of Morocco, became their auxiliaries against the Christians. On the other hand, the Roman pontiffs left no means unemployed to excite the Christians to unite their forces against the Mahometans, and to drive them out of the Spanish territories; presents, exhortations, promises, in short, every allurements that religion, superstition, or avarice could render powerful, were made use of in order to the execution of this arduous project. The Christians, accordingly, united their counsels and efforts for this end; and though for some time the difficulty of the enterprize rendered their progress but inconsiderable, yet even in this century their affairs carried a promising aspect, and gave them reason to hope that they should one day triumph over their enemies, and become sole possessors of the Spanish dominions (*k*).

(*k*) See Jo. de Ferreras, *Histoire de l'Espagne*, tom. iv, v. vii.—*Fragmenta Histor. Romanæ*, in Muratorii, *Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. iii. p. 319, in which, however, there is a considerable mixture of truth and falsehood.—*Baluzii Miscellan.* tom. ii. p. 267.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Calamitous Events that happened to the Church during this Century.

I. THE Turks and Tartars, who extended their dominions in Asia with an amazing rapidity, and directed their arms against the Greeks, as well as against the Saracens, destroyed wherever they went the fruits that had sprung up in such a rich abundance from the labours of the Christian missionaries, extirpated the religion of Jesus in several provinces and cities where it flourished, and substituted the impostures of Mahomet in its place. Many of the Tartars had formerly professed the gospel, and still more had tolerated the exercise of that divine religion; but, from the beginning of this century, things put on a new face; and that fierce nation renounced every other religious doctrine, except that of the Alcoran. Timur Beg, commonly called Tamerlane, their mighty emperor, embraced himself the doctrine of Mahomet, though under a form different from that which was adopted by the Tartars in general (*l*). This formidable warrior, after having subdued the greatest part of Asia, having triumphed over Bajazet, the emperor of the Turks, and even filled Europe with terror at the

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PART I.

The Christian religion loses ground in Asia.

(*l*) This great Tamerlane, whose name seemed to strike terror even when he was no more, adhered to the sect of the Sonnites, and professed the greatest enmity against their adversaries the Schiites. See *Petit Croix, Histoire de Timur-Bec*, tom. ii. p. 151, tom. iii. p. 228. It is, however, extremely doubtful, what was, in reality, the religion of Tamerlane, though he professed the Mahometan faith. See *Mosheim, Hist. Eccles. Tartaror.* p. 124.

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PART I.

approach of his victorious arms, made use of his authority to force multitudes of Christians to apostatize from their holy faith. To the dictates of authority he added the compulsive power of violence and persecution, and treated the disciples of Christ with the utmost barbarity. Persuaded, as we learn from the most credible writers of his life and actions, that it was incumbent upon the true followers of Mahomet to persecute the Christians, and that the most ample and glorious rewards were reserved for such as were most instrumental in converting them to the Mahometan faith (*m*); he employed the most inhuman acts of severity to vanquish the magnanimous constancy of those that persevered in their attachment to the Christian religion, of whom some suffered death in the most barbarous forms, while others were condemned to perpetual slavery (*n*).

The decline
of Christian-
ity in
China and
in Tartary.

II. In those parts of Asia, that are inhabited by the Chinese, Tartars, Moguls, and other nations as yet less known, the Christian religion not only lost ground, but seemed to be totally extirpated. It is, at least, certain, that we have no account of any members of the Latin church residing in those countries, later than the year 1370, nor could we ever learn the fate of the Franciscan missionaries that had been sent thither from Rome. We have, indeed, some records, from which it would appear that there were Nestorians residing in China so far down as the

(*m*) Petit Croix, *Histoire de Timur-Bec*, tom. ii. p. 329. tom. iii. p. 9. 137. 243. &c.

(*n*) Many instances of this we find in a *History of Timur-Bec*, wrote by a Persian, who was named Scherfedinus, tom. ii. p. 376. 384. 386. tom. iii. p. 243. tom. iv. p. 111. 115. 117. and published at Delft, in four volumes, 8vo. in the year 1723.—See also Herbelot, *Biblioth. Oriental.* at the article *Timur*, p. 877.

sixteenth century (*o*); but these records are not so clear in relation to this matter, as to remove all uncertainty and doubting. However that may be, it is evident beyond all contradiction, that the abolition of Christianity in those remote parts of the world, was owing to the wars that were carried on by the Tartars against the Chinese and other Asiatic nations; for in the year 1369, the last emperor of the race of Gengis Kan was driven out of China, and his throne filled by the Mim family, who, by a solemn law, refused to all foreigners the privilege of entering into China.

(*o*) Nicol. Trigautius, *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas*, lib. i. cap. xi. p. 116.—Jos. Sim. Assemani *Biblioth. Orient. Vatican.* tom. iii. part I. p. 592. & part II. p. 445. 536.—Halde, *Description de la Chine*, tom. i. p. 175.

CENT.
XIV.
PART I.

PART II.

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the State of Letters and Philosophy during this Century.

CENT.
XIV.
PART II.

The state
of letters
among the
Greeks.

I. THE Greeks, though dejected by the foreign and intestine calamities in which they were involved, were far from withdrawing their attention and zeal from the cause of literature, as is evident from the great number of learned men who flourished among them during this period. In this honourable class were Nicephorus Gregoras, Manuel Chrysolorus, Maximus Planudes, and many others, who by their indefatigable application to the study of humanity and antiquities, criticism and grammar, acquired considerable reputation. To omit writers of inferior note, Theodorus Metochila, John Cantacuzenus, and Nicephorus Gregoras, applied themselves to the composition of history, though with different success. Nor ought we to pass over in silence Nicephorus Callistus, who compiled an Ecclesiastical History, which, notwithstanding its being debased with idle stories and evident marks of superstition, is highly useful on account of the light it casts on many important facts.

The state
of philoso-
phy among
the Greeks.

II. As none of the sages of this century was adventurous enough to set up for a leader in philosophy, such of the Greeks as had a taste for philosophical researches adhered to Aristotle, as their conductor and guide; but we may learn

from the tracts of Theodorus Metochita in what manner they explained the principles and tenets of the Stagirite. Plato also had his followers, especially among those who were fond of mysticism, which had for many ages been held in the highest veneration by the Greeks. In the sublime sciences of mathematics and astronomy Nicolas Cabasilas surpassed all his contemporaries. Barlaam adopted the sentiments and precepts of the Stoics with respect to the obligations of morality and the duties of life, and digested them into a work of his, which is known by the title of *Ethica ex Stoicis* (q).

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PART II.

III. In all the Latin provinces, schemes were laid and carried into execution with considerable success for promoting the study of letters, improving taste, and dispelling the pedantic spirit of the times. This laudable disposition gave rise to the erection of many schools and academies, at Cogn, Orleans, Cahors, Perugia, Florence, and Pisa, in which all the liberal arts and sciences, distributed into the same classes that still subsist in those places, were taught with assiduity and zeal. Opulent persons founded and amply endowed particular colleges, in the public universities, in which, besides the monks, young men of narrow circumstances were educated in all the branches of literature. Libraries were also collected, and men of learning animated to aspire to fame and glory, by the prospect of honourable rewards. It must be confessed indeed, that the advantages arising to the church and state, from so many professors and learned men, did not wholly answer the expense and care bestowed on this undertaking by men of rank and fortune: yet we are by no means to conclude, as many have rashly done, that all the doctors of this age, who

The state of
learning
among the
Latins.

(q) Henrici Canisii *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 405.

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PART II.

The state of
languages.

rose gradually from the lower to the higher and more honourable stations, were only distinguished by their stupidity and ignorance.

IV. Clement V. who was now raised to the pontificate, ordered the Hebrew, and other Oriental languages, to be taught in the public schools, that the church might never want a sufficient number of missionaries properly qualified to dispute with the Jews and Mahometans, and to diffuse the divine light of the gospel throughout the east (*r*): in consequence of which appointment, some eminent proficient in those tongues, and especially in the Hebrew, flourished during this age. The Greek language, which hitherto had been much neglected, was now revived, and taught with general applause, first of all by Leontius Pilatus, a Calabrian, who wrote a commentary upon Homer, and a few others (*s*), but afterwards with far greater success, and reputation, by Manuel Chrysoloras (*t*), a native of Constantinople. Nor were there wanting some extraordinary geniuses, who, by their zeal and application, contributed to the restoration of the ancient and genuine eloquence of the Latins, among whom the excellent and justly-renowned Petrarch held the first place (*u*), and Dante

(*r*) See Ant. Wood, *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 156, 159.

(*s*) See Humph. Hody, *De Græcis illustribus, Linguae Græcæ Literarumque Humaniorum Instauratoribus*, lib. i. p. 5. Londini, 1742, in 8vo.—Calogera, *Opusculi Scientifici*, tom. xxv. p. 258.

(*t*) Hody, *loc. cit.* lib. i. p. 10.—*Angeli Calogerae loc. cit.* p. 248.—And more especially Christ. Frid. Borneri *Lib. de Græcis Literarum Græcarum in Italia instauratoribus*.

(*u*) See Jac. Phil. Thomasini *Vita Petrarci* in Jo. Gerh. Meuschen *Vitæ Claror. Viror.* tom. iv. who in his Preface enumerates all the other writers of his life. Of the celebrated poet Dante, several have treated, particularly his translator Benevenuto of Imola, from whence Muratorius has borrowed large extracts in his *Antiquit. Ital. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 1036. f.

Alighieri the second. Full of this worthy design, they both acted as if they had received an extraordinary commission to promote the reign of true taste and the progress of polite learning; and their success was answerable to the generous ambition that animated their efforts; for they had many followers and admirers, not only among their countrymen, but also among the French and Germans.

V. The writings of this age furnish us with a long list of grammarians, historians, lawyers, and physicians, of which it would be easy to give a circumstantial account: but as it is quite foreign to our purpose, it will be sufficient to inform our readers, that there were but few of this vast multitude, whose labours were in any great degree useful to society. Great numbers applied themselves to the study of the civil and canon law, because it was the readiest way to preferment both in church and state. Such as have any tolerable acquaintance with history, cannot be entirely strangers to the fame of Bartolus, Baldus, Andreas, and other doctors of laws in this century, who reflected honour on the universities of Italy. But, after all, it is certain that the jurisprudence of this age was a most intricate disagreeable study, unenlivened either by history or language, and destitute of every allurements that could recommend it to a man of genius. As for the mathematics, they were cultivated by many; yet, if we except Doctor Thomas Bradwardine, the acute and learned archbishop of Canterbury, there were but few who acquired any reputation worth mentioning by this kind of study.

Of the other sciences.

Of philosophy.

VI. The vast number of philosophers who rather disgraced than adorned this century, looked upon Aristotle as their infallible oracle and guide; though they stript him of all those excellencies that really belonged to him, and were incapable

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of entering into the true spirit of his writings. So great was the authority of the peripatetic philosophy, that, in order to diffuse the knowledge of it as widely as possible, even kings and emperors ordered the works of Aristotle to be translated into the native language of their respective dominions. Among the most eminent of this class was Charles V. king of France, who ordered all the writings of the ancients, and especially those of Aristotle, to be translated into French by Nicholas Oresme (*w*). Those, however, who professed themselves philosophers, instead of being animated by the love of truth, were inflamed by a rage of disputation, which led them to perplex and deform the pure, simple doctrines of reason and religion, by a multitude of idle subtilties, trifling questions, and ridiculous distinctions. It is needless to enlarge on the barbarity of their phraseology, in which they supposed the whole strength of their art consisted; as also, on that utter aversion to every branch of polite learning in which they foolishly gloried. Those who have a mind to be acquainted with their methods of argumentation, and whatever else relates to this wrangling tribe, need only consult John Scotus, or Walter Bulæus. But though they all followed one common track, there were several points on which they differed among themselves.

The Realists and Nominalists.

VII. The old disputes between the Realists and Nominalists, which had lain dormant a long time, were now revived with unextinguishable ardour, by an English Franciscan friar of the severer order, named William Occam, who was a follower of the great Scotus, and a doctor of divi-

(*w*) Jo. Launoïus, Hist. Gymnas. Navarr. tom. iv. opp. part I. p. 504.—Boulay, Histor. Acad. Paris, tom iv. p. 379.—Le Boeuf, Dissert. sur l'Hist. Eccles. et Civile, Par. tom. iii. p. 456. 463. s.

nity at Paris. The Greeks and Persians never fought against each other with more hatred and fury than these two discordant sects, whose angry disputations subsisted without any abatement, till the appearance of Luther, who soon obliged the scholastic divines to terminate their mutual wranglings, and to listen to terms of accommodation. The Realists despised their antagonists as philosophers of a recent date, branding them with the name of Moderns, while, through a great mistake, they ascribed a very high antiquity to the tenets of their own party. The Nominalists, on the other hand, inveighed against them as a set of doting visionaries, who, despising substantial matters, were pursuing mere shadows. The Nominalists had the most eloquent, acute, and subtile doctors of Paris for their leaders, among whom, besides Occam, the famous John Buridan (*x*) was very eminent; nevertheless, through the countenance given them by successive popes, the Realists prevailed. For when Occam joined the party of the Franciscan monks, who strenuously opposed John XXII. that pope himself, and his successors after him, left no means untried to extirpate the philosophy of the Nominalists, which was deemed highly prejudicial to the interests of the church (*y*); and hence it was, that, in the year 1339, the university of Paris, by a public edict, solemnly condemned and prohibited the philosophy of Occam, which was that of the Nominalists (*z*). But as it is natural for men to

(*x*) Rob. Guaginus wrote a particular account of this famous man, as we learn from Jo. Launoius, in his *Historia Gymnasii Navarreni*, tom. iv. opp. part I. p. 722. see also p. 296, 297. 330. and Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 282. 307. 341, &c.

(*y*) Steph. Buluzii *Miscellanea*, tom. iv. p. 532.

(*z*) Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 257. tom. v. p. 708.—Car. Pless. d'Argentre, *Collectio Judiciorum de novis Erroribus*, &c. see Mosheim.

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love and pursue what is forbidden, the consequence was, that the party of the Nominalists flourished more than ever.

Astrology mingles itself with the philosophy of the times, and is considered as magic.

VIII. Among the philosophers of these times, there were many who mingled astrology with their philosophy, *i. e.* the art of telling fortunes, by the aspect of the heavens, and the influence of the stars; and, notwithstanding the obvious folly and absurdity of this pretended science, all ranks of people, from the highest down to the lowest, were fond of it even to distraction. Yet, in spite of all this popular prejudice in favour of their art, these astrological philosophers, to avoid being impeached of witchcraft, and to keep themselves out of the hands of the inquisitors, were obliged to behave with great circumspection. The neglect of this caution was remarkably fatal to Ceccus Asculanus, a famous peripatetic philosopher, astrologer, and mathematician, first of all physician to pope John XXII. and afterwards to Charles Sineterra, Duke of Calabria. This unhappy man having performed some experiments in mechanics, that seemed miraculous to the vulgar, and having also offended many, and among the rest his master, by giving out some predictions, which were said to have been fulfilled, was universally supposed to deal with infernal spirits, and burnt for it by the inquisitors at Florence, in the year 1337 (*a*). There is yet extant a commentary of his upon the Sphere of John de Sacrobusco, otherwise named Holywood, which shows its author to have been deeply tainted with superstition (*b*).

(*a*) Paul Ant. Appianus wrote a defence of this unhappy man, which is inserted in Domen. Bernini Storia di tutte l'Heresi, tom. iii. sect. xiv. cap. iii. p. 210. s. We have also a further account of him in Jo. Maria Crescimbenus, Commentari della volgar. Poesia, vol. ii. part II. lib. iii. cap. xiv.

(*b*) Gabr. Naudæus, Apologie pour les grands Hommes qui ont ete soupsonnez de Magie, p. 270. s.

IX. Raymund Lully was the author of a new and very singular kind of philosophy, which he endeavoured to illustrate and defend by his voluminous writings. He was a native of Majorca, and admirable for the extent and fecundity of his genius; yet, at the same time, a strange compound of reason and folly. Being full of zeal for the propagation of the gospel, and having performed many voyages, and undergone various hardships to promote it, he was slain at Bugia, in Africa, in the year 1315, by the Mahometans, whom he was attempting to convert. The Franciscans, to whose third order it is said he belonged, extol him to the skies, and have taken great pains to persuade several popes to canonize him; while many, on the contrary, and especially the Dominicans, inveigh bitterly against him, calling him a harebrained chemist, a hot-headed fanatic, a heretic, a magician, and a mere compiler of the works of the more learned Mahometans. The popes entertained different opinions of him; some esteeming him a harmless pious man, while others pronounced him a vile heretic. But whoever peruses the writings of Lully without prejudice, will not be biassed by either of these parties. It is at least certain, that he would have been a great man, had the warmth and fertility of his imagination been tempered with a sound judgment (c).

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The phil
sophy of
Lully.

(c) See John Salzinger's Preface to Raymund Lully's Works, which John William, elector palatine, caused to be collected at a great expense, and to be published, in 1720, in five folio volumes. Luc. Waddingus, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 421. tom. v. p. 157. 316. tom. vi. p. 229. Concerning the famous invention of Lully, see Dan. Georg. Morofius, *Polyhistoire*, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 352. s.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Doctors and Government of the Church during this Century.

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The corrupt
state of the
clergy.

I. THE governors of the church in this period, from the highest to the lowest orders, were addicted to vices peculiarly dishonourable to their sacred character. We shall say nothing of the Grecian and Oriental clergy, who lived, for the most part, under a rigid, severe, and oppressive government, though they deserve their part in this heavy and ignominious charge. But with regard to the Latins, our silence would be inexcusable, since the flagrant abuses that prevailed among them were attended with consequences equally pernicious to the interests of religion, and the well-being of civil society. It is, however, necessary to observe, that there were even in these degenerate times, several pious and worthy men, who ardently longed for a reformation of the church, both in its head and members, as they used to express themselves (*d*). Laudable as these desires undoubtedly were, many circumstances concurred to prevent their accomplishment; such as the exorbitant power of the popes, so confirmed by length of time that it seemed immoveable, the excessive superstition that enslaved the minds of the generality, together with the wretched ignorance and barbarity of the age, by which every spark of truth was stifled, as it were, in its very birth. Yet, firm and lasting as the dominion of the Roman pontiffs seemed to be, it was gradually undermined and

(*d*) Matt. Flacius, *Catalogo Testium Veritatis*, lib. xiii. p. 1697. Jo. Launoïus, *De Varia Fortuna Aristotelis*, p. 217. Jo. Henr. Hottingeri *Historia Eccles. Sæc. xiv.* p. 754.

weakened, partly by the pride and rashness of the popes themselves, and partly by several unexpected events.

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Philip, king
of France,
opposes the
papal tyrann-
ny.

II. This important change may be dated from the quarrel which arose between Boniface VIII. who filled the papal throne about the beginning of this century, and Philip the Fair, king of France. This prince, who was endowed with a bold and enterprising spirit, soon convinced Europe, that it was possible to set bounds to the overgrown arrogance of the bishop of Rome, notwithstanding many crowned heads had attempted it without success. Boniface sent Philip the haughtiest letters imaginable, in which he asserted, that the king of France, with all other kings and princes whatsoever, were obliged, by a divine command, to submit to the authority of the popes, as well in all political and civil matters, as in those of a religious nature. The king answered him with great spirit, and in terms expressive of the utmost contempt. The pope rejoined with more arrogance than ever; and, in that famous bull, *unam sanctam*, which he published, about this time, asserted that Jesus Christ had granted a twofold power to his church, or, in other words, the spiritual and temporal sword; that he had subjected the whole human race to the authority of the Roman pontiff, and that whoever dared to disbelieve it, were to be deemed heretics, and stood excluded from all possibility of salvation (*e*). The king, on the other hand, in an assembly of the peers of his kingdom, held in the year 1303, ordered William de Nogaret, a celebrated lawyer (*f*), to draw up an accusation

(*e*) This bull is yet extant in the Corpus Juris Canon. Extravagant. Commun. lib. i. tit. De majoritate et obedientia.

(*f*) Of this celebrated lawyer, who was the most intrepid and inveterate enemy the popes ever had before Luther, none

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against the pope, in which he publicly charged him with heresies, simony, and many other vices, demanding, at the same time, an œcumenical council to depose such an execrable pontiff. The pope, in his turn, passed a sentence of excommunication, that very year, against the king and all his adherents.

The event
of this
warm con-
test.

III. Philip, shortly after he received his sentence, held an assembly of the states of the kingdom, where he again employed some persons of the highest rank and reputation to sit in judgment upon the pope, and appealed to a general council. After this, he sent William de Nogaret, with some others, into Italy, to excite a sedition, to seize the pope's person, and then to convey him to Lyons, where the king was determined to hold the abovementioned council. Nogaret, being a resolute active man, soon drew over to his assistance the powerful family of the Colonnas, then at variance with the pope, levied a small army, seized Boniface, who lived in perfect security at Anagni, and as soon as he had got him into his power, treated him in the most shocking manner, and carried his resentment so far as to wound him on the head by a blow with his iron gauntlet. The inhabitants of Anagni rescued him out of the hands of this fierce and inveterate enemy, and conducted him to Rome, where he died soon after of an illness occasioned by the rage and anguish into which these insults had thrown him (g).

have given us a fuller account than the Benedictine monks, *Hist. Generale de Languedoc*, tom. iii. p. 114. 117. s. Philip made him chancellor of France for his resolute opposition against the pope.

(g) See the *Acta inter Bonifacium VIII. Bened. XI. Clement. V. et Philippum Pulchrum*, published A. D. 1614, by Peter Puteanus.—*Adr. Baillet, Hist. de Demelez du Boniface VIII. avec Philippe le Bel*, printed at Paris, in 4to. in 1718.—

IV. Benedict XI. who succeeded him, and whose name, before his accession to the papal chair, was Nicolas Boccacini, learned prudence by this fatal example, and pursued more moderate and gentle measures. He repealed, of his own accord, the sentence of excommunication that his predecessor had thundered out against the king of France and his dominions; but never could be prevailed upon to absolve Nogaret of his treason against the ghostly majesty of the pontificate. Nogaret, on the other hand, set a small value upon the papal absolution, and prosecuted, with his usual vigour and intrepidity, in the Roman court, the accusation that he had formerly brought against Boniface; and in the name of his royal master, insisted, that the memory of that pontiff should be branded with a notorious mark of infamy. While this was transacting, Benedict died, A. D. 1304; upon which Philip, by his artful intrigues in the conclave, obtained the see of Rome for a French prelate Bertrand de Got, archbishop of Bourdeaux, who was accordingly elected to that high dignity, on the 5th of June 1305. This step was so much the more necessary, in that the breach between the king and the court of Rome was not yet entirely healed, and, as Nogaret was not as yet absolved, might easily be renewed. Besides, the French monarch, inflamed with the desire of revenge, insisted upon the formal condemnation of Boniface by the court of Rome, the abolition of the order of Templars, and other concessions of great importance, which he could not reasonably expect from an Italian pope. Hence he looked upon a French pontiff, in whose zeal and compliance he could confide, as necessary.

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The papal
residence
removed to
Avignon.

Jo. Rubeus, in Bonifacio, cap. xvi. p. 137.—The other writers on this subject are mentioned by Baillet, in his Preface, p. 9.
—See also Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. iv. p. 4.

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to the execution of his designs. Bertrand assumed the name of Clement V. and, at the king's request, remained in France, and removed the papal residence to Avignon, where it continued during the space of seventy years. This period the Italians call, by way of derision, the Babylonish captivity (*h*).

The dimi-
nution of
the papal
authority.

V. There is no doubt, but that the continued residence of the popes in France greatly impaired the authority of the Roman see. For during the absence of the pontiffs from Rome, the faction of the Gibellines, their inveterate enemies, rose to a greater height than ever; insomuch that they not only invaded and ravaged St. Peter's patrimony, but even attacked the papal authority, by their writings. This caused many cities to revolt from the popes; even Rome itself was the grand source and fomentor of cabals, tumults, and civil wars; insomuch that the laws and decrees sent thither from France were publicly treated with contempt by the common people, as well as by the nobles (*i*). The influence of this example was propagated from Italy through most parts of Europe; it being evident, from a vast number of instances, that the Europeans in general did not pay near so much regard to the decrees and thunders of the Gallic popes, as

(*h*) For an account of the French popes, consult chiefly Steph. Baluzii Vitæ Pontif. Avenionensium, published at Paris, in two volumes 4to. in the year 1693. The reader may also peruse, but it must be with the utmost caution, Longueval's History of the Gallican Church, and those who continued that work after his death. See more especially tom. xii. This Jesuit, and his successors, have shown great industry and eloquence in the composition of this history; but they, for the most part, artfully conceal the vices and enormities of the Roman pontiffs.

(*i*) See Baluzii Pontif. Avenion. tom. ii. p. 290, 291. 301. 309. 323, and many other places.—Muratorii Antiq. Ital. tom. iii. p. 397. 401. 409, &c.—Giannone, Histoire de Naples, tom. iii. p. 280.

they did to those of Rome. This gave rise to various seditions against the pontiffs, which they could not entirely crush, even with the aid of the inquisitors, who exerted themselves with the most barbarous fury.

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VI. The French pontiffs, finding they could draw but small revenues from their Italian dominions, which were now torn in pieces by faction, and ravaged by sedition, were obliged to contrive new methods of accumulating wealth. For this purpose, they not only sold indulgences to the people, more frequently than they had formerly done, whereby they made themselves extremely odious to several potentates, but also disposed publicly of scandalous licences, of all sorts, at an excessive price. John XXII. was remarkably shrewd and zealous in promoting this abominable traffic; for, though he was not the first inventor of the taxes and rules of the apostolical chancery, yet the Romish writers acknowledge that he enlarged and rendered them more extensively profitable to the holy treasury (*k*). It is certain, that the origin of the tribute paid to the popes under the name of Annates, and which is generally affirmed to have been first imposed by him, is of a much earlier date (*l*). Besides the abuses, now mentioned, these Gallic popes having abolished the right of elections, arrogated to themselves a power of conferring all the offices of the church, whether greater or smaller, according to their fancy, by which they soon amassed prodigious wealth. It was also under their government

New schemes invented by the popes to acquire riches.

(*k*) Jo. Ciampinus, De Vicecancellario Ecclesiæ Rom. p. 39.—Car. Chais, Lettres sur les Jubiles, tom. ii. p. 673. and others.

(*l*) Bernh. van Espen, Jus Eccles. Universale, tom. ii. p. 876.—Boulay, Histor. Acad. Paris. tom. iv. p. 911.—Ant. Wood, Antiquit. Oxon. tom. i. p. 213.—Guil. Franc. Berthier, Diss. sur les Annates, tom. xii. Hist. de l'Eglise Gallic. p. i.

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that reserves, provisions, expectatives, and other impositions of the like odious nature, that had seldom or never been heard of before, became familiar to the public ear, and filled all Europe with bitter complaints (*m*). These complaints exceeded all bounds, when some of these pontiffs, particularly John XXII. Clement VI. and Gregory X. openly declared that they had reserved to themselves all churches and parishes within their jurisdiction, and were determined, in consequence of that sovereign authority and plenitude of power which Christ had conferred upon them, his vicars, to provide for them, and dispose of them without exception (*n*). It was by these and other such mean and selfish contrivances, which had no other end than the acquisition of riches, that these inconsiderate pontiffs excited a general hatred against the Roman see, and thereby greatly weakened the papal empire, which had been visibly upon the decline from the time of Boniface.

The obsequiousness of Clement V. to Philip.

VII. Clement V. was a mere creature of Philip the Fair, and was absolutely directed and governed by that prince as long as he lived. William de Nogaret, the implacable enemy of Boniface VIII. notwithstanding he was under a sentence of excommunication, had the boldness to prosecute his master's cause, and his own, against Boniface even in the pope's court; an instance of assurance this, not easy to be paralleled. Philip insisted, that the dead body of

(*m*) Steph. Baluzii Miscellan. tom. ii. p. 479. 518. Ejus Vit. Pontif. Avenion. tom. ii. p. 60. 63. 65. 74. 154. 156. Gallia Christiana Benedictinor. tom. i. Append. p. 13. Wood, Antiquit. Oxon. tom. i. p. 148. 201, 202. Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris, tom. iv. p. 911.

(*n*) Baluzii Pontif. Avenion. tom. ii. p. 873. tom. i. p. 285. 311. 681. s. Ant. Matthæi Analecta Vet. Ævi, tom. v. p. 349. s. Gallia Christiana, tom. i. p. 69. 1208. Histoire du Droit Eccles. François, tom. ii. p. 129. s.

Boniface should be dug up and publicly burnt ; but Clement averted this infamy by his advice and intreaties, promising implicit obedience to the king in every thing else. In order, therefore, to keep his word, he was obliged to abrogate the laws enacted by Boniface, to grant the king a bounty of five years tithes, fully to absolve Nogaret of all his crimes, on condition of his submitting to a light penance (which, however, he never performed), to restore the citizens of Anagni to their reputation and honour, and to call a general council at Vienna, in the year 1311, in order to condemn the Templars, on whose destruction Philip was most ardently bent. In this council every thing was determined as the king thought proper. For Clement, terrified by the melancholy fate of Boniface, durst not venture to oppose this intrepid and obstinate monarch (o).

VIII. Upon Clement's death, which happened in the year 1314, many fierce contentions arose in the conclave about choosing a successor, the French cardinals insisting upon a French, and those of Italy demanding an Italian pope. After a contest, which continued two years, the French party prevailed, and, in the year 1316, elected James de Euse, a native of Cahors, and cardinal bishop of Porto. He assumed the name of John XXII. and had a tolerable share of learning, but was at the same time crafty and proud, weak, imprudent, and covetous, which is allowed even by those writers who, in other respects, speak well of him. He is deservedly censured on account of his temerity, and the ill success that attended him, through his own imprudence, in

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John
XXII. Ni-
colas V.

(o) Besides the common writers already cited, see Guil. Fran. Berthierii, Discours sur le Pontificat de Clement. V. tom. iii. Historiæ Eccles. Gallic. Colonia Hist. Litter. de Lyon, tom. i. p. 340. Gallia Christiana Benedict. tom. i. p. 1189. et tom. ii. p. 829.

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many of his enterprizes; but he is more especially blamed for that calamitous and unhappy war into which he entered against Lewis of Bavaria. This powerful prince disputed the imperial throne of Germany with Frederic, duke of Austria; and they had been both chosen to that high dignity, in the year 1314, by their respective partisans among the electors and princes of the empire. John took it for granted, that the decision of this contest came under his ghostly jurisdiction. But, in the year 1322, the duke of Bavaria having vanquished his competitor by force of arms, took upon him the administration of the empire without asking the pope's approbation, and would by no means allow, that their dispute, already determined by the sword, should be again decided by the judgment of the pope. John interpreted this refusal as a heinous insult upon his authority, and, by an edict issued out in the year 1324, pretended to deprive the emperor of his crown. But his impotent resentment was very little regarded; nay, he was even accused of heresy by the emperor, who, at the same time, appealed to a general council. Highly exasperated by these and other deserved affronts, the pontiff presumed, in the year 1327, to declare the imperial throne vacant a second time, and even to publish a sentence of excommunication against the chief of the empire. This new mark of papal arrogance was severely resented by Lewis, who, in the year 1328, published an edict at Rome, by which John was declared unworthy of the pontificate, deposed from that dignity, and succeeded in it by one of his bitterest enemies Peter de Corbieri, a Franciscan monk, who assumed the name of Nicolas V. and crowned the emperor at Rome, in a solemn and public manner. But, in the year 1330, this imperial pope voluntarily abdicated the chair of St. Peter,

and surrendered himself to John, who kept him in close confinement at Avignon for the rest of his days. Thus ended the contest between the duke of Bavaria and John XXII. who, notwithstanding their mutual efforts to dethrone each other, continued both in the possession of their respective dignities (*p*).

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IX. The numerous tribes of the Fratricelli, Beghards, and Spiritual Franciscans, adhered to the party of Lewis. Supported by his patronage, and dispersed throughout the greatest part of Europe, they attacked every where the reigning pontiff, as an enemy to the true religion, and loaded him with the heaviest accusations, and the bitterest invectives, both in their writings and in their ordinary conversation. These attacks did not greatly affect the pontiff, as they were made only by private persons, by a set of obscure monks, who in many respects were unworthy of his notice; but, towards the conclusion of his life, he incurred the disapprobation and censures of almost the whole Catholic church. For in the

John
XXII.
accused of
heresy.

(*p*) The particulars of this violent quarrel may be learned from the Records published by Steph. Baluz. in his *Vitæ Pontiff. Avenion.* tom. ii. p. 512. s.—Edm. Martene, *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 641. s.—Jo. Georg. Herwart, in *Ludovico Imperatore defenso contra Bzovium, Monachii, 1618.* in 4to, et Christ. Gewald. in *Apologia pro Ludovico Bavaro, Ingoldstad. 1618,* in 4to, against the same Bzovius, who, in the *Annals* he had published, basely aspersed the memory of the emperor. See also Luc. Waddingus in *Annalib. Minor.* tom. vii. p. 77. 106. s. &c. Whoever attentively peruses the history of this war, will perceive that Lewis of Bavaria followed the example of Philip the Fair, king of France. As Philip brought an accusation of heresy against Boniface, so did Lewis with respect to John XXII. The French monarch made use of Nogaret and other accusers against the one pontiff. Lewis employed Occam and the Franciscans in that quality against the other. Each of them insisted upon the assembling a general council, and upon the deposition of the pontiffs who had incurred their displeasure. I omit other circumstances that might be alleged to render the parallel more striking.

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year 1331 and 1332, having asserted, in some public discourses, that the souls of the faithful, in their intermediate state, were permitted to behold Christ as man, but not the face of God, or the divine nature, before their re-union with the body at the last day; this doctrine highly offended Philip VI. king of France, was opposed by the pope's friends as well as by his enemies, and unanimously condemned by the divines at Paris, in the year 1333. This favourite tenet of the pope was thus severely treated, because it seemed highly prejudicial to the felicity of happy spirits in their unembodied state; otherwise the point might have been yielded to a man of his positive temper, without any material consequence. Alarmed by these vigorous proceedings, he immediately offered something by way of excuse for having espoused this opinion; and afterwards, in the year 1334, when he lay at the point of death, though he did not entirely renounce, he, in some measure, softened it, by saying he believed that the unembodied souls of the righteous beheld the divine essence as far as their separate state and condition would permit (*q*). This declaration did not satisfy his adversaries; hence his successor, Benedict XII. after many disputes had been held about it, put an end to this controversy by an unanimous resolution of the Parisian doctors, ordering it to be received as an article of faith, that the souls of the blessed, during their intermediate state, did fully and perfectly contemplate the

(*q*) See Steph. Baluzii Vitæ Pontif. Avenion. tom. i. p. 175. 177. 182. 197. 221. 786. &c.—Luc. Dacherii Spicil. Scriptor. Veter. tom. i. p. 760. ed. Vet.—Jo. Launoi Historia Gymnas. Navarreni, part. I. cap. vii. p. 319. tom. iv. part. I. opp.—Boulay, Histor. Acad. Paris, tom. iv. p. 235. 250.—Luc. Waddingi Annal. Minor. tom. vi. p. 371. tom. vii. p. 145.—Jac. Echardi Scriptor. Prædicator. tom. i. p. 599. 608.

divine nature (*r*). Benedict's publishing this resolution could be in no way injurious to the memory of John; for when the latter lay upon his death-bed, he submitted his opinion to the judgment of the church, that he might not be deemed a heretic after his decease (*s*).

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X. John dying in the year 1334, new contentions arose in the conclave between the French and Italian cardinals, about the election of a pope; but towards the end of the year they chose James Fournier, a Frenchman, and cardinal of St. Prisca, who took the name of Benedict XII. The writers of these times represent him as a man of great probity, who was neither chargeable with that avarice, nor that ambition, that dishonoured so many of his predecessors (*t*). He put an end to the papal quarrel with the emperor Lewis: and though he did not restore him to the communion of the church, because prevented, as it is said, by the king of France, yet he did not attempt any thing against him. He carefully attended to the grievances of the church, redressed them as far as was in his power, endeavoured to reform the fundamental laws of the monastic societies, whether of the Mendicant, or more opulent orders; and died in the year 1342, while he was laying the most noble schemes for promoting a

Benedict
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(*r*) Baluzii Vit. Pontif. Avenion. tom. i. p. 197. 216. 221. 224. 236.

(*s*) All this pope's heretical fancies about the Beatific Vision were nothing in comparison with a vile and most enormous practical heresy that was found in his coffers after his death, viz. five and twenty millions of florins, of which there were eighteen in specie, and the rest in plate, jewels, crowns, mitres, and other precious baubles, all which he had squeezed out of the people and the inferior clergy during his pontificate. See Fleury, Hist. Eccles. livr. xciv. sect. xxxix.

(*t*) See the Fragmenta Histor. Roman. in Muratorii Antiquit. Ital. tom. iii. p. 275.—Baluzii Vit. Pont. Avenion. tom. i. p. 205. 218. 240, &c. Boulay, Histor. Acad. Paris, tom. iv. p. 253.

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yet more extensive reformation. In short, if we overlook his superstition, the prevailing blemish of this barbarous age, it must be allowed that he was a man of integrity and merit.

Clement
VI.

XI. He was succeeded by a man of a quite different disposition, Clement VI. a native of France, whose name was Peter Roger, and who was Cardinal of St. Nereus and St. Achilles, before his elevation to the pontificate. Not to insist upon the most exceptionable parts of this pontiff's conduct, we shall only observe, that he trod faithfully in the steps of John XXII. in providing for vacant churches and bishoprics, by reserving to himself the disposal of them, which showed his sordid and insatiable avarice; that he conferred ecclesiastical dignities and benefices of the highest consequence upon strangers and Italians, which drew upon him the warm displeasure of the kings of England and France; and lastly, that by renewing the dissensions that had formerly subsisted between Lewis of Bavaria, and the Roman see, he displayed to the world his excessive vanity and ambition in the most odious colours. In the year 1343, he assailed the emperor with his thundering edicts; and when he heard that they were treated by that prince with the utmost contempt, his rage augmented, and he not only threw out new maledictions, and published new sentences of excommunication against him, in the year 1346, but also excited the German princes to elect Henry VII. son to Charles IV. emperor in his place. This violent measure would infallibly have occasioned a civil war in Germany, had it not been prevented by the death of Lewis, in the year 1347. Clement did not long survive him, for he died in the year 1352, famous for nothing but his excessive zeal for extending the papal authority, and for his having added Avignon, which he purchased of Joan, queen of Naples, to the patrimony of St. Peter.

XII. His successor Innocent VI. whose name was Stephen Albert, was much more remarkable for integrity and moderation. He was a Frenchman, and before his election had been bishop of Ostia. He died in the year 1362, after having governed the church ten years. His greatest blemish was, that he promoted his relations with an excessive partiality, but in other respects, he was a man of merit, and a great encourager of pious and learned men. He kept the monks closely to their duty, carefully abstained from reserving churches, and by many good actions, acquired a great and deserved reputation. He was succeeded by William Grimoard, abbot of St. Victor at Marseilles, who took the name of Urban V. and was entirely free from all the grosser vices, if we except those which cannot easily be separated from the papal dignity. This pope being prevailed on by the intreaties of the Romans, returned to Rome in the year 1367, but, in 1370, he came back to Avignon, to reconcile the differences that had arisen between the kings of England and France, and died there the same year.

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Innocent
VI. Urban
V.

XIII. He was succeeded by Peter Roger, a French ecclesiastic of illustrious descent, who assumed the name of Gregory XI. a man, who, though inferior to his predecessors in virtue, exceeded them far in courage and assurance. In his time, Italy in general, and the city of Rome in particular, was distressed with most outrageous and formidable tumults. The Florentines carried on successfully a terrible war against the ecclesiastical state (*u*). Upon which, Gregory, in hopes of quieting the disorders of Italy, and also of re-

Gregory
XI.

(*u*) See chiefly, Coluzii Salutati Epistolæ, written in the name of the Florentines, part I. p. 47—100. p. 148. 162. See also Præfat. ad part. II. p. xviii. the new Florentine edition by Laur. Mehus.

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covering the cities and territories which had been taken from St. Peter's patrimony, transferred the papal seat from Avignon to Rome, in the year 1376. To this he was in a great measure determined by the advice of one Catharine, a virgin of Sens, who, in this credulous age, was thought to be inspired with the spirit of prophecy, and made a journey to Avignon on purpose to persuade him to take this step (w). It was not, however, long before Gregory repented that he had followed her advice; for by the long absence of the popes from Italy, their authority was reduced to such a low ebb, that the Romans and Florentines made no scruple to insult him with the grossest abuse, which made him resolve to return to Avignon; but before he could execute his determination, he was taken off by death, in the year 1378.

A great schism arises in the Romish church.

XIV. After the death of Gregory XI. the cardinals assembled to consult about choosing a successor, when the people of Rome, fearing lest the vacant dignity should be conferred on a Frenchman, came in a tumultuous manner to the conclave, and with great clamours, accompanied with many outrageous threatenings, insisted that an Italian should be advanced to the popedom. The cardinals, terrified by this uproar, immediately proclaimed Bartholomew de Pregnano, who was a Neapolitan, and archbishop of Bari, and assumed the name of Urban VI. This new pontiff, by his unpolite behaviour, injudicious severity, and intolerable arrogance, had made himself many enemies among people of all ranks, and especially among the leading cardinals. These latter, therefore, tired of his insolence, withdrew from Rome to Anagni, and from thence to Fondi, a city in the kingdom of Naples, where they

(w) See Longueval, Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane, tom. xiv. p. 159. 192.

elected to the pontificate, Robert, count of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII. and declared at the same time, that the election of Urban was nothing more than a mere ceremony, which they had found themselves obliged to perform, in order to calm the turbulent rage of the populace. Which of these two is to be considered as the true and lawful pope, is, to this day, matter of doubt; nor will the records and writings, alleged by the contending parties, enable us to adjust that point with any certainty (*x*). Urban remained at Rome: Clement went to Avignon in France. His cause was espoused by France and Spain, Scotland, Sicily, and Cyprus, while all the rest of Europe acknowledged Urban to be the true vicar of Christ.

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XV. Thus, the union of the Latin church under one head, was destroyed at the death of Gregory XI. and was succeeded by that deplorable dissension commonly known by the name of the great western schism (*y*). This dissension was fomented with such dreadful success, and arose to such a shameful height, that, for the

Its bad consequences.

(*x*) See the acts and documents in Cæs. Egass. de Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 463. s.—Luc. Wadding. *Annal. Minor.* tom. ix. p. 12. s.—Steph. Baluzii *Vit. Pontif. Avinion.* tom. i. p. 442. 998. s.—Acta Sanctor. tom. i. April. p. 728. I have also some documents never yet published, which throw great light upon this controversy, though they do not absolutely determine the point in dispute.

(*y*) An account of this dissension may be seen in Pierre du Puy, *Histoire Generale du Schisme qui a été en l'Eglise depuis l'an 1378 jusqu'en l'an 1428*, which, as we are informed in the preface, was compiled from the Royal Records of France, and is entirely worthy of credit. Nor should we wholly reject Lewis Maimbourg's *Histoire du grand Schisme d'Occident*, though in general it be deeply tainted with the leaven of party spirit. A great many documents are to be met with in Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. and v. and also in Edm. Martene *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. ii. p. 1074. I always pass over the common writers upon this subject, such as Alexander, Raynald, Bzovius, Spondanus, and Du Pin.

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space of fifty years, the church had two or three different heads at the same time; each of the contending popes forming plots, and thundering out anathemas against their competitors. The distress and calamity of these times is beyond all power of description; for, not to insist upon the perpetual contentions and wars between the factions of the several popes, by which multitudes lost their fortunes and lives, all sense of religion was extinguished in most places, and profligacy arose to a most scandalous excess. The clergy, while they vehemently contended which of the reigning popes was the true successor of Christ, were so excessively corrupt, as to be no longer studious to keep up even an appearance of religion or decency: and, in consequence of all this, many plain well-meaning people, who concluded that no one could possibly partake of eternal life, unless united with the vicar of Christ, were overwhelmed with doubt, and plunged into the deepest distress of mind (z). Nevertheless, these abuses were, by their consequences, greatly conducive both to the civil and religious interests of mankind; for, by these dissensions, the papal power received an incurable wound; and kings and princes, who had formerly been the slaves of the lordly pontiffs, now became their judges and masters. And many of the least stupid among the people had the courage to disregard and despise the popes, on account of their odious disputes about dominion, to commit their salvation to God alone, and to admit it as a maxim, that the prosperity of the church might be maintained, and the interests of religion secured and promoted without a visible head, crowned with a spiritual supremacy.

(z) Concerning the mischievous consequences of this schism, we have a large account in the *Histoire du Droit public Eccles. François*, tom. ii. p. 166. 193. 202. s.

XVI. The Italian cardinals attached to the interests of Urban VI. upon the death of that pope, in the year 1389, set up for his successor, at Rome, Peter Thomacelli, a Neapolitan, who took the name of Boniface IX. and Clement VII. dying in the year 1394, the French cardinals raised to the pontificate Peter de Luna, a Spaniard, who assumed the name of Benedict XIII. During these transactions, various methods were proposed and attempted for healing this melancholy breach in the church. Kings and princes, bishops and divines, appeared with zeal in this salutary project. It was generally thought that the best course to be taken in this matter was, what they then styled the Method of Cession; but neither of the popes could be prevailed on, either by entreaties or threatenings, to give up the pontificate. The Gallican church, highly incensed at this obstinacy, renounced solemnly, in a council held at Paris, in the year 1397, all subjection and obedience to both pontiffs; and, upon the publication of this resolution, in the year 1398, Benedict XIII. was, by the express orders of Charles VI. detained prisoner in his palace at Avignon (*a*).

XVII. Some of the popes, and especially Benedict XII. were perfectly acquainted with the prevailing vices and scandalous conduct of the greatest part of the monks, which they zealously endeavoured to rectify and remove: but the disorder was too inveterate to admit of a cure. The Mendicants, and more especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, were at the head of the monastic orders, and were, indeed, become the heads of the church; so extensive was the influence they

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Proposals
for abolish-
ing the
schism.

The enormities of the monks, especially of the Mendicants.

(*a*) Besides the common historians, and Longueval's *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xiv. see the Acts of this Council, in Boulay's *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 829.

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had acquired, that all matters of importance, both in the court of Rome, and in the cabinets of princes, were carried on under their supreme and absolute direction. The multitude had such a high notion of the sanctity of these sturdy beggars, and of their credit with the Supreme Being, that great numbers of both sexes, some in health, others in a state of infirmity, others at the point of death, earnestly desired to be admitted into the Mendicant order, which they looked upon as a sure and infallible method of rendering heaven propitious. Many made it an essential part of their last wills, that their carcasses, after death, should be wrapped in old, ragged Dominican or Franciscan habits, and interred among the Mendicants. For such was the barbarous superstition and wretched ignorance of this age, that people universally believed they should readily obtain mercy from Christ at the day of judgment, if they appeared before his tribunal associated with the Mendicant friars.

They fall
under a
general
odium.

XVIII. The high esteem in which the Mendicant orders were held, and the excessive degree of authority they had acquired, only served to render them still more odious to such as had hitherto been their enemies, and to draw upon them new marks of jealousy and hatred from the higher and lower clergy, the monastic societies, and the public universities. So universal was this odium, that there were scarcely a province or university in Europe, in which bishops, clergy, and doctors were not warmly engaged in opposition to the Dominicans and Franciscans, who employed the power and authority they had received from the popes, in undermining the ancient discipline of the church, and assuming to themselves a certain superintendence in religious matters. In England, the university of Oxford made a resolute stand against the encroachments of the

Dominicans (*b*), while Richard, archbishop of Armagh, Henry Crump, Noris, and others, attacked all the Mendicant orders, with great vehemence and severity (*c*). But Richard, whose animosity against them was much keener than that of their other antagonists, went to the court of Innocent VI. in the year 1356, and there vindicated the cause of the church against them with the greatest fervour, both in his writings and discourse, until the year 1360, in which he died (*d*). They had also many opponents in France, who, together with the university of Paris, were secretly engaged in contriving means to overturn their exorbitant power: but John de Polliac set himself openly against them, publicly denying the validity of the absolution granted by the Dominicans and Franciscans to those who confessed to them, maintaining, that the popes were disabled from granting them a power of absolution by the authority of the canon, entitled, *Omnis utriusque sexus*; and proving from these premises, that all those, who would be sure of their salvation, ought to confess their sins to their own parish priests, even though they had been absolved by the monks. They suffered little or nothing, however, from the efforts of these numerous adversaries, being resolutely protected against all opposition, whether open or secret, by the popes, who regarded them as their best

(*b*) See Ant. Wood, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 150. 154. 196, &c.

(*c*) See Wood, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 181, 182, tom. ii. p. 61, 62.—Baluzii *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 338. 950.—Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 336. *Waddingi Annal. Minor.* tom. viii. p. 126.

(*d*) See Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. i. p. 164.—I have in my possession a manuscript treatise of Bartholomew de Brisac, entitled, “*Solutiones oppositæ Ricardi, Armachani episcopi, propositionibus contra Mendicantes in curia Romana coram pontifice et cardinalibus factis, anno 1360.*”

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friends, and most effectual supports. Accordingly, John XXII. by an extraordinary decree, condemned the opinions of John de Polliac, in the year 1321 (e).

John
Wickliff.

XIX. But among all the enemies of the Mendicant orders, none has been transmitted to posterity with more exalted encomiums on the one hand, or blacker calumnies on the other, than John Wickliff, an English doctor, professor of divinity at Oxford, and afterwards rector of Lutterworth; who, according to the testimony of the writers of these times, was a man of an enterprising genius, and extraordinary learning. In the year 1360, animated by the example of Richard, archbishop of Armagh, he first of all defended the statutes and privileges of the university of Oxford, against all the orders of the Mendicants, and had the courage to throw out some slight reproofs against the popes, their principal patrons, which no true Briton ever imputed to him as a crime. After this, in the year 1367, he was deprived of the wardenship of Canterbury-Hall, in the university of Oxford, by Simon Langham, archbishop of Canterbury, who substituted a monk in his place; upon which he appealed to Pope Urban V. who confirmed the sentence of the archbishop against him, on account of the freedom with which he had inveighed against the monastic orders. Highly exasperated at this treatment, he threw off all restraint, and not only attacked all the monks, and their scandalous irregularities, but even the pontifical power itself,

(e) See Jo. Launoius, De Canone: Omnis utriusque Sexus, tom. i. part I. opp. p. 271. 274. 287, &c.—Baluzii Vit. Pontif. Avenion. tom. ii. p. 10. et Miscellaneor. tom. i. p. 153.—Dacherii Spicil. Scriptor. Veter. tom. i. p. 112. s.—It was published by Edm. Martene, in Thesauro Anecdotor. tom. i. p. 1368. See also Baluzii Vit. Pontif. Avenion. tom. i. p. 132. 182, &c.

and other ecclesiastical abuses, both in his sermons and writings. From hence he proceeded to yet greater lengths, and, detesting the wretched superstition of the times, refuted, with great acuteness and spirit, the absurd notions that were generally received in religious matters, and not only exhorted the laity to study the scriptures, but also translated into English these divine books, in order to render the perusal of them more universal. Though neither the doctrine of Wickliff was void of error, nor his life without reproach, yet it must be confessed, that the changes he attempted to introduce, both in the faith and discipline of the church, were, in many respects, wise, useful, and salutary (*f*).

XX. The monks, whom Wickliff had principally exasperated, commenced a violent prosecution against him at the court of Gregory XI. who, in the year 1377, ordered Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, to take cognizance of the affair in a council held at London. Imminent as this danger evidently was, Wickliff escaped it, by the interest of the duke of Lancaster, and some other peers, who had a high regard for him. And soon after the death of Gregory XI. the fatal schism of the Romish church commenced, during which there was one pope at Rome, and another at Avignon; so that of course the controversy lay dormant a long time. But no sooner was this embroiled state of affairs tolerably settled, than the process against him was revived by William de Courteney, archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1385, and was carried on with great vehemence in two councils held at

His adversaries.

(*f*) A work of his was published at Leipsic and Francfort, in 4to, in the year 1753, entitled, *Dialogorum Libri quatuor*, which, though it does not contain all the branches of his doctrine, yet shows sufficiently the spirit of the man, and his way of thinking in general.

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London and Oxford. The event was, that of the twenty-three opinions, for which Wickliff had been prosecuted by the monks, ten were condemned as heresies, and thirteen as errors (*g*). He himself, however, returned in safety to Lutterworth, where he died peaceably in the year 1387. This latter attack was much more dangerous than the former; but by what means he got safely through it, whether by the interest of the court, or by denying or abjuring his opinions, is to this day a secret (*h*). He left many followers in England, and other countries, who were styled Wickliffites and Lollards, which last was a term of popular reproach translated from the Fle-

 (*g*) In the original Dr. Mosheim says, that, of eighteen articles imputed to Wickliff, nine were condemned as heresies, and fifteen as errors. This contradiction, which we have taken the liberty to correct in the text, is perhaps an oversight of the learned author, who may have confounded the eighteen heresies and errors that were enumerated and refuted by William Woodford, in a letter to Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, with the twenty-three propositions that had been condemned by his predecessor Courteney at London, of which ten were pronounced heretical, and thirteen erroneous. See the very curious collection of pieces, entitled *Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum et Fugiendarum Orthuini Gratii*, published first at Cologne by the compiler, in the year 1535, and afterwards at London in 1690, with an additional volume of ancient pieces and fragments, by the learned Mr. Edward Brown. The letter of Woodford is at full length in the first volume of this collection, p. 191.

(*h*) We have a full and complete History of the Life and Sufferings of John Wickliff, published in 8vo. at London, in the year 1720, by Mr. John Lewis, who also published, in the year 1731, Wickliff's English Translation of the New Testament from the Latin Version, called the Vulgate. This translation is enriched with a learned preface by the editor, in which he enlarges upon the life, actions, and sufferings, of that eminent reformer. The pieces, relative to the controversies which were set on foot by the doctrines of Wickliff, are to be found in the learned work of Wilkins, entitled *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hibern. tom. iii. p. 116. 156.*—See also Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris. tom. iv. p. 450.*—Ant. Wood, *Antiq. Oxonien. tom. i. p. 183. 186, et passim.*

mish tongue into English. Wherever they could be found, they were terribly persecuted by the inquisitors, and other instruments of papal vengeance, and, in the council of Constance, in the year 1415, the memory and opinions of Wickliff were condemned by a solemn decree: and about thirteen years after, his bones were dug up, and publicly burnt.

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XXI. Notwithstanding the Mendicants were thus vigorously attacked on all sides, by such a considerable number of ingenious and learned adversaries, they could not be persuaded to abate any thing of their excessive pride, to set bounds to their superstition, or to desist from imposing upon the multitude, but were as diligent as ever in propagating opinions highly detrimental to religion in general, and particularly injurious to the majesty of the Supreme Being. The Franciscans, forgetting, in their enthusiastic frenzy, the veneration they owed to the Son of God, and animated with a mad zeal for advancing the glory of their order and its founder, impiously maintained, that the latter was a second Christ, in all respects similar to the first; and that their institution and discipline was the true gospel of Jesus. Yet, shocking as these foolish and impious pretensions were, the popes were not ashamed to patronize and encourage them by their letters and mandates, in which they made no scruple to assert, that the absurd fable of the stigmas, or five wounds impressed upon Francis by Christ himself, on mount Alvernus, was worthy of credit, because matter of undoubted fact (*i*). Nor was

The impiety of the Franciscans.

(*i*) The story of the marks, or stigmas, impressed on Francis, is well known, as are also the letters of the Roman pontiffs, which enjoin the belief of it, and which Wadding has collected with great care, and published in his *Annales*

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The book
of the con-
formities of
St. Francis.

this all ; for they not only permitted to be published, without any mark of their disapprobation, but approved, and even recommended, an impious piece, stuffed with tales yet more improbable and ridiculous than either of the above-mentioned fictions, and entitled, *The Book of the Conformities of St. Francis with Jesus Christ*, which was composed, in the year 1383, by Bartholomew Albizi, a Franciscan of Pisa, with the applause of his order. This infamous tract, in which the Son of God is put upon a level with a wretched mortal, is an eternal monument of the outrageous enthusiasm and abominable arrogance of the Franciscan order ; and not less so of the

Minorum, tom. viii. et ix. The Dominicans formerly made a public jest of this ridiculous fable, but, being awed into silence by the papal bulls, they are now obliged to deride it in secret, while the Franciscans, on the other hand, continue to propagate it with the most fervent zeal. That St. Francis had upon his body the marks or impressions of the five great wounds of Christ, is not to be doubted, since this is a fact proved by a great number of unexceptionable witnesses. But, as he was a most superstitious and fanatical mortal, it is undoubtedly evident that he imprinted on himself these holy wounds, that he might resemble Christ, and bear about in his body a perpetual memorial of the Redeemer's sufferings. It was customary in these times, for such as were willing to be thought more pious than others, to imprint upon their bodies marks of this kind, that having thus continually before them a lively representation of the death of Christ, they might preserve a becoming sense of it on their minds. The words of St. Paul, Galat. vi. 17. were sufficient to confirm in this wretched delusion an ignorant and superstitious age, in which the scriptures were neither studied nor understood. A long list of these stigmatized fanatics might be extracted from the *Acta Sanctorum*, and other records of this and the following century: nor is this ancient piece of superstition entirely abolished, even in our times. Be that as it may, the Franciscan monks, having found these marks upon the dead body of their founder, took this occasion of making him appear to the world as honoured by heaven above the rest of mortals, and invented, for this purpose, the story of Christ's having miraculously transferred his wounds to him.

excessive imprudence of the popes, in extolling and recommending it (*k*).

XXII. The Franciscans, who adhered to the genuine and austere rule of their founder, and opposed the popes, who attempted to mitigate the severity of its injunctions, were not a whit wiser than those of the order, who acknowledged the jurisdiction, and respected the decisions of the Roman pontiffs. By these antipapal Franciscans, I mean the Fratricelli, or Minorites, and the Tertiaries of that order, otherwise called Beghards, together with the Spirituals, who resided principally in France, and embraced the opinions of Pierre d'Olive. These monastic factions were turbulent and seditious beyond expression; they gave incredible vexation to the popes, and for a long time disturbed, wherever they went, the tranquillity both of church and state. About the beginning of this century (*l*), the less austere Franciscans were outrageous in their resentment against the Fratricelli, who had deserted their com-

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The enormities of the Fratricelli.

(*k*) Concerning Albizi and his book, see Wadding. *Annal. Minor.* tom. ix. p. 158.—*J. A. Fabricii Biblioth. Lat. Medii Ævi*, tom. i. p. 131.—*Schelhornii Amœn. Litter.* tom. iii. p. 160.—*Bayle's Dictionary*, at the article Francis, and the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Hist. Crit.* tom. i. at the article Albizi, p. 217. Erasmus Albert made several extracts from this book, and published them under the title of the *Alcoran of the Franciscans*, which was frequently printed in Latin, German, and French; and, in the year 1734, was published at Amsterdam, in two volumes 8vo. in French and Latin, with elegant cuts.

 The Conformities between Christ and St. Francis are carried to forty, in the book of Albizi, but they are multiplied to 4000 by a Spanish monk of the order of Observants, in a book published at Madrid, in the year 1651, under the following title, *Prodigiosum Naturæ et Gratia Portentum*. The Conformities mentioned by Pedro de Alva Astorga, the austere author of this most ridiculous book, are whimsical beyond expression. See the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, tom. iv. p. 318.

(*l*) In the years 1306 and 1307.

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munion (*m*); upon which, such of the latter as had the good fortune to escape the fury of their persecutors, retired into France, in the year 1307, and associated themselves with the spirituals, or followers of Pierre d'Olive, in Provence, who had also formerly abandoned the society. Soon after this, the whole Franciscan order in France, Italy, and other countries, was divided into two parties. The one, which embraced the severe discipline and absolute poverty of St. Francis, were called Spirituals; the other, which insisted upon mitigating the austere injunctions of their founder, were styled the Brethren of the Community. The latter, being by far the most numerous and powerful, exerted themselves to the utmost, to oppress the former, whose faction, as yet, was but weak, and, as it were, in its infancy; but, notwithstanding this, they cheerfully submitted to these hardships, rather than return to the society of those who had deserted the rules of their master. Pope Clement V. having drawn the leaders of these two parties to his court, took great pains to compose their dissensions; nevertheless, his pacific scheme advanced but slowly, on account of the inflexible obstinacy of each sect, and the great number of their mutual accusations. In the mean while, the Spirituals of Tuscany, instead of waiting for the decision of his Holiness, chose themselves a president, and inferior officers; while those of France, being in the neighbourhood of Avignon, patiently expected the papal determination (*n*).

XXIII. After many deliberations, Clement V. in a general council held at Vienne, in Dauphine,

(*m*) Waddingi Annales Minor. tom. vi. ad an. 1307, p. 91.

(*n*) Waddingi Annal. tom. iv. 1310, p. 172.—Echardi Corpus Histor. Medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 1480.—Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. iv. p. 129.—Echardi Scriptor. Prædicator. tom. i. p. 508, 509.

Deliberations about composing the differences among the Franciscans.

where he issued out the famous bull, *Exivi de Paradiso* (*o*), proposed an expedient for healing the breach between the jarring parties, by wise concessions on both sides. He gave up many points to the Spirituals, or rigid Franciscans, enjoining upon the whole order the profession of absolute poverty, according to their primitive rule, and the solemn renunciation of all property, whether common or personal, confining them to what was necessary for their immediate subsistence, and allowing them, even for that, a very scanty pittance. He, however, on the other hand, permitted the Franciscans, who lived in places where it was extremely difficult to procure by begging the necessaries of life, to erect granaries and storehouses, where they might deposit a part of their alms as a stock, in case of want; and ordered that all such granaries and storehouses should be under the inspection and management of inspectors and storekeepers, who were to determine what quantity of provisions should be laid up in them. And, finally, in order to satisfy the Brethren of the Community, he condemned some opinions of Pierre d'Olive (*p*). These proceedings silenced the monastic commotions in France; but the Tuscan and Italian Spirituals were so exceedingly perverse and obstinate, that they could not be brought to consent to any method of reconciliation. At length, in the year 1313, many of them, not thinking themselves any longer safe in Italy, went into Sicily, where they met with a very friendly reception from King Frederic, the nobility, and bishops (*q*).

(*o*) This bull is inserted in the *Jus Canonicum inter Clementinas*, tit. xi. *De Verbor. Signif.* tom. ii. p. 1095. edit. Bohmeri.

(*p*) *Waddingi Annal.* tom. vi. p. 194. 197. 199.

(*q*) *Waddingi Annal.* tom. vi. p. 213, 214.—*Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 152. 165.—*Argentre, Collectio Judicior. de Novis Error.* tom. i. p. 392. s.

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XXIV. Upon the death of Clement V. the tumult, which had been appeased by his authority, was revived in France with as much fury as ever. For, in the year 1314, an hundred and twenty of the Spirituals made a violent attack upon the Brethren of the Community, drove them out of the convents of Narbonne and Beziers by force of arms, and inflamed the quarrel in a yet higher degree, by laying aside their ancient habits, and assuming such as were short, strait, and coarse. They were soon joined by a considerable number from other provinces, and the citizens of Narbonne, where Olive was interred, enlisted themselves in the party. John XXII. who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1317, took great pains to heal this new disorder. The first thing he did for this purpose, was to publish a special bull, by which he ordered the abolition of the Fratricelli, or Minorites, and their Tertiaries, whether Beguines or Beghards, who were a body distinct from the Spirituals (*r*). In the next place, he admonished the king of Sicily to expel all the Spirituals, who had taken refuge in his dominions (*s*); and then ordered the French Spirituals to appear at Avignon; where he exhorted them to return to their duty; and, as the first step to it, to lay aside their short, strait habits, with the small hoods. The greatest part of them obeyed; but Fr. Bernard Delitiosi, who was the head of the faction, and twenty-four of the Brethren, boldly refused to submit to the injunction. In vindication of their conduct, they alleged that the rules prescribed by St. Francis were the same with the gospel of Jesus Christ; that the popes therefore had no authority to alter them; that

(*r*) This law is called *Sancta Romana*, &c. and is to be found among the *Extravagantes Johannis XXII. tit. vii. De Religiosis Domibus*, tom. ii. *Jur. Canon.* p. 1112.

(*s*) *Wadding's Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 265. s.

the popes had acted sinfully in permitting the Franciscans to have granaries and storehouses; and that they added to their guilt in not allowing those habits to be worn that were enjoined by St. Francis. John, highly exasperated by this opposition, gave orders that these obstinate Brethren should be proceeded against as heretics. And surely nothing could make them appear viler heretics in the papal eye, than their daring thus audaciously to oppose the authority and majesty of the Roman see. As for F. Delitiosi, who was at the head of this sect, and who is sometimes called Deli Consi, he was imprisoned, and died in his confinement. Four of his adherents were condemned to the flames in the year 1318, at Marseilles (*t*), which odious sentence was accordingly executed without mercy.

XXV. Thus, these unhappy friars, and many more of their fraternity, who were afterwards cut off by this cruel persecution, suffered merely for their contempt of the decisions of the pontiffs, and for maintaining that the institute of St. Francis, their founder, which they imagined he had established under the direction of an immediate inspiration, was the very Gospel of Christ, and therefore not to be altered by the pope's authority. The controversy, considered in itself, was rather ridiculous than important, since it did not affect religion in the least, but turned wholly on these two points, the form of the habits to be worn by the Franciscan order, and their granaries and storehouses. The Brethren of the commu-

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The ridicu-
lous dis-
putes of the
Francis-
cans.

(*t*) Baluzii Vitæ Pontif. Avenion. tom. i. p. 116. tom. ii. p. 341, et Miscellan. tom. i. p. 195, 272. Waddingus, Annal. Minor. tom. vi. p. 267. s. 316. s. Martene, Thesaur. Anecdotor. tom. v. p. 175. Martinus Fuldensis, in Eccardi Corpore Histor. Medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 1725. et Herm. Cornerus, ibid. tom. ii. p. 981. Histoire Generale de Languedoc, tom. iv. p. 179. s. Argentre, Collectio Judicior. de Novis Errorib. tom. i. p. 294. s.

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nity, or the less rigid Franciscans, wore long, loose, and good habits, with ample hoods; but the Spirituals went in strait, short, and very coarse ones, which they asserted to be precisely the dress enjoined by the institute of St. Francis, and what therefore no power upon earth had a right to alter. And whereas the Brethren of the community, immediately after the harvest and vintage, were accustomed to lay up a stock of corn and wine in their granaries and cellars, the Spiritual Franciscans resolutely opposed this practice, as entirely repugnant to the profession of absolute poverty, that had been embraced by the Fratricelli, or Minorites. In order to put an end to these broils, pope John, this very year, published a long mandatory letter, in which he ordered the contending parties to submit their disputes, upon the two points above-mentioned, to the decision of their superiors (*u*).

Excite
grievous
commo-
tions.

XXVI. The effects of this letter, and of other decrees, were prevented by the unseasonable and impious severity of John XXII. whose cruelty was condemned and detested even by his adherents. For the Spiritual Franciscans and their votaries, being highly exasperated at the cruel death of their brethren, maintained that John XXII. by procuring the destruction of these holy men, had rendered himself utterly unworthy of the papal dignity, and was the true Antichrist. They moreover revered their four brethren, who were burnt at Marseilles, as so many martyrs, paying religious veneration to their bones and ashes; and inveighed yet more vehemently than ever against long habits, large hoods, granaries, and storehouses. The inquisitors, on the other hand, having, by the pope's order, apprehended

(*u*) It may be seen in the Jus Canon. inter Extravag. Communes de Verbor. Signif. cap. i. See also Waddingi Annal. Minor. tom. vi. p. 273.

as many of these people as they could find, condemned them to the flames, and sacrificed them without mercy to papal resentment and fury. So that from this time a vast number of those zealous defenders of the institute of St. Francis, viz. the Minorites, Beghards, and Spirituals, were most barbarously put to death, not only in France, but also in Italy, Spain, and Germany (*w*).

XXVII. This dreadful flame continued to spread till it invaded the whole Franciscan order, which, in the year 1321, had revived the old contentions concerning the poverty of Christ and his apostles. A certain Beguin, or monk of the third order of St. Francis, who was apprehended this year at Narbonne, taught, among other things, "That neither Christ nor his apostles ever possessed any thing, whether in common or personally, by right of property or dominion." John de Belna, an inquisitor of the Dominican order, pronounced this opinion erroneous; but Berengarius Taloni, a Franciscan, maintained it to be orthodox, and perfectly consonant to the bull, *Exiit qui seminet*, of Nicolas III. The judgment of the former was approved by the Dominicans; the determination of the latter was adhered to by the Franciscans. At length the matter was brought before the pope, who prudently endeavoured to put an end to the dispute. With this view he called into his council Ubertinus de Ca-

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A new dispute arises concerning the poverty of Christ.

(*w*) Besides many other pieces that serve to illustrate the intricate history of this persecution, I have in my possession a treatise, entitled, *Martyrologium Spiritualium et Fratricellorum*, which was delivered to the tribunal of the inquisition at Carcassone, A. D. 1454. It contains the names of an hundred and thirteen persons of both sexes, who, from the year 1318 to the time of Innocent VI. were burnt in France and Italy, for their inflexible attachment to the poverty of St. Francis. I reckon, that from these and other records, published and unpublished, we may make out a list of two thousand martyrs of this kind. Compare *Codex Inquis. Tholosanæ*, à Limborchio editus, p. 298. 302. 319. 327, &c.

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salis, the patron of the Spirituals, and a person of great weight and reputation. This eminent monk gave captious, subtle, and equivocal answers to the questions that were proposed to him. The pontiff, however, and the cardinals, persuaded that his decisions, equivocal as they were, might contribute to terminate the quarrel, acquiesced in them, seconded them with their authority, and enjoined, at the same time, silence and moderation on the contending parties (*x*).

XXVIII. But the Dominicans and Franciscans were so exceedingly exasperated against each other, that they could by no means be brought to conform themselves to this order. John XXII. perceiving this, permitted them to renew the controversy in the year 1322; nay, he himself proposed to some of the most celebrated divines of the age, and especially to those of Paris, the determination of this point, viz: "Whether or no those were to be deemed heretics, who maintained that Jesus Christ and his apostles had no common or personal property in any thing they possessed?" The Franciscans, who held an assembly this year at Perugia, having got notice of this proceeding, unanimously decreed, that those who held this tenet were not heretics, but maintained an opinion that was holy and orthodox, and perfectly agreeable to the decisions and mandates of the popes. They also sent a deputy to Avignon, to defend this unanimous determination of their whole order against all opponents whatever. The person they commissioned for this purpose was F. Bonagratia, of Bergamo, who also went by the name of Boncortese (*y*), one of their

(*x*) Waddingi Annal. Minor. tom. vi. p. 361. Steph. Baluzii Miscellan. tom. i. p. 307. Gerh. du Bois, Histor. Eccles. Paris. p. 611. s.

(*y*) I insert this caution, because I have observed that some eminent writers, by not attending to this circumstance, have taken these two names for two different persons.

fraternity, and a man famous for his extensive learning. John XXII. being highly incensed at this step, issued out a decree in the month of November, wherein he espoused an opinion diametrically opposite to that of the Franciscans, and pronounced them heretics, for obstinately maintaining "that Christ and his apostles had no common or personal property in what they possessed, nor a power of selling or alienating any part of it." Soon after, he proceeded yet farther, and in another constitution, published in December following, exposed the weakness and inefficacy of those arguments, commonly deduced from a bull of Nicolas III. concerning the property of the Franciscan possessions being transferred to the church of Rome, whereby the monks were supposed to be deprived of what we call right, and were only allowed the simple use of what was necessary for their immediate support. In order to confute this plea, he showed that it was absolutely impossible to separate right and property from the lawful use of such things as were immediately consumed by that use. He also solemnly renounced all property in the Franciscan effects, which had been reserved to the church of Rome, by former popes, their churches, and some other things excepted. And whereas the revenues of the order had been hitherto received and administered by procurators, on the part of the Roman church, he dismissed these officers, and abolished all the decrees of his predecessors, and all the ancient constitutions relating to this affair (z).

(z) These constitutions are recorded in the *Corpus Juris Canon.* and also among the *Extravagantes*, tit. xiv. de Verbor. Signific. cap. ii. iii. p. 1121. Concerning the transaction itself, the reader should chiefly consult that impartial writer, Alvarus Pelagius, *De Planctu Ecclesiæ*, lib. ii. c. 60. s. 145. as also Luc. Waddingus, *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 394. s. Each of them blames John Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 191. s.

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The quarrel
between
the Francis-
cans and
John
XXII.

XXIX. By this method of proceeding, the dexterous pontiff entirely destroyed that boasted expropriation, which was the main bulwark of the Franciscan order, and which its founder had esteemed the distinguishing glory of the society. It was therefore natural, that these measures should determine the Franciscans to an obstinate resistance. And such indeed was the effect they produced; for, in the year 1323, they sent their brother Bonagratia, in quality of legate, to the papal court, where he vigorously and openly opposed the latter constitution of John, boldly affirming that it was contrary to all law, both human and divine (*a*). The pope, on the other hand, highly exasperated against this audacious defender of the Franciscan poverty, threw him into prison; and, by a new edict, which he published about the end of the year, enacted, that all who maintained that Christ and his apostles had no common or special property in any of their possessions, should be deemed heretics, and corrupters of the true religion (*b*). Finding, however, that the Franciscans were not terrified in the least by this decree, he published another yet more flaming constitution, about the end of the year 1324, in which he confirmed his former edicts, and pronounced that tenet concerning the expropriation of Christ and his apostles, a pestilential, erroneous, damnable, and blasphemous doctrine, subversive of the catholic faith; and declared all such as adhered to it, obstinate heretics,

(*a*) Waddingus, *Annal. Minor.* tom. vii. p. 2. 22.—Avar. Pelagius, *de Planctu Ecclesiæ*, lib. ii. s. 167.—Trithemius, *Annal. Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 157.—Theod. de Nien. in *Ec-cardi Corpore Histor. Med. Ævi*, tom. vii. p. 1491.

(*b*) Waddingi tom. vii. p. 36.—Contin. de Nangis, in *Dacherii Spicilegio*, tom. iii. p. 83.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 205.—*Benedictinor. Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 1515.

and rebels against the church (c). In consequence of this merciless decree, great numbers of those who persisted in asserting that Christ and his apostles were exactly such Mendicants as Francis would have his brethren to be, were apprehended by the Dominican inquisitors, who were implacable enemies of the Franciscans, and committed to the flames. The history of France and Spain, Italy and Germany, during this and the following century, abounds with instances of this deplorable cruelty.

XXX. The zealous pontiff pursued this affair with great warmth for several years successively; and as this contest seemed to have taken its rise from the books of Pierre d'Olive, he branded with infamy, in the year 1325, the *Postilla*, and the other writings of that author, as pernicious and heretical (d). The next step he took, was to summon to Avignon some of the more learned and eminent brethren of the Franciscan order, of whose writings and eloquence he was the most apprehensive, and to detain them at his court; and then, to arm himself against the resentment and indignation of this exasperated society, and to prevent their attempting any thing to his prejudice, he kept a strict guard over them in all places, by means of his friends the Dominicans. Michael de Cæsenas, who resided in Italy, and was the head of the order, could but ill dissemble the hatred he had conceived against the pope, who therefore ordered him to repair to Avignon, in the year 1327, and there deprived him of his

The attempts of the Franciscans against the pope.

(c) This constitution, as well as the two former already mentioned, is published among the *Extravagantes*, tit. xiv. *De Verbor. Signif.* Waddingus, tom. vii. p. 36. vigorously opposes this last, which is pretty extraordinary in a man so immoderately attached to the cause of the popes as he was.

(d) Waddingi *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 47.—*Jo. Georg. Eccardi Corpus Histor. Mediæ Ævi*, tom. i. p. 592, and 1491.

office (*e*). But, prudent as this violent measure might appear at first sight, it served only to inflame the enraged Franciscans more than ever, and to confirm them in their attachment to the scheme of absolute poverty. For no sooner did the bitter and well-known contest between John XXII. and the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, break out, than the principal champions of the Franciscan cause, such as Marsilius of Padua, and Jo. de Janduno, or Genoa, fled to the emperor, and under his protection published the most virulent pieces imaginable, in which they not only attacked John personally, but also levelled their satires at the power and authority of the popes in general (*f*). This example was soon followed by others, particularly by Mich. Cæsenas, and William Occam, who excelled most men of his time in subtilty and acuteness of genius, and also by F. Bonagratia, of Bergamo. They made their escape by sea from Avignon, in the year 1327, went first to the emperor, who was, at that time, in Italy, and from thence proceeded to Munich. They were soon joined by many others, such as Berengarius, Francis de Esculo, and Henry de Halem, who were highly and deservedly esteemed, on account of their eminent parts and extensive learning (*g*). All these learned

(*e*) Waddingi Annal. tom vii. p. 69. 74.

(*f*) Luc. Dacherii Spicilegium, tom. iii. p. 85. s. Bullar. Roman. tom. vi. p. 167. Edm. Martene, Thesaur. Anecdotor. tom. ii. p. 695. 704. Boulay, Histor. Acad. Paris. tom. iv. p. 216. There is a very noted piece on this subject written by Marsilius of Padua, who was professor at Vienna, which was published in 8vo. at Francfort, by Franc. Gomarus, 1592, and is entitled, Defensor pro Ludovico Bavaro adversus usurpatam Romani Pontificis jurisdictionem.

(*g*) Waddingi Annal. tom. vii. p. 81.—Martene, Thesaur. Anecdotor. tom. ii. p. 749. 757. s. 781.—Trithemii Annal. Hirsaug. tom. ii. p. 167.—Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. iv. p. 217. Eccardi Corpus Histor. Medii Ævi, tom. ii. p. 1034.

fugitives defended the institute of their founder in long and laboured treatises, in which they reduced the papal dignity and authority within a very narrow compass, and loaded the pontiffs with reproaches and invectives. Occam surpassed them all in the keenness and spirit of his satire; and hence his Dialogues, together with his other productions, which were perused with avidity, and transmitted down to succeeding generations, gave, as it were, a mortal blow to the ambition and majesty of the Roman pontiffs.

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XXXI. On the other hand, the emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, to express his gratitude to these his defenders, not only made the cause of the Franciscans his own, but also adopted their favourite sentiment concerning the poverty of Christ and his apostles. For among the heresies and errors of which he publicly accused John XXII. and for which he deprived him of the pontificate, the principal and most pernicious one, in the opinion of the emperor, was his maintaining that the poverty of Christ did not exclude all right and property in what he used as a subsistence (*h*). The Fratricelli, Beghards, Beguines, and Spirituals, then at variance with the pope, were effectually protected by the emperor, in Germany, against the attempts of the inquisitors; so that, during his reign, that country was overrun with shoals of Mendicant friars. There was scarce a province or city in the empire that did not abound with Beghards and Beguines; that is, monks professing the third rule of St. Francis, and who placed the chief excellence of the

Lewis of
Bavaria
becomes
the patron
of the
Francis-
eans.

—Baluzii Miscellan. tom. i. p. 293. 315.—The reader may also consult those writers who have compiled Indexes and Collections of Ecclesiastical Historians.

(*h*) See Processus Ludovici contra Johannem a. 1328. d. 12 Dec. datus, in Baluzii Miscellaneis, tom. ii. p. 522. and also his Appellatio, p. 494.

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Christian life in a voluntary and absolute poverty (*i*). The Dominicans, on the other hand, as enemies to the Franciscans, and friends to the pope, were treated with great severity by his imperial majesty, who banished them with ignominy out of several cities (*k*).

Peace is
made be-
tween the
Franciscans
and the
pope.

XXXII. The rage of the contending parties subsided greatly from the year 1329. The pope caused a diet of the Franciscans to be held that year at Paris, where, by means of Cardinal Bertrand, who was president of the assembly, and the Parisian doctors, who were attached to his interests, he so far softened the resentment of the greatest part of the brethren, that they ceased to defend the conduct of Michael Cæsenas and his associates, and permitted another president, Gerard Oddo, to be substituted in his room. They also acknowledged John to be a true and lawful pope; and then terminated the dispute concerning the poverty of Christ in such an ambiguous manner, that the constitutions and edicts of Nicholas III. and John XXII. however contradictory, maintained their authority (*l*). But, notwithstanding these pacific and mutual concessions, there were great numbers of the Franciscans in Germany, Spain, and Italy, who would by no means consent to this reconciliation. After the death of John, Benedict XII. and Clement VI. took great pains to close the breach, and showed great clemency and tenderness towards such of their order as thought the institute of their founder more sacred than the papal

(*i*) I have many pieces upon this subject that were never published.

(*k*) Mart. Diffendbach. De Mortis Genere quo Henricus VII. obiit, p. 145. and others.—Eccardi Corpus Histor. Medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 2103.—Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. iv. p. 220.

(*l*) Waddingi Annales, tom. vii. p. 94.—Dacherii Spicilegium, tom. iii. p. 91.

bulls. This lenity had some good effects. Many who had withdrawn themselves from the society, were hereby induced to return to it, in which number were Francis de Esculo, and others, who had been some of John's most inveterate enemies (*m*). Even those who would not be prevailed on to return to their order, ceased to insult the popes, observed the rules of their founder in a quiet and inoffensive manner, and would have no sort of connection with those Fratricelli and Tertiaries in Italy, Spain, and Germany, who contemned the papal authority (*n*).

XXXIII. The German Franciscans, who were protected by the emperor Lewis, held out their opposition much longer than any of the rest. But, in the year 1347, their imperial patron being dead, the halcyon days of the Franciscan Spirituals, as also of their associates the Beghards, or Tertiaries, were at an end in Germany. For in the year 1345, his successor Charles IV. having been raised to the imperial throne by the interest of the pope, was ready, in his turn, to gratify the desires of the court of Rome, and accordingly supported, both by his edicts and by his arms, the inquisitors who were sent by the Roman pontiff against his enemies, and suffered them to apprehend and put to death all of these enemies that came within their reach. These ministers of papal vengeance exerted their power chiefly in the district of Magdeburg and Bremen, Thuringia, Saxony, and Hesse, where they extirpated all the Beghards, as well as the Beguines, or Tertiaries, the associates of those Franciscans, who held that Christ and his apostles had no property in any thing. These severe measures were approved by Charles IV.

The distresses of the Spirituals, Beghards, &c. in Germany.

(*m*) Argentre, *Collectio Judicior. de Novis Erroribus*, tom. i. p. 343.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 281.—Waddingi *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 313.

(*n*) Waddingi *Annal.* tom. vii. p. 116. 126.—Argentre, l. c. tom. i. p. 343, &c.

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who then resided in Italy, at Lucca, from whence, in the year 1369, he issued out severe edicts, commanding all the German princes to extirpate out of their dominions the Beghards and Beguines, or, as he himself interpreted the name, the voluntary beggars (*o*), as enemies of the church and of the Roman empire, and to assist the inquisitors in their proceedings against them. By another edict, published not long after, he gave the houses of the Beghards to the tribunal of the inquisition, ordering them to be converted into prisons for heretics; and, at the same time, ordered all the effects of the Beguines to be sold publicly, and the profits arising from thence to be equally divided between the inquisitors, the magistrates, and the poor of those towns and cities where such sale should be made (*p*). The Beghards, being reduced to great straits, by this, and other mandates of the emperor, and by the constitutions of the popes, sought a refuge in those provinces of Switzerland that border upon the Rhine, and also in Holland, Brabant, and Pomerania (*q*). But

(*o*) In high Dutch, *Die wilgen Armen*.

(*p*) I have in my possession this edict, with other laws of Charles IV. enacted on this occasion, as also many of the papal constitutions, and other records which illustrate this affair, and which undoubtedly deserve to see the light. It is certain, that Charles IV. himself, in his edicts and mandates, clearly characterizes those people, whom he there styles Beghards and Beguines, as Franciscan Tertiaries, belonging to that party of the order then at variance with the pope. "They are (to use the emperor's own words, in his edict issued out at Lucca, and bearing date the 16th of June, 1369) a pernicious sect, who pretend to a sacrilegious and heretical poverty, and who are under a vow, that they neither ought to have, nor will have any property, whether special or common, in the goods they use," (this is the poverty of the Franciscan institute, which John XXII. so strenuously opposed) "which they extend even to their wretched habits."—For so the spirituals and their associates used to do.

(*q*) See Odor Raynaldus, *Annal. Eccles. ad a. 1372. sect. xxxiv. p. 513.*—See also the books of Felix Maleolus, written in the following century against the Beghards in Switzerland.

the edicts and mandates of the emperor, together with the papal bulls and inquisitors, followed them wherever they went, and distressed them in their most distant retreats; so that, during the reign of Charles IV. the greatest part of Germany (Switzerland, and those provinces that are contiguous to it, excepted) was thoroughly purged of the Beghards, or rebellious Franciscans, both perfect and imperfect.

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XXXIV. But neither edicts, bulls, nor inquisitors, could entirely pluck up the roots of this inveterate discord. For so ardently were many of the brethren bent upon observing, in the most perfect and rigorous manner, the institute of St. Francis, that numbers were to be found in all places, who either withstood the president of the society, or at least obeyed him with reluctance.

Their divisions so far from being extinguished by these proceedings, that the Franciscan order is split into two considerable parties.

At once, therefore, to satisfy both the laxer and more rigid party, after various methods had been tried to no purpose, a division of the order was agreed to. Accordingly, in the year 1368, the president consented that Paulutius Fulginas, who was the chief of the more rigid Franciscans in Italy, together with his associates, who were pretty numerous, should live separately from the rest of the brethren, according to the rules and customs they had adopted, and follow the institutes of their founder in the strictest and most rigorous manner. The Spiritualls, and the followers of Olive, whose scattered remains were yet observable in several places, joined themselves gradually and imperceptibly to this party. And as the number of those who were fond of the severer discipline continually increased in many provinces, the popes thought proper to approve that institute, and to give it the solemn sanction of their authority. In consequence of this, the Franciscan order was divided into two large bodies, which subsist to this day; viz. the Conventual Brethren,

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and the Brethren of the Observation. Those who gave up the strict sense of the expressions in which the institute of their founder was conceived, and adopted the modifications that were given of them by the pontiffs, were called by the former name; and the council of Constance conferred the latter upon those who chose to be determined by the words of the institute itself, rather than by any explications of it (*r*). But the Fratricelli, together with the Beghards, whom we have frequently had occasion to mention, absolutely rejected this reconciliation, and persisted in disturbing the peace of the church during this and the following century, in the marquisate of Ancona, and in other places.

New religious orders are founded.

XXXV. This century gave rise to other religious societies, some of which were but of short duration, and the rest never became famous. John Colombini, a nobleman of Sienna, founded, in the year 1368, the order of the Apostolic Clercs; who, because they frequently pronounced the name of Jesus, were afterwards called Jesuates. This institution was confirmed by Urban V. the following year, and subsisted till the last century, when it was abolished by Clement IX (*s*). The brethren belonging to it professed poverty, and adhered to the institute of St. Augustin. They were not, however, admitted to holy orders, but assisted the poor by their prayers, and other pious offices, and prepared medicines for them, which they distributed gratis (*t*). But these statutes were in a manner abrogated when Clement dissolved the order.

(*r*) See Waddingi Annal. Minor. tom. viii. p. 209. 298. 326. 336. tom. ix. p. 59. 65. 78, &c.

(*s*) In the year 1668.

(*t*) Hipp. Helyot, Hist. des Ordres, tom. iii. p. 411. s.—Franc. Pagi Breviar. Pontif. tom. iv. p. 189. s.—Bonnani, and others, who have compiled histories of the religious orders.

XXXVI. Soon after the commencement of this century, the famous sect of the Cellite Brethren and Sisters arose at Antwerp; they were also styled the Alexian Brethren and Sisters, because St. Alexius was their patron; and they were named Cellites, from the cells in which they were used to live. As the clergy of this age took little care of the sick and dying, and deserted such as were infected with those pestilential disorders which were then very frequent, some compassionate and pious persons at Antwerp formed themselves into a society for the performance of those religious offices which the sacerdotal orders so shamefully neglected. Pursuant to this agreement, they visited and comforted the sick, assisted the dying with their prayers and exhortations, took care of the interment of those who were cut off by the plague, and on that account forsaken by the affrighted clergy, and committed them to the grave with a solemn funeral dirge. It was with reference to this last office that the common people gave them the name of Lollards (*u*). The

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The sect of
the Cellite
Brethren
and Sisters.
The Lollards.

(*u*) Many writers have given us large accounts concerning the sect and name of the Lollards, yet none of them are to be commended for their fidelity, diligence, or accuracy on this head. This I can confidently assert, because I have carefully and expressly inquired into whatever relates to the Lollards; and from the most authentic records concerning them, both published and unpublished, have collected copious materials from whence their true history may be compiled. Most of the German writers, as well as those of other countries, affirm that the Lollards were a particular sect, who differed from the church of Rome in many religious points; and that Walter Lollhard, who was burnt in this century at Cologne, was their founder. How so many learned men came to adopt this opinion is beyond my comprehension. They indeed refer to Jo. Trithemius as the author of this opinion; yet it is certain that no such account of these people is to be found in his writings. I shall therefore endeavour, with all possible brevity, to throw all the light I can upon this matter, that they who are fond of ecclesiastical history may have a just notion of it.

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example of these good people had such an extensive influence, that in a little time societies of

The term Lollhard, or Lullhard, or, as the ancient Germans write it, Lollert, Lullert, is compounded of the old German word *lullen*, *lollen*, *lallen*, and the well known termination *hard*, with which many of the old High Dutch words end. *Lollen*, or *lullen*, signifies to sing with a low voice. It is yet used in the same sense among the English, who say, *lull asleep*, which signifies to sing any one into a slumber with a sweet indistinct voice. See Franc. Junii Etymologicum Anglicanum, ab Edvardo Lye, Oxon. 1743, fol. under the word Lollard. The word is also used in the same sense among the Flemings, Swedes, and other nations, as appears by their respective Dictionaries. Among the Germans, both the sense and pronounciation of it have undergone some alteration; for they say, *lallen*, which signifies to pronounce indistinctly, or stammer. Lollhard, therefore, is a singer, or one who frequently sings. For as the word *beggen*, which universally signifies to request any thing fervently, is applied to devotional requests or prayers; and, in the stricter sense in which it is used by the High Dutch, denotes praying fervently to God; in the same manner the word *lollen*, or *lullen*, is transferred from a common to a sacred song, and signifies, in its most limited sense, to sing a hymn. Lollhard, therefore, in the vulgar tongue of the ancient Germans, denotes a person who is continually praising God with a song, or singing hymns to his honour. Hosceuius, a canon of Liege, has well apprehended and expressed the force of this word in his *Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium*, lib. i. cap. xxxi. in Jo. Chapeavilli *Gestis Pontificum Tungrensium et Leodiensium*, tom. ii. p. 350. s. "In the same year (1309), says he, certain strolling hypocrites, who were called Lollards, or praisers of God, deceived some women of quality in Hainault and Brabant." Because those who praised God generally did it in verse, therefore, in the Latin style of the middle age, to praise God meant to sing to him, and such as were frequently employed in acts of adoration were called religious singers. And as prayers and hymns are regarded as a certain external sign of piety towards God, therefore those who aspired after a more than ordinary degree of piety and religion, and for that purpose were more frequently occupied in singing hymns of praise to God than others, were, in the common popular language, called Lollhards. Hereupon this word acquired the same meaning with that of the term Beghard, which denoted a person remarkable for piety; for in all the old records, from the eleventh century, these two words are synonymous: so that all who are styled Beghards are also called Lollards, which may be proved to a demonstration from many authors, and particularly from many passages in the writings of Felix

the same sort of Lollards, consisting both of men and women, were formed in most parts of Ger-

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Malleolus against the Beghards; so that there are precisely as many sorts of Beggards as of Lollards. Those whom the monks now call Lay Brothers were formerly called Lollard Brethren, as is well observed by Barthol. Schobinger, *Ad Joach. Vadianum de Collegiis Monasteriisque Germaniae Veter. lib. i. p. 24. in Goldasti Scriptor. Rerum Alemannicarum tom. iii.*

The Brethren of the Free Spirit, of whom we have already given a large account, are by some styled Beggards, by others Lollards. The followers of Gerhard Groote, or Priests of the Community, are frequently called Lollard Brethren. The good man Walter, who was burnt at Cologne, and whom so many learned men have unadvisedly represented as the founder of the sect of the Lollards, is by some called a Beggard, by others a Lollard, and by others a Minorite. The Franciscan Tertiaries, who were remarkable for their prayers and other pious exercises, often go by the name of Lollards. The Cellite Brethren, or Alexians, whose piety was very exemplary, did no sooner appear in Flanders, about the beginning of this century, than the people gave them the title of Lollards, a term much in use at that time. A particular reason indeed for their being distinguished by this name was, that they were public singers, who made it their business to inter the bodies of those who died of the plague, and sang a dirge over them in a mournful and indistinct tone as they carried them to the grave. Among the many testimonies that might be alleged to prove this, we shall confine ourselves to the words of Jo. Bapt. Gramaye, a man eminently skilled in the history of his country, in his work entitled, *Antwerpia*, lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 16. "The Alexians," says he, "who constantly employed themselves about funerals, had their rise at Antwerp; at which place, about the year 1300, some honest pious laymen formed a society. On account of their extraordinary temperance and modesty, they were styled *Matemanni* (or *Moderatists*) and also Lollards, from their attendance on funeral obsequies. From their cells, they were named *Cellite Brethren*." To the same purpose is the following passage in his work entitled, *Lovanium*, p. 18, which is inserted in the splendid folio edition of the *Belgic Antiquities*, published at Louvain, in 1708; "The Alexians, who were wholly engaged in taking care of funerals, now began to appear. They were laymen, who, having wholly devoted themselves to works of mercy, were named Lollards and *Matemanni* (or *Moderatists*). They made it their sole business to take care of all such as were sick, or out of their

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many and Flanders, and were supported, partly by their manual labours, and partly by the charitable donations of pious persons. The magistrates and inhabitants of the towns, where these brethren and sisters resided, gave them peculiar marks of favour and protection on account of their great usefulness to the sick and needy. But the clergy, whose reputation was not a little hurt by them, and the Mendicant friars, who found

senses. These they attended both privately and publicly, and buried the dead." The same learned author tells us, that he transcribed some of these particulars from an old diary written in Flemish rhyme. Hence we find in the Annals of Holland and Utrecht, in Ant. Matthæi Analect. Vet. Ævi, tom. i. p. 431, the following words: "Die Lollardtjes die brochten, de dooden by een, i. e. the Lollards who collected the dead bodies;" which passage is thus paraphrased by Matthæus, "The managers of funerals, and carriers of the dead, of whom there was a fixed company, were a set of mean, worthless creatures, who usually spoke in a canting mournful tone, as if bewailing the dead; and hence it came to pass, that a street in Utrecht, in which most of these people lived, was called the Loller street." The same reason that changed the word Beggard from its primitive meaning contributed also to give, in process of time, a different signification to that of Lollard, even its being assumed by persons that dishonoured it. For among those Lollards, who made such extraordinary pretences to piety and religion, and spent the greatest part of their time in meditation, prayer, and such-like acts of piety, there were many abominable hypocrites, who entertained the most ridiculous opinions, and concealed the most enormous vices under the specious mask of this extraordinary profession. But it was chiefly after the rise of the Alexians, or Cellites, that the name Lollard became infamous. For the priests and monks, being inveterately exasperated against these good men, propagated injurious suspicions of them, and endeavoured to persuade the people, that, innocent and beneficent as the Lollards seemed to be, they were in reality the contrary, being tainted with the most pernicious sentiments of a religious kind, and secretly addicted to all sorts of vices. Thus by degrees it came to pass, that any person, who covered heresies or crimes under the appearance of piety, was called a Lollard. So that it is certain this was not a name to denote any one particular sect, but was formerly common to all persons and all sects who were supposed to be guilty of impiety towards God and the church, under an external profession of extraordinary piety.

their profits diminished by the growing credit of these new-comers, persecuted them vehemently, and accused them to the popes of many vices and intolerable errors. Hence it was that the word Lollard, which originally carried a good meaning, became a term of reproach to denote a person, who, under the mask of extraordinary piety, concealed either enormous vices or pernicious sentiments. But the magistrates, by their recommendations and testimonials, supported the Lollards against their malignant rivals, and obtained many papal constitutions, by which their institute was confirmed, their persons exempted from the cognizance of the inquisitors, and subjected entirely to the jurisdiction of the bishops. But as these measures were insufficient to secure them from molestation, Charles, duke of Burgundy, in the year 1472, obtained a solemn bull from Pope Sixtus IV. ordering that the Cellites, or Lollards, should be ranked among the religious orders, and delivered from the jurisdiction of the bishops; and Pope Julius II. granted them yet greater privileges in the year 1506. Many societies of this kind are yet subsisting at Cologne; and in the cities of Flanders, though they have evidently departed from their ancient rules (*w*).

XXXVII. Among the Greek writers of this century the following were the most eminent.

Greek writers.

Nicephorus Callistus, whose Ecclesiastical History we have already mentioned;

Matthæus Blastares, who illustrated and explained the canon laws of the Greeks;

(*w*) Besides many others, whom it is not proper to mention here, see Ægid. Gellenius, *De admiranda Sacra et Civili Magnitudine Urbis Coloniae*, lib. iii. Syntagm. li. p. 534. 598. 603. — Jo. Bapt. Gramaye, in *Antiquit. Belgicis*. — Anton. Sanderus, in *Brabantia et Flandria illustratis*. — Aub. Miræus, in *Operibus Diplomatico-Historicis*, and many other writers of this period in many places of their works. I may add, that those who are styled Lollards are by many called die Nollbruder, from Nollen, an ancient German word.

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Barlaam, who was a very zealous champion in behalf of the Grecian cause against the Latins ;

Gregorius Acindynus, an inveterate enemy of the Palamites, of which sect we shall give some account in its proper place ;

Johannes Cantacuzenus, famous for his History of his Own Time, and his Confutation of the Mahometan Law ;

Nicephorus Gregoras, who compiled the Byzantine History, and left some other monuments of his genius to posterity ;

Theophanes, bishop of Nice, a laborious defender of the truth of Christianity against the Jews, and the rest of its enemies ;

Nilus Cabasilas, Nilus Rhodius, and Nilus Damyla, who most warmly maintained the cause of their nation against all the Latin writers ;

Philotheus, several of whose tracts are yet extant, and seem well adapted to excite a devotional temper and spirit ;

Gregory Palamas ; of whom more hereafter.

Latin writers.

XXXVIII. From the prodigious number of the Latin writers of this century we shall only select the most famous. Among the scholastic doctors, who blended philosophy with divinity, John Duns Scotus, a Franciscan, and the great antagonist of Thomas, held the first rank ; and, though not entitled to any praise for his candour and ingenuity, was by no means inferior to any of his contemporaries in acuteness and subtilty of genius (*x*).

After him the most celebrated writers of this class were Durandus of St. Portian, who combated

(*x*) The very laborious and learned Luc. Waddingus favoured the public with an accurate edition of the works of Scotus, which was printed at Lyons, 1639, in twelve volumes folio.—Compare Wood, *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 86. s. but especially Waddingus, *Annal. Minor. Fratr.* tom. vi. p. 40. 107.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. p. 70, &c.

the commonly received doctrine of the divine co-operation with the human will (*y*), Antonius Andræas, Hervæus Natalis, Francis Mayronius, Thomas Bradwardine, an acute ingenious man (*z*), Peter Aureolus, John Bacon, William Occam, Walter Burlæus, Peter de Alliaco, Thomas of Strasburg, and Gregory de Rimini (*a*).

Among the mystic divines, Jo. Taulerus and Jo. Ruysbrockius, though not entirely free from errors, were eminent for their wisdom and integrity;

Nicholas Lyranus acquired great reputation by his Compendious Exposition of the whole Bible;

Raynerius Pisanus is celebrated for his Summary of Theology, and Astesanus for his Summary of Cases of Conscience.

CHAPTER III.

Concerning the Doctrine of the Christian Church during this Century.

I. ALL those who are well acquainted with the history of these times must acknowledge, that religion, whether as taught in the schools, or inculcated upon the people as the rule of their conduct, was so extremely adulterated and deformed, that there was not a single branch of the Christian doc-

The corruption of religion.

(*y*) See Jo. Launoïus, in a small treatise, entitled, *Syllabus Rationum, quibus Durandi Causa defenditur*, tom. i. opp. — *Gallia Christ.* tom. ii. p. 723.

(*z*) Rich. Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. iv. p. 232. et *Critique de la Bibliotheque des Auteurs Ecclesiast.* par M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 360. Steph. Soucietus, in *Observationibus ad h. l.* p. 703. — *Nouv. Dict. Hist. Crit.* tom. ii. p. 500. s. He was archbishop of Canterbury.

(*a*) For a full account of all these persons, see *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xiv. p. 11, 12. s.

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trine which retained the least trace of its primitive lustre and beauty. Hence it may easily be imagined that the Waldenses and others, who longed for a reformation of the church, and had separated themselves from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, though every where exposed to the fury of the inquisitors and monks, yet increased from day to day, and baffled all the attempts that were made to extirpate them. Many of these poor people having observed that great numbers of their party perished by the flames and other punishments, fled out of Italy, France, and Germany, into Bohemia and the adjacent countries, where they afterwards associated with the Hussites, and other separatists from the church of Rome.

The state of
exegetical
or explanatory
theology.

II. Nicholas Lyranus deservedly holds the first rank among the commentators on the Holy Scriptures, having explained the Books, both of the Old and New Testament, in a manner far superior to the prevailing taste and spirit of his age. He was a perfect master of the Hebrew language, but not well versed in the Greek, and was therefore much happier in his exposition of the Old Testament than in that of the New (*b*). All the other divines who applied themselves to this kind of writing were servile imitators of their predecessors. They either culled choice sentences from the writings of the more ancient doctors; or else, departing from the obvious meaning of the words, they tortured the sacred writers to accommodate them to senses that were mysterious and abstruse. They who are desirous of being acquainted with this art may have recourse to Vitalis à Furno, his *Moral Mirrour of*

(*b*) Rich. Simón, *Histoire des principaux Commentateurs du Nos*, p. 447. et *Critique de la Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccles.* par M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 352.—*Waddingi Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 264. s.

the Scriptures (*c*), or to Ludolphus of Saxony, in his Psalter Spiritualized (*d*). The philosophers who commented upon the sacred writings sometimes proposed subtile questions, drawn from what was called, in this century, Internal Science, and solved them in a dexterous and artful manner.

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III. The greatest part of the doctors of this century, both Greek and Latin, followed the rules of the peripatetic philosophy, in expounding and teaching the doctrines of religion; and the Greeks, from their commerce with the Latins, seemed to have acquired some knowledge of those methods of instruction used in the western schools. Even to this day, the Greeks read, in their own tongue, the works of Thomas, and other capital writers of the scholastic class, which in this age were translated and introduced into the Greek church by Demetrius Cydonius, and others (*e*). Prodigious numbers among the Latins were fond of this subtile method, in which John Scotus, Durandus à S. Portain, and William Occam, peculiarly excelled. Some few had recourse to the decisions of Scripture and Tradition in explaining divine truths, but they were overborne by the immense tribe of logicians, who carried all before them.

The didactic divines.

IV. This superiority of the schoolmen did not, however, prevent some wise and pious men among the Mystics, and elsewhere, from severely censuring this presumptuous method of bringing before the tribunal of philosophy matters of pure revelation. Many, on the contrary, were bold enough to oppose the reigning passion, and to recal the youth designed for the ministry to the study of

The adversaries of the school divines.

The Biblical divines.

(*c*) Speculum Morale totius Scripturæ.

(*d*) Psalterium juxta Spiritualem Sensum.

(*e*) Rich. Simon, Creance de l'Eglise Orientale sur la Transubstantiation, p. 166.

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the Scriptures and the writings of the ancient fathers. This proceeding kindled the flame of discord almost everywhere; but this flame raged with peculiar violence in some of the more famous universities, especially in those of Paris and Oxford, where many sharp disputes were continually carried on against the philosophical divines by those of the Biblical party, who, though greatly inferior to their antagonists in point of number, were sometimes victorious. For the philosophical legions, headed by Mendicants, Dominicans, and Franciscans, were often extremely rash in their manner of disputing; they defined and explained the principal doctrines of revealed religion in such a way as really overturned them, and fell into opinions that were evidently absurd and impious. Hence it came to pass, that some of them were compelled to abjure their errors, others to seek their safety by flight; some had their writings publicly burnt, and others were thrown into prison (*f*). However, when these commotions were quelled, most of them returned, though with prudence and caution, to their former way of thinking, perplexed their adversaries by various contrivances, and deprived them of their reputation, their profits, and many of their followers.

V. It is remarkable, that the scholastic doctors, or philosophical theologians, far from agreeing

Contentions
among the
schoolmen.
The Sco-
tists and
Thomists.

(*f*) See Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iv. passim.—In the year 1340, several opinions of the schoolmen, concerning the Trinity and other doctrines, were condemned, p. 266.—In the year 1347, M. Jo. de Mercuria and Nich. de Ultricuria were obliged to abjure their errors, p. 298. 308.—In 1348, one Simon was convicted of some horrible errors, p. 322.—The same fate a. 1354, befel Guido of the Augustine order, p. 329. A. 1362, the like happened to one Lewis, p. 374. to Jo. de Calore, p. 377. A. 1365, to Dion, Soullechat, p. 382. Oxford also had its share in transactions of this nature. See Ant. Wood, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 153. 183. s.

among themselves, were furiously engaged in disputations with each other concerning many points. The flame of their controversy was, in this century, supplied with plentiful accessions of fuel by John Duns Scotus, an Englishman, of the Franciscan order, who was extremely eminent for the subtilty of his genius, and who, animated against the Dominicans by a warm spirit of jealousy, had attacked and attempted to disprove several doctrines of Thomas Aquinas. Upon this, the Dominicans, taking the alarm, united from all quarters to defend their favourite doctor, whom they justly considered as the common leader of the scholastics; while the Franciscans, on the other hand, espoused with ardour the cause of Scotus, whom they looked upon as a divine sage sent down from heaven to enlighten bewildered and erring mortals. Thus these powerful and flourishing orders were again divided; and hence the origin of the two famous sects, the Scotists and Thomists, which, to this day, dispute the field of controversy in the Latin schools. The chief points about which they disagree are, the Nature of the divine Co-operation with the Human Will, the Measure of divine Grace that is necessary to Salvation, the Unity of Form in Man, or personal identity, and other abstruse and minute questions, the enumeration of which is foreign to our purpose. We shall only observe, that what contributed most to exalt the reputation of Scotus, and to cover him with glory, was his demonstration and defence of what was called the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary against the Dominicans, who entertained different notions of that matter (*g*).

VI. A prodigious number of the people, denominated Mystics, resided and propagated their The My-
stics.

(*g*) See Waddingus, Annal. Minor. tom. vi. p. 52.

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tenets in almost every part of Europe. There were, undoubtedly, among them many persons of eminent piety, who endeavoured to wean men from an excessive attachment to the external part of religion, and to form them to the love of God, and the practice of genuine virtue. Such, among others, were Taulerus, Ruysbrockius, Suso, and Gerhard of Zutphen (*h*), who, it must be confessed, have left many writings that are exceedingly well calculated to excite pious dispositions in the minds of their readers; though want of judgment, and a propensity to indulge enthusiastic visions, is a defect common to them all. But there were also some senseless fanatics belonging to this party who ran about, from place to place, recommending a most unaccountable extinction of all the rational faculties, whereby they idly imagined the human mind would be transfused into the divine essence; and thus led their proselytes into a foolish kind of piety, that in too many cases bordered nearly upon licentiousness. The religious frenzy of these enthusiasts rose to such a height, as rendered them detestable to the soberer sort of Mystics, who charged their followers to have no connexions with them (*i*).

Moral writers.

VII. It is needless to say much concerning those who applied themselves to the study of morality, seeing their spirit is much of the same kind with that of the authors whom we have already mentioned; though it may be proper to

(*h*) Concerning these authors, see Petr. Poirer, Biblioth. Mysticorum; and Godofr. Arnold, Histor. et Descriptio Theol. Mysticae. Concerning Taulerus and Suso, Echardus treats expressly in his Scriptor. Prædicat. tom. i. p. 653. 677. See also Acta Sanctor. Januar. tom. ii. p. 652.

(*i*) Joh. Ruysbrockius inveighed bitterly against them, as appears from his work published by Laur. Surius, p. 50. 378. as also from his treatise De Vera Contemplatione, cap. xviii. p. 608.

mention two circumstances, by which the reader may ascertain the true state of this science. The first is, that about this time more writers than in any former century made it their business to collect and solve what they styled, cases of conscience; by which Astesanus, an Italian, Monaldus, and Bartholomew of St. Concordia, acquired a reputation superior to any of their contemporaries. This kind of writing was of a piece with the education then received in the schools, since it taught people to quibble and wrangle instead of forming them to a sound faith and a suitable practice. A second thing worthy of notice is, that moral duties were explained, and their practice enforced, by allegories and comparisons of a new and whimsical kind, even by examples drawn from the natures, properties, and actions of the brute creation. These writers began, for instance, by explaining the nature and qualities of some particular animal, and then applied their description to human life and manners, to characterize the virtues and vices of moral agents. The most remarkable productions of this sort are Nieder's *Formicarius*; a Treatise concerning Bees, by Thomas Brabantinus; Hugo de St. Victor's Dissertation upon Beasts; and a tract of Thomas Walley's, entitled, *The Nature of Brute Animals moralized*.

VIII. The defenders of Christianity in this age were, generally speaking, unequal to the glorious cause they undertook to support; nor do their writings discover any striking marks of genius, dexterity, perspicuity, or candour. Some productions, indeed, appeared from time to time, that were not altogether unworthy of notice. The learned Bradwardine, an English divine, advanced many pertinent and ingenious things towards the confirmation of the truth of Christianity in general, in a *Book upon Providence*. The

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book intitled, *Collyrium Fidei contra Hæreticos*; or, "Eye-salve of Faith against the Heretics," shows, that its author, Alvarus Pelagius, was a well-meaning and judicious man, though he has by no means exhausted the subject in this performance. Nicholas Lyra wrote against the Jews, as did also Porchetus Salvaticus, whose treatise intitled, "The Triumph of Faith," is chiefly borrowed from the writings of Raymond Martin. Both these writers are much inferior to Theophanes, whose "Book against the Jews," and his "Harmony between the Old and New Testament," contain many observations that are by no means contemptible.

State of the
controversy
between
the Greeks
and Latins.

IX. During this century there were some promising appearances of a reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins. For the former, apprehending they should want the assistance of the Latins to set bounds to the power of the Turks, which about this time was continually increasing, often pretended a willingness to submit to the Latin canons. Accordingly, A. D. 1339, Andronicus, the Younger, sent Barlaam as his ambassador into the west, to desire a reconciliation in his name. In the year 1349, another Grecian embassy was sent to Clement VI. for the same purpose, and in 1356, a third was despatched upon a like errand to Innocent VI. who resided at Avignon. Nor was this all; for in the year 1367 the Grecian patriarch arrived at Rome in order to negotiate this important matter, and was followed, in the year 1369, by the emperor himself, John Palæologus, who undertook a journey into Italy, and, in order to conciliate the friendship and good-will of the Latins, published a confession of his faith, which was agreeable to the sentiments of the Roman pontiff. But, notwithstanding these prudent and pacific measures, the major part of the Greeks

could not be persuaded by any means to drop the controversy, or to be reconciled to the church of Rome, though several of them, from views of interest or ambition, expressed a readiness to submit to its demands; so that this whole century was spent partly in furious debates, and partly in fruitless negotiations (*k*).

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X. In the year 1384, a furious controversy arose at Paris, between the university there and the Dominican order. The author of it was John de Montesono, a native of Arragon, a Dominican friar and professor of divinity, who, pursuant to the decisions and doctrine of his order, publicly denied that the blessed Virgin Mary was conceived without any stain of original sin; and moreover asserted, that all who believed the immaculate conception were enemies of the true faith. The quarrel occasioned by this proceeding would certainly have been soon compromised, had not John, in a public discourse delivered some time in the year 1387, revived this opinion with more violence than ever. For this reason the college of divines, and afterwards the whole university, condemned this, and some other tenets of Montesonus. For it may be proper to inform the reader, that the university of Paris, principally induced thereto by the discourses of John Dun Scotus, had from the beginning almost of this century, publicly adopted the doctrine of the sinless conception of the Holy Virgin (*l*). Upon this, the Dominicans, together with their champion Montesonus, appealed from the sentence of

The contention between the university of Paris and the Dominicans,

occasioned by Montesonus.

(*k*) See Henr. Canisii *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 369.—Leo Allatius, *De Perpetua Consensione Eccles. Orient. et Occident.* lib. ii. cap. xvi. xvii. p. 782.—Luc. Waddingus, *Annal. Minor.* tom. viii. p. 29. 40. 107. 201. 289. 303. 312.—Steph. Baluzii *Vitæ Pontif. Avenion.* tom. i. p. 348. 380. 388. 403. 407. 410. 772.

(*l*) See Waddingi *Annal. Minor.* tom. vi. p. 52. s.

CENT. XIV. PART II. the university to pope Clement VII. at Avignon, and raised an outcry, that St. Thomas himself was condemned by the judgment passed upon their brother. But, before the pope could decide the affair, the accused friar fled from the court of Avignon, went over to the party of Urban VI. who resided at Rome, and thus, during his absence, was excommunicated. Whether or no the pope approved the sentence of the university of Paris, we cannot say. The Dominicans, however, deny that he did, and affirm, that Montesonus was condemned purely on account of his flight (*m*); though there are many others who assert, that his opinion was also condemned. And as the Dominicans would not acknowledge the sentence of the university to be valid, they were expelled in the year 1389, and were not restored to their ancient honours in that learned body till the year 1404 (*n*).

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies used in the Church during this Century.

The alteration of the jubilee.

I. WE must confine ourselves to a general and superficial view of the alterations that were introduced into the ritual of the church during this century, since it cannot reasonably be expected we should insist largely upon this subject within the narrow limits of such a work as this. One of the principal circumstances that strikes us here,

(*m*) See Jac. Echardi Scriptor. Prædicator. tom. i. p. 691.

(*n*) Cæs. Egass. de Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris, tom. iv. p. 599. 618. 638.—Steph. Baluzii Vitæ Pontif. Avenion. tom. i. p. 521. tom. ii. p. 992.—Argentre, Collectio Judicior. de Novis Errorib. tom. i. p. 61.—Jac. de Longueval, Hist. de l'Eglise Gallicane, tom. xiv. p. 347.

is the change that was made in the time of celebrating the jubilee. In the year 1350, Clement VI. in compliance with the requests of the people of Rome, enacted that the jubilee, which Boniface VIII. had ordered to be held every hundredth year, should be celebrated twice in every century (*o*). In favour of this alteration, he might have assigned a very plausible pretext; since it is well known that the Jews, whom the Roman pontiffs were always ready to imitate in whatever related to pomp and majesty, celebrated this sacred solemnity every fiftieth year. But Urban VI. Sixtus VI. and other popes, who ordered a more frequent celebration of this salutary and profitable institution, would have had more difficulty in attempting to satisfy those who might have demanded sufficient reasons to justify this inconstancy.

II. Innocent V. instituted festivals, sacred to the memory of the lance with which our Saviour's side was pierced, the nails that fastened him to the cross, and the crown of thorns he wore at his death (*p*). This, though evidently absurd, was nevertheless pardonable upon the whole, considering the gross ignorance and stupidity of the times. But nothing can excuse the impious fanaticism and superstition of Benedict XII. who, by appointing a festival in honour of the marks of Christ's wounds, which, the Franciscans tell us, were imprinted upon the body of their chief and founder by a miraculous interposition of the divine power, gave credit to that grossly ridiculous and blasphemous fable. Pope John XXII. besides the sanction he gave to many other superstitions,

Festivals.

Prayers.

(*o*) Baluzii Vitæ Pontif. Avenion. tom. i. p. 247. 287. 312. 887.—Muratorii Antiquit. Ital. tom. iii. p. 344. 481.

(*p*) See Jo. Henr. a Seelen, Diss. de Festo Lanceæ et Clavorum Christi.—Baluzii Vit. Pontif. Avenion. tom. i. p. 328. Miscellan. tom. i. p. 417.

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ordered Christians to add to their prayers, those words with which the angel Gabriel saluted the Virgin Mary.

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the Divisions and Heresies that troubled the Church during this Century.

Controversies excited by the Quietists.

I. DURING some part of this century the Hesychasts, or as the Latins call them, the Quietists, gave the Greek church a great deal of trouble. To assign the true source of it, we must observe, that Barlaam, a native of Calabria, who was a monk of St. Basil, and afterwards bishop of Gieraci, in Calabria, made a progress through Greece to inspect the behaviour of the monks, among whom he found many things highly reprehensible. He was more especially offended at the Hesychasts of mount Athos, in Thessaly, who were the same with the Mystics, or more perfect monks, and who, by a long course of intense contemplation, endeavoured to arrive at a tranquillity of mind entirely free from every degree of tumult and perturbation. These Quietists, in compliance with an ancient opinion of their principal doctors (who imagine that there was a celestial light concealed in the deepest retirements of the mind), used to sit every day, during a certain space of time, in a solitary corner, with their eyes eagerly and immoveably fixed upon the middle region of the belly, or navel; and boasted, that, while they remained in this posture, they found, in effect, a divine light beaming forth from the soul, which diffused through their hearts inexpressible sensations of

pleasure and delight (*q*). To such as inquired what kind of light this was, they replied, by way of illustration, that it was the glory of God, the same celestial radiance that surrounded Christ during his transfiguration on the mount. Barlaam, entirely unacquainted with the customs and manners of the Mystics, looked upon all this as highly absurd and fanatical, and therefore stiled the monks who adhered to this institution, Massalians and Euchites (*r*), and also gave them the

(*q*) We have no reason to be surprised at, and much less to disbelieve this account. For it is a fundamental rule with all those people in the eastern world, whether Christians, Mahometans, or Pagans (who maintain the necessity of abstracting the mind from the body, in order to hold communion with God, which is exactly the same thing with the contemplative and mystic life among the Latins), that the eyes must be steadily fixed every day for some hours upon some particular object; and that he who complies with this precept will be thrown into an ecstasy, in which, being united to God, he will see wonderful things, and be entertained with ineffable delights. See what is said concerning the Siamese Monks and Mystics by Engelb Kæmpfer, in his *History of Japan*, tom. i. p. 30. and also concerning those of India, in the *Voyages of Bernier*, tom. ii. p. 127. Indeed, I can easily admit, that they who continue long in the above-mentioned posture, will imagine they behold many things which no man in his senses ever beheld or thought of. For certainly the combinations they form of the unconnected notions that arise to their fancy while their minds are in this odd and unnatural state, must be most singular and whimsical; and that so much the more, as the rule itself which prescribes the contemplation of a certain object as the means of arriving at a vision of the Deity, absolutely forbids all use of the faculty of reason during that ecstatic and sublime interval. This total suspension of reason and reflection, during the period of contemplation, was not, however, peculiar to the Eastern Quietists; the Latin Mystics observed the same rule, and inculcated it upon their disciples. And from hence we may safely conclude, that the many surprising visions, of which these fanatics boast, are fables utterly destitute of reason and probability. But this is not the proper place for enlarging upon prodigies of this nature.

 (*r*) The Massalians (so called from a Hebrew word, which signifies prayer, as Euchites, from a Greek word of the

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new name of Umbilicani (*s*). On the other hand, Gregory Palamas, archbishop of Thessalonica, defended the cause of these monks against Barlaam (*t*).

The state
of the con-
troversy
between the
Hesychasts
and Bar-
laamites.

II. In order to put an end to this dissension, a council was held at Constantinople in the year 1341, in which the emperor himself, Andronicus the younger, and the patriarch, presided. Here Palamas and the monks triumphed over Barlaam, who was condemned by the council; whereupon he left Greece, and returned to Italy. Not long after this, another monk, named Gregory Acindynus, renewed the controversy, and in opposition to the opinion maintained by Palamas, denied that God dwelt in an eternal light distinct from his essence, as also that such a light was beheld by the disciples on Mount Tabor. The dispute was now no longer concerning the monks, but turned upon the light seen at Mount Tabor, and also upon the nature and residence of the Deity. Nevertheless, he was condemned as a follower of Barlaam, in another council held at Constantinople. Many assemblies were convened about this affair; but the most remarkable of them all was that held in the year 1351, in which the Barlaamites and their adherents received such a fatal wound, in consequence of the severe decrees enacted against them, that they were forced to yield, and leave the victory to Palamas. This prelate maintained that God was encircled, as it were, with an eternal light, which might be styled his energy or operation, and was distinct from his nature and essence; and that he favoured the three

same signification) formed themselves into a sect, during the fourth century, under the reign of Constantius. Their tenets resembled those of the Quietists in several respects.

(*s*) Ομφαλόψυχοι.

(*t*) For an account of these two famous men, Barlaam and Gregory Palamas, see, in preference to all other writers, Jo. Alb. Fabricius, Biblioth. Græcæ, tom. x. p. 427. and 454.

disciples with a view of this light upon Mount Tabor. Hence he concluded that this divine operation was really different from the substance of the Deity; and further, that no being could possibly partake of the divine substance or essence, but that finite natures might possess a share of his divine light, or operation. The Barlaamites, on the contrary, denied these positions, affirming, that the properties and operations of the Deity were not different from his essence, and that there was really no difference between the attributes and essence of God, considered in themselves, but only in our conceptions of them, and reasonings upon them (*u*).

III. In the Latin church the inquisitors, those active ministers and executioners of papal justice, extended their vigilance to every quarter, and most industriously hunted out the remains of those sects who opposed the religion of Rome, even the Waldenses, the Catharists, the Apostolists, and others; so that the history of these times abounds with numberless instances of persons who were burnt, or otherwise barbarously destroyed, by these unrelenting instruments of superstitious vengeance. But none of these enemies of the church gave the inquisitors and bishops so much employment of this bloody kind, as the Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit, who went under

The severity of the inquisition in the western world,

(*u*) See Jo. Cantacuzenus, *Historiæ*, lib. ii. cap. xxxix. p. 263, and Gregor. Pontanus. *Nicephorus Gregorus*, *Historiæ Byzantinæ*, lib. xi. cap. x. p. 277. and in many other places. But these two writers disagree in many circumstances. Many materials relative to this controversy are yet unpublished (see Montfaucon, *Biblioth. Coisliniana*, p. 150. 174. 404.) Nor have we ever been favoured with an accurate and well-digested history of it. In the mean time, the reader may consult Leo Allatius, *De Perpetua Consensione Orient. et Occid. Ecclesiæ*, lib. ii. cap. xxii. p. 824.—Henr. Canisii *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 361.—Dien Petavius, *Dogmat. Theol.* tom. i. lib. i. cap. xii. p. 76.—Steph. de Altimura, *Panoplia contra Schisma Græcor.* p. 381, &c.

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the common name of Beghards and Beguines in Germany and Flanders, and were differently denominated in other provinces. For as this sort of people professed an uncommon and sublime sort of devotion, endeavouring to call off men's minds from the external and sensible parts of religion, and to win them over to the inward and spiritual worship of God, they were greatly esteemed by many plain, well-meaning persons, whose piety and simplicity were deceived by a profession so seducing, and thus made many converts to their opinions. It was on this account that such numbers of this turn and disposition perished in the flames of persecution during this century in Italy, France, and Germany.

Severe edicts against the Catharists, Beghards, Beguines, &c.

IV. This sect was most numerous in those cities of Germany that lay upon the Rhine, especially at Cologne, which circumstance induced Henry I. archbishop of that diocese, to publish a severe edict against them, A. D. 1306 (*w*); an example that was soon followed by the bishops of Mentz, Triers, Worms, and Strasburg (*x*). And as there were some subtile acute men belonging to this party, that eminently keen logician, John Duns Scotus (*y*) was sent to Cologne, in the year 1308, to dispute against them and to vanquish them by dint of syllogism. In the year 1310, the famous Margaret Poretta, who made such a shining figure in this sect, was burnt at Paris with one of the brethren. She had undertaken to demonstrate in an elaborate treatise, "That the soul, when absorbed in the love of God, is free from the restraint of every law, and may freely gratify all its natural appetites, without contracting

(*w*) See Statuta Coloniensia, published in 4to, at Cologne, A. D. 1554. p. 58.

(*x*) Johannis, Scriptor. Rerum Moguntinar. tom. iii. p. 298.
—Martene, Thesaur. Anecdotor. tom. iv. p. 250.

(*y*) Wadding's Annal. Minor. tom. vi. p. 108.

any guilt" (z). Pope Clement V. exasperated by this and other instances of the pernicious fanaticism that had got among this sect, published in a general council held at Vienne, A. D. 1311, a special constitution against the Beghards and Beguines of Germany. And though the edict only mentions imperfectly the opinions of this sect, yet, by the enumeration of them, we may easily perceive that the Mystic Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit are the persons principally intended (a). Clement, in the same council, issued another constitution, by which he suppressed another and a very different sort of Beguines (b), who had hitherto been considered as a lawful and regular society, and lived everywhere in fixed habitations appropriated to their order, but were now corrupted by the fanatics abovementioned. For the Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit had insinuated themselves into the greatest part of the convents of the Beguines, where they inculcated with great success their mysterious and sublime system of religion to these simple women. And these simple women were no sooner initiated into this brilliant and chimerical system, than they were captivated with its delusive charms, and babbled, in the most absurd and impious manner, concerning the true worship of the Deity (c).

V. The Brethren of the Free Spirit, oppressed by so many severe edicts and constitutions, formed

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Nevertheless, the Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit could not be extirpated.

(z) Luc. Dacherii Spicil. Veter. Scriptor. tom. iii. p. 63.— Jo. Baleus, De Scriptor. Britan. Centur. iv. n. 88. p. 367. published in folio, at Basil, A. D. 1557.

(a) It is extant in the Corpus Juris Canon. inter Clementinas, lib. v. tit. iii. De Hæreticis, cap. iii. p. 1088.

(b) In Jure Canonico inter Clementinas, lib. iii. tit. xi. De Religiosis Domibus, cap. i. p. 1075. edit. Bohmer.

(c) For this reason, in the German records of this century, we often find a distinction of the Beguines into those of the Right and Approved Class, and those of the Sublime and Free Spirit; the former of whom adhered to the public religion, while the latter were corrupted by the opinions of the Mystics.

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the design of removing from Upper Germany into the lower parts of the empire; and this emigration was so far put in execution, as that Westphalia was the only province which refused admission to these dispersed fanatics, and was free from their disturbances. This was owing to the provident measures of Henry, archbishop of Cologne, who, having called a council, A. D. 1322, seriously admonished the bishops of his province of the approaching danger, and thus excited them to exert their utmost vigilance to prevent any of these people from coming into Westphalia. About the same time the Beghards (*d*) upon the Rhine, lost their chief leader and champion, Walter, a Dutchman, of remarkable eloquence, and famous for his writings, who came from Mentz to Cologne, where he was apprehended and burnt (*e*).

 (*d*) By Beghards, here, Dr. Mosheim means particularly the Brethren of the Free Spirit, who frequently passed under this denomination.

(*e*) Jo. Trithemii Annal. Hirsaug. tom. ii. p. 155.—Schatten, Annal. Paderborn. tom. ii. p. 250.—This is that famous Walter, whom so many ecclesiastical historians have represented as the founder of the sect of the Lollards, and as an eminent martyr to their cause. Learned men conclude all this, and more, from the following words of Trithemius. But that same Walter Lohareus (so it stands in my copy, though I fancy it ought to have been Lolhardus; especially as Trithemius, according to the custom of his time, frequently uses this word when treating of the sects that dissented from the church) a native of Holland, was not well versed in the Latin tongue. I say, from this short passage, learned men have concluded that Walter's surname was Lollhard; from whence, as from its founder and master, they supposed his sect derived the name of Lollards. But it is very evident, not only from this, but from many other passages of Trithemius, that Lollhard was no surname, but merely a term of reproach applied to all heretics whatever, who concealed the poison of error under the appearance of piety. Trithemius, speaking of the very same man, in a passage which occurs a little before that we have just quoted, calls him the head of the Fratricelli, or Minorites; but the term Minorites was a very extensive one, including people of various sects. This

The death of this person was highly detrimental to the affairs of the Brethren of the Free Spirit, but did not, however, ruin their cause, nor extirpate their sect. For it appears from innumerable testimonies, that these people, for a long time afterwards, not only held their private assemblies at Cologne, and in many other provinces of Germany, but also that they had several men among them of high rank and great learning, of which number Henry Aycardus, or Eccard, a Saxon, was the most famous. He was a Dominican, and also the superior of that order in Saxony; a man of a subtile genius, and one who had acquitted himself with reputation as professor of divinity at Paris (*f*). In the year 1330, pope John XXII. endeavoured to suppress this obstinate sect by a new and severe constitution, in which the errors of the sect of the Free Spirit are marked out in a more distinct and accurate manner than in the Clementina (*g*). But his attempt was fruitless, the disorder continued, and was combated both by the inquisitors and bishops in most parts of Europe to the end of this century.

VI. The Clementina, or constitution of the council of Vienne against the Beguines, or those

Walter embraced the opinions of the Mystics, and was the principal doctor among those Brethren of the Free Spirit, who lived on the banks of the Rhine.

(*f*) See Echardi Scriptor. Prædicator. tom. i. p. 507.—Odor. Raynaldus, Annal. tom. xv. ad a. 1329. sect. lxx. p. 389.

(*g*) This new constitution of John XXII. was never published entire. It began with the following words: In agro Dominico; and was inscribed thus, Contra singularia dubia, suspecta, et temeraria, quæ Beghardi et Beghinæ prædicant et observant. We are favoured with a summary of it by Herm. Cornerus, in Chronico. in Eccardi Corpore Histor. Medii Ævi, tom. ii. p. 1035, 1036. It is also mentioned by Paul Langius, in Chronico Citizenensi, in Jo. Pistorii Scriptor. Rerum German. tom. i. p. 1206.

The persecution of the Beguines, and its tragical conclusion

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female societies, who lived together in fixed habitations, under a common rule of pious discipline and virtuous industry, gave rise to a persecution of these people, which lasted till the reformation by Luther, and ruined the cause both of the Beguines and Beghards in many places. For though the pope, in his last Constitution, had permitted pious women to live as nuns in a state of celibacy, with or without taking the vow, and refused a toleration only to such of them as were corrupted with the opinions of the Brethren of the Free Spirit; yet the vast number of enemies which the Beguines and Beghards had, partly among the mechanics, especially the weavers, and partly among the priests and monks, took a handle from the Clementina to molest the Beguines in their houses, to seize and destroy their goods, to offer them many other insults, and to involve the Beghards in the like persecution. The Roman pontiff, John XXII. afforded the Beguines some relief under these oppressions, in the year 1324, by means of a special constitution, in which he gave a favourable explication of the Clementina, and ordered that the goods, chattles, habitations, and societies of the innocent Beguines should be preserved from every kind of violence and insult; which example of clemency and moderation was afterwards followed by other popes. On the other hand, the Beguines, in hopes of disappointing more effectually the malicious attempts of their enemies, and avoiding their snares, embraced in many places the third rule of St. Francis, and of the Augustines. Yet all these measures in their favour could not prevent the loss both of their reputation and substance; for from this time they were oppressed in several provinces by the magistrates, the clergy, and the monks, who had cast a greedy eye upon their trea-

tures, and were extremely eager to divide the spoil (*h*).

VII. Some years before the middle of this century, while Germany and many other parts of Europe were distressed with various calamities, the Flagellants, a sect forgotten almost every where, and especially in Germany, made their appearance anew, and, rambling through many provinces, occasioned great disturbances. These new Flagellants, whose enthusiasm infected every rank, sex, and age, were much worse than the old ones. They not only supposed that God might be prevailed upon to show mercy to those who underwent voluntary punishments, but propagated other tenets highly injurious to religion. They held, among other things, "That flagellation was of equal virtue with baptism, and the other sacraments: that the forgiveness of all sins was to be obtained by it from God, without the merits of Jesus Christ; that the old law of Christ was soon to be abolished, and that a new law, enjoining the baptism of blood, to be administered by whipping, was to be substituted in its place," with other tenets more or less enormous than these; whereupon Clement VII. thundered out anathemas against the Flagellants, who were burnt by the inquisitors in several places. It was, however, found as

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The sect of the Flagellants appears again.

(*h*) I have collected a great number of particulars relating to this long persecution of the Beguines. But the most copious of all the writers who have published any thing upon this subject (especially if we consider his account of the persecution at Basil, and Mulbergius, the most inveterate enemy of the Beguines), is Christianus Wurstisen, or Urstisius, in his *Chronicum Basiliense*, written in German, lib. iv. cap. ix. p. 201. published in folio, at Basil, 1580. There are now in my hands, and also in many libraries, MSS. tracts of this celebrated Mulbergius, written against the Beguines in the following century.

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The sect of
the Dancers.

difficult to extirpate them, as it had been to suppress the other sects of wandering fanatics (*i*).

VIII. Directly the reverse of this melancholy sect was the merry one of the Dancers, which, in the year 1373, arose at Aix-la-Chapelle, from whence it spread through the district of Liege, Hainault, and other parts of Flanders. It was customary among the fanatics for persons of both sexes, publicly as well as in private, to fall a dancing all of a sudden, and, holding each others hands, to continue their motions with extraordinary violence, till, being almost suffocated, they fell down breathless together; and they affirmed, that during these intervals of vehement agitation, they were favoured with wonderful visions. Like the Flagellants, they wandered about from place to place, had recourse to begging for their subsistence, treated with the utmost contempt both the priesthood and the public rites and worship of the church, and held secret assemblies. Such was the nature, and such the circumstances of this new frenzy, which the ignorant clergy of this age looked upon as the work of evil demons, who possessed, as they thought, this dancing tribe. Accordingly, the priests of Liege endeavoured to cast out the devils, which rendered these fanatics so merry, by singing hymns and applying fumigations of incense; and they gravely tell us, that the evil spirit was entirely vanquished by these powerful charms (*k*).

(*i*) See Baluzii Vit. Pontif. Avenion. tom. i. p. 160. 316. 319. et Miscellan. tom. i. p. 50.—Matthæi Analecta Vet. Ævi, tom. i. p. 50. tom. iii. p. 241. tom. iv. p. 145.—Herm. Gygis Flores Tempor. p. 139.

(*k*) See Baluzii Pontif. Avenion. tom. i. p. 485.—Ant. Matthæi Analecta Vet. Ævi, tom. i. p. 51. where we find the following passage in the Belgic chronicle, which gives but an obscure account of the sect in question: A. 1374. Gingen de

IX. The most heinous and abominable tribe of heretics that infected this century (if the enormities with which they stand charged be true), were the Knights Templars, who had been established in Palestine about two hundred years before this period, and who are represented as enemies and deriders of all religion. Their principal accuser indeed was a person whose testimony ought not to be admitted without caution. This accuser was Philip the Fair, who addressed his complaints of the Templars to Clement V. who was himself an avaricious, vindictive, and turbulent prince. The pope, though at first unwilling to proceed against them, was under a necessity of complying with the king's desire; so that in the year 1307, upon an appointed day, and for some time afterwards, all the knights, who were dispersed throughout Europe, and not in the least apprehensive of any impending evil, were seized and imprisoned. Such of them as refused to confess the enormities of which they were accused, were put to death; and those who, by tortures and promises, were induced to acknowledge the truth of what was laid to their charge, obtained their liberty. In the year 1311, the whole order was extinguished by the council of Vienne. A part of the rich revenues they possessed was bestowed upon other orders, especially on the knights of St. John, now of Malta, and the rest confiscated to the respective treasuries of the sovereign princes in whose dominions their possessions lay.

X. The Knights Templars, if their judges be worthy of credit, were a set of men who insulted the majesty of God, turned into derision the dancers, and then in Latin, *Gens impacata cadit, cruciata salvat.* The French convulsionists (or prophets), who in our age were remarkable for the vehemence and variety of their agitations, greatly resembled these brethren and sister dancers.

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The
Knights
Templars
extirpated.

The intol-
erable im-
piety of the
Knights
Templars
is assigned
as the
cause of
this severe
punishment.

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gospel of Christ, and trampled upon the obligation of all laws human and divine. For it is affirmed that candidates, upon their admission to this order, were commanded to spit, as a mark of contempt, upon an image of Christ; and that, after admission, they were bound to worship either a cat, or wooden head covered with gold. It is farther affirmed, that among them, the odious and unnatural act of Sodomy was a matter of obligation; that they committed to the flames the unhappy fruit of their lawless amours; and added to these, other crimes too horrible to be mentioned, or even imagined. It will indeed be readily allowed that in this order, as in all the other religious societies of this age, there were shocking examples of impiety and wickedness; but that the whole order of the Templars was thus enormously corrupt, is so far from being proved, that the contrary may be concluded even from the acts and records, yet extant, of the tribunals before which they were tried and examined. If to this we add, that many of the accusations advanced against them, flatly contradict each other, and that many members of this unfortunate order solemnly avowed their innocence, while languishing under the severest tortures, and even with their dying breath; it would seem probable, that king Philip set on foot this bloody tragedy, with a view to gratify his avarice, and glut his resentment against the Templars (*l*), and especially

A reflection concerning the crimes laid to their charge.

(*l*) See the Acts annexed to Putean's *Histoire de la Condemnation des Templiers*, and other writings of his, relating to the history of France, published in 4to, at Paris, 1654. Another edition of this book was printed in 8vo, at Paris, 1685. Another at Brussels, 1713, two volumes in 8vo. The fourth, and most valuable of all, was published in 4to, at Brussels, 1751, enlarged by the addition of a great number of proofs, by which every diligent and impartial reader will be convinced that the Templars were greatly injured. See also

against their grand master, who had highly of-
fended him.

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Nicolai Gurtleri Historia Templariorum. Amstelod. 1703, in 8vo. If the reader has an opportunity, he would do well to consult Steph. Baluzius, Vit. Pontif. Avenion. tom. i. p. 8. 11, 12, &c. Gerh. du Bois, Histor. Eccles. Paris. tom. ii. p. 540. The principal cause of king Philip's indelible hatred against the Templars was, that in his quarrel with Boniface VIII. the knights espoused the cause of the pope, and furnished him with money to carry on the war; an offence this, which Philip could never pardon.

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FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

THE EXTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the Prosperous Events that happened to the Church during this Century.

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XV.
PART I.

The Moors
and Jews
converted in
Spain by
force.

I. THE new subjects, that were added to the kingdom of Christ in this century, are altogether unworthy of that sublime title, unless we prostitute it by applying it to those who made an external, though insincere, profession of Christianity. Ferdinand, surnamed the Catholic, by the conquest of Granada, in the year 1492, entirely overturned the dominion of the Moors, or Saracens in Spain. Some time after this happy revolution, he issued out a sentence of banishment against a prodigious multitude of Jews, who, to avoid the execution of this severe decree, dissembled their sentiments, and feigned an assent to the Gospel of Christ (*a*); and it is well known that to this very day, there are both in Spain and Portugal a great number of that dispersed and wretched people, who wear the outward mask of Christianity, to secure them against the rage of

(*a*) Jo. de Ferreras, Hist. Generale d'Espagne, tom. viii. p. 123. 132, &c.

persecution, and to advance their worldly interests. The myriads of Saracens, that remained in Spain after the dissolution of their government, were at first solicited by exhortations and entreaties to embrace the Gospel. When these gentle methods proved ineffectual to bring about their conversion, the famous Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, and prime minister of the kingdom, judged it expedient to try the force of the secular arm, in order to accomplish that salutary purpose. But even this rigorous measure was without the desired effect: the greatest part of the Mahometans persisted, with astonishing obstinacy, in their fervent attachment to their voluptuous prophet (*b*).

of II. The light of the Gospel was also carried in this century among the Samogetæ and the neighbouring nations, but with less fruit than was expected (*c*). Towards the conclusion of this age, the Portuguese, who cultivated with ardour and success the art of navigation, had penetrated as far as Ethiopia and the Indies. In the year 1492, Christopher Columbus, by discovering the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, and Jamaica, opened a passage into America (*d*), and after him, Americus Vesputius, a citizen of Florence, landed on the continent of that vast region (*e*). The new Argonauts, who discovered these nations that had been hitherto unknown to the inhabitants of Europe; judged it their duty to enlighten them with the knowledge of the truth. The first attempt of

The Samogetæ and Indians converted.

(*b*) Esprit Flechier. Histoire du Cardinal Ximenes, p. 89. —Geddes, History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes, in his Miscellaneous Tracts, tom. i. p. 8.

(*c*) Jo. Henry Hottinger, Hist. Ecclesiast. Sæc. xv. p. 856.

(*d*) See Charlevoix, Histoire de l'Isle de St. Domingo, tom. i. p. 64.

(*e*) See the Life of Americus Vesputius, written in Italian, by the learned Angeli Maria Bandini.

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this pious nature was made by the Portuguese among those Africans, who inhabit the kingdom of Congo, and who, together with their monarch, were converted all of a sudden to the Roman faith in the year 1491. (*f*). But what must we think of a conversion brought about with such astonishing rapidity, and of a people which all at once, without hesitation, abandon their ancient and inveterate prejudices? Has not such a conversion a ridiculous or rather an afflicting aspect? After this religious revolution in Africa, Alexander VI. gave a rare specimen of papal presumption, in dividing America between the Portuguese and Spaniards, but showed at the same time his zeal for the propagation of the Gospel, by the ardour with which he recommended to these two nations, the instruction and conversion of the Americans, both in the isles and on the continent of that immense region (*g*). In consequence of this exhortation of the pontiff, a great number of Franciscans and Dominicans were sent into these countries to enlighten their darkness, and the success of their missions is abundantly known (*h*).

(*f*) Labat, Relation de l'Ethiophe Occidentale, tom. ii. p. 366.—Jos. Franc. Lafitau, Histoire des Decouvertes et Conquetes des Portugais dans le Nouveau Monde, tom. i. p. 72.

(*g*) See the Bull itself, in the Bullarium Romanum, tom. i. p. 466.

(*h*) See Thom. Maria Mamachus, Orig. et Antiquitat. Christianor. tom. ii. p. 326. where we have an account of the gradual introduction of the Christian religion into America.—See also Wadding. Annal. Minor. tom. xv. p. 10.

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Calamitous Events that happened to the Church during this Century.

I. IN the vast regions of the eastern world; Christianity lost ground from day to day, and the Mahometans, whether Turks or Tartars, united their barbarous efforts to extinguish its bright and salutary lustre. Asiatic Tartary, Mogol, Tangut, and the adjacent provinces, where the religion of Jesus long flourished, were now become the dismal seats of superstition, which reigned among them, under the vilest forms. Nor in these immense tracts of land were there at this time any traces of Christianity visible, except in China, where the Nestorians still preserved some scattered remains of their former glory, and appeared like a faint and dying taper in the midst of a dark and gloomy firmament. That some Nestorian churches were still subsisting in these regions of darkness is undoubtedly certain, for in this century the Nestorian pontiff, in Chaldea, sent missionaries into Cathay and China, who were empowered to exercise the authority of bishops over the Christian assemblies, which lay concealed in the remoter provinces of these great empires. (i). It is, at the same time, almost equally certain, that even these assemblies did not survive this century.

II. The ruin of the Grecian empire was a new source of calamities to the Christian church in the greatest part of Europe and Asia. When the Turks, headed by Mahomet II. an accomplished prince and a formidable warrior, had made themselves

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The decline
of Christi-
anity in the
East.

Constanti-
nople taken
by the
Turks.

(i) This circumstance was communicated to the author in a letter from the learned Mr. Theophilus Sigifred Bayer, one of the greatest adepts in eastern history and antiquities, that this or any other age has produced.

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masters of Constantinople, in the year 1453; the cause of Christianity received a blow, from which it has never, as yet, recovered. Its adherents in these parts had no resources left, which could enable them to maintain it against the perpetual insults of their fierce and incensed victors; nor could they stem that torrent of barbarism and ignorance that rushed in with the triumphant arms of Mahomet, and overspread Greece with a fatal rapidity. The Turks took one part of the city of Constantinople by force of arms; the other surrendered upon terms (*k*). Hence it was, that in the former, the public profession of the Gospel was prohibited, and every vestige of Christianity effaced; while the inhabitants of the latter were permitted to retain their churches and monasteries during the whole course of this century, and to worship God according to the precepts of the Gospel, and the dictates of their consciences. This precious liberty was, indeed, considerably diminished under the reign of Selim I. and the Christian worship was loaded with severe and despotic restrictions (*l*). The outward form of the Christian church was not, indeed, either changed or destroyed by the Turks; but its lustre was eclipsed, its strength was undermined, and it was gradually extenuated to a mere shadow under their tyrannic empire. The Roman pontiff Pius II. wrote a warm and urgent letter to Mahomet II. to persuade that prince to profess the Gospel; but this letter is equally destitute of piety and prudence (*m*).

 (*k*) In this account Dr. Mosheim has followed the Turkish writers. And indeed their account is much more probable than that of the Latin and Greek historians, who suppose that the whole city was taken by force, and not by capitulation. The Turkish relation diminishes the glory of their conquest, and therefore probably would not have been adopted, had it not been true.

(*l*) Demet Cantemir, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tom. i. p. 11. 46. 54, 55.

(*m*) Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Mahomet II.

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THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the State of Letters and Philosophy during this Century.

I. THE Grecian and Oriental Muses languished under the despotic yoke of the Mahometans, their voices were mute, and their harps unstrung. The republic of letters had a quite different aspect in the Latin world, where the liberal arts and sciences were cultivated with zeal and spirit, under the most auspicious encouragements, and recovered their ancient lustre and glory. Several of the popes became their zealous patrons and protectors, among whom Nicholas V. deserves an eminent and distinguished rank; the munificence and authority of kings and princes were also nobly exerted in this excellent cause, and animated men of learning and genius to display their talents. The illustrious family of the Medicis in Italy (*n*), Alphonsus VI. king of Naples, and the other Neapolitan monarchs of the house of Arragon (*o*), acquired immortal

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Learning
flourishes
among the
Latins.

(*n*) We have a full account of the obligations which the republic of letters has to the family of Medicis, in a valuable work of Joseph Bianchini de Prato, *Del gran Duchi de Toscana della nealle Casa de Medici, Protettori delle Lettere et delle Belle Arti, Ragionamenti Historici*, published in folio at Venice, in 1741.

(*o*) See Giannone, *Histoire Civile du Royaume de Naples*, tom. iii. p. 500. 628.—Anton. Panormitani, *Dicta et Facta Memorabilia Alphonsi I. denuo edita à Jo. Gerh. Meuschenio*, Vit. Erud. Viror. tom. ii. p. 1.

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renown by their love of letters, their liberality to the learned, and their ardent zeal for the advancement of science. Hence, the academies that were founded in Germany, France, and Italy, the libraries that were collected at a prodigious expense, and the honours and rewards that were proposed to the studious youth, to animate their industry by the views of interest and the desire of glory. To all these happy circumstances, in favour of the sciences, was now added an admirable discovery, which contributed as much as any thing else to their propagation, I mean the art of printing, first with wooden and afterwards with metal types, which was invented about the year 1440, at Mentz, by John Guttemberg. By the succours of this incomparable art, the productions of the most eminent Greek and Latin writers, which had lain concealed, before this interesting period, in the libraries of the monks, were now spread abroad with facility, and perused by many, who could never have had access to them under their primitive form (*p*). The perusal of these

 (*p*) Dr. Mosheim decides here, that Guttemberg of Mentz was the first inventor of the art of printing; but this notion is opposed with zeal by several men of learning. Among the many treatises that have been published upon this subject, there is none composed with more erudition and judgment than that of professor Schoepflin, of Strasbourg, in which the learned author undertakes to prove that the art of printing, by the means of letters engraven on plates of wood, was invented at Haerlem, by Coster; that the method of printing, by moveable types, was the discovery of John Guttemberg, a discovery made during his residence at Strasbourg; and that the still more perfect manner of printing with types of metal cast in a mould was the contrivance of John Schoeffer, and was first practised at Mentz. This learned work, in which the author examines the opinions of Marchand, Fournier, and other writers, was published in the year 1760, at Strasbourg, under the following title: Jo. Danielis Schoepflini Consil. Reg. ac Franciæ Historiogr. Vindiciæ Typographicæ *, &c.

 * So this note stands in the first edition of this History, in 4to. since that time, the very learned and ingenious Mr. Gerard Meerman,

noble compositions purified the taste, excited the emulation of men of genius, and animated them with a noble ambition of excelling in the same way (*q*).

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II. The downfall of the Grecian empire contributed greatly to the propagation and advancement of learning in the west. For, after the reduction of Constantinople, the most eminent of the Greek literati passed into Italy, and were from thence dispersed into the other countries of Europe, where, to gain subsistence, these venerable exiles instructed everywhere the youth in Grecian erudition, and propagated throughout the western world the love of learning, and a true and elegant taste for the sciences. Hence it was, that every noted city and university, possessed one or more of these learned Greeks, who formed the studious youth to literary pursuits (*r*). But they received no where such encouraging marks of protection and esteem as in Italy, where they were honoured in a singular manner in various cities, and were more especially distinguished by the family of Medicis, whose liberality to the learned had no bounds. It was consequently in Italy that these ingenious fugitives were most numerous; and hence that country became, in some measure, the centre of the arts and sciences, and the general

The calamities of the Greeks conduce to the advancement of learning among the Latins.

(*q*) Mich. Mattaire *Annales Typographici*.—Prosp. Marchand, *Histoire de l'Imprimerie*. Hays, 1740.

(*r*) Jo. Henr. Maii *Vita Reuchlini*, p. 11. 13. 19. 28. 152, 153. 165.—Casp. Barthius ad Statium, tom. ii. p. 1008.—Boulay, *Hist. Acad.* tom. v. p. 692.

pensionary of Rotterdam, has published his laborious and interesting account of the origin and invention of the art of printing, under the following title, "*Origines Typographicae*," which sets this matter in its true light, by making certain distinctions unknown to the writers who have treated this subject before him. According to the hypothesis of this learned writer (an hypothesis supported by irresistible proofs), Laurent. Coster, of Haerlem, invented the moveable wooden types.—Genfleisch and Guttemberg carved metallic types at Mentz, which, though superior to the former, were still imperfect, because often unequal.—Schoeffer perfected the invention at Strasburg, by casting the types in an iron mould, or matrix, engraved with a puncheon. Thus, the question is decided.—Laurent. Coster is evidently the inventor of printing; the others only rendered the art more perfect.

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Philology,
poetry, and
languages
cultivated.

rendezvous of all who were ambitious of literary glory (*s*).

III. The greatest part of the learned men, who adorned at this time the various provinces of Italy, were principally employed in publishing accurate and elegant editions of the most eminent Greek and Latin authors, illustrating these authors with useful commentaries, in studying them as their models, both in poetry and prose, and in casting light upon the precious remains of antiquity, that were discovered from day to day. In all these branches of literature, many arrived at such degrees of excellence, as it is almost impossible to surpass, and extremely difficult to equal. Nor were the other languages and sciences neglected. In the university of Paris, there was now a public professor, not only of the Greek, but also of the Hebrew tongue (*t*); and in Spain and Italy the study of that language, and of Oriental learning and antiquities in general, was pursued with the greatest success (*u*). John Reuchlinus, otherwise called Capnion, and Trithemius, who had made a vast progress, both in the study of the languages and of the sciences, were the restorers of solid learning among the Germans (*w*). Latin poetry

(*s*) For a further account of this interesting period of the history of learning, the reader may consult the learned Work of Humphr. Hody, *De Græcis Illustribus Literarum Instauratoribus*, published in 8vo, at London, in 1742, by Mr. Samuel Jebb; as also the most accurate and entertaining treatise of Mr. Christian Frederic Börner, *De doctis Homini-bus Græcis Literarum Græcarum in Italia Instauratoribus*, published in 8vo, at Leipsic, in the year 1750. To which may be added, Sam. Battierii *Oratio de Instauratoribus Græcarum Literarum*, published in the *Museum Helveticum*, tom. iv. p. 163.

(*t*) R. Simon, *Critique de la Bibl. Eccles.* par Du Pin, tom. i. p. 502. 512.—Boulay, *Histor.* Paris. tom. v. p. 852.

(*u*) Pauli Colomesii *Italia Orientalis*, p. 4. et *Hispania Orientalis*, p. 212.

(*w*) R. Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. i. p. 262. tom. iv. p. 131. 140.

was revived by Antonius Panormitanus, who excited a spirit of emulation among the favourites of the Muses, and had many followers in that sublime art (*x*); while Cyriac of Ancona, by his own example, introduced a taste for coins, medals, inscriptions, gems, and other precious monuments of antiquity, of which he himself made a large collection in Italy (*y*).

IV. It is not necessary to give here a peculiar and minute account of the other branches of literature that flourished in this century; nevertheless, the state of philosophy deserves a moment's attention. Before the arrival of the Greeks in Italy, Aristotle reigned unrivalled there, and captivated, as it were by a sort of enchantment, all without exception, whose genius led them to philosophical inquiries. The veneration that was shown him degenerated into a foolish and extravagant enthusiasm; the encomiums with which he was loaded surpassed the bounds of decency; and many carried matters so far as to compare him with the respectable precursor of the Messiah (*z*). This violent passion for the Stagirite was however abated, or rather was rendered less universal, by the influence which the Grecian sages, and particularly Gemestius Pletho, acquired among the Latins, many of whom they persuaded to abandon the contentions and subtile doctrine of the Peripatetics, and to substitute in its place the mild and divine wisdom of Plato. It was in

The state of
the Aristot-
telian and
Platonic
philosophy.

(*x*) Bayle's Dictionary, at the article Panormit.

(*y*) See the Itinerarium of Cyriac of Ancona, published at Florence in the year 1742, in 8vo, by Mr. Laurence Mehus, from the original manuscript, together with a Preface, Annotations, and several letters of this learned man, who may be considered as the first antiquarian that appeared in Europe.—See also Leon. Aretini Epistolæ, tom. ii. lib. ix. p. 149.

(*z*) See Christ. Aug. Heumanni Acta Philosophorum, tom. iii. p. 345.

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the year 1439, about the time of the famous council of Florence, that this revolution happened in the empire of philosophy. Several illustrious personages among the Latins, charmed with the sublime sentiments and doctrines of Plato, had them propagated among the studious youth, and particularly among those of a certain rank and figure. The most eminent patron of this divine philosophy, as it was termed by its votaries, was Cosmo de Medicis, who had no sooner heard the lectures of Pletho, than he formed the design of founding a Platonic Academy at Florence. For this purpose, he ordered Marsilius Ficinus, the son of his first physician, to be carefully instructed in the doctrines of the Athenian sage, and, in general, in the language and philology of the Greeks, that he might translate into Latin the productions of the most renowned Platonists. Ficinus answered well the expectations, and executed the intentions of his illustrious patron, by translating successively into the Latin language the celebrated works of Hermes Trismegistus, Plotinus, and Plato. The same excellent prince, encouraged by his munificence, and animated by his protection, many learned men, such as Ambrose of Camaldoli, Leonardo Bruno, Pogge, and others, to undertake works of a like nature, even to enrich the Latin literature with translations of the best Greek writers. The consequence of all this was, that two philosophical sects arose in Italy, who debated for a long time (with the warmest animosity in a multitude of learned and contentious productions) this important question, which of the two was the greatest philosopher, Aristotle or Plato (*a*)?

(*a*) Boivin, dans l'Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres, tom. iv. p. 381.—Launois, De varia Fortuna Aristotelis, p. 225.—Leo. Allatius, De Georgiis, p. 391.

V. Between these two opposite factions, certain eminent men, among both Greeks and Latins, thought proper to steer a middle course. To this class belong Johannes Picus de Mirandola, Bessarion, Hermolaus Barbarus, and others of less renown, who, indeed, considered Plato as the supreme oracle of philosophy, but would by no means suffer Aristotle to be treated with indifference or contempt, and who proposed to reconcile the jarring doctrines of these two famous Grecian sages, and to combine them into one system. These moderate philosophers, both in their manner of teaching, and in the opinions they adopted, followed the modern Platonic school, of which Ammonius was the original founder (*b*). This sect was, for a long time, held in the utmost veneration, particularly among the Mystics; while the scholastic doctors, and all such as were infected with the itch of disputing, favoured the Peripatetics. But, after all, these reconciling Platonists were chargeable with many errors and follies; they fell into the most childish superstitions, and followed, without either reflection or restraint, the extravagant dictates of their wanton imaginations.

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The Platonic Syncretists.

—La Croze, *Entretiens sur divers Sujets*, p. 384.—Joseph Bianchini, in his account of the protection granted to the learned by the house of Medicis, which we have mentioned note (*n*).—Bruckeri *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. p. 62.

☞ It was not only the respective merit of these two philosophers, considered in that point of light, that was debated in this controversy: The principal question was, which of their systems was most conformable to the doctrines of Christianity? And here the Platonic most certainly deserved the preference, as was abundantly proved by Pletho and others. It is well known, that many of the opinions of Aristotle lead directly to Atheism.

(*b*) See Bessarion's Letter in the *Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. v. p. 456.—Thomasius, *De Syncretismo Peripatetico*, in *Orationibus ejus*, p. 340.

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The fol-
lowers of
Aristotle
maintain
their supe-
riority.

VI. Their system of philosophy was, however, much less pernicious than that of the Aristotelians, their adversaries, who still maintained their superiority in Italy, and instructed the youth in all the public schools of learning. For these subtle doctors, and more especially the followers of Averroës (who maintained that all the human race were animated by one common soul) sapped imperceptibly the foundations of both natural and revealed religion, and entertained sentiments very little, if it at all, different from that impious pantheistical system, which confounds the Deity with the universe, and acknowledges but one self-existent being, composed of infinite matter and infinite intelligence. The most eminent among this class of sophists was Peter Pomponace, a native of Mantua, a man of a crafty turn, and an arrogant enterprising spirit, who, notwithstanding the pernicious tendency of his writings (many of which are yet extant) to undermine the principles, and to corrupt the doctrines of religion (*c*), was almost universally followed by all the professors of philosophy in the Italian academies. These intricate doctors did not, however, escape the notice of the inquisitors, who, alarmed both by the rapid progress and dangerous tendency of their metaphysical notions, took cognizance of them, and called the Aristotelians to give an account of their principles. The latter, tempering their courage with craft, had recourse to a mean and perfidious stratagem to extricate themselves out of this embarrassing trial. They pretended to establish a wide distinction between philosophical and theological truth; and maintaining that their sentiments were philosophically true, and conformable to right reason, they allowed them to be esteemed theologically false, and contrary to

(*c*) See the very learned Brucker's *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iv. p. 158.

the declarations of the Gospel. This miserable and impudent subterfuge was condemned and prohibited in the following century, by Leo X. in a council held at the Lateran.

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VII. The Realists and Nominalists continued their disputes in France and Germany with more vigour and animosity than ever; and finding reason and argument but feeble weapons, they had recourse to mutual invectives and accusations, penal laws, and even to the force of arms; a strange method, surely, of deciding a metaphysical question. The contest was not only warm, but also universal in its extent; for it infected, almost without exception, all the French and German academies. In most places, however, the Realists maintained a manifest superiority over the Nominalists, to whom they also gave the appellation of Terminists (*d*). While the famous Gerson and the most eminent of his disciples were living, the Nominalists were in high esteem and credit in the university of Paris. But, upon the death of these powerful and respectable patrons, the face of things was entirely changed, and that much to their disadvantage. In the year 1473, Lewis XI. by the instigation of his confessor the bishop of Avranches, issued out a severe edict against the doctrines of the Nominalists, and ordered all their writings to be seized, and secured in a sort of imprisonment, that they might not be perused by the people (*e*). But the same monarch mitigated this edict the year following, and permitted some of the books of that sect to be de-

The controversy between the Realists and Nominalists continued.

(*d*) See Brucker's *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*, tom. iii. p. 904.—Jo. Salaberti *Philosophia Nominalium Vindicata*, cap. i. Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. iv. p. 531.—Argentre, *Collectio Documentor. de Novis Erroribus*, tom. i. p. 220.

(*e*) Naude's *Additions à l'Histoire de Louis XI.* p. 203.—Du Boulay, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. v. p. 678. 705. 708.—Launoy's *Histor. Gymnas. Navarr.* tom. iv. opp. part. I. p. 201. 378.

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CHAPTER II.

Concerning the Doctors and Ministers of the Church, and its Form of Government during this Century.

The vices
of the clergy.

I. THE most eminent writers of this century unanimously lament the miserable condition to which the Christian church was reduced by the corruption of its ministers, and which seemed to portend nothing less than its total ruin, if Providence did not interpose, by extraordinary means, for its deliverance and preservation. The vices that reigned among the Roman pontiffs, and, indeed, among all the ecclesiastical order, were so flagrant, that the complaints of these good men did not appear at all exaggerated; or their apprehensions ill-founded; nor had any of the corrupt advocates of the clergy the courage to call them to an account for the sharpness of their censures and of their complaints. Nay, the more eminent rulers of the church, who lived in a luxurious indolence, and in the infamous practice of all kinds of vice, were obliged to hear with a placid countenance, and even to commend, these bold censors who declaimed against the degeneracy of the church, declared that there was almost

(*f*) Boulay, loc. cit. tom. v. p. 710.

(*g*) The proofs of this we find in Salabert's *Philosophia Nominal. Vindicata*, cap. i. p. 104.—See also Boulay, loc. cit. tom. v. p. 739. 747.

nothing sound, either in its visible head, or in its members, and demanded the aid of the secular arm and the destroying sword to lop off the parts that were infected with this grievous and deplorable contagion. Things, in short, were brought to such a pass, that they were deemed the best Christians, and the most useful members of society, who, braving the terrors of persecution, and triumphing over the fear of man, inveighed with the greatest freedom and fervour against the court of Rome, its lordly pontiff, and the whole tribe of his followers and votaries.

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II. At the commencement of this century, the Latin church was divided into two great factions, and was governed by two contending pontiffs, Boniface IX. who remained at Rome, and Benedict XIII. who resided at Avignon. Upon the death of the former, the cardinals of his party raised to the pontificate, in the year 1404, Cosmat de Meliorati, who assumed the name of Innocent VII. (*h*), and held that high dignity during the short space of two years only. After his decease, Angeli Corrario, a Venetian cardinal, was chosen in his room, and ruled the Roman faction under the title of Gregory XII. A plan of reconciliation was however formed, and the contending pontiffs bound themselves, each by an oath, to make a voluntary renunciation of the papal chair, if that step were necessary to promote the peace and welfare of the church; but they both violated this solemn obligation in a scandalous manner. Benedict XIII. besieged

The great western schism fomented and continued.

(*h*) Besides the ordinary writers, who have given us an account of the transactions that happened under the pontificate of Innocent VII. see Leon. Aretin. *Epistol.* lib. i. ep. iv. v. p. 6. 19. 21. lib. ii. p. 30. et *Colluc. Salutat. Epistol.* lib. ii. ep. 1. p. 1. 18. edit. Florent.—We have also an account of the pontificate of Gregory, in the *Epistles* of the same Aretin, lib. ii. iii. p. 32. ep. vii. p. 39. 41. 51. lib. ii. ep. xvii. p. 54. 56. 59.—*Jo. Lami Deliciæ Eruditorum*, tom. x. p. 494.

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in Avignon by the king of France, in the year 1408, saved himself by flight, retiring first into Catalonia, his native country, and afterwards to Perpignan. Hence eight or nine of the cardinals who adhered to this cause, seeing themselves deserted by their pope, went over to the other side, and, joining publicly with the cardinals of Gregory XII. they agreed together to assemble a council at Pisa on the 25th of March, 1409, in order to heal the divisions and factions that had so long rent the papal empire. This council, however, which was designed to close the wounds of the church, had an effect quite contrary to that which was universally expected, and only served to open a new breach, and to excite new divisions. Its proceedings, indeed, were vigorous, and its measures were accompanied with a just severity. A heavy sentence of condemnation was pronounced the 5th day of June, against the contending pontiffs, who were both declared guilty of heresy, perjury, and contumacy, unworthy of the smallest tokens of honour or respect, and separated *ipso facto* from the communion of the church. This step was followed by the election of one pontiff in their place. The election was made on the 25th of June, and fell upon Peter of Candia, known in the papal list by the name of Alexander V. (i); but all the decrees and proceedings of this famous council were treated with contempt by the condemned pontiffs, who continued to enjoy the privileges and to perform the functions of the papacy, as if no attempts had been made to remove them from that dignity. Benedict assembled a council at Perpignan; and Gregory, an-

(i) See Lenfant's *Histoire du Concile de Pise*, published in 4to, at Amsterdam, in the year 1724.—Franc. Pagi *Breviar. Pontif. Romanor.* tom. iv. p. 350.—Bossuet, *Defensio Decreti Gallicani de Potestate Ecclesiastica*, tom. ii. p. 17, &c.

other at Austria near Aquileia, in the district of Friuli. The latter, however, apprehending the resentment of the Venetians (*k*), made his escape in a clandestine manner from the territory of Aquileia, arrived at Caieta, where he threw himself upon the protection of Ladislaus, king of Naples, and, in the year 1412, fled from thence to Rimini.

III. Thus was the Christian church divided into three great factions, and its government violently carried on by three contending chiefs, who loaded each other with reciprocal maledictions, calumnies, and excommunications. Alexander V. who had been elected pontiff at the council of Pisa, died at Bologna, in the year 1410; and the sixteen cardinals, who attended him in that city, immediately filled up the vacancy, by choosing, as his successor, Balthasar Cossa, a Neapolitan, who was destitute of all principles, both of religion and probity, and who assumed the title of John XXIII. The duration of this schism in the papacy was a source of many calamities, and became daily more detrimental both to the civil and religious interests of those nations where the flame raged. Hence it was that the emperor Sigismund, the king of France, and several other European princes, employed all their zeal and activity, and spared neither labour nor expense, in restoring the tranquillity of the church, and uniting it again under one spiritual head. On the other hand, the pontiffs could not be persuaded by any means to prefer the peace of the church to the gratification of their ambition; so that no other possible method of accommodating this weighty matter remained than the assembling of a general council, in which the controversy

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The council of Constance assembled by the emperor Sigismund.

 (*k*) He had offended the Venetians by deposing their patriarch Antony Panciarini, and putting Anthony du Pont, the bishop of Concordia, in his place.

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might be examined, and terminated by the judgment and decision of the universal church. This council was accordingly summoned to meet at Constance, in the year 1414, by John XXIII. who was engaged in this measure by the entreaties of Sigismund, and also from an expectation that the decrees of this grand assembly would be favourable to his interests. He appeared in person, attended with a great number of cardinals and bishops, at this famous council, which was also honoured with the presence of the emperor Sigismund, and of a great number of German princes, and with that of the ambassadors of all the European states, whose monarchs or regents could not be personally present at the decision of this important controversy (*l*).

The design
and issue of
this grand
council.

IV. The great purpose that was aimed at in the convocation of this grand assembly was the healing of the schism that had so long rent the papacy: and this purpose was happily accomplished. It was solemnly declared, in the fourth and fifth sessions of this council, by two decrees, that the Roman pontiff was inferior and subject to a general assembly of the universal church; and the authority of councils was vindicated and maintained, by the same decrees, in the most

(*l*) The Acts of this famous council were published in six volumes in folio, at Francfort, in the year 1700, by Herman von der Hardt. This collection, however, is imperfect, notwithstanding the pains that it cost the laborious editor. Many of the Acts are omitted, and a great number of pieces stuffed in among the Acts, which by no means deserve a place there. The History of this council by Lenfant is composed with great accuracy and elegance. It appeared in a second edition at Amsterdam, in the year 1728, in two volumes, quarto; the first was published in 1714. The supplement that was given to this history by Bourgeois de Chastenot, a French lawyer, is but an indifferent performance. It is entitled, *Nouvelle Histoire du Concile de Constance, où l'on fait voir combien la France a contribué à l'Extinction du Schisme.*

effectual manner (*m*). This vigorous proceeding prepared the way for the degradation of John XXIII. who, during the twelfth session, was unanimously deposed from the pontificate (*n*), on account of several flagitious crimes that were laid to his charge, and more especially on account of the scandalous violation of a solemn engagement he had taken about the beginning of the council, to resign the papal chair, if that measure should appear necessary to the peace of the church; which engagement he broke some weeks after by a clandestine flight. In the same year (1415), Gregory XII. sent to the council Charles de Malatesta to make, in his name, and as his proxy, a solemn and voluntary resignation of the pontificate. About two years after this, Benedict XIII. was deposed by a solemn resolution of the council (*o*), and Otto de Colonna raised, by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals, to the high dignity of head of the church, which he ruled under the title of Martin V. Benedict, who resided still at Perpignan, was far from being disposed to submit either to the decree of the council which deposed him, or to the determination of the cardinals, with respect to his successor. On the contrary, he persisted until the day of his death, which happened in the year 1423, in assuming the title, the prerogatives, and the authority of the papacy. And when this obstinate man was dead, a certain Spaniard, named Giles Munois, was chosen pope in his

(*m*) For an account of these two famous decrees, which set such wise limits to the supremacy of the pontiffs, see Natalis Alexand. Hist. Eccl. Sæc. xv. Diss. iv.—Bossuet, Defens. Sententiæ Cleri Gallican. de Potest. Ecclesiast. tom. ii. p. 2. 23. Lenfant, Dissert. Historique et Apologetique pour Jean Gerson, et le Concile de Constance, which is subjoined to his History of that Council.

(*n*) On the 29th of May, 1415.

(*o*) On the 26th of July, 1417.

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place by two cardinals, under the auspicious patronage of Alphonsus, king of Sicily, and adopted the title of Clement VIII. ; but this sorry pontiff, in the year 1429, was persuaded to resign his pretensions to the papacy, and to leave the government of the church to Martin V.

John Huss.

V. If, from the measures that were taken in this council to check the lordly arrogance of the Roman pontiffs, we turn our eyes to the proceedings that were carried on against those that were called heretics, we shall observe in this new scene nothing worthy of applause, but several things, on the contrary, that are proper to excite our indignation, and which no pretext, no consideration, can render excusable. Before the meeting of this council, there were great commotions raised in several parts of Europe, and more especially in Bohemia, concerning religious matters. One of the persons that gave occasion to these disputes was John Huss, who lived at Prague in the highest reputation, both on account of the sanctity of his manners, and the purity of his doctrine, who was distinguished by his uncommon erudition and eloquence, and performed, at the same time, the functions of professor of divinity in the university, and of ordinary pastor in the church of that famous city (*p*). This eminent ecclesiastic declaimed with vehemence against the vices that had corrupted all the different ranks and orders of the clergy; nor was he singular in this respect;

 (*p*) A Bohemian Jesuit, who was far from being favourable to John Huss, and who had the best opportunity of being acquainted with his real character, describes him thus: "He was more subtile than eloquent, but the gravity and austerity of his manners, his frugal and exemplary life, his pale and meagre countenance, his sweetness of temper, and his uncommon affability towards persons of all ranks and conditions, from the highest to the lowest, were much more persuasive than any eloquence could be." See Bohus. Balbinus, Epitom. Rer. Bohem. lib. iv. cap. v. p. 431.

such remonstrances were become very common, and they were generally approved of by the wise and good. Huss, however, went still farther; and, from the year 1408, used his most earnest and assiduous endeavours to withdraw the university of Prague from the jurisdiction of Gregory XII. whom the kingdom of Bohemia had hitherto acknowledged as the true and lawful head of the church. The archbishop of Prague, and the clergy in general, who were warmly attached to the interests of Gregory, were greatly exasperated at these proceedings. Hence arose a violent quarrel between the incensed prelate and the zealous reformer, which the latter inflamed and augmented, from day to day, by his pathetic exclamations against the court of Rome, and the corruptions that prevailed among the sacerdotal order.

VI. Such were the circumstances that first excited the resentment of the clergy against John Huss. This resentment, however, might have been easily calmed, and perhaps totally extinguished, if new incidents of a more important kind had not arisen to keep up the flame, and increase its fury. In the first place, he adopted the philosophical opinions of the Realists, and showed his warm attachment to their cause, in the manner that was usual in this barbarous age, even by persecuting to the utmost of his power, their adversaries, the Nominalists, whose number was great, and whose influence was considerable in the university of Prague (*q*). He also multi-

The reasons that excited the resentment of the clergy against John Huss.

(*q*) See the *Literæ Nominalium ad Regem Franciæ Ludovicum VI.* in Baluzii *Miscellan.* tom. iv. p. 534. where we read the following passage: “*Legimus Nominales expulsos de Bohemia eo tempore, quo hæretici voluerunt Bohemicum regnum suis hæresibus inficere.—Quum dicti heretici non possent disputando superare, impetraverunt ab Abbisseslao (Wenceslao) Principe Bohemiæ, ut gubernarentur studia*

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plied the number of his enemies in the year 1408, by procuring, through his great credit, a sentence in favour of the Bohemians, who disputed with the Germans concerning the number of suffrages, that their respective nations were entitled to in all matters that were carried by election in the university of Prague. That the nature of this contest may be better understood, it will be proper to observe, that this famous university was divided, by its founder Charles IV. into four nations, to wit, the Bohemians, Bavarians, Poles, and Saxons, of which, according to the original laws of the university, the first had three suffrages; and the other three, who were comprehended under the title of the German nation, only one. This arrangement, however, had not only been altered by custom, but was entirely inverted in favour of the Germans, who were vastly superior to the Bohemians in number, and assumed to themselves the three suffrages, which, according to the original institution of the university, belonged, undoubtedly, to the latter. Huss, therefore, whether animated by a principle of patriotism, or by an aversion to the Nominalists, who were peculiarly favoured by the Germans, raised his voice against this abuse, and employed, with success, the extraordinary credit he had obtained at court, by his flowing and masculine eloquence, in depriving the Germans of the privilege they had usurped, and in reducing their three suffrages to one. The issue of this long and tedious contest (*r*) was so offensive to the Germans, that a

Pragensia ritu Parisiensium. Quo edicto coacti sunt supradicti Nominales Pragam civitatem relinquere, et se transtulerunt ad Lipzicam civitatem, et ibidem erexerunt universitatem solemnissimam."

 (*r*) Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, who was bribed by both of the contending parties, protracted instead of abridging this dispute, and used to say with a smile, that he

prodigious number of them, with John Hoffinan, the rector of the university, at their head (*s*), retired from Prague, and repaired to Leipsic, where Frederic, surnamed the Wise, elector of Saxony, erected for them, in the year 1409, the famous academy which still subsists in a flourishing state. This event contributed greatly to render Huss odious to many, and, by the consequences that followed it, was certainly instrumental in bringing on his ruin. For no sooner had the Germans retired from Prague, than he began, not only to inveigh with greater freedom than he had formerly done against the vices and corruptions of the clergy, but even went so far as to recommend, in an open and public manner, the writings and opinions of the famous Wickliff, whose new doctrines had already made such a noise in England. Hence an accusation was brought against him, in the year 1410, before the tribunal of John XXIII. by whom he was solemnly expelled from the communion of the church. He treated, indeed, this excommunication with the utmost contempt, and, both in his conversation and his writings, laid open the disorders that preyed upon the vitals of the church, and the vices that dishonoured the conduct of its ministers (*t*); and the fortitude and zeal he discovered in this matter were almost universally applauded.

VII. This eminent man, whose piety was truly fervent and sincere, though his zeal, perhaps, was rather too violent, and his prudence not always

John Huss
is burned
alive.

had found a good goose, which laid every day a considerable number of gold and silver eggs. This was playing upon the word Huss, which, in the German language, signifies a goose.

 (*s*) Historians differ much in their accounts of the number of Germans that retired from the university of Prague upon this occasion. Æneas Sylvius reckons 5000, Trithemius and others 2000, Dubravius 24,000, Lupatius 44,000, Lauda, a contemporary writer, 36,000.

(*t*) See Laur. Byzinii Diarium Belli Hussitici, in Ludwigi's Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum, tom. vi. p. 127.

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equally circumspect, was summoned to appear before the council of Constance. Obedient to this order, and thinking himself secured from the rage of his enemies by the safe conduct which had been granted him by the emperor Sigismund, both for his journey to Constance, his residence in that place, and his return to his own country, John Huss appeared before the council, to demonstrate his innocence, and to prove that the charge of his having deserted the church of Rome was entirely groundless. And it may be affirmed with truth that his religious opinions, at least in matters of moment and importance, were conformable to the established doctrine of the church in this age (*u*). He declaimed, indeed, with extraordinary vehemence against the Roman pontiffs, the bishops, and monks: but this freedom was looked upon as lawful in these times, and it was used every day in the council of Constance, where the tyranny of the court of Rome, and the corruption of the sacerdotal and monastic orders, were censured with the utmost severity. The enemies, however, of this good man, who were very numerous both in the kingdom of Bohemia, and also in the council of Constance, coloured the accusation that was brought against him with such artifice and success, that by the most scandalous breach of public faith, he was cast into prison, declared a heretic, because he refused to obey the order of the council, which commanded him to plead guilty against the dictates of his

 (*u*) It was observed in the preceding section, that John Huss adopted with zeal, and recommended in an open and public manner, the writings and opinions of Wickliffe; but this must be understood of the writings and opinions of that great man in relation to the papal hierarchy, the despotism of the court of Rome, and the corruption of the clergy; for, in other respects, it is certain that he adhered to the most superstitious doctrines of the church, as appears by two sermons he had prepared for the council of Constance.

conscience, and was burnt alive the 6th of July, 1415; which dreadful punishment he endured with unparalleled magnanimity and resignation, expressing in his last moments the noblest feelings of love to God, and the most triumphant hope of the accomplishment of those transporting promises with which the gospel arms the true Christian at the approach of eternity. The same unhappy fate was borne with the same pious fortitude and constancy of mind by Jerome of Prague, the intimate companion of John Huss, who came to this council with the generous design of supporting and seconding his persecuted friend. Terrified by the prospect of a cruel death, Jerome at first appeared willing to submit to the orders of the council, and to abandon the tenets and opinions which it had condemned in his writings. This submission, however, was not attended with the advantages he expected from it, nor did it deliver him from the close and severe confinement in which he was kept. He therefore resumed his fortitude, professed anew, with an heroic constancy, the opinions which he had deserted for a while from a principle of fear, and maintained them in the flames, in which he expired on the 30th of May, 1416 (*w*).

Many learned men have endeavoured to investigate the reasons that occasioned the pronouncing such a cruel sentence against Huss and his associate; and as no adequate reasons for such a severe proceeding can be found, either in the life or opinions of that good man, they conclude, that he fell a victim to the rage and injustice of his unrelenting enemies. And indeed this con-

The true causes of these violent proceedings against John Huss and Jerome of Prague.

 (*w*) The translator has here inserted into the text the large note (*a*) of the original, which relates to the circumstances that precipitated the ruin of these two eminent reformers; and he has thrown the citations therein contained into several notes.

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clusion is both natural and well-grounded ; nor will it be difficult to show how it came to pass, that the reverend fathers of the council of Constance were so eagerly bent upon burning, as a heretic, a man who neither deserved such an injurious title, nor such a dreadful fate. In the first place, John Huss had excited, both by his discourse and by his writings, great commotions in Bohemia, and had rendered the clergy of all ranks and orders extremely odious in the eyes of the people. The bishops, therefore, together with the sacerdotal and monastic orders, were very sensible that their honours and advantages, their credit and authority, were in the greatest danger of being reduced to nothing, if this reformer should return again to his country, and continue to write and declaim against the clergy with the same freedom that he had formerly done. Hence they left no means unemployed to accomplish his ruin ; they laboured night and day, they formed plots, they bribed men in power, they used, in short, every method that could have any tendency to rid them of such a formidable adversary (*x*). It may be observed, secondly, that in the council of Constance, there were many men of great influence and weight, who looked upon themselves as personally offended by John Huss,

(*x*) The bribery and corruption that was employed in bringing about the ruin of John Huss are manifest from the following remarkable passages of the *Diarium Hussiticum* of Laur. Byzinius, p. 135. (see *Ludewigi Reliquiæ*, tom. vi.) “ *Clerus perversus præcipue in regno Bohemiæ et Marchionatu Moraviæ, condemnationem ipsius (Hussi) contributione pecuniarum, et modis aliis diversis procuravit et ad ipsius consensit interitum.*” And again, p. 150. “ *Clerus perversus regni Bohemiæ et Marchionatus Moraviæ, et præcipue Episcopi, Abbates, Canonici, plebani, et religiosi, ipsius fideles ac salutiferas admonitiones, adhortationes, ipsorum pompam, symoniam, avaritiam, fornicationem, vitæque detestandæ abominationem detegentes, ferre non valendo, pecuniarum contributione ad ipsius extinctionem faciendo procurarunt.*”

and who demanded his life as the only sacrifice that could satisfy their vengeance. Huss, as has been already mentioned, was not only attached to the party of the Realists, but was peculiarly severe in his opposition to their adversaries. And now he was so unhappy, as to be brought before a tribunal which was principally composed of the Nominalists, with the famous John Gerson at their head, who was the zealous patron of that faction, and the mortal enemy of Huss. Nothing could equal the vindictive pleasure the Nominalists felt from an event that put this unfortunate prisoner in their power, and gave them an opportunity of satisfying their vengeance to the full; and accordingly, in their Letter to Lewis, king of France (*y*), they do not pretend to deny that Huss fell a victim to the resentment of their sect, which is also confirmed by the history of the council of Constance. The animosities that always reigned among the Realists and Nominalists were at this time carried to the greatest excess imaginable. Upon every occasion that offered, they accused each other of heresy and impiety, and had constantly recourse to corporal punishments to decide the matter. The Nominalists procured the death of Huss, who was a Realist; and the Realists, on the other hand, obtained, in the year 1479, the condemnation of John de Wesalia, who was attached to the party of the Nominalists (*z*). These contending sects carried their blind fury so far as to charge each other with

(*y*) See Baluzii Miscell. tom. iv. p. 534. in which we find the following passage: "Suscitavit Deus Doctores Catholicos, Petrum de Allyaco, Johannem de Gersono, et alios quamplures doctissimos homines Nominales, qui convocati ad Concilium Constantiense, ad quod citati fuerunt hæretici, et nominatim Hieronymus et Johannes—dictos hæreticos per quadraginta dies disputando superaverant."

(*z*) See the Examen Magistrale et Theologicale Mag. Joh. de Wesalia, in Ortuini Gratii Fasciculo Rerum expetend. et fugiendar. Colon. 1535, fol. 163.

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the sin against the Holy Ghost (*a*), and exhibited the most miserable spectacle of inhuman bigotry to the Christian world. The aversion which John Huss, and Jerome his companion, had against the Germans, was a third circumstance that contributed to determine their unhappy fate. This aversion they declared publicly at Prague, upon all occasions, both by their words and actions; nor were they at any pains to conceal it even in the council of Constance, where they accused them of presumption and despotism in the strongest terms (*b*). The Germans, on the other hand, remembering the affront they had received in the university of Prague, by the means of John Huss, burned with resentment and rage both against him and his unfortunate friend; and as their influence and authority were very great in the council, there is no doubt that they employed them, with the utmost zeal, against these two formidable adversaries. Besides, John Hoffman,

(*a*) In the Examen mentioned in the preceding note, we find the following striking passage, which may show us the extravagant length to which the disputes between the Nominalists and Realists were now carried: “*Quis nisi ipse Diabolus seminavit illam zizaniam inter Philosophos et inter Theologos, ut tanta sit dissensio, etiam animorum inter diversa opinantes? Adeo ut si universalia quisquam realia negaverit, existimetur in Spiritum Sanctum peccavisse, immo summo et maximo peccato plenus creditur contra Deum, contra Christianam religionem, contra justitiam, contra omnem politiam graviter deliquisse. Unde hæc cæcitas mentis nisi a Diabolo, qui plantasias nostras illudit?*” We see by this passage, that the Realists charged their adversaries (whose only crime was the absurdity of calling universal ideas mere denominations) with sin against the Holy Ghost, with transgression against God, and against the Christian religion, and with a violation of all the laws of justice and civil polity.

(*b*) See Theod. de Niem, *Invectiva in Joh. XXIII.* in Hardtii *Actis Concilii Constant.* tom. ii. p. 450. “*Improperabat etiam in publico Alemannis, dicendo, quod essent præsumptuosi et vellent ubique per orbem dominari—Sicque factum fuisset sæpe in Bohemia, ubi volentes etiam dominari Alemanni violenter exinde repulsi et male tractati fuissent.*”

the famous rector of the university of Prague, whom Huss had been the occasion of expelling from that city, together with the Germans, and who was in consequence thereof become his most virulent enemy, was consecrated bishop of Misnia, in the year 1413, and held in this council the most illustrious rank among the delegates of the German church. This circumstance was also most unfavourable to Huss, and was, no doubt, in the event detrimental to his cause.

The circumstances now mentioned, as contributing to the unhappy fate of this good man, are, as we see, all drawn from the resentment and prejudices of his enemies, and have not the least colour of equity. It must, however, be confessed, that there appeared one mark of heresy in the conduct of this reformer, which, according to the notions that prevailed in this century, might expose him to condemnation with some shadow of reason and justice; I mean, his inflexible obstinacy, which the church of Rome always considered as a grievous heresy, even in those whose errors were of little moment. We must consider this man, as called before a council, which was supposed to represent the universal church, to confess his faults and to abjure his errors. This he obstinately refused to do, unless he was previously convicted of error; here, therefore, he resisted the authority of the catholic church, demanded a rational proof of the justice of the sentence it had pronounced against him, and intimated, with sufficient plainness, that he looked upon the church as fallible. All this certainly was most enormously criminal and intolerably heretical, according to the general opinion of the times. For it became a dutiful son of the church to renounce his eye-sight, and to submit both his judgment and his will, without any exception or reservation, to the judgment and will

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of that holy mother, under a firm belief and entire persuasion of the infallibility of all her decisions. This ghostly mother had, for many ages past, followed, whenever her unerring perfection and authority were called in question, the rule which Pliny observed in his conduct towards the Christians: "When they persevered, (says he, in his letter to Trajan (c),) I put my threats into execution, from a persuasion, that, whatever their confession might be, their audacious and invincible obstinacy deserved an exemplary punishment."

The council issue out a decree against the writings and ashes of Wickliff.

VIII. Before sentence had been pronounced against John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the famous Wickliff, whose opinions they were supposed to adopt, and who was long since dead, was called from his rest before this ghostly tribunal, and his memory was solemnly branded with infamy by a decree of the council. On the 4th day of May, in the year 1415, a long list of propositions, invidiously culled out of his writings, was examined and condemned, and an order was issued out to commit all his works, together, with his bones, to the flames. On the 14th of June following, the assembled fathers passed the famous decree, which took the cup from the laity in the celebration of the eucharist; ordered "that the Lord's Supper should be received by them only in one kind, i. e. the bread," and rigorously prohibited the communion in both kinds. This decree was occasioned by complaints that had been made of the conduct of Jacobellus de Misa, curate of the parish of St. Michael at Prague, who, about a year before this, had been persuaded by Peter of Dresden to administer the Lord's Supper in both kinds, and was followed in this by several

(c) Plin. Epist. lib. x. ep. 97. "Perseverantes duci jussj. Neque enim dubitabam, qualecumque esset quod faterentur, perversitatem certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri."

churches (*d*). The council, being informed of this matter by a certain Bohemian bishop, thought proper to oppose with vigour the progress of this heresy; and therefore they enacted the statute, which ordered “the communion to be administered to the laity but in one kind,” and which obtained the force and authority of a law in the church of Rome.

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IX. In the same year, the opinion of John Petit, a doctor of divinity at Paris (*e*), who maintained that every individual had an undoubted right to take away the life of a tyrant, was brought before the council, and was condemned as an odious and detestable heresy; but both the name and person of the author were spared, on account of the powerful patrons, under whose protection he had defended that pernicious doctrine. John, duke of Burgundy, had, in the year 1407, employed a band of ruffians to assassinate Lewis, duke of Orleans, only brother of Charles VI. king of France. While the whole city of Paris was in an uproar, in consequence of this horrible deed, Petit justified it in a public oration, in presence of the Dauphin and the princes of the blood, affirming, that the duke had done a laudable action, and that it was lawful to put a tyrant to death, “in any way, either by violence or fraud, “and without any form of law or justice; nay, “even in opposition to the most solemn contracts “and oaths of fidelity and allegiance.” It is, however, to be observed, that by tyrants, this doctor did not mean the supreme rulers of nations, but those more powerful and insolent subjects, who abused their wealth and credit to bring about measures that tended to the dishonour of their

The sentence of the council against John Petit.

(*d*) Byzinii Diarium Hussiticum, p. 124.

(*e*) Some historians have erroneously represented Petit as a lawyer. See Dr. Smollet's History of England, vol. ii. p. 462. in 4to.

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sovereign and the ruin of their country (*f*). The university of Paris pronounced a severe and rigorous sentence against the author of this pernicious opinion; and the council of Constance, after much deliberation and debate, condemned the opinion without mentioning the author. This determination of the council, though modified with the utmost clemency and mildness, was not ratified by the new pontiff Martin V. who dreaded too much the formidable power of the duke of Burgundy, to confirm a sentence which he knew would be displeasing to that ambitious prince (*g*).

The hopes
of a reform-
ation in
the church
frustrated.

X. After these and other transactions of a like nature, it was now time to take into consideration a point of more importance than had yet been proposed, even the reformation of the church in its head and in its members, by setting bounds to the despotism and corruption of the Roman pontiffs, and to the luxury and immorality of a licentious clergy. It was particularly with a view to this important object, that the eyes of all Europe were fixed upon the council of Constance, from an universal persuasion of the necessity of this reformation, and an ardent desire of seeing it happily brought into execution. Nor did the assembled fathers deny, that this reformation was the principal end of their meeting. Yet this salutary work had so many obstacles in the passions and interests of those very persons by whom it was to

(*f*) This appears manifestly from the very discourse of Petit, which the reader may see in Lenfant's History of the Council of Pisa, tom. ii. p. 303 *. See also August. Leyseri Diss. quâ memoriam Joh. Burgundi et doctrinam Joh. Parvi de cæde per duillum vindicat. Witteberg. 1735, in 4to.

(*g*) Boulay, Histor. Acad. Paris. tom. v. p. 113. et passim. —Argentre, Collectio Judicior. de Novis Erroribus, tom. i. part. II. p. 184.—Gersonis Opera à Du Pinio edita, tom. v. Bayle, Diction. tom. iii. p. 2268.

† * See also the same author's History of the Council of Constance, book iii. sect. xix.

be effected, that little could be expected, and still less was done. The cardinals and dignified clergy, whose interest it was that the church should remain in its corrupt and disordered state, employed all their eloquence and art to prevent its reformation; and observed, among other artful pretexts, that a work of such high moment and importance could not be undertaken with any prospect of success, until a new pontiff was elected. And, what was still more shocking, the new pontiff Martin V. was no sooner raised to that high dignity, than he employed his authority to elude and frustrate every effort that was made to set this salutary work on foot; and made it appear most evidently, by the laws he enacted, that nothing was more foreign from his intention than the reformation of the clergy, and the restoration of the church to its primitive purity. Thus this famous council, after sitting three years and six months, was dissolved on the 22d day of April, 1418, without having effected what was the chief design of their assembling, and put off to a future assembly of the same kind, which was to be summoned five years after this period, that pious design of purifying a corrupt church, which had been so long the object of the expectations and desires of all good Christians.

XI. Five years and more elapsed without a council being called. The remonstrances, however, of those whose zeal for the reformation of the church interested them in this event, prevailed, at length, over the pretexts and stratagems that were employed to put it off from time to time; and Martin V. summoned a council to meet at Pavia, from whence it was removed to Sienna, and from thence to Basil. The pontiff did not live to be a witness of the proceedings of this assembly, being carried off by a sudden death on the 21st day of February, in the year 1431,

A council assembled at Basil, where the reformation of the church is again attempted in vain.

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just about the time when the council was to meet. He was immediately succeeded by Gabriel Condolmerus, a native of Venice, and Bishop of Sienna, who is known in the papal list by the title of Eugenius IV. This pontiff approved of all the measures that had been entered into by his predecessor, in relation to the assembling of the council of Basil, which was accordingly opened the 23d of July, 1431, under the superintendence of Cardinal Julian Cæsarini, who performed the functions of president, in the place of Eugenius.

The two grand points that were proposed to the deliberation of this famous council were, the union of the Greek and Latin churches, and the reformation of the church universal, both in its head and in its members, according to the resolution that had been taken in the council of Constance. For that the Roman pontiffs, who were considered as the head of the church, and the bishops, priests, and monks, who were looked upon as its members, were become excessively corrupt; and that, to use the expression of the prophet in a similar case, the whole head was sick, and the whole heart faint, was a matter of fact too striking to escape the knowledge of the obscurest individual. On the other hand, as it appeared by the very form of the council (*h*), by its method of proceeding, and by the first decrees that were enacted by its authority, that the assembled fathers were in earnest, and firmly resolved to answer the end and

 (*h*) By the form of the council, Dr. Mosheim undoubtedly means the division of the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, &c. into four equal classes, without any regard to the nation or province by which they were sent. This prudent arrangement prevented the cabals and intrigues of the Italians, whose bishops were much more numerous than those of other nations, and who, by their number, might have had it in their power to retard or defeat the laudable purpose the council had in view, had things been otherwise ordered.

purpose of their meeting. Eugenius IV. was much alarmed at the prospect of a reformation, which he feared above all things, and beholding with terror the zeal and designs of these spiritual physicians, he attempted twice the dissolving of the council. These repeated attempts were vigorously and successfully opposed by the assembled fathers, who proved by the decrees of the council of Constance, and by other arguments equally conclusive, that the council was superior, in point of authority, to the Roman pontiff. This controversy, which was the first that had arisen between the council and the pope, was terminated in the month of November 1433, by the silence and concessions of the latter, who, in the month following, wrote a letter from Rome, containing his approbation of the council, and his acknowledgment of its authority (*i*).

(*i*) The history of this grand and memorable council is yet wanting. The learned Stephen Baluzius (as we find in the *Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, tom. vi. p. 544), and after him Mr. Lenfant, promised the world a history of this council; but neither of these valuable writers performed their promise*. The acts of this famous assembly have been collected with incredible industry, in a great number of volumes, from various archives and libraries, at the expense of Rudolphus Augustus, duke of Brunswick, by the very learned and laborious Herman van der Hardt. They are preserved, as we are informed, in the library at Hanover, and they certainly deserve to be drawn from their retreat, and published to the world. In the mean time, the curious may consult the abridgment of the Acts of this council, which were published in 8vo, at Paris, in the year 1512, and which I have made use of in this history, as also the following authors: *Æneæ Sylvii Lib. duo de Concilio Basiliensi.*—Edmun. Richerius, *Histor. Concilior. General. lib. iii. cap. i.*—Henr. Canisii *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 447.

✍ * Dr. Mosheim has here been guilty of an oversight; for Lenfant did in reality perform his promise, and composed the *History of the Council of Basil*, which he blended with his *History of the War of the Hussites*, on account of the connexion that there was between these two subjects; and also because his advanced age prevented his indulging himself in the hope of being able to give a full and complete *History of the Council of Basil* apart.

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The de-
crees and
acts of the
council of
Basil.

XII. These preliminary measures being finished, the council proceeded with zeal and activity to the accomplishment of the important purposes for which it was assembled. The popes legates were admitted as members of the council, but not before they had declared, upon oath, that they would submit to the decrees that should be enacted in it, and more particularly that they would adhere to the laws that had been made in the council of Constance, in relation to the supremacy of general councils, and the subordination of the pontiffs to their authority and jurisdiction. Nay, these very laws, which the popes beheld with such aversion and horror, were solemnly renewed by the council the 26th of June, in the year 1434, and, on the 9th of the same month, in the following year, the Annates, as they were called, were publicly abolished, notwithstanding the opposition that was made to this measure by the legates of the Roman see. On the 25th of March, 1436, a confession of faith was read, which every pontiff was to subscribe on the day of his election, the number of cardinals was reduced to twenty-four, and the papal impositions, called Expectatives, Reservations, and Provisions, were entirely annulled. These measures, with others of a like nature, provoked Eugenius to the highest degree, and made him form a design, either for removing this troublesome and enterprising council into Italy, or of setting up a new council in opposition to it, which might fix bounds to its zeal for the reformation of the church. Accordingly, on the 7th of May, in the year 1437, the assembled fathers having, on account of the Greeks, come to a resolution of holding the council at Basil, Avignon, or some city in the duchy of Savoy, the intractable pontiff opposed this motion, and maintained that it should be transferred into Italy. Each of the contending parties persevered, with

the utmost obstinacy, in the resolution they had taken, and this occasioned a warm and violent contest between the pope and the council. The latter summoned Eugenius to appear before them at Basil the 26th day of July 1437, in order to give an account of his conduct; but the pontiff, instead of complying with this summons, issued out a decree, by which he pretended to dissolve the council, and to assemble another at Ferrara. This decree, indeed, was treated with the utmost contempt by the council, which, with the consent of the emperor, the king of France, and several other princes, continued its deliberations at Basil, and, on the 28th of September, in this same year, pronounced a sentence of contumacy against the rebellious pontiff, for having refused to obey their order.

XIII. In the year 1438, Eugenius in person opened the council, which he had summoned to meet at Ferrara, and at the second session thundered out an excommunication against the fathers assembled at Basil. The principal business that was now to be transacted in the pontiff's council was the proposed reconciliation between the Greek and Latin churches; and, in order to bring this salutary and important design to a happy issue, the emperor, John Palæologus, the Grecian patriarch, Josephus, with the most eminent bishops and doctors among the Greeks, arrived in Italy, and appeared in person at Ferrara. What animated, in a particular manner, the zeal of the Greeks in this negotiation, was the extremity to which they were reduced by the Turks, and the pleasing hope, that their reconciliation with the Roman pontiff would contribute to engage the Latins in their cause. Be that as it may, there was little done at Ferrara, where matters were carried on too slowly, to afford any prospect of an end of their dissensions: but the

The council of Ferrara held by Eugenius.

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negotiations were more successful at Florence, whither Eugenius removed the council about the beginning of the year 1439, on account of the plague that broke out at Ferrara. On the other hand, the council of Basil, exasperated by the imperious proceedings of Eugenius, deposed him from the papacy on the 25th of June, in the year 1439; which vigorous measure was not approved of by the European kings and princes. It may be easily conceived what an impression this step made upon the affronted pontiff; he lost all patience; and devoted, for the second time, to hell and damnation the members of the council of Basil by a solemn and most severe edict, in which also he declared all their acts null, and all their proceedings unlawful. This new peal of papal thunder was held in derision by the council of Basil, who, persisting in their purpose, elected another pontiff, and raised to that high dignity Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who then lived in the most profound solitude at a delicious retreat, called Ripaille, upon the borders of the Lemane Lake, and who is known in the papal list by the name of Felix V.

XIV. This election was the occasion of the revival of that deplorable schism, which had formerly rent the church, and which had been terminated with so much difficulty, and after so many vain and fruitless efforts, at the council of Constance. Nay, the new breach was still more lamentable than the former one, as the flame was kindled not only between two rival pontiffs, but also between the two contending councils of Basil and Florence. The greatest part of the church submitted to the jurisdiction, and adopted the cause of Eugenius; while Felix was acknowledged, as lawful pontiff, by a great number of academies, and, among others, by the famous university of Paris, as also in several kingdoms

The church
afflicted
with a
schism.

and provinces. The council of Basil continued its deliberations, and went on enacting laws, and publishing edicts, until the year 1443, notwithstanding the efforts of Eugenius and his adherents to put a stop to their proceedings. And, though in that year the members of the council retired to their respective places of abode, yet they declared publicly that the council was not dissolved, but would resume its deliberations at Basil, Lyons, or Lausanne, as soon as a proper opportunity was offered.

In the meantime, the council of Florence, with Eugenius at its head, was chiefly employed in reconciling the differences between the Greeks and Latins; which weighty business was committed to the prudence, zeal, and piety, of a select number of eminent men on both sides. The most distinguished among those whom the Greeks chose for this purpose was the learned Bessarion, who was afterwards raised to the dignity of cardinal in the Roman church. This great man, engaged and seduced by the splendid presents and promises of the Latin pontiff, employed the whole extent of his authority, and the power of his eloquence, nay, he had recourse even to promises and threatenings, to persuade the Greeks to accept the conditions of peace that were proposed by Eugenius. These conditions required their consent to the following points:—"That the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son, as well as from the Father; that departed souls were purified in the infernal regions, by a certain kind of fire, before their admission to the presence and vision of the Deity;—that unleavened bread might be used in the administration of the Lord's Supper;"—and lastly, which was the main and principal thing insisted upon by the Latins, that the Roman pontiff was the supreme judge, the true head of the universal church. Such were the

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terms of peace to which the Greeks were obliged to submit, all except Mark of Ephesus, whom neither entreaties nor rewards could move from his purpose, or engage to submit to a reconciliation founded upon such conditions. And indeed this reconciliation, which had been brought about by various stratagems, was much more specious than solid, and had by no means stability sufficient to assure its duration. We find, accordingly, that the Grecian deputies were no sooner returned to Constantinople, than they declared publicly, that all things had been carried on at Florence by artifice and fraud, and renewed the schism, which had been so imperfectly healed a little time before. The council of Florence put an end to its deliberations on the 26th of April, in the year 1442 (*k*), without having executed any of the designs that were proposed by it, in a satisfactory manner. For, besides the affair of the Greeks, they proposed bringing the Armenians, Jacobites, and more particularly the Abyssinians, into the bosom of the Roman church; but this project was attended with as little success as the other.

Which is
healed under
the pontifi-
cate of Ni-
colas V.

XV. Eugenius IV. who had been the occasion of the new schism in the see of Rome, died in the month of February, 1447, and was succeeded, in a few weeks, by Thomas de Sarzano, bishop of

(*k*) The History of this Council, and of the frauds and stratagems that were practised in it, was composed by that learned Grecian, Sylvester Sgyropulus, whose work was published at the Hague, in the year 1660, with a Latin translation, a preliminary discourse, and ample notes by the learned Robert Creighton, a native of Great Britain. This History was refuted by Leo Allatius, in a work entitled, *Exercitationes in Creightoni Apparatum, Versionem et Notas ad Historiam Concilii Florentini scriptam a Sguropolo, Romæ, 1674, 4to.* See the same author's *Perpetua Consensio Ecclesiæ Oriental. et Occident.* p. 875. as also Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, tom. i. p. 243.—Spanhemius, *De perpetua Dissensione Eccles. Orient. et Occident.* tom. ii. opp. p. 491.—Hermann, *Historia concertat. de pane azymo*, part. II. cap. v. p. 124.

Bologna, who filled the pontificate under the denomination of Nicolas V. This eminent prelate had, in point of merit, the best pretensions possible to the papal throne. He was distinguished by his erudition and genius; he was a zealous patron and protector of learned men; and, what was still more laudable, he was remarkable for his moderation, and for the meek and pacific spirit that discovered itself in all his conduct and actions. Under this pontificate, the European princes, and more especially the king of France, exerted their warmest endeavours to restore tranquillity and union in the Latin church, and their efforts were crowned with the desired success. For, in the year 1449, Felix V. resigned the papal chair, and returned to his delicious hermitage at Ripaille, while the fathers of the council of Basil, assembled at Lausanne (*l*), ratified his voluntary abdication, and, by a solemn decree, ordered the universal church to submit to the jurisdiction of Nicolas as their lawful pontiff. On the other hand, Nicolas proclaimed this treaty of peace with great pomp on the 18th of June, in the same year, and set the seal of his approbation and authority to the acts and decrees of the council of Basil. This pontiff distinguished himself in a very extraordinary manner, by his love of learning, and by his ardent zeal for the propagation of the liberal arts and sciences, which he promoted in Italy, with great success, by the encouragement he granted to the learned Greeks, who came from Constantinople into that country (*m*). The principal occasion of his death

(*l*) The abdication of Felix V. was made on the 9th of April, 1449, and it was ratified the 16th day of the month, by the assembled fathers at Lausanne.

(*m*) See Dom. Georgii Vita Nicolai V. ad fidem veterum Monumentorum: to which is added, a treatise, entitled, *Disquisitio de Nicolai V. erga litteras et litteratos viros patrocínio*, published in 4to, at Rome, in the year 1742.

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was the fatal revolution that threw this capital of the Grecian empire into the hands of the Turks; this melancholy event preyed upon his spirits, and at length ended his days on the 24th of March, in the year 1455.

XVI. His successor Alphonsus Borgia, who was a native of Spain, and is known in the papal list by the denomination of Calixtus III. was remarkable for nothing but his zeal in animating the Christian princes to make war upon the Turks; his reign also was short, for he died in the year 1458. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who succeeded him in the pontificate that same year, under the title of Pius II. rendered his name much more illustrious, not only by his extensive genius, and the important transactions that were carried on during his administration, but also by the various and useful productions with which he enriched the republic of letters. The lustre of his fame was, indeed, tarnished by a scandalous proof which he gave of his fickleness and inconstancy, or rather perhaps of his bad faith; for after having vigorously defended against the pontiffs, the dignity and prerogatives of general councils, and maintained with peculiar boldness and obstinacy the cause of the council of Basil against Eugenius IV. he ignominiously renounced these generous principles upon his accession to the pontificate, and acted in direct opposition to them during the whole course of his administration. Thus, in the year 1460, he denied publicly that the pope was subordinate to a general council, and even prohibited all appeals to such a council under the severest penalties. The year following, he obtained from Lewis XI. king of France, the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction, which favoured, in a particular manner, the pretensions of the general councils to supre-

Pius II.

macy in the church (*n*). But the most egregious instance of impudence and perfidy that he exhi-

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 (*n*) There was a famous edict, entitled the Pragmatic Sanction, issued out by Lewis IX. who, though he is honoured with a place in the Kalendar, was yet a zealous assertor of the liberty and the privileges of the Gallican church, against the despotic encroachments and pretensions of the Roman pontiffs. It was against their tyrannical proceedings, and intolerable extortions, that this edict was chiefly levelled; and though some creatures of the court of Rome have thrown out insinuations of its being a spurious production, yet the contrary is evident from its having been registered, as the authentic edict of that pious monarch, by the parliament of Paris, in the year 1461, by the states of the kingdom assembled at Tours in the year 1483, and by the university of Paris, in 1491.—See for a further account of this edict, the excellent History of France, begun by the Abbé Velly, and continued by M. Villaret, vol. vi. p. 57.

The edict which Dr. Mosheim has in view here is the Pragmatic Sanction that was drawn up at Bourges, in the year 1438, by Charles VII. king of France, with the consent of the most eminent prelates and grandees of the nation, who were assembled at that place. This edict, which was absolutely necessary in order to deliver the French clergy from the vexations they suffered from the encroachments of the popes, ever since the latter had fixed their residence at Avignon, consisted of twenty-three articles, in which, among other salutary regulations, the elections to vacant benefices were restored to their ancient purity and freedom*; the Annates and other pecuniary pretensions and encroachments of the pontiffs abolished, and the authority of a general council declared superior to that of the pope. This edict was drawn up in concert with the fathers of the council of Basil, and the twenty-three articles it contains were taken from the decrees of that council; though they were admitted by the Gallican church with certain modifications, which the nature of the times, and the manners of the nation rendered expedient. Such then was the Pragmatic Sanction, which Pope Pius II. engaged Lewis XI. (who received upon that

† * That is to say, that these elections were wrested out of the hands of the popes, who had usurped them; and that, by the Pragmatic Sanction, every church had the privilege of choosing its bishop, and every monastery its abbot or prior. By the concordate, or agreement, between Francis I. and Leo X. (which was substituted in the place of the Pragmatic Sanction) the nomination to the bishoprics in France, and the collation of certain benefices of the higher class, were vested in the kings of France. An ample and satisfactory account of this convention may be seen in bishop Burnet's excellent History of the Reformation, vol. iii. p. 3. and in a book entitled, *Histoire du Droit public Ecclesiastique François*, published in 8vo, in 1737, and in 4to, in 1752

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bited to the world was in the year 1463, when he published a solemn retractation of all that he had written in favour of the council of Basil, and declared, without either shame or hesitation, that, as Æneas Sylvius, he was a damnable heretic; but, as Pius II. he was an orthodox pontiff. This indecent declaration was the last circumstance, worthy of notice, that happened during his pontificate; for he departed this life in the month of July, in the year 1464 (o).

Paulus II.

XVII. Paul II. a Venetian by birth, whose name was Peter Bard, was raised to the head of the church in the year 1464, and died in the year 1471. His administration was distinguished by some measures, which, if we consider the genius of the times, were worthy of praise; though it must, at the same time be confessed, that he did many things, which were evidently inexcusable, not to mention his reducing the jubilee circle to twenty-five years; and thus accelerating the return of that most absurd and superstitious ceremony. So that his reputation became at least

occasion, for him and his successors, the title of Most Christian) to abolish, by a solemn declaration, the full execution of which was, however, prevented by the noble stand made by the university of Paris in favour of the Pragmatic Sanction. Lewis also perceiving that he had been deluded into this declaration by the treacherous insinuations of Geoffry, bishop of Arras (whom the pope had bribed with a cardinal's cap, and large promises of a more lucrative kind), took no sort of pains to have it executed, but published, on the contrary, new edicts against the pecuniary pretensions and extortions of the court of Rome. So that in reality the Pragmatic Sanction was not abolished before the Concordate, or agreement, which was transacted between Francis I. and Leo X. in the year 1517, and was forced upon the French nation in opposition to the united efforts of the clergy, the university, the parliament, and the people. See, for a farther account of this matter, Du Clos, *Histoire de Louis XI.* vol. i. p. 115 —132.

(o) Besides the writers of Ecclesiastical History, see *Nouveaux Diction. Histor et Critique*, tom. ii. at the article Enee Sylvius, p. 26.

dubious in after-times, and was viewed in different lights by different persons (*p*). The following pontiffs, Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII. whose names were Francis Albescola and John Baptist Sibo, were neither remarkable for their virtues nor their vices. The former departed this life in the year 1484, and the latter in 1492. Filled with the most terrible apprehensions of the danger that threatened Europe in general, and Italy in particular, from the growing power of the Turks, they both attempted putting themselves into a posture of defence, and warmly exhorted the European princes to put a stop to the progress of that warlike people. But many obstacles arose, which prevented the execution of this important design, and rendered the exhortations of these zealous pontiffs without effect. The other undertakings that were projected or carried on, during their continuance at the head of the church, are not of importance sufficient to require particular notice.

XVIII. In the series of pontiffs that ruled the church during this century, the last, in order of time, was Alexander VI. a Spaniard by birth, whose name was Roderic Borgia. The life and actions of this man show, that there was a Nero among the popes, as well as among the emperors. The crimes and enormities that history has imputed to this papal Nero, evidently prove him to have been not only destitute of all religious and virtuous principles, but even regardless of decency, and hardened against the very feeling of shame. And, though it may be possible, that

(*p*) Paul II. has had the good fortune to find, in one of the most eminent and learned men of this age (the famous cardinal Luirini), a zealous apologist. See among the productions of that illustrious prelate, the piece entitled, "Pauli II. Vita ex Codice Anglicæ Bibliothecæ desumpta, præmissis ipsius vindictis adversus Platinam, aliosque obtrectatores, Romæ, 1740." in 4to.

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the malignity of his enemies may have forged false accusations against him, and, in some instances, exaggerated the horror of his real crimes; yet there is upon record, an authentic list of undoubted facts, which, both by their number and their atrocity, are sufficient to render the name and memory of Alexander VI. odious and detestable in the esteem even of such as have the smallest tincture of virtuous principles and feelings. An inordinate affection for his children was the principal source from whence proceeded a great part of the crimes he committed. He had four sons of a concubine with whom he had lived many years. Among whom was the infamous Cæsar Borgia. A daughter, named Lucretia, was likewise among the fruits of this unlawful commerce. The tenderness of the pontiff for this spurious offspring was excessive beyond all expression; his only aim was to load them with riches and honours; and in the execution of this purpose, he trampled with contempt upon every obstacle, which the demands of justice, the dictates of reason, and the remonstrances of religion, laid in his way (*q*). Thus he went on in his profligate career until the year 1503, when the poison, which he and his son Cæsar had mingled for others who stood in the way of their avarice and ambition, cut short, by a happy mistake, his own days (*r*).

(*q*) The life of this execrable tyrant has been written in English by Mr. Alexander Gordon, whose work was translated into French, and published at Amsterdam in 1732. The same subject has, however, been handled with more moderation by the ingenious and learned author of the *Histoire du Droit Publ Eccles. François*, to which History are subjoined the lives of Alexander VI. and Leo. X.

(*r*) Such is the account which the best historians have given of the death of Alexander VI. Voltaire, notwithstanding, has pretended to prove that this pontiff died a natural death.

XIX. The monastic societies, as we learn from a multitude of authentic records, and from the testimonies of the best writers, were, at this time, so many herds of lazy, illiterate, profligate, and licentious Epicureans, whose views in life were confined to opulence, idleness, and pleasure. The rich monks, particularly those of the Benedictine and Augustine orders, perverted their revenues to the gratification of their lusts; and renouncing in their conduct all regard to their respective rules of discipline, drew upon themselves a popular odium by their sensuality and licentiousness (*s*). This was matter of affliction to many wise and good men, especially in France and Germany, who formed the pious design of stemming the torrent of monkish luxury, and excited a spirit of reformation among that degenerate order (*t*). Among the German reformers, who undertook the restoration of virtue and temperance in the convents, Nicholas de Mafen, an Austrian abbot, and Nicholas Dunkelspuhl, professor at Vienna, held the first rank. They attempted, with unparalleled zeal and assiduity, the reformation of the Benedictines throughout all Germany; and succeeded so far, as to restore, at least, a certain air of decency and virtue in the monasteries of Swabia, Franconia, and Bavaria (*u*). The reformation of the same order was attempted in France by many, and particularly by Guido, or Guy Juvenal, a learned man, whose writings, upon that and on other sub-

(*s*) See Martini Senging, Tuitiones Ordinis S. Benedicti, seu Oratio in Concilio Basiliensi, a. 1433, contra vitia Benedict. recitata, in Bernh. Pesii Biblioth. Ascetica, tom. viii. p. 517.

(*t*) See Leibnitii Præf. ad tom. ii. Scriptor. Brunsvic. p. 40.

(*u*) For an account of these reformers, See Martin Kropf Bibliotheca Mellicensis, seu de Vitis et Scriptis Benedictinor. Mellicensium, p. 143. 163. 203. 206.

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jects, were received with applause (*w*). It is, however, certain, that the greatest part of the monks, both in France and elsewhere, resisted, with obstinacy, the salutary attempts of these spiritual physicians, and returned their zeal with the worst treatment that it was possible to show them.

The Mendicants.

XX. While the opulent monks exhibited to the world scandalous examples of luxury, ignorance, laziness, and licentiousness, accompanied with a barbarous aversion to every thing that carried the remotest aspect of science, the Mendicants, and more especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, were chargeable with irregularities of another kind. Besides their arrogance, which was excessive, a quarrelsome and litigious spirit, an ambitious desire of encroaching upon the rights and privileges of others, an insatiable zeal for the propagation of superstition, and the itch of disputing and of starting absurd and intricate questions of a religious kind, prevailed among them, and drew upon them justly the displeasure and indignation of many. It was this wrangling spirit that perpetuated the controversies which had subsisted so long between them and the bishops, and, indeed, the whole sacerdotal order; and it was their vain curiosity, and their inordinate passion for novelty, that made the divines, in the greatest part of the European academies, complain of the dangerous and destructive errors they had introduced into religion. These complaints were repeated, without interruption, in all the provinces where the Mendicants had any credit; and the same complaints were often presented to the court of Rome, where they exercised sufficiently both the patience and subtilty of the pontiffs and their ministers. The different pon-

(*w*) See Liron, *Singularités Historiques et Litteraires*, tom. iii. p. 49.

tiffs that ruled the church during this century were differently affected towards the Mendicants; some patronized them, others opposed them; and this circumstance frequently changed the face of things, and, for a long time, rendered the decision of the contest dubious (*x*). The persecution that was carried on against the Beguins became also an occasion of increasing the odium that had been cast upon the begging monks, and was extremely prejudicial to their interests. For the Beguins and Lollards, to escape the fury of their inveterate enemies, the bishops and others, frequently took refuge in the third order of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians; hoping that, in the patronage and protection of these powerful and respected societies, they should find a secure retreat from the calamities that oppressed them. Nor were their hopes entirely disappointed here; but the storm that hitherto pursued them fell upon their new patrons and protectors, the Mendicants; who, by affording a refuge to a sect so odious to the clergy, drew upon themselves the indignation of that sacred order, and were thereby involved in difficulties and perplexities of various kinds (*y*).

XXI. The more austere and rebellious Franciscans, who, separating themselves from the church, renounced their allegiance to the Roman pontiffs, and were distinguished by the appellation of Fratricelli, or Minorites, continued, together with their Tertiaries, the Beghards, to carry on an open war against the court of Rome. Their head-quarters were in Italy, in the marquisate of Ancona, and the neighbouring countries; for it

The fate of
the Fratri-
celli.

(*x*) See Launoi Lib. de Canone : Omnis Utriusque Sexus, opp. tom. i. part. I. p. 287.—Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. v. p. 189. 196. 204. 522. 558. 601. 617. 752.—Ant. Wood, Antiq. Oxon. tom. i. p. 210. 212. 224.

(*y*) See the preceding century.

was there that their leader and chief ruler resided. They were persecuted about the middle of this century, with the greatest severity, by pope Nicolas V. who employed every method he could think of to vanquish their obstinacy, sending for that purpose successively against them the Franciscan monks, armed hosts, and civil magistrates, and committing to the flames many of those who remained unmoved by all these means of conversion (z). This heavy persecution was carried on by the succeeding pontiffs, and by none with greater bitterness and vehemence than by Paul II. though it is said, that this pope chose rather to conquer the headstrong and stubborn perseverance of this sect by imprisonment and exile than by fire and sword (a). The Fratricelli, on the other hand, animated by the protection of several persons of great influence, who became their patrons on account of the striking appearance of sanctity which they exhibited to the world, opposed force to force, and went so far as to put to death some of the inquisitors, among whom Angelo of Camaldoli fell a victim to their vengeance (b). Nor were the commotions raised by this troublesome sect confined to Italy; other countries felt the effects of their petulant zeal; and Bohemia and Silesia (where they preached with warmth their favourite doctrine, "that the true

(z) Mauritius Sartius, De Antiqua Picentum Civitate Cypromontana, in Angeli Calogeræ Raccolta di Opusculi Scientifici, tom. xxxix. p. 39. 81. 97. where we have several extracts from the Manuscript Dialogue of Jacobus de Marchia, against the Fratricelli.

(a) Ang. Mar. Quirini Vita Pauli II. p. 78.—Jo. Targionus, Præf. ad Claror. Venetor. Epistolas ad Magliabechium. tom. i. p. 43. where we have an account of the books that were written against the Fratricelli by Nicholas Palmerius and others under the Pontificate of Paul II. and which are yet in manuscript.

(b) See the Acta Sanctor. tom. ii. Maii. p. 356.

“imitation of Christ consisted in beggary, and “extreme poverty”) became the theatre of the spiritual war (*c*). The king of Bohemia was well affected to these fanatics, granted them his protection, and was on that account excommunicated by Paul II (*d*). In France, their affairs were far from being prosperous; such of them as fell into the hands of the inquisitors were committed to the flames (*e*), and they were eagerly searched after in the province of Tholouse and the adjacent countries, where great numbers of them lay concealed, and endeavoured to escape the vigilance of their enemies; while several of their scattered parties removed to England and Ireland (*f*). The dreadful series of calamities and persecutions that pursued this miserable sect was not sufficient to extinguish it entirely; for it subsisted until the times of the Reformation in Germany, when its remaining votaries adopted the cause and embraced the doctrine and discipline of Luther.

XXII. Of the religious fraternities that were founded in this century, none deserves a more honourable mention than the Brethren and Clerks of the Common Life (as they called themselves), who lived under the rule of St. Augustine, and were eminently useful in promoting the cause of religion, learning, and virtue. This society had been formed in the preceding age by Gerard de Groote, a native of Deventer (*g*), and a man

New orders: the Brethren and Clerks of the Common Life.

(*c*) Jo. Georgii Schelhornii Acta Historica Eccles. part. I. p. 66. 283.

(*d*) Quirini Vita Pauli II. p. 73.

(*e*) I have in manuscript, in my possession, the acts or decrees of the inquisition against John Gudulchi de Castellione and Francis de Archata, both of them Fratricelli, who were burnt in France, in the year 1454.

(*f*) Wood, Antiqq. Oxoniens. tom. i. p. 232.

(*g*) The life of this famous Dutchman, Gerard Groote, was written by Thomas à Kempis, and is to be found in his works. It stands at the head of the lives of eleven of his contemporaries, which were composed by this eminent writer.

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remarkable for his fervent piety and extensive erudition ; it was not, however, before the present century that it received a proper degree of consistence, and, having obtained the approbation of the council of Constance, flourished in Holland, the Lower Germany, and the adjacent provinces. It was divided into two classes, the Lettered Brethren, or Clerks, and the Illiterate, who, though they occupied separate habitations, lived in the firmest bonds of fraternal union. The Clerks applied themselves with exemplary zeal and assiduity to the study of polite literature, and to the education of youth. They composed learned works for the instruction of their contemporaries, and erected schools and seminaries of learning wherever they went. The Illiterate Brethren, on the other hand, were employed in manual labour, and exercised with success the mechanic arts. Neither of the two classes were under the restraint of religious vows ; yet they had all things in common, and this community was the great bond of their union. The Sisters of this virtuous society lived much in the same manner, and employed the hours that were not consecrated to prayer and reading in the education of young girls, and in branches of industry suitable to their sex. The schools, that were erected by the Clerks of this fraternity, acquired a great and illustrious reputation in this century. From them issued forth those immortal restorers of learning and taste that gave a new face to the republic of letters in Germany and Holland, such as Erasmus of Rotterdam, Alexander Hegius, John Murmelius, and several others (*h*). The institution of the order of the

(*h*) Accounts of this order have been given by Aub. Mireus, in his *Chronicon* ad a. 1384, and by Helyot, in his *History of the Religious Orders*, tom.iii. But, in that which I have here given, there are some circumstances taken from ancient records not yet published. I have in my possession

Jesuits seemed to diminish the credit of these excellent schools, which, from that period, began to decline, and of which there are, at this time, but very few remaining. The Brethren of the Common Life were frequently called Beghards and Lollards, appellations that had been given to so many different sects, and were obliged to sustain the insults and opposition of the clergy and monks, who had an inexpressible aversion to every thing that bore the remotest aspect of learning or taste (*i*).

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XXIII. Of the Greeks who acquired a name by their learned productions, the most eminent were, The Greek writers.

Simeon of Thessalonica, the author of several treatises, and, among others, of a book against the Heresies that had troubled the church; to which we may add his writings against the Latins, which are yet extant (*k*);

Josephus Bryennius, who wrote a book concerning the Trinity, and another against the Latins;

Macarius Macres, whose animosity against the Latins was carried to the greatest height;

George Phranza, whose historical talent makes a figure in the compilation of the Byzantine historians;

several manuscripts, which furnish materials for a much clearer and more circumstantial account of the institution and progress of this order than can be derived from the books that have hitherto appeared on that subject.

(*i*) We read frequently, in the records of this century, of schools erected by the Lollards, and sometimes by the Beghards, at Deventer, Brunswic, Koningsberg, and Munster, and many other places. Now these Lollards were the Clerks of the Common Life, who, on account of their virtue, industry, and learning, which rendered them so useful in the education of youth, were invited by the magistrates of several cities to reside among them.

(*k*) Jo. Alb. Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc.* vol. xiv. p. 49.—Rich. Simon, *Critique de la Bibliotheque Eccles.* par M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 400.

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Marcus Ephesus, who was an obstinate enemy to the council of Florence (*l*);

Cardinal Bessarion, the illustrious protector and supporter of the Platonic school, a man of unparalleled genius and erudition; but much hated by the Greeks, because he seemed to lean to the party of the Latins, and proposed an union of the two nations to the prejudice of the former (*m*);

George Scholarius, otherwise called Gennadius, who wrote against the Latins, and more especially against the council of Florence, with more learning, candour, and perspicuity than the rest of his countrymen (*n*);

George Gemistius Pletho, a man of eminent learning, who excited many of the Italians to the study, not only of the Platonic philosophy in particular, but of Grecian literature in general;

George of Trapezond, who translated several of the most eminent Grecian authors into Latin, and supported the cause of the Latins against the Greeks by his dexterous and eloquent pen;

George Codinus, of whom we have yet remaining several productions relating to the Byzantine history.

XXIV. The tribe of Latin writers that adorned or dishonoured this century is not to be numbered. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the enumeration of those who wrote upon theological matters, and even of these we shall only mention

(*l*) Rich. Simon, l. c. tom. i. p. 431.

(*m*) For an account of Bessarion, and the other learned men here mentioned, see Bornerus and Hody, in their histories of the Restoration of Letters in Italy, by the Greeks that took refuge there, after the taking of Constantinople: add to these the Bibliotheca Græca of Fabricius.

(*n*) Rich. Simon, Croyance de l'Eglise Orientale sur la Transubstantiation, p. 87. & Critique de M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 438.

the most eminent. At their head we may justly place John Gerson, chancellor of the university of Paris, the most illustrious ornament that this age can boast of; a man of the greatest influence and authority, whom the council of Constance looked upon as its oracle, the lovers of liberty as their patron, and whose memory is yet precious to such among the French as are at all zealous for the maintenance of their privileges against papal despotism (*o*). This excellent man published a considerable number of treatises that were admirably adapted to reform the corruptions of a superstitious worship, to excite a spirit of genuine piety, and to heal the wounds of a divided church; though, in some respects, he does not seem to have understood thoroughly the demands and injunctions of the gospel of Christ. The most eminent among the other theological writers were,

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Nicholas de Clemangis, a man of uncommon candour and integrity, who lamented, in the most eloquent and affecting strains, the calamities of the times, and the unhappy state of the Christian church (*p*);

Alphonsus Tostatus, bishop of Avila, who loaded the Holy Scriptures with an unwieldy and voluminous Commentary, and composed also other works, in which there is a great mixture of good and bad;

(*o*) See Du Pin, *Gersonianorum Libri* iv. which are prefixed to the edition of the works of Gerson, which we owe to that laborious author, and which was published at Antwerp in five volumes folio, in the year 1706. See also Jo. Launoii *Historia Gymnasii Regii Navarreni*, part. III. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 514. tom. iv. p. I. opp.—Herm. von der Hardt. *Acta Concil. Constant.* tom. i. part. IV. p. 26.

(*p*) See Launoii *Histor. Gymnas. Navarr.* part. III. lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 555.—Longueval, *Hist de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xiv. p. 436. The works of Clemangis were published, some pieces excepted, at Leyden, with a Glossary, in the year 1631, by Lydius.

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Ambrose of Camalduli, who acquired a high degree of reputation by his profound knowledge of the Greek language, and his uncommon acquaintance with the Grecian literature, as also by the zeal and industry he discovered in the attempts he made to effectuate a reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins ;

Nicholas de Cusa, a man of vast erudition, and no mean genius, though not so famed for the solidity of his judgment, as may appear from a work of his entitled, *Conjectures concerning the Last Day* (*q*) ;

John Nieder, whose writings are very proper to give us an accurate notion of the manners and spirit of the age in which he lived, and whose voyages and transactions have rendered him famous ;

John Capistran, who was in high esteem at the court of Rome, on account of the ardour and vehemence with which he defended the jurisdiction and majesty of the pontiffs against all their enemies and opposers (*r*) ;

John Wesselus and Jerome Savanarola, who may justly be placed among the wisest and worthiest men of this age. The former, who was a native of Groningen, and on account of his extraordinary penetration and sagacity was called the *Light of the World*, propagated several of those doctrines which Luther afterwards inculcated with greater evidence and energy, and animadverted with freedom and candour upon the corruptions of the Roman church (*s*). The latter was a Dominican and a native of Ferrara, remarkable for piety,

(*q*) Bayle, *Reponse aux Questions d'un Provincial*, tom. ii. cap. cxvii. p. 517.—The works of Nicholas were published in one volume, at Basil, in the year 1565.

(*r*) Lenfant, *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites*, tom. ii. p. 254.—Waddingi *Annales Minorum*, tom. ix. p. 67.

(*s*) Jo. Henr. Maii *Vitæ Reuchlini*, p. 156.

eloquence, and learning; who touched the sores of the church with a heavier hand, and inveighed against the pontiffs with greater severity. This freedom cost him dear; he was committed to the flames at Florence in the year 1498, and bore his fate with the most triumphant fortitude and serenity of mind (*t*);

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Alphonsus Spina, who wrote a book against the Jews and Saracens, which he called *Fortalitium Fidei*.

To all these we must join the whole tribe of the scholastic writers, whose chief ornaments were, John Capreolus, John de Turrecremata, Antoninus of Florence, Dionysius à Ryckel, Henry Gorcomius, Gabriel Biel, Stephen Brulifer, and others. The most remarkable among the Mystics were Vincentius Ferrerinus, Henr. Harphius, Laurentius Justinianus, Bernardinus Senensis, and Thomas à Kempis, who shone among these with a superior lustre, and to whom the famous book, *Concerning the Imitation of Christ*, is commonly attributed (*u*).

(*t*) B. Jo. Franc. Budei *Parerga Historico-Theologica*. The life of Savanarola was written by J. Francis Picus, and published in two volumes 8vo, at Paris, with various Annotations, Letters, and original pieces by Quetif, in the year 1674. The same editor published also at Paris, that same year, the *Spiritual and Ascetic Epistles of Savanarola*, translated from the Italian into Latin. See Echard, *Scriptor. Prædicator. tom. i. p. 884.*

(*u*) The late Abbé Langlet de Fresnoy promised the world a demonstration that this famous book, whose true author has been so much disputed among the learned, was originally written in French by a person named Gersen, or Gerson, and only translated into Latin by Thomas à Kempis. See Granetus in *Launoianis, part. II. tom. iv. part. II. opp. p. 414, 415.* The history of this famous book is given by Vincentius Thuillierius, in the *Opera Posthuma Mabilioni et Ruinarti, tom. iii. p. 54.*

CHAPTER III.

*Concerning the State of Religion, and the Doctrine of the Church, during this Century.*CENT.
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state of reli-
gion.

I. THE state of religion was become so corrupt among the Latins, that it was utterly destitute of any thing that could attract the esteem of the truly virtuous and judicious part of mankind. This is a fact, which even they whose prejudices render them unwilling to acknowledge it will never presume to deny. Among the Greeks and Orientals, religion had scarcely a better aspect than among the Latins; at least, if the difference was in their favour, it was far from being considerable. The worship of the Deity consisted in a round of frivolous and insipid ceremonies. The discourses of those who instructed the people in public were not only destitute of sense, judgment, and spirit, but even of piety and devotion, and were in reality nothing more than a motley mixture of the grossest fictions, and the most extravagant inventions. The reputation of Christian knowledge and piety was easily acquired; it was lavished upon those who professed a profound veneration for the sacred order, and their ghostly head the Roman pontiff, who studied to render the saints (*i. e.* the clergy, their ministers) propitious by frequent and rich donations, who were exact and regular in the observance of the stated ceremonies of the church, and who had wealth enough to pay the fines which the papal quæstors had annexed to the commission of all the different degrees of transgression; or, in other words, to purchase indulgences. Such were the ingredients of ordinary piety; but such as added to these a certain degree of austerity and bodily morti-

fication were placed in the highest order of worthies, and considered as the peculiar favourites of Heaven. On the other hand, the number of those who were studious to acquire a just notion of religious matters, to investigate the true sense of the sacred writings, and to model their lives and manners after the precepts and example of the Divine Saviour, was extremely small, and such had much difficulty in escaping the gibbet, in an age where virtue and sense were looked upon as heretical.

II. This miserable state of things, this enormous perversion of religion and morality throughout almost all the western provinces, were observed and deplored by many wise and good men, who all endeavoured, though in different ways, to stem the torrent of superstition, and to reform a corrupt church. In England and Scotland, the disciples of Wickliff, whom the multitude had stigmatized with the odious title of Lollards, continued to inveigh against the despotic laws of the pontiffs, and the licentious manners of the clergy (*w*). The Waldenses, though persecuted and oppressed on all sides, and from every quarter, raised their voices even in the remote valleys and lurking places whither they were driven by the violence of their enemies, and called aloud for succour to the expiring cause of religion and virtue. Even in Italy, many, and among others the famous Savanarola, had the courage to declare, that Rome was become the image of Babylon; and this notion was soon adopted by multitudes of all ranks and conditions. But the greatest part of the clergy and monks, persuaded that their honours, influence, and riches would diminish in proportion to the increase of knowledge among the people, and would

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Defenders
of the true
religion
raised by
Providence
in several
places.

(*w*) See Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Britann. et Hibern.* tom. iv.—Wood, *Antiqq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 202. 204.

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receive inexpressible detriment from the downfall of superstition, opposed, with all their might, every thing that had the remotest aspect of a reformation, and imposed silence upon these importunate censors by the formidable authority of fire and sword.

Commo-
tions in Bo-
hemia.

III. The religious dissensions that had been excited in Bohemia by the ministry of John Huss and his disciple Jacobellus de Misa were doubly inflamed by the deplorable fate of Huss and Jerome of Prague, and broke out into an open war, which was carried on with the most savage and unparalleled barbarity. The followers of Huss, who pleaded for the administration of the cup to the laity in the holy sacrament, being persecuted and oppressed in various ways by the emissaries and ministers of the court of Rome, retired to a steep and high mountain in the district of Bechin, in which they held their religious meetings, and administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper under both kinds. This mountain they called Tabor, from the tents which they at first erected there for their habitation; and in process of time they raised a strong fortification for its defence, and adorned it with a well-built and regular city. Nor did they stop here; but forming more grand and important projects, they chose for their chiefs Nicholas of Hussinet, and the famous John Ziska, a Bohemian knight, a man of the most undaunted courage and resolution; and proposed, under the standards of these valiant leaders, to revenge the death of Huss and Jerome upon the creatures of the Roman pontiff, and obtain a liberty of worshipping God in a more rational manner than that which was prescribed by the church of Rome. After the death of Nicholas, which happened in the year 1420, Ziska commanded alone this warlike body, and had the satisfaction to see his army increase from day to day. During the first tu-

mults of this war, which were no more than a prelude to calamities of a much more dreadful kind, Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, departed this life in the year 1419 (*x*).

IV. The emperor Sigismund, who succeeded him in the throne of Bohemia, employed, not only edicts and remonstrances, but also the terror of penal laws, and the force of arms to put an end to these lamentable divisions; and great numbers of the Hussites perished, by his orders, in the most barbarous manner. The Bohemians, irritated by these inhuman proceedings, threw off his despotic yoke in the year 1420, and, with Ziska at their head, made war against their sovereign. This famous leader, though deprived of his sight, discovered, in every step he took, such an admirable mixture of prudence and intrepidity, that his name became a terror to his enemies. Upon his death, which happened in the year 1424, the plurality of the Hussites chose for their general Procopius Rasa, a man also of undaunted courage and resolution, who maintained their cause, and carried on the war with spirit and success. The acts of barbarity that were committed on both sides were shocking and terrible beyond expression; for, notwithstanding the irreconcilable opposition that there was between the religious sentiments of the contending parties, they both agreed in this one horrible point, that it was innocent and lawful to persecute and extirpate with fire and sword the enemies of the true

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The Hussite war carried on by Ziska and Procopius Rasa.

 (*x*) This prince had no sooner begun to execute the decrees of the council of Constance against the Hussites than the inhabitants of Prague took fire at this proceeding, raised a tumult, murdered the magistrates who published the order, and committed other outrages which filled the court of Wenceslaus with consternation, and so affected that pusillanimous monarch, that he was seized with an apoplexy, of which he died in a few days.

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religion, and such they reciprocally appeared to be in each other's eyes. The Bohemians maintained, that Huss had been unjustly put to death at Constance, and consequently revenged, with the utmost fury, the injury that had been done him. They acknowledged it, nevertheless, as an incontestable principle, that heretics were worthy of capital punishment; but they denied obstinately that Huss was a heretic. This pernicious maxim, then, was the source of that cruelty that dishonoured the exploits of both the parties in this dreadful war; and it is, perhaps, difficult to determine which of the two carried this cruelty to the greatest height.

The Calixtines.

V. All those who undertook to avenge the death of the Bohemian martyr set out upon the same principles; and, at the commencement of the war, they seemed to agree both in their religious sentiments and in their demands upon the church and government from which they had withdrawn themselves. But as their numbers increased, their union diminished; and their army being prodigiously augmented by a confluence of strangers from all quarters, a great dissension arose among them, which in the year 1420 came to an open rupture, and divided this multitude into two great factions, which were distinguished by the titles of Calixtines and Taborites. The former, who were so called from their insisting upon the use of the cup, or chalice, in the celebration of the eucharist, were mild in their proceedings, and modest in their demands, and showed no disposition to overturn the ancient system of church-government, or to make any considerable changes in the religion that was publicly received. All that they required may be comprehended under the four articles which follow. They demanded, first, that the word of God should be explained to the people in a plain and perspicuous manner;

without the mixture of superstitious comments or inventions; secondly, that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper should be administered in both kinds; thirdly, that the clergy, instead of employing all their attention and zeal in the acquisition of riches and power, should turn their thoughts to objects more suitable to their profession, and be ambitious of living and acting as became the successors of the holy apostles; and, fourthly, that transgressions of a more heinous kind, or mortal sins, should be punished in a manner suitable to their enormity. In this great faction, however, there were some subordinate sects, who were divided upon several points. The administration of the Lord's Supper was one occasion of dispute. Jacobellus de Misa, who had first proposed the celebration of that ordinance under both kinds, was of opinion, that infants had a right to partake of it, and this opinion was adopted by many; while others maintained the contrary doctrine, and confined the privilege in question to persons of riper years (*y*).

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VI. The demands of the Taborites, who derived their name from a mountain well known in sacred history, were much more ample. They not only insisted upon reducing the religion of Jesus to its primitive simplicity; but required also that the system of ecclesiastical government should be reformed in the same manner, the authority of the pope destroyed, the form of divine worship changed: they demanded, in a word, the erection of a new church, a new hierarchy, in which Christ alone should reign, and all things should be carried on by a divine direction and impulse. In maintaining these extravagant demands, the principal doctors among the Taborites, such as Martin Loquis, a Moravian, and his followers, went so far as to flatter themselves with the chi-

Taborites.

(*y*) Byzinii Diarium Hussiticum, p. 130.

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merical notion, that Christ would descend in person upon earth, armed with fire and sword, to extirpate heresy, and purify the church from its multiplied corruptions. These fanatical dreams they propagated every where, and taught them even in a public manner with unparalleled confidence and presumption. It is this enthusiastic class of the Hussites alone, that we are to look upon as accountable for all those abominable acts of violence, rapine, desolation, and murder, which are too indiscriminately laid to the charge of the Hussites in general, and to their two leaders Ziska and Procopius in particular (z). It must indeed be acknowledged, that a great part of the Hussites had imbibed the most barbarous sentiments with respect to the obligation of exe-

(z) From the following opinions and maxims of the Taborites, which may be seen in the *Diarium Hussiticum* of Byzinius, we may form a just idea of their detestable barbarity: “*Omnes legis Christi adversarii debent puniri septem plagis novissimis, ad quarum executionem fideles sunt provocandi.—In isto tempore ultionis Christus in sua humilitate et miseratione non est imitandus ad ipsos peccatores, sed in zelo et furore et justa retributione. In hoc tempore ultionis, quilibet fidelis, etiam presbyter, quantumcunque spiritualis, est maledictus, qui gladium suum corporalem prohibet a sanguine adversariorum legis Christi, sed debet manus suas lavare in eorum sanguine et sanctificare.*” From men, who adopted such horrid and detestable maxims, what could be expected but the most abominable acts of injustice and cruelty? For an account of this dreadful and calamitous war, the reader may consult (besides the ancient writers, such as Sylvius, Theobaldus, Cochläus, and others) Lenfant, *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites*, which was published at Amsterdam, in two volumes, in 4to, in the year 1731. To this history it will, however, be advisable to add the *Diarium Belli Hussitici* of Byzinius, a book worthy of the highest esteem, on account of the candour and impartiality with which it is composed, and which Mr. Lenfant does not seem to have consulted. This valuable production has been published, though incomplete, in the sixth volume of the *Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum* of the very learned John Peter Ludwig. See also Beausobre’s *Supplement to the Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites*, Lausanne, 1745, in 4to.

cuting vengeance upon their enemies, against whom they breathed nothing but bloodshed and fury, without any mixture of humanity or compassion.

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VII. In the year 1433, the council of Basil endeavoured to put an end to this dreadful war, and for that purpose invited the Bohemians to their assembly. The Bohemians accepting this invitation, sent ambassadors, and among others Procopius their leader, to represent them in that council. But, after many warm debates, these messengers of peace returned without having effected any thing that might even prepare the way for a reconciliation so long and so ardently desired. The Calixtines were not averse to peace; but no methods of persuasion could engage the Taborites to yield. This matter, however, was transacted with more success by Æneas Sylvius and others, whom the council sent into Bohemia to renew the conferences. For these new legates, by allowing the Calixtines the use of the cup in the holy sacrament, satisfied them in the point which they had chiefly at heart, and thereby reconciled them with the Roman pontiff. But the Taborites remained firm, adhered inflexibly to their first principles; and neither the artifice nor eloquence of Sylvius, nor the threats, sufferings, and persecutions to which their cause exposed them, could vanquish their obstinate perseverance in it. From this period, indeed, they began to review their religious tenets, and their ecclesiastical discipline, with a design to render them more perfect. This review, as it was executed with great prudence and impartiality, produced a very good effect, and gave a rational aspect to the religion of this sect, who withdrew themselves from the war, abandoned the doctrines, which, upon serious examination, they found to be inconsistent with the spirit and genius of the gospel, and ba-

The com-
motions in
Bohemia
terminated.

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nished from their communion all those whose disordered brains, or licentious manners, might expose them to reproach (a). The Taborites, thus new-modelled, were the same with those Bohemian Brethren (or Picards, i. e. Beghards, as their adversaries called them) who joined Luther and his successors at the Reformation, and of whom there are at this day many of the descendants and followers in Poland, and other countries.

Commen-
tators.

VIII. Among the greatest part of the interpreters of scripture that lived in this century, we find nothing worthy of applause, if we except their zeal and their good intentions. Such of them as aimed at something higher than the character of bare compilers, and ventured to draw their explications from their own sense of things, did little more than amuse, or rather delude, their readers, with mystical and allegorical fancies. At the head of this class of writers is Alphon- sus Tostatus, bishop of Avila, whose voluminous commentaries upon the sacred writings exhibit nothing remarkable but their enormous bulk. Laurentius Valla is entitled to a more favourable judgment, and his small collection of Critical and Grammatical Annotations upon the New Testa- ment is far from being destitute of merit, since it pointed out to succeeding authors, the true method of removing the difficulties that sometimes present themselves to such as study with attention the divine oracles. It is proper to observe here, that these sacred books were, in almost all the kingdoms and states of Europe, translated into the language of each respective people, particu-

(a) See Adriani Regenvolschii *Historia Eccles. Provinciar. Sclavonicar.* lib. ii. cap. viii. p. 165.—Joach. Camerarii *Historica Narratio de Fratrum Ecclesiis in Bohemia, Moravia, et Polonia, Heidelberg. 1605, in 4to.*—Jo. Lasitii *Historia Fratrum Bohemicorum*, which I possess in manuscript, and of which the eighth book was published in 8vo, at Amsterdam, in the year 1649.

larly in Germany, Italy, France, and Britain. This circumstance naturally excited the expectations of a considerable change in the state of religion, and made the thinking few hope, that the doctrine of the church would be soon Reformed by the light that could not but arise from consulting the genuine sources of divine truth.

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IX. The schools of divinity made a miserable figure in this century. They were filled with teachers, who loaded their memory, and that of their disciples, with unintelligible distinctions and unmeaning sounds, that they might thus dispute and discourse with an appearance of method, upon matters which they did not understand. There were now few remaining of those who proved and illustrated the doctrines of religion by the positive declarations of the holy scriptures, and the sentiments of the ancient fathers, and who, with all their defects, were much superior to the vain and obscure pedants of whom we now speak. The senseless jargon of the latter did not escape the just and heavy censure of some learned and judicious persons, who looked upon their method of teaching as highly detrimental to the interests of true religion, and to the advancement of genuine and solid piety. Accordingly, various plans were formed by different persons, some of which had for their object the abolition of this method, others its reformation, while, in the meantime, the enemies of the schoolmen increased from day to day. The Mystics, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more largely hereafter, were ardently bent upon banishing entirely this scholastic theology out of the Christian church. Others, who seemed disposed to treat matters with more moderation, did not insist upon its total suppression, but were of opinion, that it was necessary to reform it, by abolishing all vain and useless subjects of debate, by restraining the rage

The scholastic divines and moralists hated and opposed.

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of disputing that had infected the seminaries of theology, and by seasoning the subtilty of the schoolmen with a happy temperature of mystic sensibility and simplicity. This opinion was adopted by the famous Gerson, who laboured with the utmost zeal and assiduity in correcting and reforming the disorders and abuses that the scholastic divines had introduced into the seminaries (*b*), as also by Savanarola, Petrus de Aliaco, and Nicholas Cusanus, whose treatise concerning Learned Ignorance is still extant.

Principally
by the restorers of
polite literature and
eloquence.

X. The litigious herd of schoolmen found a new class of enemies equally keen in the restorers of eloquence and letters, who were not all, however, of the same opinion with respect to the manner of treating these solemn quibblers. Some of them covered with ridicule, and loaded with invectives, the scholastic doctrine, and demanded its suppression, as a most trifling and absurd system, that was highly detrimental to the culture and improvement of the mind, and every way proper to prevent the growth of genius and true science. Others looked upon this system as supportable, and only proposed illustrating and polishing it by the powers of eloquence, thus to render it more intelligible and elegant. Of this class was Paulus Cortesius, who wrote, with this view, a commentary on the Book of Proverbs, in which, as we learn from himself, he forms a happy union between eloquence and theology, and clothes the principal intricacies of scholastic divinity with the graces of an agreeable and perspicuous style (*c*). But, after all, the scholastic

(*b*) Rich. Simon, *Lettres Choisies*, tom. ii. p. 269. and *Critique de la Bibliotheque Ecclesiastique*, M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 491.—*Thomasii Origines Histor. Philos.* p. 56. and principally *Gersonis Methodus Theologiam Studendi*, in *Launoii Historia Gymnas. Navarreni*, tom. iv. opp. part. I. p. 330.

(*c*) This work was published in folio at Rome, in the year 1512, and at Basil, in 1513.

theology, supported by the extraordinary credit and authority of the Dominicans and Franciscans, maintained its ground against its various opposers, nor could these two religious orders, who excelled in that litigious kind of learning, bear the thoughts of losing the glory they had acquired by quibbling and disputing in the pompous jargon of the schools.

XI. This vain philosophy, however, grew daily more contemptible in the esteem of the judicious and the wise, while at the same time the Mystics gathered strength, and saw their friends and abettors multiply on all sides. Among these there were, indeed, certain men of distinguished merit, who are chargeable with few of the errors and extravagances that were mingled with the discipline and doctrine of that famous sect, such as Thomas à Kempis, the author of the Germanic theology, so highly commended by Luther, Laurentius, Justinianus, Savanarola, and others. There are, on the other hand, some writers of this sect, such as Vincentius Ferrerius, Henricus Harphius, and Bernhard Senensis, in whose productions we must carefully separate certain notions which were the effects of a warm and irregular fancy, as also the visions of Dionysius, whom the Mystics consider as their chief, from the noble precepts of divine wisdom with which they are mingled. The Mystics were defended against their adversaries, the Dialecticians, partly by the Platonics, who were every where held in high esteem, and partly by some, even of the most eminent scholastic doctors. The former considered Dionysius as a person whose sentiments had been formed and nourished by the study of Platonism, and wrote commentaries upon his writings; of which we have an eminent example in Marcilius Ficinus, whose name adds a lustre to the Platonic school. The latter

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attempted a certain sort of association between the scholastic theology and that of the Mystics; and, in this class, were John Gerson, Nicholas Cusanus, Dionysius the Carthusian, and others.

The state
of polemic
or contro-
versial di-
vinity.

XII. The controversy with the enemies of Christianity was carried on with much more vigour in this than in the preceding ages, and several learned and eminent men seemed now to exert themselves with peculiar industry and zeal in demonstrating the truth of that divine religion, and defending it against the various objections of its adversaries. This appears from the learned book of Marcilius Ficinus, Concerning the Truth of Christianity, Savanarola's Triumph of the Cross, the Natural Theology of Raymund de Sabunde, and other productions of a like nature. The Jews were refuted by Perezius and Jerome de St. Foi, the Saracens by Johannes de Turrecremata, and both these classes of unbelievers were opposed by Alphonsus de Spina, in his work, entitled, The Fortress of Faith. Nor were these pious labours in the defence of the Gospel at all unseasonable or superfluous; on the contrary, the state of things at this time rendered them necessary. For, on the one hand, the Aristotelian philosophers in Italy seemed, in their public instructions, to strike at the foundations of all religion: and, on the other hand, the senseless subtillies and quarrels of the schoolmen, who modelled religion according to their extravagant fancies, tended to bring it into contempt. Add to all this, that the Jews and Saracens lived in many places promiscuously with the Christians, who were therefore obliged, by the proximity of the enemy, to defend themselves with the utmost assiduity and zeal.

The schism
between
the Latins
and Greeks
not yet
healed.

XIII. We have already taken notice of the fruitless attempts that had been made to heal the unhappy divisions that separated the Greek and

Latin churches. After the council of Florence, and the violation of the treaty of pacification by the Greeks, Nicolas V. exhorted and entreated them again to turn their thoughts towards the restoration of peace and concord. But his exhortations were without effect; and in about the space of three years after the writing of this last letter, Constantinople was besieged and taken by the Turks. And from that fatal period to the present time, the Roman pontiffs, in all their attempts to bring about a reconciliation, have always found the Grecian patriarchs more obstinate and intractable than they were when their empire was in a flourishing state. Nor is this circumstance so difficult to be accounted for, when all things are duly considered. This obstinacy was the effect of a rooted aversion to the Latins and their pontiffs, that acquired from day to day, new degrees of strength and bitterness in the hearts of the Greeks; an aversion, produced and nourished by a persuasion, that the calamities they suffered under the Turkish yoke might have been easily removed, if the western princes and the Roman pontiffs had not refused to succour them against their haughty tyrants. And accordingly, when the Greek writers deplore the calamities that fell upon their devoted country, their complaints are always mingled with heavy accusations against the Latins, whose cruel insensibility to their unhappy situation they paint in the strongest and most odious colours.

XIV. We pass over in silence many trifling controversies among the Latins, which have no sort of claim to the attention of our readers. But we must not omit mentioning the revival of that famous dispute concerning the kind of worship that was to be paid to the blood of Christ, which was first kindled at Barcelona, in the year 1351, between the Franciscans and Dominicans,

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and had been left undecided by Clement VI. (*d*). This controversy was now renewed at Brixen, in the year 1462, by Jacobus à Marchia, a celebrated Franciscan, who maintained publicly, in one of his sermons, that the blood which Christ shed upon the cross did not belong to the divine nature, and of consequence was not to be considered as an object of divine and immediate worship. The Dominicans rejected this doctrine; and adopted with such zeal the opposite side of the question, that James of Brixen, who performed the office of inquisitor, called the Franciscan before his tribunal, and accused him of heresy. The Roman pontiff Pius II. having made several ineffectual attempts to suppress this controversy, was at last persuaded to submit the matter to the examination and judgment of a select number of able divines. But many obstacles arose to prevent a final decision, among which we may reckon as the principal, the influence and authority of the contending orders, each of which had embarked with zeal in the cause of their respective champions. Hence, after much altercation and chicane, the pontiff thought proper to impose silence on both the parties in this miserable dispute, in the year 1464; declaring, at the same time, that “both sides of the question might be lawfully held, until Christ’s vicar upon earth should find leisure and opportunity for examining the matter, and determining on what side the truth lay.” This leisure and opportunity have not as yet been offered to the pontiffs (*e*).

(*d*) Luc. Waddingi Annal. Minor. tom. viii. p. 58.—Jac. Echardi Scriptor. Prædicator. tom. i. p. 650.

(*e*) Waddingi Annal. Minor. tom. xiii. p. 206.—Nat. Alexander, Hist. Eccles. Sæc. xv. p. 17.

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the Rites and Ceremonies that were used in the Church during this Century.

I. THE state of religious ceremonies among the Greeks may be learned from the book of Simeon of Thessalonica, concerning Rites and Heresies (*f*), from which it appears, that the substance of religion was lost among that people; that a splendid shadow of pomp and vanity was substituted in its place by the rulers of the church; and that all the branches of divine worship were ordered in such a manner as to strike the imaginations, and captivate the senses, of the multitude. They pretended, indeed, to allege several reasons for multiplying, as they did, the external rites and institutions of religion; and casting over the whole of divine worship such a pompous garb of worldly splendour. But in these reasons, and in all the explications they give of this gaudy ritual, there is much subtilty and invention, without the least appearance of truth or good sense to render them plausible. The origin of these multiplied rites, that cast a cloud over the native beauty and lustre of religion, is often obscure, and frequently dishonourable. And such as, by force of ill-applied genius, and invention, have endeavoured to derive honour to these ceremonies from the circumstances that gave occasion to them, have failed egregiously in this desperate attempt. The deceit is too palpable to seduce any mind that is void of prejudice, and capable of attention.

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Rites of the
Greek
church.

(*f*) J. A. Fabricius gives us an account of the contents of this book in his *Biblioth. Græca*, vol. xiv. p. 54.

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Rites in-
creased in
the Latin
church.

II. Though the more rational and judicious of the Roman pontiffs complained of the overgrown multitude of ceremonies, festivals, temples, and the like, and did not seem unwilling to have this enormous mass somewhat diminished, they nevertheless distinguished, every one his own pontificate, by some new institution, and thought it their duty to perpetuate their fame by some new edict of this nature. Thus Calixtus III. to immortalize the remembrance of the deliverance of Belgrade from the victorious arms of Mahomet II. who had been obliged to raise the siege of that city, ordered, in the year 1456, the festival in honour of the Transfiguration of Christ (which had been celebrated in some places by private authority before this period) to be religiously observed throughout all the western world. And Sixtus IV. in the year 1476, granted Indulgences, by an express and particular edict, to all those who should devoutly celebrate an annual festival in honour of the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin, with respect to which none of the Roman pontiffs before him had thought proper to make any express declaration or any positive appointment (*g*). The other additions that were made to the Roman ritual, relating to the worship of the Virgin Mary, public and private prayers, the traffic of Indulgences, and other things of that nature, are of too little importance to deserve an exact and circumstantial enumeration. We need not such a particular detail to convince us, that in this century religion was reduced to mere show, to a show composed of pompous absurdities and splendid trifles.

(*g*) See Raph. Volaterrani Comment. Urbani, lib. viii. p. 289.—Æneas Sylvius, De Statu Europæ sub Frederico III. cap. x. in Freheri Scriptor. Rerum Germanicar. tom. ii. p. 104.

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the Heresies, Sects, and Divisions, that troubled the Church during this Century.

I. NEITHER the severe edicts of the pontiffs and emperors, nor the barbarity and vigilance of the unrelenting inquisitors, could extirpate the remains of the ancient heresies, or prevent the rise of new sects. We have already seen the Franciscan order at open war with the church of Rome. In Bosnia, and the adjacent countries, the Manichæans, or Paulicians, who were the same with the sect named in Italy Catharists, propagated their doctrines with confidence, and held their religious assemblies with impunity. It is true, indeed, that the great protector of the Manichæans, Stephen Thomascus, king of Bosnia, abjured their errors, received baptism by the ministry of John Carvaialus, a Roman cardinal, and, in consequence thereof, expelled these heretics out of his dominions. But it is also certain, that he afterwards changed his mind; and it is well known, that towards the conclusion of this century, the Manichæans inhabited Bosnia, Servia, and the neighbouring provinces. The Waldenses also still subsisted in several European provinces, more especially in Pomerania, Brandenburg, the district of Magdeburg and Thuringia, where they had a considerable number of friends and followers. It appears, however, by authentic records, which are not yet published, that a great part of the adherents of this unfortunate sect in the countries now mentioned, were discovered by the inquisitors, and delivered over by them to the civil magistrates, who committed them to the flames.

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Manichæ-
ans and
Waldenses.

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Beghards,
Schwestri-
ones, Pi-
cards, and
Adamites.

II. The Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit (who were called in Germany, Beghards, or Schwestriones, and in France, Turelupins, and whose distinctive character was a species of mysticism that bordered upon frenzy) wandered about in a secret and disguised manner in several parts of France, Germany, and Flanders, and particularly in Swabia and Switzerland, where they spread the contagion of their enthusiasm, and caught the unwary in their snares. The search, however, that was made after them was so strict and well-conducted, that few of the teachers and chiefs of this fanatical sect escaped the hands of the inquisitors (*h*). When the war between the Hussites and the votaries of Rome broke out in Bohemia, in the year 1418, a troop of these fanatics, with a person at their head, whose name was John, repaired thither, and held secret assemblies, first at Prague, and afterwards in different places, from whence they, at length, retired to a certain island, where they were less exposed to the notice of their enemies. It was, as we have already had occasion to observe, one of the leading principles of this sect, that the tender instincts of nature, with that bashfulness and modesty that generally accompany them, were evident marks of inherent corruption, and showed that the mind was not

(*h*) Felix Malleolus (whose German name is Haemmerlein) in his account of the Lollards, which is subjoined to his book *Contra validos Mendicantes*, i. e. against the sturdy Beggars, *Oper. plag. c. 2. a.* has given us a list, though a very imperfect one, of the Beghards that were committed to the flames in Switzerland and the adjacent countries during this century. This author, in his books against the Beghards and Lollards, has (either through design, or by a mistake founded on the ambiguity of the terms) confounded together three different classes of persons, who were usually known by the appellation of Beghards and Lollards; as, 1st, the Tertiaries, or third order of the more austere Franciscans; 2dly, the Brethren of the Free Spirit; and, 3dly, the Cellite or Alexian friars. Many writers have fallen into the same error.

sufficiently purified, nor rendered conformable to the divine nature, from whence it derived its origin. And they alone were deemed perfect by these fanatics, and supposed to be united to the Supreme Being, who could behold, without any emotion, the naked bodies of the sex to which they did not belong, and who, in imitation of what was practised before the fall by our first parents, went stark-naked, and conversed familiarly in this manner with males and females, without feeling any of the tender propensities of nature. Hence it was that the Beghards, (whom the Bohemians, by a change in the pronounciation of that word, called Picards) when they came into their religious assemblies, and were present at the celebration of divine worship, appeared absolutely naked, without any sort of veil or covering at all. They had also constantly in their mouths a maxim, which, indeed, was very suitable to the genius of the religion they professed, viz. that they were not free (*i. e.* sufficiently extricated from the shackles of the body) who made use of the garments, particularly such garments as covered the thighs and the parts adjacent. These horrible tenets could not but cast a deserved reproach upon this absurd sect; and though nothing passed in their religious assemblies that was contrary to the rules of virtue, yet they were universally suspected of the most scandalous incontinence, and of the most lascivious practices. Ziska, the austere general of the Hussites, gave credit to these suspicions, and to the rumours they occasioned; and, falling upon this miserable sect in the year 1421, he put some to the sword, and condemned the rest to the flames, which dreadful punishment they sustained with the most cheerful fortitude, and also with that contempt of death that was peculiar to their sect, and which they possessed in a degree that

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seems to surpass credibility (*i*). Among the various titles by which these extravagant enthusiasts were distinguished, that of Adamites was one, and it was given them on account of their being so studious to imitate the state of innocence in which the first man was originally created. The ignominious term of Beghards, or Picards, which was at first peculiar to the small sect of which we now treat, was afterwards applied to the Hussites, and to all the Bohemians who opposed the tyranny of the Roman church. All these were called by their enemies, and indeed by the multitude in general, Picard Friars.

The White
Brethren.

III. A new sect, which made a great noise, and infected the multitude with the contagion of their enthusiasm, arose about the beginning of this century. A certain priest, whose name is not known, descended from the Alps (*k*), arrayed

(*i*) See Jo. Lasitii *Historia Fratrum Bohemorum*, MS. lib. ii. sect. lxxvi. who proves, in a satisfactory and circumstantial manner, that the Hussites and the Bohemian Brethren were entirely distinct from these Picards, and had nothing at all in common with them. The other authors that have written upon this subject are honourably mentioned by Isaac de Beausobre in his *Dissertation sur les Adamites de Boheme*, which is subjoined to Lenfant's *Histoire de la Guerre des Hussites*. This learned author is at vast pains in justifying the Picards, or Bohemian Adamites, whom he supposes to have been the same with the Waldenses, and a set of men eminent for their piety, whom their enemies loaded with the most groundless accusations. But this is manifestly endeavouring to wash the Æthiopian white. For it may be demonstrated, by the most unexceptionable and authentic records, that the account I have given of the matter is true. The researches I have made, and the knowledge they have procured me of the civil and religious history of these times, entitle me perhaps to more credit in such a point as this, than the laborious author from whom I differ, whose acquaintance with the history of the middle age was but superficial, and who was, by no means, exempt from prejudice and partiality.

(*k*) Theodoric de Niem tells us, that it was from Scotland that the sect came, and that their leader gave himself out for the prophet Elias. Sigonius and Platina inform us, that this enthusiast came from France; that he was clothed in

in a white garment, and accompanied with a prodigious number of persons of both sexes, who, after the example of their chief, were also clothed in white linen, from whence they were distinguished by the name of *Fratres Albati*, *i. e.* White Brethren. This enthusiastic multitude went in a kind of procession through several provinces, following a cross, which their leader held erected like a standard, and, by the striking appearance of their sanctity and devotion, captivated to such a degree the minds of the people wherever they went, that persons of all ranks and orders flocked in crowds to augment their number. The new chief exhorted his followers to appease the anger of an incensed Deity, emaciated his body by voluntary acts of mortification and penance, endeavoured to persuade the European nations to renew the war against the Turks in Palestine, and pretended, that he was favoured with divine visions, which instructed him in the will and in the secrets of Heaven. Boniface IX. apprehending that this enthusiast or impostor concealed insidious and ambitious views (*l*),

white, carried in his aspect the greatest modesty, and seduced prodigious numbers of people of both sexes, and of all ages; that his followers (called penitents), among whom were several cardinals and priests, were clothed in white linen down to their heels, with caps, which covered their whole faces, except their eyes; that they went in great troops of ten, twenty, and forty thousand persons, from one city to another, calling out for mercy and singing hymns; that wherever they came they were received with great hospitality, and made innumerable proselytes; that they fasted, or lived upon bread and water during the time of their pilgrimage, which continued generally nine or ten days. See *Annal. Mediol. ap. Muratori.*—*Niem. lib. ii. cap. xvi.*

 (*l*) What Dr. Mosheim hints but obscurely here, is further explained by Sigonius and Platina, who tell us, that the pilgrims, mentioned in the preceding note, stopped at Viterbo, and that Boniface, fearing lest the priest who headed them, designed by their assistance to seize upon the pontificate, sent a body of troops thither, who apprehended the false prophet, and carried him to Rome, where he was burnt.

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had him seized and committed to the flames; upon which his followers were dispersed, and his sect entirely extinguished. Whether a punishment so severe was inflicted with reason and justice is a point that has been debated, and yet remains uncertain; for several writers of great credit and authority maintain the innocence of the sectary, while others assert that he was convicted of the most enormous crimes (*m*).

The men
of under-
standing.

IV. In the year 1411, a sect was discovered in Flanders, and more especially at Brussels, which owed its origin to an illiterate man, whose name was Ægidius Cantor, and to William of Hildenssen, a Carmelite monk, and whose members were distinguished by the title of Men of Understanding. There were many things reprehensible in the doctrine of this sect, which seemed to be chiefly derived from the theology of the Mystics. For they pretended to be honoured with celestial visions; denied that any could arrive at a perfect knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, without the extraordinary succours of a Divine illumination; declared the approach of a new revelation from heaven, more complete and perfect than the Gospel of Christ; maintained, that the resurrection was already accomplished in the person of Jesus, and that no other resurrection was to be expected; affirmed, that the inward man was not defiled by the outward actions, whatever they were; that the pains of hell were to have an end, and that, not only all mankind, but even the devils themselves, were to return to God, and be made partakers of eternal felicity. This sect seems to have been a branch of that of the Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit;

(*m*) See Lenfant, *Hist. du Concile de Pise*, tom. i. p. 102.—Poggia, *Historia Florentina*, lib. iii. p. 122.—Marc. Anton. Sabellicus in *Enneadibus Rhapsodiæ Historiæ*, Ennead. ix. lib. ix. tom. ii. opp. p. 839. published in folio at Basil in the year 1560.

since they declared, that a new dispensation of grace and spiritual liberty was to be promulgated to mortals by the Holy Ghost. It must, however, be acknowledged, on the other hand, that their absurdities were mingled with several opinions, which showed, that they were not totally void of understanding; for they maintained, among other things, “First, That Christ alone had merited eternal life and felicity for the human race, and that therefore men could not acquire this inestimable privilege by their own actions alone; Secondly, That the priests, to whom the people confessed their transgressions, had not the power of absolving them, but that it was Christ alone in whom this authority was vested; and, Thirdly, That voluntary penance and mortification were not necessary to salvation.” These propositions, however, and some others, were declared heretical by Peter d’Ailly, bishop of Cambrai, who obliged William of Hildenissen to abjure them (*n*), and opposed with the greatest vehemence and success the progress of this sect.

V. The sect of the Flagellantes, or Whippers, continued to excite commotions in Germany, more especially in Thuringia and the Lower Saxony; but these fanatics were very different from the ancient heretics of the same name, who ran wildly in troops through various provinces. The new Whippers rejected not only the sacraments, but also every branch of external worship, and placed their only hopes of salvation in faith and flagellation; to which they added some strange doctrines concerning the evil spirit, and other matters, which are not explained with sufficient perspicuity in the records of antiquity. The person that appeared at the head of this sect in Thuringia was Conrad

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A new sect
of Flagel-
lantes, or
Whippers.

(*n*) See the records of this transaction in Steph. Baluz. Miscellan. tom. ii. p. 277.

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Schmidt, who, with many of his followers, was apprehended and committed to the flames (*o*), in the year 1414, by Henry Schonefeld, who was, at that time, inquisitor in Germany, and rendered his name famous by his industry and zeal in the extirpation of heresy, Nicholas Schaden suffered at Quedlingburg for his attachment to this sect. Berthold Schade, who was seized at Halberstadt in the year 1481, escaped death, as appears most probable, by abjuring their doctrine (*p*), and we find in the records of these unhappy times a numerous list of the Flagellantes, whom the German inquisitors devoted to the flames.

(*o*) Excerpta Monachi Pirnensis, in Jo. Burch. Menkenii Scriptor. Rerum Germanicar. tom. ii. p. 1521.—Chron. Monaster. in Anton. Matthæi Analect. Vet. Ævi, tom. v. p. 71.—Chron. Magdeb. in Meibomii Scriptor. Rerum German. tom. ii. p. 362.—From sixteen articles of faith adopted by this sect, which were committed to writing by a certain inquisitor of Brandenborch, in the year 1411, and which Conrad Schmidt is said to have taken from the papers of Walkenried, we may derive a tolerable idea of their doctrine, of which the substance is as follows: “That the opinions adopted by the Roman church, with respect to the efficacy of the sacraments, the flames of purgatory, praying for the dead, and several other points, are entirely false and groundless; and that the person who believes what is contained in the Apostles’ Creed, repeats frequently the Lord’s Prayer and the Ave Maria, and at certain times lashes his body severely, as a voluntary punishment of the transgressions he has committed, shall obtain eternal salvation.”

(*p*) See the account of this matter; which is given by the learned Jo. Ernst Kappius, in his *Relat. de Rebus Theologicis Antiquis et Novis*, a. 1747. p. 475.

END OF VOL. III.





