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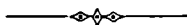
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matter. It has been found impossible to dissociate the conclusions of the disintegrating critics from the doctrine of the Person of our blessed Lord—a most significant fact, especially as it is not the conservative critic who has raised this question, it is the *Lux Mundi* school, which having in an unguarded moment, as I must believe, committed itself to the theory of an “idealization” of Old Testament history for the furtherance of the object of a school of ethic monotheists existing at the period of the decline of the Jewish monarchy, has found itself compelled to support this theory by hazardous assertions concerning the person of Christ—theories opposed to the best traditions of the Catholic Church and contrary to the teaching of her wisest doctors. I will not now pursue this subject further than by saying that, though it does not seem that the manhood of Christ shared the full omniscience of the Godhead—indeed, there are well-known passages which show that this was not the case—yet our Lord displayed on many occasions a Divine wisdom which could hardly have failed to discern the fact, if it be a fact, that the Jewish Scriptures display the most obvious signs of having been tampered with in order to support a view of the Jewish history which is altogether unfounded. But whether I am right in this or not, I must at least think that a theory is open to grave suspicion which compels the scholars who adopt it to revise very considerably their conceptions of the Person of their Lord.

J. J. LIAS.



ART. II.—THE ALBIGENSES (*continued*).

THE decree of Lucius III. issued in A.D. 1181 against those who “falsely describe themselves as Cathari, Patarini, Humiliati, or Poor Men of Lyons, and whose errors mostly concerned the Sacraments,” throws no fresh light upon the Albigensian heresy, although it is a document of considerable interest, in that it specifies in greater detail than any previous authority the *methods* by which the heretics are to be detected and punished.

Two years later (A.D. 1183) we meet with a book whose title promises to the student of this question much fruit for his labour in perusing it. It is a book written by Alan de Insulis. His birthplace was Insulæ, in Flanders, although Demster states that he was a native of the island of Mona. A monk under the great Bernard of Clairvaux, he was made Bishop of Antissiodorensis in 1151, and was present at the third Lateran Council. The work with which we are now

concerned was written by command of, and is dedicated to his "most beloved lord, William, by the grace of God, Prince of Montpelier." The full title of the book is "*De fide Catholica contra Hæreticos sui temporis, præsertim Albigenses.*" But what the Albigenses taught we can only get at by the principle of exhaustion, because the Albigenses are never mentioned *by name* from the beginning of the work to the end. The whole work is divided into four books or parts. Book I. contains nearly eighty chapters, bearing titles from which we obtain an idea of what the unnamed "heretics" said and taught. Book II. is directed "*contra Waldenses*"; Book III. "*contra Judæos*"; and Book IV. "*contra Paganos seu Mahometanos.*" Since, therefore, the work was written "*especially against the Albigenses,*" it is only reasonable to conclude that the unnamed heretics of Book I. are the Albigenses—a conclusion which is strengthened by the reflection that these "heretics" hold the first place in the author's mind. The statement of each heretical doctrine is followed by a refutation of it, and a defence of the "Catholic faith." These doctrines were as follows:—Chap. ii.: There are two beginnings of things, a beginning of light and a beginning of darkness. The beginning of light is God, from Whom (or which) are things spiritual, viz., souls and angels; and the beginning of darkness is Lucifer, from whom (or which) are things temporal. Chap. ix.: The souls in human bodies are none other than apostate angels who have fallen from heaven. Chap. xi.: Demons in human bodies are punished. Chap. xv.: The souls of saints do not ascend with Christ into heaven, and Christ did not descend into hell. Chap. xix.: Christ did not take a true body, neither did He eat or drink. Chap. xxxiii.: Christ took a heavenly Body, and the blessed Mary was created in heaven, and had neither father nor mother. Chap. xxxv.: The Mosaic law was given by the Devil. Chap. xxxvii.: The Fathers of the Old Testament were wicked, and are damned. Chap. xxxix.: "The opinion of some" that baptism does not benefit little children, and that little children have not sin. Chap. xli.: Baptism benefits nobody before years of discretion. Chap. xliii.: Baptism has no efficacy either in little children or adults. Chap. xlv.: Baptism does not benefit without imposition of hands. Chap. xlvii.: After remission of sins which is given (*fit*) in baptism, penance (*pœnitentia*) has no place. Chap. l.: Penance is of no avail for the remission of sins. Chap. lii.: It is sufficient to confess to God alone. Chap. lvii.: They deny that the bread is transubstantiated into the Body of Christ. Chap. lxii.: Marriage is to be condemned. Chap. lxvi.: Confirmation has no efficacy.

Chap. xlvii.: Ordination is not a Sacrament. Chap. lxviii.: Extreme Unction is not a Sacrament. Chap. lxxiv.: We ought not to eat flesh.

A glance at these headings of chapters will show at once that the several doctrines could not possibly be held together by the same person, and therefore that it is more correct to speak of the Albigensian *heresies* than *heresy*. Alan differentiates these heretics dealt with in Book I. from the Waldenses, whose opinions he sets himself to refute in Book II. He derives their name from the heresiarch Waldus, "who, led by his own spirit, and not sent by God, founded a new sect, so that he presumed to preach without the authority of the bishop, without Divine inspiration, and without learning (*sine literatura*)." But the same inconsistency marks the belief of the Waldenses as that of the Albigenses. Thus, in chap. ii. Alan says: "They assert that no one should obey any *man*, but God only;" whereas in chap. v. he states it as "their opinion that only good prelates should be obeyed"; and in chap. vi. that "only the imitators of the Apostles should be obeyed." In the two next points (chaps. viii. and ix.) the Waldensian view coincided with the Albigensian, viz., that ordination did not confer power to consecrate or bless, to bind or loose; and that it was not necessary to confess to a priest, if a layman were present to whom confession might be made. They also maintained that on no account should men take an oath (chap. xviii.), and on no account should a man be killed (chap. xx.).

Bernard, Abbot of Fontcaud, and a member of the Præmonstratensian Order, wrote a book "against the sect of the Waldenses," but it affords us no assistance in solving the Albigensian problem (A.D. 1190). A year or two later Bonacursus, who had seceded from the Cathari, describes the opinions of some heretics whom he does not name, though probably of those whom he himself had left. We notice some similarity to those ascribed above to the Albigenses. He says that some heretics declare that *all* the elements were made by God; some others by the Devil. The cross is the mark of the Beast. No one who is married can be saved. The sun is the Devil, the moon Eve, who each month have unlawful intercourse. No one can be saved without themselves. Christ is not equal to the Father, and did not rise from the dead. They do not believe in the resurrection of the flesh. No one ought to eat meat, eggs, etc.

Our investigation now leads us to perhaps the most important authority of all, viz., the "History of the Albigenses," written by Peter of Vaux-Sarnai, and dedicated to Innocent III. Unfortunately, it is marred by expressions of the most violent

prejudice and hatred against the Albigenses. There is, however, this redeeming feature about it, that this bias is so intense that the impartial reader will not be misled by it—at any rate, in that part of the work which is devoted to tracing the history of the struggle between the Albigenses and the Crusaders. We have need to walk more warily when we follow him in his statements of their doctrinal opinions, inasmuch as he would be inclined to lay to their charge views which *they* may have never held. Some of his statements lack confirmation from any other authority, and are so blasphemous that only loyalty to the office of historian impels us to allude to them. According to Peter of Vaux-Sarnai, the Albigenses, as we shall see, strongly resembled the Manichees of Eymericus (*vide supra*). They believed in two creators, good and evil, to whom respectively they assigned the New and Old Testaments. They repudiated the whole of the latter, except some parts which are quoted in the New. The evil creator was a liar, because he said man should die if he ate of the tree: whereas man did not die. He was also a murderer, for flooding the world. John the Baptist was one of the greater demons. They say “amongst themselves” (*in secreto suo*) that the Christ born in Bethlehem and crucified in Jerusalem was evil (and here follows one of those shocking blasphemies referred to above). For the good Christ never ate nor drank, nor assumed true flesh, nor ever was in this world, except spiritually in the body of Paul. They imagine a new and invisible earth, and there, *according to some*, the good Christ was born and crucified. They say the good god had two wives, Colla and Coliba, and from these were born sons and daughters. But *other* heretics say that there is one Creator, and that he had as sons Christ and the Devil. Some say also that both the creators were good, but through the daughters mentioned in the Apocalypse all things were corrupted. . . . Almost the whole Roman Church is a den of thieves, and is *meretrix illa* which is spoken of in the Apocalypse. On the seven “sacraments” they held the same views as those attributed to the Manichees by Eymericus, “instilling this blasphemy into the ears of the simple that though the Body of Christ had been as large as the Alps, it would long ago have been consumed by the partakers thereof.” They are at one also with the so-called Manichees on the questions of the resurrection of the dead, the transmigration of souls, and vegetarianism. Images in churches they denounced as idolatry; the sacred bells were the trumpets of devils. Our author gives us some interesting particulars about their customs and regulations, but these will be collected and presented together later on. Of the Waldenses Peter Vaux-

Sarnai speaks in much higher terms. "They are evil," he says, "but are by no means so perverse as the other heretics: for in many things they agree with us, in some they differ, but they are free from many of the errors of the others." Unfortunately, he does not specify the points of agreement with and disagreement from the Church of Rome.

This favourable account of the Waldenses is, at first sight, very materially damaged by a tract published by Gretzer in his twelfth volume, entitled "Ermengard against the Sect of the Waldenses"; because in the nineteen chapters of which the work consists the author argues against opinions which, according to nearly all other evidence, were held by the Albigenses, but not by the Waldenses. The solution of this difficulty is that this title "contra Waldensium sectam" is the title given the book by the *editor*. The real title is "contra Hæreticos." The Waldenses are never mentioned by name, either in the original title or in the tract itself. Although he mentions one or two new arguments drawn from Holy Scripture, by which the "heretics" supported their contentions with reference to Baptism and the Eucharist, he throws no *fresh* light upon the doctrines themselves.

The same criticism must be passed upon the title and contents of a work by Ebrard, published about A.D. 1212, and entitled "contra Waldenses."

Another important source of evidence will be found also in vol. xii. of Gretzer, to wit, that of Reinerius Saccho, who, according to his own account, had been a Catharus (not a Waldensian), but recanted, and subsequently became an Inquisitor. The work, which was published in A.D. 1254, accuses the Waldenses, "who are also called the Poor Men of Lyons," of thirty-three errors. Amongst these the following may be mentioned: (a) Belief in Traducianism ("anima hominis primi facta fuit materialiter de Spiritu Sancto, et aliæ ex alia traduce per illam"). (b) Neither the Body of Christ nor any other creature, nor images nor crosses should be adored or venerated. (c) Death-bed penitence (*finalis pœnitentia*) profiteth nothing. (d) The punishment of Purgatory is nothing else than present tribulation. (e) Prayers for the dead avail nought. (f) Tenths and other benefactions should be given to the poor, and not to the priests. (g) They deride music, canonical hours, and prayers in Latin. (h) The Roman Church is not the head of the Church. It is a Church of malignants. (i) None can be saved, except members of their sect. (j) Infant baptism avails nothing. (k) Priests in mortal sin cannot consecrate. (l) Transubstantiation does not take place in the hand of him who consecrates, but in the mouth of him who worthily receives; and consecration may

be made at a common table (quoting Mal. i. 11). (*m*) Mass is nothing, because the Apostles had it not. (*n*) No one can be absolved by a bad priest, but a good layman has the power. He may do this by the imposition of hands, and may confer the Holy Spirit. All the laity, male or female, have the right to preach. (*o*) Holy Scripture has the same power in the vulgar tongue as in Latin. (They knew by heart the whole of the New Testament, and a great part of the Old.) (*p*) They reprobated public penance, especially for women. (*q*) Orders, tonsure, extreme unction, decretals, excommunications, indulgences, relics, canonizations, and so forth, they held of no account. (*r*) There were no saints but the Apostles. The doctrine of Christ and His Apostles was sufficient for salvation, without the statutes and decrees of the Church. Reiner then proceeds to describe the Cathari. According to his account, they were divided into three parts: the Albanenses, the Concorenzes, and the Bagnolenses. All these were in Lombardy. The other Cathari, however, whether in Tuscany, the Marquisate of Trevisano, or in *Provence*, did not differ in their opinions from the aforesaid Cathari. This "in *Provence*" brings his evidence into line with our subject, a conclusion which is further justified by his observation that the Cathari had sixteen churches, of which four were in France, viz., "the Churches of France" (*i.e.*, in the kingdom of France proper), Toulouse, Cahors, and Albi. These are the opinions which Reiner attributes to these Cathari: (*a*) The Devil made the world and all things in it. (*b*) All the Sacraments of the Church are of the Devil. (*c*) There is no such thing as a resurrection of the flesh. (*d*) There is no such thing as Purgatory. (*e*) Matrimony, killing animals, eating eggs, punishing heretics and malefactors by the secular arm are mortal sins. (*f*) There are four Sacraments—imposition of hands, benediction of the bread, penance, orders. For a fuller account of these, see below. (*g*) The world will never end; judgment is past, and Hell is in this world. (*h*) The Devil was the author of the Old Testament, except Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Twelve minor prophets, *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*. They also held some Donatist and Valentinian ideas of the Incarnation. Reiner also gives some very entertaining information about their demeanour, zeal, numbers, etc., but this must be reserved, as we are dealing now only with their doctrines.

We need not be surprised that modern writers have discussed the question whether the Albigenses and the Waldenses were one and the same or not, for we find that the same point is raised by such a man as Limborch in his "*Historia Inquisitionis*." The question is discussed at great length in

chap. viii., and he is strongly of opinion that the Albigenses and Waldenses were different bodies, although "he cannot doubt that they had many dogmas in common." Under the head of "common" he places (i.) Oaths, unlawful and sinful; (ii.) the Roman Church is corrupt, and cannot excommunicate; (iii.) Penance (*pœnitentia*) useless. Under the head of "diverse" he assigns the following opinions to the Albigenses, but not to the Waldenses: (i.) Belief in two gods; (ii.) All sacraments of the Roman Church are null and void; (iii.) The Eucharist is not the body of Christ, but only plain bread; (iv.) No real Incarnation; (v.) No Resurrection; (vi.) The Cross is not to be adored;<sup>1</sup> (vii.) Souls are spirits fallen from heaven on account of sin. The following opinions are attributed to the Waldenses, and not to the Albigenses: (i.) All judgment is forbidden by God; (ii.) Indulgences are worthless; (iii.) Prayers for the dead useless; (iv.) Penance avails only in this life; (v.) The Church has but three orders, viz., bishops, priests, and deacons; (vi.) Matrimony is sinful only when persons marry without hope of offspring. The constitutions of the two bodies were not the same, the Albigenses having *Perfecti* or *Consolati* (*vide* also Vaux-Sarnai's account) where the Waldenses had *Majores*. The latter had nothing corresponding to the former's *Convenenza* and *Endura* (*vide infra*). The differences of the Waldenses and Albigenses are well brought out by a comparison of the inquisition or examination of Stephen Porchéri, of Lyons, which took place A.D. 1314, and of Peter Autéri, a notary, of Aix, but arrested in Toulouse (A.D. 1310). The former confessed that he had been a member of the sect of the Waldenses, or Poor Men of Lyons; the latter that he held the faith of those who asserted that they alone were good Christians, whom the Holy Roman Church persecuted and condemned, and called heretics, "*perfectos seu consolatos, immo vero, desolatos.*"

Pegna and Eymericus both apparently recognise a difference between them, while Ivonetus, on the other hand (A.D. 1320), attributes many things to the Waldenses which, in Limborch, are ascribed to the Albigenses. We need not, however, extend our investigations beyond the end of the thirteenth century. By that time the religious aspect of the Albigensian war had practically vanished, and the struggle was continued for political or territorial reasons. Indeed, it may be truly said that the real motive power of the French interference was extension of the kingdom of France, and not extension of the kingdom of heaven. Enough material, we trust, has been

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<sup>1</sup> "For no man worships the gallows upon which his father was hanged."



laid before our readers to enable them to form some idea of what is meant by the Albigensian "heresy." It will, we think, be generally admitted that it was neither all tares nor all wheat.

We now pass on to say something about the organization of these sectaries. We have already seen the independent attitude which they assumed in relation to the Roman Church. They were a self-contained body, their teachers and leaders receiving their authority from their disciples and followers. There were two classes: the Perfecti, or fully-qualified members; and the Credentes, who were catechumens or probationers. The government was vested in four orders: (i.) the bishop; (ii.) the elder son; (iii.) the younger son; (iv.) the deacon. On the death of a bishop, the younger son ordained the elder son to be bishop; and he (the bishop) in turn ordained the younger to be an elder son, and the vacancy thus caused was filled up by the bishop and some subordinate (*subditi*) Perfecti electing someone to the rank of younger son. Some, however, disliking this procedure on the ground that it was unseemly for a son to appoint a father (bishop), had enacted that a bishop should, before his death, himself appoint his successor, such successor to be chosen out of the elder sons.

Their most distinguishing ceremony was that of the laying on of hands, called amongst themselves Consolamentum. Only a member of one of the four orders had authority to administer the Consolamentum, although in cases of urgent necessity even a female might perform the ceremony. It was believed to convey the gift of the Holy Spirit.<sup>1</sup> It seems to have been used on three occasions: (i.) Admission to membership; (ii.) ordination; (iii.) mortal sickness. The ritual was the same in all three cases, except where the special circumstances of the last made some modification necessary. The fullest account of this is preserved in the Archives of Toulouse (A.D. 1238), which describe the "consolation" or "heretication" (as it was sometimes called) of one Pontius Guilebert. White cloths were placed on a table, and upon them a book, which was called "The Text." The candidate was asked first whether he wished to receive the "ordination of the Lord." Upon answering in the affirmative, he was to surrender himself to God and the Gospel, promising never to be alone, or to eat without a companion or without prayer; never to eat flesh eggs, cheese, and such like; never to lie, or swear, or indulge in any lust. These promises taken, he approached the table nearer than before, and on bended knees said "Benedicite"

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<sup>1</sup> No one in "mortal sin" could convey the Consolamentum, but must himself be first "consoled."

thrice. Then he kissed the book of the aforesaid heretics. Which things having been duly performed, they placed the book and their hands upon his head, and read the Gospel (viz., St. John, chap. i. 1-17 inclusive). He was then clothed in black, and the whole assembly gave to each other the kiss of peace. One or two additional particulars are furnished by Ermengard in the tract already referred to. He says that the bishop, or other qualified person, conducting the ceremony, washed his hands first, and that the candidate, when the book was placed upon his head, said the Lord's Prayer seven times; and then he was exhorted to put all his faith in that Consolamentum. As with Baptism in the early Church, so with this Consolamentum, some postponed submitting to it till just before their death. The Consolamentum was then called *La Convenenza* or the *agreement* to receive it. The recipient was prepared for it by certain abstinences. The person bestowing the "sacrament" held the hand of the sick person in his own; lifted a certain book over him, out of which he read the Gospel of St. John (as above); and then delivered to him a thin thread, "*quo pro hæresi cingeretur.*" This ceremony was believed to save the soul, and was called "spiritual baptism," "consolation," or "good end." No woman must touch the person so consecrated and sanctified. Those admitted during sickness were urged to practise the "*Endura*," which consisted in blood-letting, bathing, and drinking a deadly potion made out of the juice of the wild cucumber and broken glass, which would tear the intestines to pieces, and so hasten the person's end. (For this "*Endura*," see M. C. Molinier, in the "*Annales des facultés de Bordeaux et de Toulouse.*") Another "sacrament" was that of the "*Benediction of the Bread.*" All stood at a table and said the Lord's Prayer. Then the first in rank, holding the bread, and saying, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with us all," broke the bread and distributed it to all, Perfect and Probationers alike. The Albigenses did this at frequent intervals, but the Waldenses only once a year.

When undergoing penance, they made a public confession of their sins to their bishop. Holding the Gospel or New Testament upon his breast, the penitent bowed down before the bishop, and said, "We come before God and you confessing our sins."

They held the New Testament, and some (perhaps the Waldenses) the Old Testament also, in the highest honour. According to Reiner Saccho, the heretics had rendered both Old and New Testaments into the vulgar tongue. Some of them knew the whole of the New Testament by heart. He had

come across an ignorant rustic who could say the Book of Job word for word. All men and women, high and low, were most untiring in teaching—"they never ceased day or night." As an instance of their zeal, he mentioned that a man swam the river Ibis every night in winter to make one convert. He charges their version with many errors, but from the examples he adduces they are not, it is evident, mistranslations, but slips of the pen, *e.g.*, "sues" for "sui," and "harundinis" for "hirundinis."

H. J. WARNER.



### ART. III. — THEORIES OF ECCLESIASTICAL INERRANCY.

A WELL-BALANCED Christian faith may be likened to a sacred tripod of which the supports are the Scriptures, the Church, and the illumined individual conscience. To the New Testament age our reason turns for logical proof of all doctrine. Our ideal of a living Church satisfies our social instincts by contributing historical illustration and regulative system. On the Divine instinct within we rely not only for individual realization, but for all new methods of development.

Withdraw any one of these three supports, or assign to any one a work that is not its own, and the result is loss of equilibrium.

In the time of the Apostles there was no need for such differentiation. From one point of view the New Testament itself is only the outcome and expression of a corporate faith and life. From another, again, it is the adoring record of certain dominant individual influences. But, whichever view we take, we are face to face with a quite exceptional influence of the Holy Spirit, one which had from time to time operated in the Old Dispensation, and which gives us our concept of miracle and even our popular idea of "inspiration."

The next generations continually confess themselves to be on a lower level. The aim now is to record accurately and hand down the substantial proofs of the faith, and to adjust to these whatever regulative system is best suited to the times. For controversial purposes, the great Christian writers<sup>1</sup> turn to the Scriptures as of paramount authority, even as we do to-day.

<sup>1</sup> For the Apostolic Fathers, *cf.* Westcott, "Canon of the New Testament," Part I., chap. i., § 2. For the Fathers at the close of the second century, *ibid.*, Part II., chap. i.