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Jesus Christ, for ever;" and after the prayer, "Lord, remember Thy Church, to deliver it from every evil and to make it perfect in Thy love, and gather it from the four winds, *it*, the sanctified into Thy kingdom which Thou hast prepared for it, *for Thine is the power and the glory for ever.*"

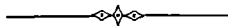
Westcott and Hort believe that the doxology originated in liturgical use in Syria, and found its way from thence into the Greek and Syriac versions of the New Testament. This addition would certainly adapt the prayer for use at the office of Holy Communion and other thanksgiving services.

The Rabbins related how Jacob made use of this prayer when he called his sons together and said, "Blessed be the name of His glory." And in the public liturgy of the Temple it was the custom of the people to use this form of response instead of the "Amen" which was used in the synagogue.

In the tractate Berakhôth of the Jerusalem Talmud we read: "The tradition is that 'Amen' was not the response in the House of the Sanctuary. What, then, did they say? 'Blessed be the name of the glory of His kingdom for everlasting.'" In the tractate Yoma of the Babylonian Talmud we have another witness: "And the people replied, 'Blessed be the name of the glory of His kingdom for everlasting.'" And in another passage, "After the concluding words of the prayer of the high-priest, 'Cleanse yourselves before Jehovah,' the priests and the people standing in the court, when they heard the name Jehovah clearly and solemnly pronounced, fell upon their faces and worshipped, saying, 'Blessed be the name of the glory of His kingdom for ever and ever.'"

The response "Amen" was thus peculiar to the synagogue worship. The combination of these two responses in the doxology that is used in the Christian Church is a very strange one, and is a proof in itself of the comparative lateness of the expression. We may fitly conclude this paper with the remark of Bengel, that the whole prayer shall hereafter be one doxology, when God's name is hallowed, His kingdom has come, and His will *is done* on earth as it is in heaven.

F. R. MONTGOMERY-HITCHCOCK.



ART. IV.—THE ALBIGENSES.

THE author of the article on "the Albigenses" in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" says: "The attempt to discover the precise doctrinal opinions held by the Albigenses is attended with a double difficulty. No formal creed or definite doctrinal statement framed by themselves exists, and in default of this

it is impossible to depend on the representations of their views given by their opponents in the Church of Rome, who did not scruple to exaggerate and distort the opinions held by those whom they branded as heretics."

The object of this series of articles, therefore, is to lay before the reader the principal documentary evidence which refers to the doctrines held, or alleged to have been held, by those Dissenters from the Church of Rome, who, in the history of those times, were generalized under the name of Albigenses. In these days, when history, so far from repeating itself, often contradicts itself, when research has compelled us to regard accepted fact as obvious fable, it is imperative that every seeker after truth should have the statements of the original authorities themselves placed before him, for only when thus provided are we justified in forming an opinion upon any historical period or problem; and only when we have such materials can we hope to defend our opinion with success. The final appeal must after all be framed upon the Scriptural principle, "To the law and to the testimony."

The study of the history of the Albigenses is one of considerable interest, because, on the one hand, they have been regarded as the rankest heretics—out and out Manichees; and, on the other hand, they have been claimed as forerunners of the Reformation—the Protestants of the Dark Ages. I think a careful weighing of the evidence which will be submitted will show that neither of these opinions is right to the exclusion of the other, but that the Albigenses held opinions of a very miscellaneous nature. The solid foundation upon which we can build our historical edifice is the fact that from the first arrival of Christianity in these parts there was manifested a sturdy independence from all outside interference, and in later times a jealous resentment against any encroachments upon this "free-thought" from the Pope of Rome. This feeling is traced by Allix in his "Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of the Albigenses," in which he defends this religious movement from the charge of schism which had been brought against it by the Bishop of Meaux. He instances the decrees of the Council of Frankfort, which were made binding upon the whole kingdom of Charlemagne, and which simply annulled the decrees of the second Council of Nicæa, although the Pope had given it his sanction. Council in the East, Pope in the West, might approve and enjoin image-worship: the Franks would have none of it. Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, who spent his early years in Gallia Narbonensis, also condemned the use of images and pictures in Christian worship. He eulogized Hezekiah for breaking up Nehushtan, "because the mistaken multitude worshipped it as an idol."

He ridiculed the translation of Gen. iii. 15, "*Ipsa tuum conteret caput,*" and the inference therefrom in favour of Mariolatry, maintaining that the true rendering was "*Iipse.*"

Many other instances might be adduced, all proving that the inhabitants of this district for many centuries looked at dogma for themselves, and did not accept a thing just because it came from Rome. It is obvious that such a country would be especially attractive to all and sundry who held doctrines other than those recognised as orthodox. Here they found rest; here they were tolerated; nay, more, here they found a congenial soil in which their distinctive teaching would take root and thrive. Hither came the Paulicians, the Petrobrussians, the Henricans, the Waldenses; all these left their several marks upon the Albigenses, but no one of them could claim an absolute monarchy; neither were they welded together to form one creed. Its closest counterpart will be, perhaps, found in the Dissent of modern times, in that the Albigenses had, in the matter of religion, great divergences amongst themselves, but united in their opposition to the "established" Church, with which they nevertheless had many things in common.

We are now in a position to examine the documents from which an estimate may be formed of the articles of belief current in the South of France before and during the Albigensian Crusade. As, in spite of their most indignant denials, the Albigenses were and are called Manichees, it will be well, for purposes of comparison, to set down the fourteen heads of what the Inquisitor Eymericus in his "*Directorium Inquisitorum*" calls "*recentiorum Manicheorum errores*" (Part II., pp. 273, 274; Venice).

I. They assert and confess that there are two Gods or two Lords, viz., a good God, and an evil Creator of all things visible and material; declaring that these things were not made by God our heavenly Father . . . but by a wicked devil—even Satan . . . and so they assume two Creators, viz., God and the devil; and two creations, viz., one of material and visible things, the other of invisible and immaterial.

II. They imagine that there are two Churches, one good, which they say is their own sect, and declare it to be the Church of Jesus Christ; the other, however, they call an evil Church, which they say is the Church of Rome. . . .

III. All grades, orders, ordinances, and statutes of the Church they despise and ignore; and all who hold the faith they call heretics and deluded, and positively assert (*dogmatizant*) that nobody can be saved by the faith (*in fide*) of the Roman Church.

IV. All the sacraments of the Roman Church of our Lord Jesus Christ, viz., the Eucharist, and Baptism which is performed with material water, also Confirmation and Orders, and Extreme Unction and Penance (*pœnitentia*) and Matrimony, all and singular they assert to be vain and useless.

V. They invent, instead of holy baptism in water, another *spiritual* baptism, which they call the Consolation (*consolamentum*) of the Holy Spirit.

VI. Instead of the consecrated bread of the Eucharist of the Body of Christ, they invent a certain bread, which they call "blessed bread," or "bread of holy prayer," which, holding it in their hands, they bless according to their rite, and break and distribute to their fellow-believers seated.

VII. Instead of the Sacrament of Penance they say that their sect receives and holds a true penance (*pœnitentia*), and to those holding the said sect and order, whether they be in health or sickness, all sins are forgiven (*dimissa*), and that such persons are absolved from all their sins without any other satisfaction, asserting that they themselves have over these the same and as great power as had Peter and Paul and the other Apostles . . . saying that the confession of sins which is made to the priests of the Roman Church is of no avail whatever for salvation, and that neither the Pope nor any other person of the Roman Church has power to absolve anyone from their sins.

VIII. Instead of the Sacrament of carnal Matrimony between man and woman, they invent a spiritual matrimony between the soul and God, viz., when the heretics themselves, the perfect or consoled (*perfecti seu consolati*), receive anyone into their sect and order.

IX. They deny the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ from Mary ever virgin, asserting that He had not a true human body, etc., but that all things were done figuratively (*in similitudinem*).

X. They deny that the blessed Virgin Mary was the true mother of our Lord Jesus Christ; they deny also that she was a woman of flesh (*carnalem*). But they say their sect and order is the Virgin Mary, and that true penance (*pœnitentia*) is a chaste virgin who bears sons of God, when they are received into their sect and order.

XI. They deny the future resurrection of human bodies, imagining in its place certain spiritual bodies. . . .

XII. They say that a man ought neither to eat or touch meat, nor cheese, nor eggs, nor anything which is born of the flesh by way of generation or intercourse.

XIII. They say and believe that in brutes, and even in birds, there are those spirits which go forth from the bodies

of men when they have not been received into their sect and order by imposition of hands, according to their rite, and that they pass from one body into another; wherefore they themselves do not eat or kill any animal, nor anything that flies.

XIV. They say a man ought never to touch a woman.

(The Roman figures are given instead of the original Latin headings for the sake of brevity, and for purposes of reference.)

That some of these "errors" were to be found in the South of France appears from the earliest notice that we possess of the existence of heterodoxy there. Ademar, in his *Chronicle* (A.D. 1010), says: "Shortly afterwards there arose *throughout Aquitaine*¹ Manichees, seducing the people, denying baptism and the virtue of Holy Cross, and whatever is of sound doctrine (*cf.* IV.-XI.), abstaining from food (*cf.* XII., XIII.), and feigning chastity (*cf.* XIV.), 'sed inter se ipsos luxuriam omnem exercentes.'"

Again (A.D. 1030), he says Duke William summoned a Council. "There were present all the chiefs of *Aquitaine*, whom he enjoined to keep the peace and reverence the Catholic Church of God" (*cf.* II., III.).

In 1119 a Council was held at Toulouse, over which the Pope himself presided. The third canon of that Council is as follows: "Moreover, those who, pretending to a sort of religion, condemn the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, and baptism of *children*, the priesthood and the other ecclesiastical orders, and the compacts of lawful nuptials (*cf.* III.-VIII.), we expel from the Church of God, and condemn as heretics. Their defenders also we consign to the yoke of the same sentence until they abjure."

Fuller light still is thrown upon the religious beliefs of the Albigenses (and let it be borne in mind that "Albigenses" is the name of a *people*, not a *denomination*) by Maurice de Montboissier, better known as Petrus Venerabilis, Abbot of Cluny (1122-1156), in his letter or tractate to the Bishops of Arles and Embrun, dealing with the Petrobrussians, so called from their founder and leader, Peter de Bruis. In the preface he sums up the tenets of these "heretics" under five heads: "(i.) They deny that little children below the age of intelligence can be saved by the baptism of Christ, nor can another's faith benefit those who cannot use it, . . . for God said 'whosoever believed and was baptized was saved.' (ii.) No temple or church ought to be built, and those already built should be destroyed, and for Christians sacred places for praying

¹ It may here be convenient to note that the region affected by Albigensianism contained the provinces of Guienne, Gascony, Foix, Languedoc, Provence, Lyonnais, and Avignon.

should not be required, since equally in a tavern or church, in market or temple, before altar or stall, God when invoked hears and hearkens to those who deserve. (iii.) All holy crosses should be broken up and burnt, since that instrument, by which Christ was so fearfully tortured and so cruelly killed, is not worthy of adoration, veneration, or other reverence. (iv.) Not only do they deny the truth of the body and blood of the Lord in the sacrament offered daily and continuously in the Church, but they declare that it is absolutely nothing, and ought not to be offered to God. (v.) They deride sacrifices, prayers, alms, and other good things done on behalf of the faithful departed, and affirm that these things cannot help any of the dead in the smallest degree."

Later on he adds: "The heretics say that God is mocked by Church hymns, because He delights in pious affections only, and cannot be summoned with loud voice, or appeased with musical notes."

In the letter itself he writes: "In your parts people were rebaptized, churches profaned, altars thrown down, crosses burned, meat publicly eaten on Good Friday (*die ipso passionis dominicæ*), priests scourged, monks imprisoned, and compelled by terrors and tortures to marry wives. The heads of this pest you have driven out of your district by God's help, and the assistance of the Catholic princes. . . . But the slippery serpent, gliding out of your regions . . . has betaken himself to the Province of Narbonne, and whereas with you he used to whisper in deserts and hamlets in fear and trembling, he now preaches boldly in great meetings and populous cities. But let the most distant shores of the swift Rhone, and the adjacent champaign of Toulouse and the city itself, more populous than its neighbours, drive out this opinion; for the better informed the city is, the more cautious it ought to be against false dogma."

Compare this extract with that from Zymericus, and it at once becomes apparent that this "Puritanism" has nothing Manichean about it. On the other hand, Radulp Ardens (A.D. 1130) testifies in his "Sermons" (p. 325) to the existence of religious opinions widely different from those of the Petrobrussians: "Such, my brethren, are the heretics, *Manichees*, in that they have polluted by their heresy your country of Agen, who falsely assert that they observe the life of the Apostles, who under the pretext of abstinence and continence condemn meat and marriage. . . . They condemn also the Old Testament; of the New, part they receive, and part not. And, what is more serious, they preach two authors of things—God the author of things invisible, and the Devil of things visible. Also they say that the sacrament of the altar is

mere bread. They deny Baptism. They preach that none can be saved but by their hands. They deny also the resurrection of the body."

Hugo of Cluny, Archbishop of Rouen, writing in A.D. 1130 against heretics, does not mention their name, but attributes to them the following opinions: (i.) The recognition of the Old Testament. (ii.) Opposition to *Infant* Baptism. (iii.) Denial of the Trinity. (iv.) Disregard of all ecclesiastical orders. (v.) "(Hæretici) dicunt se communem in domiciliis suis vitam habere et more Apostolico secum mulieres habere." (vi.) Three orders: Virgins, *continentes*, *conjugati*. (vii.) The Eucharist and Matrimony held to be Sacraments. Whoever these "heretics" were, they differ in several important points from any previously mentioned.

Bernard of Clairvaux is worth attention, if only for his extensive vocabulary of abuse. He describes the "heretics" as sheep in clothing, foxes in cunning, wolves in cruelty. They are "rusticani homines, et idiotæ, et prorsus contemptibiles." "The Manichees were so called from their chief, Manes; Arians from Arius. But by what name or title will you call these? By none, since their heresy is not of man. It is by the deceit of devils. . . . There are some, however, who differ from the rest, in that they profess that matrimony can be contracted *inter solos virgines*. . . . They do not believe that the fire of purgatory remains after death" (S. Bernard: Serm. in Cant. lxvi.; text, S. of Sol. ii. 15).

A Council was held at Tours in A.D. 1163, and the title of its fourth Canon is "Ut cuncti *Albigensium* hæreticorum consortium fugiant." It states that "in the parts about Toulouse a damnable heresy has lately risen, and like a canker is slowly diffusing itself into the neighbouring localities, through Gascony and other places. . . ." Certain repressive measures are to be taken against them by the ecclesiastical and civil powers. But the doctrines of these Albigensian heretics are not specified, and the need for more precise instructions was acutely felt as soon as the authorities began to put the prescribed measures into operation. Accordingly, a special Council was summoned to meet in the heart of the disturbed district—namely, at Lombers, a small town in the diocese of Albi. At this Council were present the Archbishop of Narbonne, the Bishops of Nîmes, Agde, Toulouse and Lodève, eight abbots (four of whom were of the diocese of Albi); also Trenvecal, Viscount of Albi, Béziers, and Carcassonne. Binus calls this "the Gallican Council against the Albigenses," while the official account of the Council states that its sentence was directed against those who call themselves

“Boni homines.”¹ Now, for the first time apparently, an official inquiry was held into their opinions. Certain of their leaders, of whom Olivier was chief, were cited to appear before the Council, and the examination was conducted by Gaucelin, Bishop of Lodève, by command of Girald, Bishop of Albi. From this inquiry it transpired that they rejected the whole of the Old Testament, but received all the New Testament. They would say nothing about their creed unless forced. As to the Baptism of infants, and whether they were saved by Baptism, they said nothing of themselves, but only quoted texts from the Gospels and Epistles. They were questioned on the body and blood of the Lord, as to where it was consecrated, through whom they received it, and who received it, and whether its consecration was affected by the good or evil character of him who consecrated. They answered that those who received it worthily were saved, and those who received it unworthily acquired for themselves damnation. It was to be consecrated by a good man, clerical or lay. Further than this they would not answer, maintaining that they ought not to be compelled to answer *de fide sua* (where *fide* seems to mean mere opinion as distinct from creed or dogma). They declined to commit themselves to any definite views about matrimony and penance, being content to leave these matters where St. Paul and St. James place them. As for fasts, scourgings (*afflictionibus*), alms, as penances in satisfaction of sins confessed, they replied that they did not wish to be wiser than the Apostle St. James in his Epistle (v. 16). Many things they volunteered, without being questioned—*e.g.*, that we should “swear not at all” by any oath (*per aliquod sacramentum*); that St. Paul states in his Epistle what kind of men should be ordained Bishops and Presbyters, and if men of other character and qualification were ordained they were not Bishops or Presbyters, but ravening wolves, hypocrites, and seducers, and obedience should not be given them. They were, however, condemned as heretics, and a refutation of their doctrines, taken only from the New Testament, follows the sentence. They retorted that the Bishop who had given sentence against them was a heretic himself; and, turning to the people, they said: “We believe (the Articles of the Apostles’ Creed, with the exception of ‘the Holy Catholic Church’) confession with heart and

¹ The date of the Council was either 1165 or 1176. In support of the former we have (1) the MS. of Sirmond, given by Labbe; (2) “The Archives of the Inquisition of Carcassonne,” in which it is dated 1165; (3) Trenvecal, who was present at the Council, died in 1167. For the latter we have the authority of Roger de Hoveden, whom Labbe and Fleury follow.

mouth ; that he who does not eat the body of Christ is not saved ; that it is not consecrated except in the Church and by a priest, good or evil ; that no unbaptized person is saved ; that infants are saved through baptism ; married persons are saved." They were ready to believe anything that could be proved from the Gospels and Epistles, but they would not by any means swear to it. This inquiry did not strengthen the case for the Church of Rome ; it only served to focus the views of the sectaries, and to give them greater publicity. They felt, too, that they had been unjustly condemned, and in their resentment they became more zealous in propagating their doctrines. In fact, things looked so black that the Pope called upon the King of France and his vassal the King of England to lead an army into the infected district and stamp out the heresy by force. The Kings did not see their way clear to do this, but sent instead Peter Chrysogonus, Cardinal and Legate, a Cistercian monk, and some Archbishops and Bishops, "in order that by their *preaching* they might convert them to the Christian faith." A Council met at Toulouse, A.D. 1178, but the heretics answered, "Sane et circumspecte ac si Christiani essent." What these answers were we learn in greater detail from a letter which the said Peter Chrysogonus published "to all the world." "They confessed and strongly asserted the one God, most high, made all things visible and invisible, which they proved out of the Evangelical and Apostolical writings ; that a priest, good or bad, can make the body and blood of Christ, and through the ministry of such a priest both the body and blood of Christ are transubstantiated ; that infants and adults baptized by our baptism are saved ; that Archbishops and Bishops must be saved (*salvandos esse*) ; that churches founded in the honour of God and His saints should be approached and entered with the highest devotion ; that tithes should be paid and alms given." All these, though they were said before to deny them, they asserted they understood into our sound meaning. Some of the Council were so astonished at this that they charged the heretics with lying. But as before, so now, they refused to swear to these opinions, and were accordingly again condemned and excommunicated. Henry of Clairvaux, who accompanied Chrysogonus, and likewise addressed a letter "to the Catholic world," says that if they had deferred their visit for three years scarcely anyone would have remained orthodox.

H. J. WARNER.

