John Adams Library,

IN THE CUSTODY OF THE
BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.

SHELF N°
ADAMS
191.9
v.3
AN

Ecclesiastical History,

ANCIENT AND MODERN,

FROM

THE BIRTH OF CHRIST,

TO THE

BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY.

VOLUME III.
AN

Ecclesiastical History,

ANCIENT AND MODERN,

FROM

THE BIRTH OF CHRIST,

TO THE

BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT CENTURY:

IN WHICH

The Rise, Progress, and Variations of Church Power

ARE CONSIDERED

In their Connexion with the State of Learning and Philosophy, and

the Political History of Europe during that Period.

=

By the late learned

JOHN LAWRENCE MOSHEIM, D. D.

And Chancellor of the University of Gottingen.

Translated from the Original Latin, and accompanied with Notes and

Chronological Tables,

By ARCHIBALD MACLAINE, D. D.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

To the whole is added An Accurate Index.


VOLUME III.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED BY STEPHEN C. USTICK, No. 79, NORTH THIRD STREET, 1798.
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 numbers stood firm against his most vigorous efforts, and perished 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

Vol. III. B
Part I.
The External History of the Church.

The Schelvonians and inhabitants of the ille of Rügen.

The enterprise; for, upon his return into Germany, many of those, whom he had engaged in the profession of Christiannity, apostatised in his absence, and relapsed into their ancient prejudices; this obliged Otho to undertake a second voyage into Pomerania, A. D. 1126, in which, after much opposition and difficulty, his labours were crowned with a happier issue, and contributed much to enlarge the bounds of the rising church, and to establish it upon solid foundations. 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.

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

[a] See Henr. Canissii Lectiones Antique, tom. iii. part II. p. 34. where we find the life of Otho, who, A. D. 1189, was canonised by Clement III. See the Acta Sanctor. mensis Iulii, tom. i. p. 349.—Dan. Cramer Chronicon Ecclesi. Pomerania, lib. i. as also a learned Dissertatton concerning the conversion of the Pomeranians by the ministry of Otho, written in the German language by Christopher Schoten, and published at Stargard in the year 1724. Add to these, Marillon, Annales Benedicti, tom. vi. p. 123. 146. 323.
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.

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

---


Cf 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.
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 Uppsala, 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 on him by pope Adrian IV. [e].

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

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


[f] In the year 1186.
 Chap. I. Prosperous Events.

opportunity of spreading the light of the gospel in _c_ ent. that barbarous region of superstition and darkness. 

The instructions and exhortations of this zealous _a_ postle were little attended to, and produced little or no effect upon that uncivilized nation: whereupon he addressed himself to the Roman pontiff _U_rban III. who consecrated him bishop of the Livonians, and, at the same time, declared a _h_ oly war against that obstinate people. This war, which was at first carried on against the inhabitants of the province of _E_ sthonia, was continued with still greater vigour and rendered more universal by _B_ erthold, abbot of _L_ ucca, who left his monastery to share the labours and laurels of _M_ ainard, whom he, accordingly, succeeded in the see of _L_ ivonia. The new bishop marched into that province at the head of a powerful army which he had raised in _S_ axony, preached the gospel sword in hand, and proved its truth by blows instead of arguments. _A_ lbert, canon of _B_ remen, became the third bishop of _L_ ivonia, and followed, with a barbarous enthusiasm, the same military methods of conversion that had been practised by his predecessor. He entered _L_ ivonia, A. D. 1198, with a fresh body of troops, drawn out of _S_ axony, and encamping at _R_ iga, instituted there, by the direction of the Roman pontiff _I_nnocent III. the _m_ ilitary _o_ rder of the _k_ nights _s_ word-bearers _g_ , who were commissioned to dragoon the Livonians into the profession of _C_ hristianity, and to oblige them, by force of arms, to receive the benefits of _b_ aptism _b_. New legions were sent from _G_ ermany to second the efforts, and add efficacy to the mission, of these _b_ ooted _a_ postles; and they, together with the _k_ nights _s_ word-bearers, so cruelly oppressed, slaughtered, and tormented this wretched people, that exhausted, at

[g] _E_ ques_ t_ ris _O_ rdo _M_ ilitum _E_ n_ s_ ferorum. 

[b] _S_ e_ e_ H_ enr. _L_ eonh. _S_ churz_ f_ leischii _H_ istoria _O_ rditis _E_ n_ s_ ferorum _E_ quitum, _W_ itteberg, 1701, 8vo.
length, and unable to stand any longer firm against 
the arm of persecution, strengthened still by new 
acessions of power, they abandoned the statues of 
their pagan deities, and substituted in their place the 
images of the saints. But while they received the 
blessings of the gospel, they were, at the same time, 
deprived of all earthly comforts; for their lands and 
possessions were taken from them with the most odious 
circumstances of cruelty and violence, and the knights 
and bishops divided the spoil. [j].

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

[j] See the Origines Livonias seu Chronicon vetus Livoniae, published in folio, at Francofort, in the year 1740, by Jo. Daniel Gruberus, and enriched with ample and learned observations and notes, in which the laborious author enumerates all the writers of the Livonian history, and corrects their mistakes.

[k] Dr. Mosheim’s account of this matter is very different from that which is given by Fleury, who affirms, that it was Hartwick, archbishop of Bremen, who restored the three ruined fees, 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, Hift. Ecclef. livr. lxix. p. 665. 668. edit. Bruxelle. Fleury, in this and other parts of his
had been ravaged and destroyed by these Barbarians; cent. to wit, the bishoprics of Ratzebourg and Schwerin, and that of Oldenbourg, which was afterwards transplanted to Lubeck. 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 cotemporaries in genuine piety and solid learning, and who, after having presided many years in the society of the regular canons of St. Augustin at Faldern, was at length consecrated bishop of Oldenbourg. This excellent man had employed the last thirty years of his life, amidst numberless vexations, dangers, and difficulties, in instructing the Slavonians, and exhorting them to comply with the invitations of the gospel of Christ; and as his pious labours were directed by true wisdom, and carried on with the most indefatigable industry and zeal, so were they attended with much fruit, even among that fierce and untractable people. Nor was his ministry among the Slavonians the only circumstance that redounds to the honour of his memory; the history of his life and actions in general furnishes proofs of his piety and zeal, sufficient to transmit his name to the latest generations.

history, shews, that he is but indifferently acquainted with the history of Germany, and has not drawn from the best sources. The authorities which Dr. Mosheim produces for his account of the matter, are, the Origins Guelphica, tom. iii. p. 16. 19. 34. 55. 61. 63. 72. 82. with the celebrated Preface of Scheidius, § xiv. p. 41.—Ludewig’s Reliquiae Manuscriptorum, tom. vi. p. 230.—Jo. Ern de Westphalen, Monumenta inedita rerum Cimbricarum et Megapolens. tom. ii. p. 1998.

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

[m] There is a particular and ample account of Vicelinus in the Cimbria Literata of Mollerus, tom. ii. p. 910. and in the Hamburgh. of Lambecius, lib. ii. p. 12. See also upon this subject the Origines Neomonafler. et Bordeiacluens. of the most learned and industrious Joh. Ern. de Westphalen, which are
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, opposed this coalition. Besides, the missionaries, whose zeal for imposing the name of Christians upon this people was so vehement and even furious, were extremely indulgent in all other respects, and opposed their prejudices and vices with much gentleness and forbearance. They permitted them to retain several rites and observances that were in direct opposition to the spirit of Christianity, and to the nature of true piety. The truth of the matter seems to have been this, that the leading views of these Christian heralds,

published in the second tome of the Monumenta inedita Cimbriae, p. 2344, and the Preface to this tome, p. 33. There is in this work a print of Vicelinus well engraved.
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 Kenchhan, the most powerful monarch that was known in the eastern regions of Asia; and while that mighty kingdom was deprived of its chief, it was invaded, with such uncommon valour and success, by a Nestorian priest, whose name was John, that it fell before his victorious arms, and acknowledged this warlike and enterprising presbyter as its monarch. This was the famous Prester John, whose territory was, for a long time, considered by the Europeans as a second paradise, as the seat of opulence and complete felicity. As he was a presbyter before his elevation to the royal dignity, many continued to call him presbyter John, even when he was seated on the throne.  

[n] The account I have here given of this famous presbyter, commonly called Prester John, who was, for a long time, considered as the greatest and happiest of all earthly monarchs; is what appeared to me the most probable among the various relations that have been given of the life and adventures of that extraordinary man. This account is moreover confirmed by the testimonies of cotemporary writers, whose knowledge and impartiality render them worthy of credit: such as William of Tripoli (see Du Fresne's Adnot. ad vitam Ludovici Sti. à Joinville scriptum, 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 Vol. III.
but his kingly name was Ungchan. The high notions 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

in Asiam Itineris, collected by father Bergeron, and Alberic in Chronico. ad A. 1165 and 1170, in Leibnith 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 Couvilliano in a laborious inquiry into the real situation of the kingdom of Prester John. The curious voyager undertook this task, and, for information in the matter, travelled with a few companions into Abyssinia; and, observing in the emperor of the Abyssinians; or Ethiopians, many circumstances that resembled the accounts which, at that time, prevailed in Europe concerning Prester John, he persuaded himself that he had fulfilled his commission, and found out the residence of that extraordinary monarch, who was the object of his researches. His opinion gained easily credit in Europe, which had not as yet emerged out of its ignorance and barbarism. See Morinus, De Sacer Rell. 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 industrious of the curious drew forth from their obscurity, and by which a great number of learned men were engaged to abandon the Portuguse 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 Portuguse opinion, though delitute 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. Lapitaü, Hist. des Descouvertes des Portugais. tom. i. p. 58. and tom. iii. p. 57.—Henr. le Grand, Diff. de Johanne Presbytero in Lobe's Voyage de Abyssinie, tom. i. p. 295.
Chap. I.  Prosperous Events.

up with prosperity and flushed with success, he vaunts cent.
his victories over the neighbouring nations that xii.
disputed his passage to the throne, describes, in
the most pompous and extravagant terms, the
splendor of his riches, and the grandeur of his state,
and the extent of his dominions, and exalts himself
far above all other earthly monarchs. All this was
easily believed, and the Nestorians were extremely
zealous in confirming the boasts of their vain-glorious
prince. He was succeeded by his son, or, as others
think, his brother, whose name was David, though,
in common discourse, he was also called Prester
John, as his predecessor had been. The reign of
David was far from being happy, nor did he end
his days in peace; Genghiz kan, the great and
warlike emperor of the Tartars, invaded his territo-
tories 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 defola-
tions. For when the Mahometans saw vast numbers
of those that had engaged in this holy war returning
into Europe, and the Christian chiefs that remained
in Palestine divided into factions, and advancing,
every one, his private interest, without any regard
to the public good, they refumed their courage,
recovered from the terror and consternation into
which they had been thrown by the amazing valour
and rapid success of the European legions, and
gathering troops and soliciting succours from all
quarters, they harrassed and exhausted the Christians
by invasions and wars without interruption. The
Christians, on the other hand, sustained their efforts
with their usual fortitude, and maintained their
ground during many years; but when Atabeck Zench [6], 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 entreaties were favourably received by the Roman pontiffs, who left no method of persuasion unemployed, that might engage the emperor and other Christian princes to execute a new expedition into Palestine.

This new expedition was not, however, resolved upon with such unanimity and precipitation as the former had been; it was the subject of long deliberation, and its expediency was keenly debated both in the cabinets of princes, and in the assemblies of the clergy and the people. Bernard, the famous abbot of Clairval, a man of the boldest resolution and of the greatest authority, put an end to those disputes under the pontificate of Eugenius III. who had been his disciple, and who was wholly governed by his counsels. This eloquent and zealous 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,

[6] Atabeck 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 Atabeck Zench, Sanguinus. See Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. at the word Atabeck, p. 142.
and declared with such assurance that he had a cent, divine commission to foretell its glorious success, that the king, the queen, and all the nobles, immedi-
ately put on the military crofs, and prepared them-
thes 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 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 ine-
efectual in Palestine than it was detrimental to Europe, by draining the wealth of its fairest provinces, and
The External History of the Church.

The kingdom of Jerusalem overturned.

X. The unhappy issue of this second expedition was not however sufficient, when considered alone, to render the affairs of the Christians in Palestine entirely desperate. Had their chiefs and princes laid aside their animosities and contentions, and attacked the common enemy with their united force, they would have soon repaired their losses, and recovered their glory. But this was far from being the case. A fatal corruption of sentiments and manners reigned among all ranks and orders. Both the people and their leaders, and more especially the latter, abandoned themselves without reluctance to all the excesses of ambition, avarice, and injustice; they indulged themselves in the practice of all sorts of vices; and by their intestine quarrels, jealousies, and discords, they weakened their efforts against the enemies that surrounded them on all sides, and consumed their strength by thus unhappily dividing it. Saladin, viceroy, or rather sultan of Egypt and Syria, 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,


[? Saladin, so called by the western writers, Salan'addin by the Orientals, was no longer vizir or viceroy of Egypt, when he undertook the siege of Jerusalem, but had usurped the sovereign power in that country, and had also added to his dominions, by right of conquest, several provinces of Syria.
in a fatal battle fought near Tiberias, A. D. 1187; and, in the course of the same year, reduced Jerusalem itself under his dominion. The carnage and desolations that accompanied this dreadful campaign, threw the affairs of the Christians in the east into the most desperate condition, and left them no glimpse of hope, but what arose from the expected succours of the European princes. The succours were obtained for them by the Roman pontiffs with much difficulty, and in consequence of repeated solicitations and entreaties. But the event, as we shall now see, was by no means answerable to the deep schemes that were concerted, and the pains that were employed, for the support of the tottering kingdom of Jerusalem.

XI. The third expedition was undertaken, A. D. 1189, by Frederic I. surnamed Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, who, with a prodigious army, marched through several Grecian provinces, where he had innumerable difficulties and obstacles to overcome, into the Lesser Asia, from whence, after having defeated the sultan of Iconium, he penetrated into Syria. His valour and conduct promised successful and glorious campaigns to the army he commanded, when, by an unhappy accident, he lost his life in the river Saleph, which runs through [r] See the Life of Saladin, by Bohao'edin Ebn Sheddad, an Arabian writer, whose history of that warlike sultan was published at Leyden in the year 1732, by the late celebrated professor Albert Schultens, and accompanied with an excellent Latin translation. See also Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orient. at the article Salahaddin, p. 742. and Marigny's Histoire des Arabes, tom. iv. p. 289. But above all, see the learned History of the Arabs in the Modern Part of the Universal History.

[r] Maimbourg, in his Histoire des Crusades, and Marigni, in his Histoire du XII Siecle, say, that Frederic perished in the Cydnus, a river in Cilicia. But they are easily to be reconciled with our author, since, according to the descriptions, given of the river Saleph by several learned geographers, and among others by Roger the Annalift, it appears that the Saleph and the Cydnus were the same river under different names.
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].

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

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

[u] The learned authors of the Modern Universal History tell us, that Philip arrived in Palestine with a supply of men, money, &c. on board six ships, whereas Renaudot mentions 100 sail as employed in this expedition. The fleet of Richard consisted of 150 large ships, besides galleys, &c.
defeated Saladin in several engagements, but also made himself master of 'affa [w] and Caesarea.

Defeated, however, by the French and Italians, and influenced by other motives and considerations of the greatest weight, he concluded, A. D. 1192, with Saladin, a truce of three years, three months, and as many days, and soon evacuated Palestine with his whole army [x]. Such was the issue of the third expedition against the infidels, which exhausted England, France, and Germany, both of men and money, without bringing any solid advantage, or giving even a favourable turn, to the affairs of the Christians in the Holy land.

XIII. These bloody wars between the Christians and the Mahometans gave rise to three famous military orders, whose office it was to destroy the robbers that infested the public roads, to 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 Hospitalers, from an hospital dedicated, in that city, to St. John the Baptist, in which certain pious and charitable brethren were constantly employed in relieving and refreshing with necessary supplies the indigent and diseased pilgrims, who were daily arriving at Jerusalem. When this city became the metropolis of a new kingdom, the revenues of the hospital were

[w] More commonly known by the name of Joppa.
[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.
The External History of the Church.

CENT. 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. Baldwin 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 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 unsheathe 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] 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
XIV. Another order, which was entirely of a military nature, was that of the knights templars, called from a palace, adjoining to the temple of Jerusalem, which was appropriated to their use for a certain time by Baldwin II. The foundations of this order were laid at Jerusalem, in the year 1118, by Hugh Des Pavens, Geoffrey 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 1228, that it acquired a proper degree of stability, by being confirmed solemnly in the council of Troyes, and subjected to a rule of discipline drawn up by St. Bernard [a].

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

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


[b] See Matthew Paris, Histor. Major. p. 56. for an account of the commencement of this order. See also Gurtler, Historia Templariorum Militum, Amsterdam, 1691. in 8vo.
The external History of the Church.

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 merchants of Bremen and Lubec, touched with compassion at a sight of the miseries that the besiegers suffered in the midst of their success, devoted themselves entirely to the service of the sick and wounded soldiers, and erected a kind of hospital or tent, where they gave constant attendance to all such unhappy objects as had recourse to their charity. This pious undertaking was so agreeable to the German princes, who were present at this terrible siege, that they thought proper to form a fraternity of German knights to bring it to a greater degree of perfection. Their resolution was highly approved of by the Roman pontiff Celestine III. who confirmed the new order by a bull issued out the twenty-third of February, A.D. 1192. This order was entirely appropriated to the Germans, and even of them none were admitted as members of it, but such as were of an illustrious birth. The support of Christianity, the defence of the Holy land, and the relief of the poor and needy, were the important duties and service to which the Teutonic knights devoted themselves by a solemn vow. Austerity and frugality were the first characteristics of this rising order, and the equestrian garment [c], with bread and water, were the only rewards which the

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

CHAPTER II.

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

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

The External History of the Church.

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

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

III. The rapid and amazing victories of the great Prester John 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 raised him in the lift of fame above almost all the commanders either of ancient or modern times, rendered his name formidable throughout all Asia, whose most flourishing dynasties fell successively before his victorious arms.
cent. David, or Ungchan, who, according to some, 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 overthrew the Saracen dominion in those regions, and substituted that of the Tartars in its place \[g\].

From this period the Christian cause lost much of its authority and credit in the provinces that had been ruled by Prester John and his successor David, and continued to decline and lose ground from day to day, until, at length, it sunk entirely.

\[f\] The Greek, Latin, and Oriental writers are far from being agreed concerning the year in which the emperor of the Tartars attacked and defeated Prester John. The most of the Latin writers place this event in the year 1202, and consequently in the xiiiith 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 Pref. ad Hist. 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.

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

PART II.

The Internal History of the Church.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.

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 affiduity 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, left the Greek church should thus be deprived of able champions to defend its cause against the Latins. The learned and ingenuous commentaries of Eustathius, bishop of Thessalonica, upon Homer, and Dionysius the Geographer, are sufficient to shew the diligence and labour that were employed by men of the first genius in the improvement of classical erudition and in the study of antiquity. And if we turn our view towards the various writers who composed in this century the history of their own times, such as Cinnamus,
Chap. I. Learning and Philosophy.

Glycas, Zonaras, Nicephorus, Bryennius, cent. and others, we shall find in their productions undoubted marks of learning and genius, as well as of a laudable ambition to obtain the esteem and approbation of future ages.

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. 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.

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

city[\textsuperscript{c}], and the college of Montpelier, where law and \textit{cent.}
physic were taught with great success, had already \textsuperscript{xii.}
acquired a considerable reputation[\textsuperscript{d}]. The fame \textsuperscript{PART II.}
literary spirit reigned also in \textit{Italy.} The academy
of \textit{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 \textit{Lotharius II.}
who took it under his protection, and enriched it
with new privileges and immunities[\textsuperscript{e}]. In the
fame province flourished also the celebrated school
of \textit{Salernum}, where great numbers resorted,
and which was wholly set apart for the study of physic.
While this zealous emulation, in advancing the
cause of learning and philosophy, animated so many
princes and prelates, and discovered itself in the
erection of so many academies and schools of learning,

\[\textsuperscript{c}\text{ Boulay, \textit{Hifior. Acad. Paris.} tom. ii. p. 215.}\textsuperscript{-Pas-}
\textit{quet de la Livoniere \textit{Differt. sur l'Anci}ité de l'\textit{Université}
d'\textit{Angers}, p. 21. published in 4to. at \textit{Angers}, 1736.}

\[\textsuperscript{d}\text{ Hifloire \textit{Gen. de Languedoc, par les Benedictins}, tom. ii.}
\textit{p. 5}17.\textsuperscript{—}]

\[\textsuperscript{e}\text{ The inhabitants of \textit{Bologna} pretend, that their academy
was founded in the fifth century by \textit{Theodosius II.} and they
shew the \textit{diploma} by which that emperor enriched their city with
this valuable establishment. But the greatest part of those writers,
who have studied with attention and impartiality the records of
ancient times, maintain, that this diploma is a spurious production,
and allege many weighty arguments to prove that the academy
of \textit{Bologna} is of no older date than the eleventh century, and that
in the succeeding age, particularly from the time of \textit{Lotharius II.}
it received those improvements that rendered it so famous
throughout all \textit{Europe}. See \textit{Car. Sigonii \textit{Hifiora Bononienfis,}}
as it is published, with learned observations, in the works of that
excellent author. \textit{Muratori Ant. Italic. medii \textit{evo,}} tom. iii.
p. 23. 884. 898.— \textit{Just. Hen. Bohmeri Pref. ad Corpus juris
ad Canon.} p. 9. as also the elegant \textit{Hifloiry of the Academy of Bo-
lonia, written in the German language by the learned \textit{Keufelius,}
and published at \textit{Helmjladt} in 8vo in the year 1750.\]
the Roman pontiff, Alexander III. was seized also with this 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 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, were now brought into high repute. Particular academies were consecrated to the culture of each of these sciences in various places; and thus it was natural to consider them as important branches of erudition, and an acquaintance with them as a qualification necessary to such as aimed at universal learning. All this required a considerable change in the division of the sciences hitherto received; and this change was accordingly brought about. The seven liberal arts were, by degrees, reduced to one general title, and were comprehended under the name of philosophy, to which theology, jurisprudence, and physic, were added. And hence the origin of the four classes of science, or, to use the academical phrase, of the four faculties, which took place in the universities in the following century.

V. A happy and unexpected event restored in Italy the lustre and authority of the ancient Roman law.

* [g] The word *physica*, though, according to its etymology, it denotes the study of natural philosophy in general, was, in the twelfth century, applied particularly to medical studies, and it has also preferred that limited sense in the English language.
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 Pandeict of Justinian, which was found in the ruins of Amalphi, or Melfi, when that city was taken by Lotharius II. in the year 1137, and of which that emperor made a present to the inhabitants of Pisa, whose fleet had contributed, in a particular manner, to the success of the siege. This admirable collection, which had been almost buried in oblivion, was no sooner recovered, than the Roman law became the grand object of the studies and labours of the learned. In the academy of Bolonia, there were particular colleges erected expressly for the study of the Roman jurisprudence; and these 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 solicitations of Irnerius [b], principal professor of the Roman law in the academy of Bolonia, published an edit enjoining the abrogation of all the statutes then in force, and substituting in their place the Roman law, by which, for the future, all without

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

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

[i] See Herm. Conringius, De origine juris Germanici, cap. xxii.—Guido Gradius, Epist. de Pandeclis, p. 21. 69. published at Florence, in 4to, in 1737. —Henry Brenckmann, Historia Pandectar. p. 41.—Lud. Ant. Muratori Prof. ad Leges Langobardicas, scriptor. rerum Italicar. tom. i. part II. p. 4. & Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi, tom. ii. p. 285. There was a warm controversy carried on concerning this matter between George Callixtus and Barthol. Nibusius, 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 Literata of Molelius, tom. iii. p. 142.
text they were to follow in their public lectures.

The professors at Paris were the first that followed the example of those of Bolonia, which, in process of time, was imitated by the greatest part of the European colleges. But, notwithstanding the encomiums bestowed upon this performance, which was commonly called the decretal of Gratian [k], and was entitled by the author himself, the re-union or coalition of the jarring canons [l], several most learned and eminent writers of the Roman 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, superflition, and darkness [n].

[k] Decretum Gratiani.
[l] Concordia Discordantium Canonum.
[m] See, among others, Anton. Augustinus, De Emendatione Gratiani, published in 8vo. at Arnhem, A. D. 1678, with the learned observations of Steph. Baluzius and Ger. a Maastricht.

[n] See Gerhard, a Maastricht, Historia juris Ecclesiastici, § 293, p. 325.—B. Just. Hen. Bohmeri Jus. Ecclesi. 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 Observationes ad Siganii Histor. Bononienfen, tom. iii. Oper. Siganii, p. 128. This writer has drawn from the Kalendarium Archigymnasii Bononienfis, 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 Kalender, of which the Bolonians boast so much, and which they have so often promised to publish in order to dispel the doubts of the learned, has never as yet seen the light. Besides, in the fragments that have appeared, there are manifest marks of unfair dealing.
VII. Such among the Latins as were ambitious of making a figure in the republic of letters, applied themselves, with the utmost zeal and diligence, to the study of philosophy. Philosophy, taken in its most extensive and general meaning, comprehended, according to the method which was the most universally received towards the middle of this century, four classes; it was divided into theoretical, practical, mechanical, and logical. The first class comprehended natural theology, mathematics, and natural philosophy. In the second class were ranked ethics, economics, and politics. The third contained the seven arts that are more immediately subservient to the purposes of life, such as navigation, agriculture, hunting, &c. The fourth was divided into grammar and composition, the latter of which was farther subdivided into rhetoric, dialectic, and sophistry; and under the term dialectic was comprehended that part of metaphysic which treats of general notions. This division was almost universally adopted. Some, indeed, were for separating grammar and mechanics from philosophy; a separation highly condemned by others, who, under the general term philosophy, comprehended the whole circle of the sciences.[9]

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[10]. There were, at this time, three methods of teaching philosophy that were practised by the different doctors. The first was the ancient and plain method, which confined

[9] These literary anecdotes I have taken from several writers, particularly from Hugo a St. Victor, Didascalii Libro ii. cap. ii. p. 7. tom. i. opp. and from the Metalogicum of John of Salisbury.

its researches to the philosophical notions of Por-

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

published by LUC. DACHERIUS, among the works of GUIBERT;
abbot of Nogent, ad A. 1128, p. 753. Jacobus Clericus de
Venecia transfluit de Gracoe in Latinum quodam libros Aristotelis
et comentatus eft, feilicet Topica, Annal. priores et posteriores et
elenchos. Quanquam antiquior tranflatio fuper eosdem libros habetur.
1682, in 4to. Itero preces, quatenus libros Aristotelis, quos habelis,
mibi faciatis exferibi . . Precor etiam iterata supplicatione quatenus
in operibus Aristotelis, ubi difficiliora fuerint, notulas faciatis, eo quod
interpretem aliquatenus supefsum habeo, quia licet eloquens fuerit
alios, ut fape audrei, minus tamen fuit in grammatica institutus.
questions, and fatigue them with endless distinctions and divisions \[r\]. These different systems, and vehement contests that divided the philosophers, gave many persons a disgust against philosophy in general, and made them desire, with impatience, its banishment from the public schools.

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


\[s\] John of Salisbury, a very elegant and ingenious writer of this age, censures, with a good deal of wit, the crude and unintelligible speculations of these sophists, in his book entitled, Policraticon seu de Nugis Curialium, lib. vii. p. 451. He observes, that there had been more time consumed in resolving the question relating to genus and species, than the Caesars had employed in making themselves masters of the whole world; that the riches of Croesus were inferior to the treasures that had been exhausted in this controversy; and that the contending parties, after having spent their whole lives upon this single point, had neither been so happy as to determine it to their satisfaction, nor to make, in the labyrinths of science where they had been groping, any discovery that was worth the pains they had taken. His words are: Veterem paratus est solvere questionem de generibus et species (he speaks here of a certain philosopher) in qua laborans mundus jam fenuit, in qua plus temporis consumptum est, quam in acquirendo et regendo orbis imperio consumptum Caesarum domus: plus effusum pecuniae, quam in omnibus divitiis suis possedebat Caesaris. Hac enim sanit duos tempus, ut cum hoc unum tota vita quererent, tandem nec iis lud, nec aliud invenirent.
The Internal History of the Church.

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.

[7] 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 abstrabunt, et ad illas quicquid de universaliis dicitur referunt. Such were the Formalists, who applied the doctrine of universal ideas to what the mathematicians call abstrael forms. Alii dicerunt intellectus et eos universalium nominibus confarment. Here we find the Realists pointed out, who, under the name of universals, comprehended all intellectual powers, qualities, and ideas. Fuerunt et qui voces ipsas genera diverset et species: sed eorum jam explofa sententia est et facile cum autore suo evanuit. Sunt tamen adhibit, qui deprehenduntur in vestigiiis eorum, licet erudiscant vel auctorem vel scientiam profiteri, solis nominibus, inherentibus, quod rebus et intelletibus subtrabunt, sermonibus oneribunt. This was a sect of the Nominalists, who, shamed (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. 314, where that eminent author describes at large the various contests of these three sects, and sums up their differences in the following words: Alius confisit in vocibus, licet haec opinio cum Roscellino suo fere jan evanuerit: alius sermones intuetur: alius versatur in intellectibus, &c.
Thosse among the learned, who turned their pursuits to more interesting and beneficial branches of science, than the intricate and puzzling doctrine of universals, travelled into the different countries, where the kinds of knowledge they were bent upon cultivating, flourished most. The students of physic, astronomy, and mathematics, continued to frequent the schools of the Saracens in Spain. Many of the learned productions of the Arabians were also translated into Latin \([u]\); for the high esteem in which the erudition of that people was held, together with a desire of converting the Spanish Saracens to Christianity, had excited many to study their language, and to acquire a considerable knowledge of their doctrine.

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

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

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 vocation, and lamented the corruption and degeneracy of their order, it may be said, with respect to the rest, that their whole business was to satisfy their lusts, to multiply their privileges by grasping perpetually at new honours and distinctions, to increase their opulence, to diminish the authority, and to encroach upon the privileges of princes and magistrates, and, neglecting entirely the interests of religion and the cure of souls, to live in ease and pleasure, and draw out their days in an unmanly and luxurious indolence. This appears manifestly from two remarkable treatises of St. Bernard, in one of which he exposes the corruption of the pontiffs and bishops [w], while he describes in the other the enormous crimes of the monastic orders, whose licentiousness he chastises with a just severity [x].

[w] In the work entitled, Considerationum Libri v. ad Enge- 
nium Pontificem.

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 ecclesiastical 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 diffensions between the empire and the priesthood (for so the contending parties were styled in this century) were most unhappy in their effects, which were felt throughout all the European provinces. Pascal II., who had been raised to the pontificate about the conclusion of the preceding age, seemed now to sit firm and secure in the apostolic chair, without the least apprehension from the imperial faction, whose affairs had taken an unfavourable turn, and who had not the courage to elect a new pope of their party in the place of Guibert, who died in the year 1100.

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

Cen. fitures, and the excommunications they had thun-
dered 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 reso-
lution, the efforts of this violent pontiff, and eluded
with much dexterity and vigilance his perfidious
stratagems. But his heart, wounded in the ten-
derest 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 trea-
cherous manner, and obliged him to abdicate the
empire; after which the unhappy prince retired to
Liege, where, deserted by all his adherents, he
departed this life, and so got rid of his misery, in
the year 1106. It has been a matter of dispute,
whether it was the instigation of the pontiff, or the
ambitious and impatient thirst after dominion, that
engaged Henry V. to declare war against his father;
nor is it, perhaps, easy to decide this question with
a perfect degree of evidence. One thing, however,
is unquestionably certain, and that is, that Pascal
II. dissolved, or rather impiously pretended to dis-
solve, 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
erfavour.

III. The revolution that this odious rebellion
casted 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

[8] 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 cen-
tury that corresponds with the subject here treated.
bishops and abbots, though he was willing to grant cent. 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 with the ring and crozier; and that the bishops and abbots should, on the other hand, resign and give over to the emperor all the grants they had received from Charlemagne, of those rights and privileges that belong to royalty, such as the power of raising tribute, coining money, and possecling 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

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 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.

This step was followed by many events that gave, for a long time, an unfavourable turn to the affairs of the emperor. He was excommunicated in

---

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

[b] Pascal, upon this occasion, as Gregory VII. had formerly done in the case of Berenger, submitted his proceedings and his authority to the judgment of a council, to which, of consequence, he acknowledged his subordination. Nay, still more, that council condemned his measures, and declared them scandalous.
many synods and councils both in France and Germany; nay, he was placed in the black list of heretics, a denomination, which exposed him to the greatest dangers in those superstitious and barbarous times; 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. Pascal, however, during this forced absence, engaged the Normans to come to his assistance, and, encouraged by the prospect of immediate succour, prepared everything 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.

V. A few days after the death of Pascal, John of Gaieta, a Benedictine monk of Montcaflin, 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, who assumed the denomination of Gregory VIII. Upon this, Gelasius, not

[c] See Gervaise, Diff. fur l'Herésie des invétiguez, which is the fourth of the Dissertations which he has prefixed to his History of the Abbot Suger.

[d] Braga was the metropolis of ancient Galicia, but at present is one of the three archbishoprics of Portugal, in the province of Entre Duero & Mino. 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 Mauritii Burdini Miscel-
lanoez. tom. iii. p. 471.
thinking himself safe at Rome, nor indeed in Italy, set out for France, and in a little time after died at Cluny. The Cardinals, who accompanied him in his journey, elected to the papacy, immediately after his departure, Guy archbishop of Vienne, count of Burgundy, who was nearly related to the emperor, and is distinguished in the list of the Roman pontiffs by the name of Callixtus II. The elevation of this eminent ecclesiastic was, in the issue, extremely happy both for church and state. Remarkably distinguished by his illustrious birth, and still more by his noble and heroic qualities, this magnanimous pontiff continued to oppose the emperor with courage and success, and to carry on the war both with the sword of the spirit, and with the arm of flesh. He made himself master of Rome, threw into prison the pontiff that had been chosen by the emperor, and fomented the civil commotions in Germany. But his fortitude and resolution were tempered with moderation, and accompanied with a spirit of generosity and compliance, which differed much from the obstinate arrogance of his lordly predecessors. Accordingly he lent an ear to pacific councils, and was willing to relinquish a part of the demands upon which the former pontiffs had so vehemently insisted, that he might restore the public tranquillity, and satisfy the ardent desires of so many nations, who groaned under the dismal effects of these deplorable divisions.

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

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

"That for the future the bishops and abbots shall be chosen by those to whom the right of election belongs [g]; but that this election shall be made in presence of the emperor, or of an ambassador appointed by him for that purpose [b]:
"That, in case a dispute arise among the electors, the decision of it shall be left to the emperor, who is to consult with the bishops upon that occasion:
"That the bishop or abbot elect shall take an oath of allegiance to the emperor, receive from his hand the regalia, and do homage for them:
"That the emperor shall no more confer the regalia by the ceremony of the ring and crozier, which are the ensigns of a ghostly dignity, but

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

[b] From this period the people in Germany were excluded from the right of voting in the election of bishops. See PETR. DE MARCA, De concordia facerdotii et imperii, lib. vi. cap. ii. § 9. p. 783. edit. Bohmeri.
The Internal History of the Church.

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

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

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,


[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 Callitii II. Vitemberg. 1739, in 4to.
and that principally by the influence of St. Bernard, cent. who was his intimate friend, and whose counsels had the force and authority of laws in almost all the countries of Europe. The patrons of Anacletus were fewer in number, and were confined to the kings of Sicily and Scotland; his death, however, which happened A. D. 1138, terminated the contest, and left Innocent in the entire and undisputed possession of the apostolic chair. The surviving pontiff presided, in the year 1139, at the second council of Lateran, and about four years after ended his days in peace [7].

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 ghastly 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


[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.
The Internal History of the Church.

The 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 compacts, 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.
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 or 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].

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

[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 Antig. Ital. medii evi, 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.
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 immediately filled by the emperor, at whose desire Guy, cardinal of St. Calixtus, was elected pontiff under the title of Paschal III. and acknowledged in that character by the German princes assembled in the year 1167, at the diet of Wurtzbourg. In the mean time 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 Paschal, his competitor.

XI. The affairs of Alexander seemed to take soon after a more prosperous turn, when the greatest part of the imperial army being consumed by a pestilential disorder, the emperor was forced to abandon Italy, and when the death of Paschal, which happened in the year 1168, delivered him from such a powerful and formidable rival. But this fair prospect soon vanished. For the imperial faction elected to the pontificate John, abbot of Strum, under the title of Callixtus III. whom Frederic, notwithstanding his absence in Germany, and the various wars and disputes in which he was
involved, supported to the utmost of his power. CENT. When peace was, in a good measure, restored to the empire, Frederic marched into Italy, A. D. PART II. 1174, with a design to chastise the perfidy of the states and cities that had revolted during his absence, and feized the first favourable opportunity of throwing off his yoke. Had this expedition been crowned with the expected success, Alexander would, undoubtedly, have been obliged to desist from his pretensions, and to yield the papal chair to Calixtus. But the event came far short of the hopes which this grand expedition had excited, and the emperor, after having, during the space of three years, been alternately defeated and victorious, was, at length, so fatigued with the hardships he had suffered, and so dejected at a view of the difficulties he had yet to overcome, that, in the year 1177, he concluded a treaty of peace at Venice with Alexander III. and a truce with the rest of his enemies [p]. Certain writers affirm, that, upon this occasion, the haughty pontiff trod upon the neck of the suppliant emperor, while he kissed his foot, repeating at the same time those words of the royal Psalmist: Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet [q]. The greatest part, however, of modern authors have called this event in question.

[p] All the circumstances of these conventions are accurately related by the above-mentioned Count Bunau, in his History of Frederic I. p. 115—242.—See also Fortunati Olmi Istoria della Venuta à Venetia occultamente nel A. 1177, di Papa Alessandro III. Venet. 1629, in 4to.—Muratori Antiqu. Italicae mediæ ævi, tom. iv. p. 2. 9.—Origines Guelphicae, tom. ii. p. 379.—Ad Sanctorum, tom i. April. p. 46. in Vita Hugenii, abbatis Bone vallis, & tom ii. April. in Vita Galdini Mediolanensis, p. 596. two famous ecclesiastics, who were employed as ambassadors and arbitrers in the treaty of peace here mentioned.

[q] Psalm xcii. 13.
and consider it as utterly destitute of authority and unworthy of credit [r].

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

[r] See BUNAU'S Life of Frederic I. p. 242.—HEUMANNI Paccies, tom. iii. lib. i. p. 145.—Bibliotheque Italique, tom. vi. p. 5, as also the authors mentioned by CASPAR. SAGITTARIUS, in his Introduc. in Histör. Eccles. tom. i. p. 630. tom. ii. p. 600.


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

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

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

III. When the clergy are charged with any misdemeanor, and summoned by the juficiary, 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 juficiary 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, not to act or solicit any thing during their pассив, slay, 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 abjuration.

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 jurisdiction must be acquainted with the dispute, in order to make satisfaction: and thus what belongs to the cognizance of the King's Court, must be tried there; and that which belongs to the Court Christian, must be remitted to that jurisdiction.

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

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

* i.e. A tenure by divine service, as Britton explains it.
CENT. the prerogatives of the Roman pontiffs in particular.

XII. Upon this there arose a violent debate between the

PART II.

it is brought in a lay-fee, the suit shall be followed in the King’s Courts, unless both the plaintiff and defendant hold the tenement in quest 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 diffeized, hanging the suit (i.e. during the suit, pendente lite) upon the score of the verdict above mentioned.

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

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

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

XIII. If any of the temporal barons, or great men shall encroach upon the rights or property of any archbishop, bishop, or archdeacon, and refuse to make satisfaction for wrong done by themselves, or their tenants, the king shall do justice to the party
resolute monarch and the rebellious prelate, which cent.
oblige the latter to retire into France, where xii.
Alexander III. was at that time in a kind of exile. PART II.
This pontiff and the king of France interposed their
good offices in order to compose these differences,
in which they succeeded so far, after much trouble
and difficulty, as to encourage Becket to return
into England, where he was re-inflated in his for-
feited 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 privi-
leges of the church, nor could he be induced by

aggrieved. And, if any person shall dispossess the king of any
part of his lands, or trespass upon his prerogative, the archbishops,
bishops, and deacons shall call him to an account, and oblige
him to make the crown restitution; i.e. They were to excommu-
icate such dispossessors and injurious persons in case they proved refrac-
tory and incorrigible.

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

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

XVI. The sons of copy-holders are not to be ordained with-
out 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, how-
ever, 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 abjuration 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 Col-
lieer's Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. xii. century. Rapin Thoy-
ras, in the reign of Henry II.

VOL. III.
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 [1]. This event produced

This assertion is, in our opinion, by much too strong. It can only be founded upon certain indiscreet and passionat

expressions which the intolerable insolence and frenetic obtinacy of Becket drew from Henry in an unguarded moment, when, after having received new affronts, notwithstanding the reconciliation he had effectcd 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-Urfe, Tracy-Britton, and Moreville, 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 Knareborough in Yorkshire, which belonged to Moreville, 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 servilest 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 particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting particularly one, which is worthi...
warm debates between the king of England and the\textit{ cent.}\ 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: 1/2, That in order to put an end to the confusion and dissensions which so often accompanied the election of the Roman pontiffs, the right of election should not only be vested in the cardinals alone, but also that the person, in whose favour two-thirds of the college of cardinals voted, should be considered as the lawful and duly elected pontiff. This law is still in force; it was therefore from the time of Alexander that the election of the pope acquired that form which it still retains, and by which not only the people, but also the Roman clergy, are excluded entirely from all share in the honour of conferring that important dignity.

\begin{flushleft}
\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushright}
\end{flushright}
The Internal History of the Church.

2dly, A spiritual war was declared against Heretics, whose numbers increasing considerably about this time, created much disturbance in the church in general, and infested, in a more particular manner, several provinces in France, which groaned under the fatal dissensions that accompanied the propagation of their errors [w]. 3dly, The right of recommending and nominating to the faintly order was also taken away from councils and bishops, and canonization was ranked among the greater and more important causes, the cognizance of which belonged to the pontiff alone [x].

To all this we must not forget to add, that the power of erecting new kingdoms, which had been claimed by the pontiffs from the time of Gregory VII. was not only assumed, but also exercised by Alexander in a remarkable instance; for, in the year 1179, he conferred the title of king, with the ensigns of royalty, upon Alphonso I. duke of Portugal, who, under the pontificate of Lucius II. had rendered his province tributary to the Roman see [y].


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.


Alphonso had been declared, by his victorious army, king of Portugal, in the year 1136, in the midst of the glorious exploits he had performed in the war against the Moors; so that Alexander III. did no more than confirm this title by an arrogant bull, in which he treats that excellent prince as his vassal.
XIV. Upon the death of Alexander, Ubald, cent. bishop of Oftra, otherwise known by the name of XII. Lucius III. was raised to the pontificate, A. D. Part II. 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 Prenefe, 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 mentioning; for he thundered his excommunications against the emperor Henry VI. and Leopold, duke of Austria, on account of their having seized and imprisoned Richard I. king of England, as he

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

[a] Whole name was Hyacinth, a native of Rome, and a cardinal deacon.
was returning from the Holy Land; he also subjected
XII. to the same malediction Alphonso X. king of
PART II. 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 Ingel-
burg his queen, whom he had divorced for reasons
unknown; though this order, indeed, produced
but little effect [6]. 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.

If, from the series of pontiffs that ruled the
church in this century, we descend to the other
ecclesiastical orders, such as the bishops, priests,
and deacons, the most disagreeable objects will be exhi-
bited to our view. The unanimous voice of the
historians of this age, as well as the laws and decrees
of synods and councils, declare loudly the gross
ignorance, the odious frauds, and the flagitious
crimes, that reigned among the different ranks and
orders of the clergy now mentioned. It is not
therefore at all 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 and sacredotal orders were
exposed, were held in higher esteem than they were.

[6] It was in consequence of the vigorous and terrible
proceedings of Innocent III. that the re-union between Philip
and Ingelburg was accomplished. See L'Histoire de France,
par l'Abbé Velly, tom. iii. p. 367, 368, 369.
The reign of corruption became, however, so general, 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 themselves up to pleasure, and dwelt carelessly [e]. Several of the succeeding abbots endeavoured to remedy this disorder, and to recover the declining reputation of their convent; but their efforts were much less successful than they expected, nor could the monks

[c] See Ruperti Epistolae in Martene Thesaur. Anecdotum. 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 xiii century. In this Poem, of which several editions have been published, the different orders of monks are severely censtrued; the Carthusians alone have escaped the keen and virulent satire of this witty writer.

[e] Isaiah, xlvi. 8.
of Clugni ever be brought back to their primitive sanctity and virtue [f].

XVI. The Cisterian Order, which was much inferior to the monks of Clugni, both with respect to the antiquity of their institution, and the possessions and revenues of their convent, surpassed them far in the external regularity of their lives and manners, and in a certain striking air of innocence and sanctity, which they still retained, and which the others had almost entirely lost. Hence they acquired that high degree of reputation and authority, which the order of Clugni had formerly enjoyed, and increased daily in number, credit, and opulence. The famous St. Bernard, abbot of Clairval, whose influence throughout all Europe was incredible, whose word was a law, and whose counsels were regarded by kings and princes as so many orders to which the most respectful obedience was due; this eminent ecclesiastic was the person who contributed most to enrich and aggrandize the Cisterbian Order. Hence he is justly considered as the second parent and founder of that Order; and hence the Cisterians, not only in France, but also in Germany and other countries, were distinguished by the title of Bernardine 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 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.


[g] See Jo. Mabillon, Annales Ordinis Benedicti. tom. vi. paffim, in vita Sii. Bernardi, which he has prefixed to his edition of the works of that saint.—See also Angeli Manriquez Annales Cistercienses, tom. ii. and iii.
XVII. The growing prosperity of the Cistercian Order excited the envy and jealousy of the monks of Clugni, and, after several dillections 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. This charge was answered, though with uncommon moderation and candour, by Peter Mauricius, abbot of Clugni; and hence it occasioned

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

Vol. III.
The Internal History of the Church.

CENT. a controversy in form, which spread from day to
day its baneful influence, and excited disturbances
in several provinces of Europe [i]. It was, however,
followed with a much more vehement and bitter
contest concerning an exemption from the payment
of tythes, granted among other privileges and immu-
nities to the Cistercians, A.D. 1132, by INNOCENT
II. A considerable part of the lands which the
Cistercians 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 Cistercians,
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]:

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

[i] See S. Bernardi Apologia in Oper. tom. i. p. 523—533.
—The Apology of Peter, abbot of Clugni, surnamed the
Venerable, which is published among his Epistles. lib. i. ep. 28. in
the Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, tom. i. p. 657—695.—See also the
Dialogus inter Cluniacensium et Cisterciensium, published by Martene,
in his Thesaur. Anecdot. tom. v. p. 1573—1613.—Compare
with all these Marillon, Annal. Benedict., tom. vi. p. 80. and
Manriquez, Annal. Cistere. tom. i. p. 28.

[k] See Angeli Manriquez, Annal. Cistercienses, tom. i.
& Prefat. ad Opera S. Bernardi. Jo. de Lannes, Histoire des
de exemptione Cistere. à décimis.

able and willing to distinguish merit, and were also cent.
often put in possession of the revenues of the monks, XII.
whose dissolute lives occasioned, from time to time, P ART II.
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,
sequestrated 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 ex-
ceeded the bounds of decency and moderation [m].
The champions, who espoused the interest of the
monks, were the famous Peter Abelard, Hugh
of Amiens, Rupert of Duytz; while the cause of
the canons was defended by Philip Harvengius,
a learned abbot, and several other men of genius and
abilities [n]. The effects and remains of this ancient
controversy are yet visible in our times.

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

[m] See LAMBerti Epistolae in MartenE, Thesaur. Anecdot.
tom. i. p. 329.
[n] Abelardi Opera, p. 228, Paris. 1616, in 4to.—
MartenE, Thesaur. Anecdot. tom. v. p. 970—975. 1614. et
Amphlissima ejusdem Collectio, tom. ix. p. 971, 972.—PHIL. Har-
vengi Opera, p. 385. Duaci 1621, in folio.
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. This new order, like all other novelties of that kind, gained immediately a high degree of credit; the singularity of its discipline, its form, and its laws, engaged multitudes to embrace it, and thus the labours of its founder were crowned with remarkable success.

But the association of vigorous monks and tender virgins, in the same community, was an imprudent measure, and could not but be attended with many inconveniences. However that be, Robert continued his pious labours, and the odour of his sanctity perfumed all the places where he exercised his ministry. He was, indeed, suspected by some, of too great an intimacy with his female disciples; and it was rumoured about, that, in order to try his virtue, by opposing it to the strongest temptations,

[6] 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. Benedicti. 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 Moléon, in his Voyages Liturgiques, p. 108. and by Martene, in his Voyages Litteraire de deux Beneficiens, part II. p. 1.
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 the regular canons, which was extremely relaxed in some places, and almost totally abolished in others. This eminent reformer founded, in the year 1121, the Order of Premontré in Picardy, whose fame spread throughout Europe with an amazing rapidity, and whose opulence, in a short space of time, became excessive and enormous,[q], in consequence of the

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

[q] In the year 1177, some nuns of this order were brought into England, at the desire of Henry III. who gave them the monastery of Ambresbury in Wiltsbire. They had two other houses here; the one at Eton, the other at Westwood in Woreftbire.

[q] The religious of this order were at first so poor, that they had nothing they could call their own, but a single alf, 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
The Internal History of the Church.

The monks of this community had acquired by the gravity of their manners, and their affiduous 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. Augustine, with some slight alterations, and an addition of certain severe laws, whose authority, however, did not long survive their austere founder.

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 an hundred abbeys in France and Germany. In process of time, the Order increased so prodigiously, that it had monasteries in all parts of Christendom, amounting to 1,000 abbeys, 300 provost-ships, a vast number of priories, and 500 nunneries. But this number is now greatly diminished. Besides what they lost in protestant countries, of sixty-five abbeys, that they had in Italy, there is not one now remaining.


The Praemonstratenses 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.
filled by new-comers; so that it was, at length [s], erected into a monastic community by Albert, xii. 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 the highest indignation, an origin so recent and obscure, and affirm to this very day, that the prophet Elias was the parent and founder of their ancient community [u]. Very few, however, have been engaged to adopt this fabulous and chimerical account of their establishment, except the members of the order, and many Roman catholic writers have treated their pretensions to such a remote antiquity with the utmost

[s] In the year 1205.
[t] I have here principally followed Dan. Papebroch, an accurate writer, and one who is always careful to produce sufficient testimonies of the truth of his narrations, see the Acta Sanctor. Antwerp. Mense April. tom. iii. p. 774—802. It is well known, that an accusation was brought against this learned Jesuit, before the tribunal of the Roman pontiff, by the Carmelites, on account of his having called in question the dignity and high antiquity of their Order. We have in Helyot's Hist. des Ordres, tom. i. p. 282. an account of this long and tedious contest, which was so far determined, or at least suspended, in the year 1698, by Innocent XII. that silence was imposed upon the contending parties.

[u] The most concise and accurate of all the Carmelite writers, who have treated this matter, is Thomas Aquinas, a French monk, in his Dissertatio Histor. Theol. in qua Patriarchus Ordinis Carmelitarum Prophetæ Eliae vindicatur, published in 8vo, at Paris in the year 1632. The modern writers, who have maintained the cause of the Carmelites against Papebroch, are extremely prolix and tiresome.
CENT. contempt [w]. 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 Ahab, after the departure of her husband, bound herself by a vow of chastity, received the veil from the hands of father Elias, and thus became the first abbess of the Carmelite Order. They enter into a vast detail of all the circumstances that relate to the rules of discipline which were drawn up for this community, the habit which distinguished its members, and the various alterations which were introduced into their rule of discipline in process of time. They observe, that, among other marks which were used to distinguish the Carmelites from the seculars, the tonsure was one; that this mark of distinction exposed them, indeed, to the mockeries of a profane multitude; and that this furnishes the true explication of the terms bald head, which the children addressed, by way of reproach, to Elisah 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.


[x] See 2 Kings, ii. 23.
Nay, they go still farther into the region of fable, and assert, that the Virgin Mary, and Jesus himself, assumed the habit and profession of Carmelites; and they load this fiction with a heap of absurd circumstances, which it is impossible to read without the highest astonishment.

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:

**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.

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

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

and spirit, and who wrote commentaries on certain books of Aristotle;

Euthymius Zigabenus, who, by his Antithetical 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;

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 digestsing the civil and ecclesiastical laws of the Greeks [b].

XXIII. The most eminent among the Latin 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

[a] Other historians place Glycas in the fifteenth century. See Lam DiSSERTATIO DE GLYCA, which is prefixed to the first volume of his Delicia vivorum eruditorum.
[b] See the Bibliotheca Graeca of Fabricius.
the other hand, discovered in his conduct, many... marks of superstition and weakness, and, what is... still worse, concealed the lust of dominion under the... mark of piety, and made no scruple of loading with... false accusations, such as had the misfortune to incur... his displeasure \[c\];

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

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

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

Geoffry of Vendôme, whose Epistles and Differ... tions are yet extant;

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

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

\[d\] The Epistles of Innocent III. were published at Paris, in two large volumes in folio, by Baluzius, in the year 1682.

\[e\] See Bayle's Dictionary, at the articles Abelard and Paraclet.—Gervais, Vie de Pierre Abéillard, Abbe de Ruyys, 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.
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;[b]

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

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

William of Rheims, the author of several 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]

---

[g] See *Gallia Chrjstiana*, 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, *DéRlanqii Differt. de Hugoni a S. Victore, Helmsdtli*, 1746, in 4to, and *Martene's Voyage Litteraire*, tom. ii. p. 91, 92.


[i] Such is the place to which Honorius is said to have belonged. But Le Boeuf proves him to have been a German, in his *Differt. sur l'Hist. Françoise*, tom. i. p. 254.

[k] *Gallia Chrjstiana*, tom. vii. p. 68.
Gilbertus Porretanus [\textit{1}], a subtle dialectician, and a learned divine, who is, however, said to have adopted several erroneous sentiments concerning The Divine Essence; The Incarnation; and The Trinity [\textit{m}];

William of Auxerre, who acquired a considerable reputation by his Theological System [\textit{n}];

Peter of Blois [\textit{o}], whose epistles and other productions may yet be read with profit;

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

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

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

[\textit{1}] Gilbert, De la Poirée.

[\textit{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.

[\textit{n} Le Boeuf, Difert, 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.

[\textit{o}] Petrus Blesensis.
CHAPTER III.

Concerning the doctrine of the Christian church in this century.

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

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

[*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.
The Internal History of the Church.

Cent. 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 superflitious 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 superstitious, 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 resorting to the new oracle, and respected its decisions as the commands of God, who, in this way, was pleased, as they imagined, to communicate counsel, instruction, and the knowledge of his will to men. This appears, to mention no other examples, from the extraordinary reputation which the two famous prophetesses Hildegard [q] See Haymon's Treatise concerning this custom, published by Mabillon, at the end of the sixth tome of his Annal. Benedict. See also these Annals, p. 392.

[r] As a proof that this assertion is not without foundation, we shall transcribe the following remarkable passage of the Life of St. Altman, bishop of Padua, as it stands in Seb. Tengnagl's Collect. Vet. Monumentor. p. 41. Vos licet, sancti Domini, somno nostro requiescat . . . hanc tamen crediderim, spiritus vestros deesse locis qua viventes tanta devotione confruxissis, et dilexisis. Credo vos adeoque cunctis illic degentibus, asfere videlicet orantibus, succurrere laborantibus, et vota singularum in conspectu divinae majestatis promovere.


[r] As a proof that this assertion is not without foundation, we shall transcribe the following remarkable passage of the Life of St. Altman, bishop of Padua, as it stands in Seb. Tengnagl's Collect. Vet. Monumentor. p. 41. Vos licet, sancti Domini, somno nostro requiescat . . . hanc tamen crediderim, spiritus vestros deesse locis qua viventes tanta devotione confruxissis, et dilexisis. Credo vos adeoque cunctis illic degentibus, asfere videlicet orantibus, succurrere laborantibus, et vota singularum in conspectu divinae majestatis promovere.
abbats of Bingen, and ELIZABETH of Schonauge, CENT. obtained in Germany [s].

III. This universal reign of ignorance and super-
stition was dexterously, yet banefully 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 tranfgreftors,
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 epifcopal orders, and
enabled them, as is well known, to form and execute
the most difficult schemes for the enlargement of
their authority, and to erect a multitude of sacred edifices, which augmented considerably the external
pomp and splendour of the church [z]. 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].

554.

[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
Sanctor. Menfis Mai, tom. vii. p. 533. where we have an account
Vol. III. M
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 asumed, 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 emptines of their coffers, or the demon of avarice, prompted them to look out for new subsidies, published, not only an universal, but also a complete, or what they called a *plenary remission* of all the *temporal* pains and penalties, which the church had annexed to certain transgressions. They went still farther; and not only remitted the penalties, which the civil and ecclesiastical laws had enacted against transgressors, but audaciouly 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

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 a long journey made by the relics of St. *Manculus*.

---

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 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].

[y] The Penitential was a book, in which the degree and kind of penance that were annexed to each crime, were registered.
[z] These works are known by the name of Works of Supererogation.
[a] For a satisfactory and ample account of the enormous doctrine of indulgences, see a very learned and judicious work, entitled, Lettres sur les Jubilés, published in the year 1751, in three volumes 8vo, by the Reverend Mr. Chais, minister of
V. Nothing was more common in this century than expounders 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 expounders were attentive to search after the true signification of the words employed by the sacred writers, or to investigate the precise sense in which they were used; and these few were destitute of the succours which such researches demand. The Greek and Latin commentators, blinded by their enthusiastic love of antiquity, and their implicit veneration for the doctors of the early ages of the church, drew from their writings, without discernment or choice, a heap of passages, which they were pleased to consider as illustrations of the holy scriptures. Such were the commentaries of Euthymius Zigabenus, an eminent expounder 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 expounders of this age, such as the French Church in the Hague, on occasion of the universal Jubilee celebrated at Rome the preceding year, by the order of Benedict XIV. In the 2d volume of this excellent work, which we shall have frequent occasion to consult in the course of this history, there is a clear account and a satisfactory refutation of the doctrine in question, as also the history of that monstrous practice from its origin to the present times.
Gilbert, bishop of London, surnamed the Universal, 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 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 enthusiasmistical 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,

[b] For an account of this prelate, see Le Boeuf, Memoires concernant l'Histoire d'Auxerre, tom. ii. p. 486.
[c] An ample account of this learned Benedictine is to be found in Gabr. Liron, Singularites Historique et Litteraires, tom. iii. p. 29.—See also Mabillon, Annales Benedicti, tom. vi. p. 477. 719.
The manner of teaching theology that now prevailed.

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

[d] The Prologus in Abdiam has been published by Mabillon, in his Annales Benedicti. tom. vi. p. 637.
Hugh of St. Victor is supposed to have been the first writer of this century, who taught in this manner the doctrines of Christianity, digested into a regular system. His example, however, was followed by many; but none acquired such a shining reputation by his labours, in this branch of sacred erudition, as Peter, bishop of Paris, surnamed Lombard, from the country which gave him birth. The Four books of Sentences of this eminent prelate, which appeared in the year 1172, 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; 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 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.
The Internal History of the Church.

PART II.

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 subtleties of the Dialecticians, nor did they presumptuously attempt submitting the divine truths of the gospel to the uncertain and obscure principles of a refined and intricate logic, which was rather founded on the excursions of fancy than on the nature of things. They had for contemporaries another set of theologians, who were far from imitating their moderation and prudence in this respect; a set of subtle doctors, who taught the plain and simple truths of Christianity, in the obscure terms and with the perplexing distinctions used by the Dialecticians, and explained, or rather darkened; with their unintelligible jargon, the sublime precepts of the wisdom that is from above. This method of teaching theology, which was afterwards called the scholastic system, because it was in general use in the schools, had for its author, Peter Abelard, a man of the most subtle genius, whose public lectures in philosophy and divinity had raised him to the highest summit of literary renown, and who was successively canon of Paris, and monk and abbot of Ruys [b]. 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 subtle doctors never explained or illustrated any subject, but, on the contrary, darkened and disfigured the plainest

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

VIII. From this period therefore, an important distinction was made between the Christian doctors, who were divided into two classes. In the first class were placed those, who were called by the various names of biblici, i. e. bible-doctors, dogmatici, and positivi, i. e. didactic divines, and also veteres, or ancients; and in the second were ranged the scholastics, who were also distinguished by the titles of Sententiarii, after the Master of the sentences, and Novi, to express their recent origin. The former expounded, though in a wretched manner, the sacred writings in their public schools, illustrated the doctrines of Christianity, without deriving any succour from reason or philosophy, and confirmed their opinions by the united testimonies of Scripture and Tradition. The latter expounded, instead of the Bible, the famous Book of Sentences; reduced, under the province of their subtle 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 subtle 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 deserted [7]. The scholastic theology continued in high repute in all the European colleges until the time of Luther.

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

[7] The Book of Sentences seemed to be at this time in much greater repute than the Holy Scriptures, and the compilations of Peter Lombard were preferred to the doctrines and precepts of Jesus Christ. This appears evident from the following remarkable passage in Roger Bacon's Op. Maj. ad Clementem IV. Pontif. Rom. published in 1733 at London, by Sam. Jebb, from the original MSS. Baccalaurcus qui legit textum (scripturae) succumbit lectori sententarum, et ubique in omnibus honoratur et preferatur: nam ille, qui legit sententias habet, principalem horam legendi secundum suam voluntatem, habet et socium et cameram apud religiosos: sed qui legit Bibliam, caret his, et mendicat horam legendi secundum quod placet lectori sententarum: et qui legit sermones, disputat ubique et pro magistro habetur, reliquis qui textum legit, non potest disputare, sicut fuit hoc anno Bononia, et in multis aliis locis, quod est absurdum: manifestum est igitur, quod textus illius facultatis (sc. Theologice) subjicitur unius summis magistris. Such was now the authority of the scholastic theology, as appears from the words of Bacon, who lived in the following age, and in whose writings there are many things highly worthy of the attention of the curious.
were Guibert abbot of Nogent [n], Peter abbot of Montier-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 divisions 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 cenfured [r].

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

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 [*]. The charge brought against this subtle and learned monk was, that he had notoriously corrupted the doctrine of the Trinity, blasphemed against the majesty of the Holy Ghost, entertained unworthy and false conceptions of the person and offices of Christ, and the union of the two natures in him, denied the necessity of the divine grace to render us virtuous, and in a word, that his doctrines struck at the fundamental principles of all religion. It must be confessed by those who are acquainted with the writings of Abelard, that he expressed himself in a very singular and incongruous manner upon several points of theology [*]; and this indeed is one of the inconveniences to which subtle refinements upon mysterious doctrines frequently lead. But it is certain, on the other hand,


[*] 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.
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 subtlety than was meet, concerning the divine nature. Alarmed at the novelty of his doctrine, they brought a charge of blasphemy against him before pope Eugenius III. who was at that time in France; and, to give weight to their accusation, they gained over St. Bernard, and engaged him in their cause. The zealous abbot treated the matter with his usual vehemence, and opposed Gilbert with the utmost severity and bitterness, first in the council of Paris, A. D. 1147, and afterwards in that which was

[u] See Gervais, Vie d'Abelard, tom. ii. p. 162.—Le Clerc, Biblioth. Ancienne et Moderne, tom. ix. p. 352.—Dionys. Petavi. Dogmata Theol. 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 Cluny, where he ended his days in the year 1142.
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 subtility, 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 among the Greeks, who is worthy of mention, is Philip, surnamed the Solitary, whose book intitled Dioptra, which consists in a dialogue between the body and the soul, is composed with judgment and elegance, and con-

tains many things proper to nourish pious and virtuous sentiments.

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

XIII. Both Greeks and Latins were seized with that enthusiastic passion for dialectical researches, that raged in this century, and were thereby rendered extremely fond of captious questions and theological contests, while, at the same time, the love of controversy seduced them from the paths that lead to truth, and involved them in labyrinths of uncertainty and error. The discovery of truth was not, indeed, the great object they had in view; their principal design was to puzzle and embarrass their adversaries, and overwhelm them with an
enormous heap of fine-spun distinctions, an impetuous torrent of words without meaning, a long list of formidable authorities, and a speruous train of fallacious consequences embellished with railings and invectives. The principal polemic writers among the Greeks were Constantinus Harmenopolus, and Euthymius Zigabenus. The former published a short treatise De Sedis 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 funk, and whose circumstances were miserable in every respect, were refuted by Gilbert de Castilione, Odo, Petrus Alfonsus, Rupert of Duytz, Petrus Mauritius, Richardus a Sto. Victore, and Petrus Blesensis, according to the logic of the times, and Euthymius, with several other divines, directed their polemic force against the Saracens.

The contest between the Greeks and Latins, 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 Havelsberg, and Hugo Etherianus, who distinguished
themelves eminently by their erudition in this famous cent. 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 negociations, 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.

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 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. What the emperor's opinion of this matter was, we find nowhere 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 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 possible, i.e. subject to suffering, 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. 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.

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; for so they translated the Arabian word elfemed, which is applied in the koran to the Supreme Being, and which indeed is susceptible of that sense, though it also signifies eternal. The emperor ordered this anathema to be effaced in the Catechism of the Greek church, on account of the high offence it gave to the Mahometans, who had either been already converted to Christianity, or were disposed to embrace that divine religion, and who were extremely shocked at such an insult offered

[z] Καὶ ἄν ἐν αὐτῷ ἔνεντον ἐστὶν σῶμα.
[b] Nicetas in Andronicus, lib. ii. § 5. p. 175.
[c] Ὀλίσφαίρος.
The Internal History of the Church.

XII.

Part II.

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 feet [c].

XVIII. The spirit of controversy raged among the Latins, as well as among the Greeks, and various sentiments concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper were propagated, not only in the schools, but also in the writings of the learned. For though all the doctors of the church were now extremely desirous of being looked upon as enemies to the system of Berenger, yet many of them, and among others [f] Rupert of Duyitz, 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, contrary to the received opinions of the church.

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


[b] 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.
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 Lions, and adopting the new festival, while others adhered to the sentiments of St. Bernard [1]. The controversy, however, notwithstanding the zeal of the contending parties, was carried on, during this century, with a certain degree of decency and moderation. But, in after-times, when the Dominicans were established in the academy of Paris, the contest was renewed with the greatest vehemence, and the same subject was debated, on both sides, with the utmost animosity and contention of mind. The Dominicans declared for St. Bernard, while the academy patronized the Canons of Lions, and adopted the new festival.

CHAPTER IV.

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

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

CHAPTER V.

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

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 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 enthusiastic 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]. Part II.  

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 Christiannoty, 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 Grecce, and in all the eastern provinces, this sort of men were distinguished by the general and invidious appellation of Maffalians, or Euchites, [m], as the Latins comprehended all the adversaries of the Roman pontiff under the general terms of Waldenses and Albigenses. It is, however, necessary to


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

Vol. III.
observe, that the names above mentioned 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 Maflians, whenever they opposed the raging superstition of the times, or looked upon true and genuine piety as the essence of the Christian character.

The Bogomiles.

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

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 luster. But the knowledge of these good men was not equal to their zeal, nor were their abilities in any proportion to the grandeur of their undertakings. The greatest part of them were destitute both of learning and judgment, and,

The Internal History of the Church.

CENT. 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 extravagancies of enthusiasm, and engendered a number of new sects, that became a new dishonour to the Christian cause.

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

[o] See CENT. III. PART II. Ch. V. § XVIII. but principally for that sort of Catharists here mentioned, see above CENT. XI. PART II. Ch. V. § II.

[p] See the accounts given of this unhappy and persecuted sect by Charles Plessis D'Argentre in his Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus, tom. i. in which, however, several circumstances are omitted.
being distinct from the Supreme Deity; that Christ was not cloathed 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 useles institutions destitute of all efficacy and power. They exhorted all who embraced their doctrine to a rigorous abstinence from animal food, wine, and wedlock, and recommended to them in the most pathetic terms the most severe acts of austerity and mortification. They moreover treated with the utmost contempt all the books of the Old Testament, but expressed a high degree of veneration for the New, particularly for the Four Gospels; and, to pass over many other peculiarities in their doctrine, they maintained, that human souls, endued with reason, were shut up by an unhappy fate in the dungeons of mortal bodies, from whence they could only be delivered by fasting, mortification, and continence of every kind [7].

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

[7] Besides the writers which shall be mentioned presently, see the Disputatio inter Catholicum et Paterinum, published by Marte, in his Thesaur. Anecdotor, tom. v. p. 1703. as also Bonacursi Manifestatio Heresis Catharorum in Luc. D’acheri Spicilegio, tom. i. p. 208.
nearly to the Manichaean 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 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 Albigenses, 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 Concorregio, or Concorezzo. The Albigenses, who were settled in France, belonged to the church or congregation of Baioli \([s]\).

\([r]\) See Bern. Moneta, in summa adversus Catharos et Waldenses, published at Rome, in the year 1745, by Thom. August. Richini, who prefixed to it a dissertation concerning the Cathari, that is by no means worthy of the highest encomiums. Moneta was no mean writer for the time in which he lived. See Lib. i. p. 2. & 5. Lib. ii. p. 247, &c.

\([s]\) Raineri Sachoni summa de Catbaris et Leonis in Martene Thefur. Anecdet. tom. v. p. 1761. 1768.—Perigrinus Prescianus in Muratorii Antiq. Ital. mediæ evi, tom. v. p. 93. who exhibits, in a sort of table, these different
VI. In the internal constitution of the church that cent. was founded by this sect, there were many rules and principles of a singular nature, which 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. 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 Manichaeans, 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 sects, but by a mistake places the Albigenfes, who were a branch of the Baiolenses, in the place of the Albanenses; this, perhaps, may be an error of the prefs. The opinions of these Baiolenses, or Bagnolenses, may be seen in the Codex Inquisitionis Tolosani 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 Albigenfes 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.

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 convenienza, to enter before their death, in their last moments, if not sooner, into the class of the comforted; and to receive the consolamentum, which was the form of inauguration by which they were introduced into that fanatical order [u].

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 simplicitv of the gospel, and after having engaged in his cause a great number of followers, during a laborious ministry of twenty years continuance, was burnt at St. Giles's, in the year 1130, by an enraged populace, set on by the clergy, whose traffic was in danger from the enterprising spirit of this new reformer. The whole system of doctrine, which this unhappy martyr, whose zeal was not without a considerable mixture of fanaticism, taught to the Petrobruffians his disciples, is not known; it is 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

[u] For a further account of this sect, see the writers mentioned above, and particularly the Codex Inquisitionis Tolosana.
the real body and blood of Christ were not exhibited cent.
in the eucharist, but were merely represented, in xii.
that holy ordinance, by their figures and symbols. part ii.
5. and lastly, That the oblations, prayers, and good
works of the living, could be in no respect advan-
tageous to the dead [w].

VIII. This Innovator was succeeded by another, the Henris
cians. 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 superstitious of the times;
yet such was the case with Henry, who leaving
Lausanne, a city in Switzerland, travelled to Mans,
and being banished thence, removed successively to
Poitiers, Bourdeaux, and the countries adjacent,
and at length to Thoulouse in the year 1147, exercis-
ing his ministerial function in all these places with
the utmost applause from the people, and declaiming,
with the greatest vehemence and fervour, against the
vices of the clergy, and the superstitions they had
introduced into the Christian church. At Thoulouse
he was warmly opposed by St. Bernard, by whose
influence he was overpowered, notwithstanding his
popularity, and obliged to save himself by flight.
But being seized, in his retreat, by a certain bishop,
he was carried before pope Eugenius III. who
presided in person at a council then assembled at
Rheims, and who, in consequence of the accusations
brought against Henry, committed him, in the year
1148, to a close prison, where, in a little time after
this, he ended his days [x]. We have no accurate

[w] See Petri Venerab. Lib. contra Petrobrusianos in
iv. p. 140.

[x] Gesla Episcoporum Cenomanens. in Mabillon, Anal., vet.

Vol. III.
PART II.

The horrid blasphemy of Tanquelinus.

IX. While the Henricians were propagating their doctrines in France, a certain illiterate man, called Tanquelinus, or Tanquelmus, arose in Brabant about the year 1115, excited the most deplorable commotions at Antwerp, and drew after him a most numerous sect. If the accounts that are given us of this heresarch 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. What seems most


[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, Analeita, p. 316.

[z] Epistola Traiect. Ecclesiae ad Tridericum Episcopum de Tanchemo, in Sel. Tengnagelii Collectiue Veterum Monu-

—Argentre, Collectio Judiciar. de novis erroribus, tom. i. p. 10.
worthy of credit in this matter is, that this new cent. teacher had imbibed the opinions and spirit of the Mystics; that he treated with contempt the external worship of God, the sacrament of the Lord’s supper, and the rite of baptism; and held clandestine assem-
blies to propagate more effectually his visionary notions. But as, besides all this, he inveighed against the clergy, like the other heretics already mentioned, and decried 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 feet, 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 Premonstratens, or Premontrès [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 commo-
tions 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

The Internal History of the Church.

CENT. 1155, by a praefect of the city, by whom he was crucified, and afterwards burned to ashes. This unhappy man seems 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 persauded that the interests of the church, and the happiness of nations in general required, that the clergy should be divested of all their worldly possessions, of all their temporal rights and prerogatives. He, therefore, maintained publicly, that the treasures and revenues of popes, bishops, and monasteries, ought to be solemnly resigned and transferred to the supreme rulers of each state, and that nothing was to be left to the ministers of the gospel but a spiritual authority and a subsistence drawn from tythes, and from the voluntary oblations and contributions of the people [b]. This violent reformer, in whose character and manners there were several things worthy of esteem, drew after him a great number of disciples, who derived from him the denomination of Arnolditès, 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.

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 cent. 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 Lions [c], or Leonis, and, from the wooden shoes which its doctors wore, and a certain mark that was imprinted upon these shoes, they were called Infabbatati, or Sabbatati [d].

The origin of this famous sect was as follows: Peter, an opulent merchant of Lions, furnamed Valdenfis, or Fadifius, from Vaux, or Waldum, a town in the marquisate of Lions, being extremely zealous for the advancement of true piety and Christian knowledge, employed a certain priest [c], about the year 1160, in translating from Latin into French the Four Gospels, with other books of Holy Scripture and the most remarkable sentences of the ancient doctors, which were so highly esteemed in this century. But no sooner had he perused these sacred books with a proper degree of attention, than he perceived that the religion, which was now taught in the Roman church, differed totally from that

[c] They were called Leonis 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 infabbatati. See Du Fresne Glossarium Latin. medii aevi, vi. voce Sabbatati, p. 4.—Nicol. Eumerici Directorium Inquisitorum, part III. N. 112. &c.


[e] This priest was called Stephanus De Evisa.
The Internal History of the Church.

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, 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. They accordingly formed religious

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

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

basty, from whence they propagated their fect xii.
throughout the other provinces of Europe with incre-
dible rapidity, and with fuch invincible fortitude,
that neither fire nor fword, nor the moft cruel
inventions of mercifles perfe{cation, could damp their
zeal, or entirely ruin their caufe [\textit{b}].

writers of note; for it seems evident from the beft records, that Valdus derived his name from the true Waldenfes of Piedmont, whose doctrine he adopted, and who were known by the names of Vaudois and Waldenfes, before he or his immediate followers exifted. If the Waldenfes or Waldenfes 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 9th century, and was the cotemporary and chief counfellor of Berengarius. But the truth is, that they derive their name from their Vallies in Piedmont, which in their language are called Vaux, hence Vidois, 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 Waldenfes and Waldenfes ufed by thofe, who write in English or Latin, in the place of Vaudois. The bloody Inquifitor Reinerus Sacco, who exerted fuch a furious zeal for the deftruction of the Waldenfes, lived but about 80 years after Valdus of Lyons, and muft therefore be fuppofed to know whether or not he was the real founder of the Waldenfes or Leonijis; and yet it is remarkable that he speaks of the Leonijis (mentioned by Dr. Mosheim in the preceding page, as fynonimous with Waldenfes) as a fect that had flourifhed 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 Jefuit Gretser, in the Bibliotheca Patrum. I know not upon what principle Dr. Mosheim maintains, that the inhabitants of the Vallies of Piedmont are to be carefully diftinguifhed from the Waldenfes; and I am perfuaded, that whoever will be at the pains to read attentively the 2d, 25th, 26th, and 27th chapters of the 1ft book of Leger's Histoire Generale des Eglifes Vaudoifes, will find this diftin{tion entirely groundles.-When the Papifts ask us where our religion was before Luther? we generally an{wer, in the Bible; and we an{wer well. But to gratify their taste for Tradition and human authority, we may add to this an{wer, and in the Vallies of Piedmont.

[\textit{b}] See the following ancient writers, who have given accounts of the fect in question, to wit, Sachonl Summa contra Waldenfes. —Moneta Summa contra Carpbaros et Waldenfes.—published by
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 characterized 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 authorized 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, affirmed, 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 forbid avarice. They looked upon the prayers, and other ceremonies that were instituted in behalf of the dead, as vain, useless, and absurd, and denied the existence of departed souls in an intermediate state of purification, affirming, that they were immediately, upon the separation from the body, received into heaven, or thrust down to hell. These and other tenets of a like nature composed the system of doctrine propagated by the Waldenses. Their rules of practice were extremely austere; for they adopted, as the model of their moral discipline, the Sermon of Christ on the mount, which they interpreted and explained in the most rigorous and literal manner, and, of consequence, prohibited, and condemned in their society all wars, and suits of law, all attempts towards the acquisition of wealth, the inflicting of capital punishments, self-defence against unjust violence, and oaths of all kinds [i].

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

XIII. The government of the church was committed, by the Waldenses, to bishops, 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 trade or vocation, in order to gain by constant industry their daily subsistence. The laity were divided into two classes; one of which contained the perfect, and the other the imperfect Christians. The former spontaneously divested themselves of all worldly possessions, manifested, in the wretchedness of their apparel, their excessive poverty, and emaciated their bodies by frequent fasting. The latter were less austere, and approached nearer to the method of living generally received, though they abstained, like the graver sort of anabaptists in later times, from all appearance of pomp and luxury. It is, however, to be observed, that the Waldenses were not without their intestine divisions. Such of them as lived in Italy differed considerably in their opinions from those who dwelt in France and the other European nations. The former considered the church of Rome as the church of Christ, though much corrupted and and sadly disfigured; they acknowledged moreover the validity of its seven sacraments, and solemnly declared that they would continue always in 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 apostatised from Christ, was deprived of the holy spirit, and was, in reality,

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

[7] The greatest part of the Waldenses gained their livelihood by weaving; hence the whole set in certain places were called the field of weavers.
that whore of Babylon mentioned in the Revelations of St. John.

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. In Lombardy, which was the principal residence of the Italian heretics, there sprung up a very singular sect, known by the denomination of Pafaginians, and also by that of the circumcised. Like the other sects already mentioned, they had the utmost aversion to the dominion and discipline of the church of Rome; but they were, at the same time, distinguished by two religious tenets that were peculiar to themselves. The first was a notion, that the observation of the law of Moses, in every thing except the offering of sacrifices, was obligatory upon Christians, in consequence of which they circumcised their followers, abstained from those meats, the use of which was prohibited under the Mosaic 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;

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

[n] For an account of these obscurer sects, see Stephanus de Borbone, in Echardi Scriptoribus Dominicanis, tom. i. p. 191.

[o] The origin of the name Pafagini, or Pafagii, is not known.
for the Pafaginians 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].

XV. A set of fanatics, called Caputiati, from a
singular kind of cap that was the badge of their
faction, infested the province of Burgundy, the diocese
of Auxerre, and several other parts of France, in all
which places they excited much disturbance among
the people. They wore upon their caps a leaden
image of the Virgin Mary, and they declared
publicly, that their purpose was to level all distinc-
tions, to abrogate magistracy, to remove all subor-
dination among mankind, and to restore that primitive
liberty, that natural equality that were the inef-
tiable 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. Berna-
donced with such bitterness and fury, and who
were so called, as that zealous abbot himself acknow-
ledged, because they professed to exhibit in their
lives and manners the piety and virtues of the holy
apostles, were very different from the audacious
heretics now mentioned. They were a clownish
set of men, of the lowest birth, who gained their
subsistence by bodily labour; and yet no sooner did
they form themselves into a sect, than they drew
after them a multitude of adherents of all ranks and

[p] See F. Bonacorsi Manifestatio heresium Catharorum, in
Luc. Dacherii Spicilegio, Vet. Scriptor. tom. i. p. 211.
edit. nov.—Gerhard. Bergomensis contra Catharos et
Pafagios, in Lud. Anton. Muratorii Antiq. Ital. medi aevi,
tom. v. p. 151.

i. p. 317.
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 mortuos, he concluded, from the resemblance that there was between the word Eum and his name, that he was the person who was to come and judge both quick and dead. This poor man should rather have been delivered over to the physicians, than placed in the lift 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 shew, 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.

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

The External History of the Church.

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 Christianness were to be perceived in the courts of these eastern princes.

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 Coblaï, emperor of the whole Tartar nation, to whom he sent a solemn embassy of Franciscan monks, with a view to render that prince propitious to the Christian cause. The last expedition of this kind that we shall mention at present, was that of Johannes à Monte 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 cap. xix. p. 35. cap. xxiii. p. 39. cap. xxiv. p. 41.—Jos. Sim. Assemani Biblioth. Orient. Vatic, tom. iii. part. II. p. 526. See particularly the Ecclesiastical History of the Tartars, published in Latin at Helmsdale, in the year 1741, in 4to.


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.
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.

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


[f] This is remarked by the writers of the twelfth century, who had soon perceived the avaricious and despotic views of the pontiffs, in the encouragement they gave to the crusades. See Matth. Paris, Hist. Major, p. 174. 364. et passim.
Venetians, instead of steering their course towards Palestine, failed 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 stratagems of his general, Caesar Alexius, became master of Constantinople, and forced the Latin emperor Baldwin II. to abandon that city, and save himself by flight in Italy. Thus fell the empire of the Franks at Constantinople, after a duration of fifty-seven years [h].

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

[h] See, for a full account of this empire, Du Fresne, Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople sous les Empereurs Françoise.
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.

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,

in the former part of which we find the Histoire de la Conquête de la Ville de Constantinople par les Français, 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. capta à Latinis Constantinopolos, in Henr. Canisii Lectiones Antiquae, tom. iv. p. 1.—Innocentii III. Epistol. à Baluzio editas, païfin.

[i] See Jac. de Vitrac, Histor. Oriental. & Martin Sanctus, Secret. fideli. crucis inter Bangarfanos de facris bellis scriptores, seu gesta Dei per Francos.
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 followed 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

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

Chap. I.  Prosperous Events.

Prosperous Events.

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 discord 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.

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 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 discord that reigned between the templars and the knights of

[?] 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 Italie, and the various authors of the Germanic History.

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

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.
The External History of the Church.

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 [0].

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

[0] 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 Vinea, 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.
year 1250; Robert earl of Artois, the king's own brother, having surprized 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, 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, and after having spent about four years in Palestine, returned into France, in the year 1254, with a handful of men, the miserable remains of his formidable army.

VIII. No calamities could deject the courage nor damp the invincible spirit of Lewis; nor did he look upon his vow as fulfilled by what he had already done in Palestine. He therefore 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.

$\text{[p]}$ Alphonsus earl of Poitiers, and Charles earl of Arjou.

$\text{[g]}$ 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.

$\text{[r]}$ Of 2800 illustrious knights, who set out with Lewis from France, there remained about an hundred when he failed from Palestine. See Joinville's Histoire de S. Louis IX. p. 81.

* See Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Cent. XIII. vol. i. p. 456.
The External History of the Church.

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 seized, at length, the monarch himself, who fell a victim to its rage, on the 25th of August, in the year 1270 [s]. Lewis was the last of the European princes that embarked in the holy war; the dangers and difficulties, the calamities and disorders, and the enormous expences that accompanied each crusade, disgusted the most zealous, and discouraged the most intrepid promoters of these fanatical expeditions. In consequence of this, the Latin empire in the east declined apace, notwithstanding the efforts of the Roman pontiffs to maintain and support it; and in the year 1291, after the taking of Ptolomais, or Acra, by the Mahometans, it was entirely 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 Mazovia, to have recourse to more forcible methods than reason and argument, in order to bring about their conversion. For this purpose, he addressed himself, in the year 1230, to the knights of the Teutonic order of St. Mary, who, after their expulsion from Palestine, had settled at Venice, and engaged them, by pompous promises, to undertake the conquest and conversion of the Prussians. The knights accordingly arrived in Prussia, under the command of Herman de Saltza, and after a most cruel and obstinate war, of fifty years standing, with that resolute people, obliged them, with difficulty, to acknowledge the Teutonic order for their sovereigns, and to embrace the Christian faith. After having established Christianity, and fixed their own dominion in Prussia, these

The External History of the Church.

Cent. apostles made several excursions into the neighbouring countries, and particularly into Lithuania, where they pillaged, burned, maffacred, 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].

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 Valletia, Granada, and Murcia, together with the province of Andalusia; and this war was carried on with such success, that the Saracen dominion declined apace, and was daily reduced within narrower bounds, while the limits of the church were extended on every side. The princes that contributed principally to this happy revolution were Ferdinand, king of Leon and Castile, who, after his death, obtained a place in the Kalendar, his father Alphonsus IX. king of Leon, and James I. king of Arragon.[x]. The latter, more especially, distinguished himself eminently by his fervent zeal for the advancement of Christianity; for no sooner had he made himself master of Valletia 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 ministrv he made use of principally in this salutary work, to learn the Arabian tongue; and he founded public schools at Majorca and Barcelona,

[w] Besides the authors mentioned in the preceding note, see Ludwigii Reliquiae Manuscriptorum omnis aevi, tom. i. p. 336.

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

CHAPTER II.

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

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

The External History of the Church.

CENT. xiii. Part i.

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 characters of their descendants, who still inhabit the same uncultivated wilds, and who seem almost entirely destitute of all knowledge of God and religion [z].

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

[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 certain, that there still remain in these countries, descendants of those, whom the Holy war brought from Europe into Palestine; though they do very little honour to their ancestors, and have nothing of Christians but the name.
instructed, unhappily led to consider the Christian religion as a fable invented and propagated by a greedy and ambitious priesthood, in order to fill their coffers and to render their authority respectable. The philosophy of Aristotle, which flourished in all the European schools, and was looked upon as the very essence of right reason, contributed much to support this delusion, and to nourish a proud and presumptuous spirit of infidelity. This quibbling and intricate philosophy led many to reject some of the most evident and important doctrines both of natural and revealed religion, such as the doctrine of a divine providence governing the universe, the immortality of the soul, the scripture account of the origin of the world, and other points of less moment. These doctrines were not only rejected, but the most pernicious errors were industriously propagated in opposition to them, by a set of Aristotelian philosophers, who were extremely active in gaining profelytes to their impious jargon [a].

[a] See St. Thomas Summa contra gentes, and Bernhardi Monetae Summa contra Caitharos 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 Lutetiae publice privatimque docebantur, Anno 1277, in Bibliotheca patrum Maxima, tom. xxv. p. 233. as also Boulay, Hislor. Acad. Paris.; tom. iii. p. 433. and Gerardi du Bois, Hist. Eccles. Paris.; tom. ii. p. 501. The tenets of these doctors will, no doubt, appear of a surprising nature; for they taught, that there was only one intellect among all the human race; that all things were subject to absolute fate or necessity; that the universe was not governed by a divine
If the accusations brought against Frederick II. by the Roman pontiff Gregory IX. deserve any credit, that prince may be ranked among the most inveterate and malign engines of the Christian religion, since he was charged by Gregory with having said, that the world had been deceived by three impostors, Moses, Christ, and Mahomet. 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.

Frederic, who was extremely passionate and imprudent, may, perhaps in a fit of rage, have let some such expression as this escape his reflexion, and this is rendered probable enough by the company he frequented, and the number of learned Aristotelians that were always about his person, and might suggest matter enough for such impious expressions, as that now under 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 disjunction 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 hac secundum philosophum, non secundum fidem catholicam.


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

[d] See Casim. Oudini Comment. de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis
tom. iii. p. 66.—Alb. Henr. de Sallengre, Memoirs
d'Histoire et de Litterature, tom. i. part I. p. 386.
[e] The book entitled Liber de III Impostoribus, seu
Traidatus de Vanitate Religionum, is really a book which had no
existence at the time that the most noise was made about it, and
was spoken of by multitudes before it had been seen by any one
person. Its supposed existence was probably owing to an impious
faying of Simon of Tournay, doctor of divinity in the univer-
sity of Paris in the thirteenth century, which amounts to this:
"That the Jews were seduced out of their fefhes by Moses, the
Christians by Jesus, and the Gentiles by Mahomet." This,
or some expressions of a similiar kind, were imputed to the
emperor Frederic, and other persons, and that perhaps with-out
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, Poggio, the Arstins, Pomp-
nae, Machiavel, Erasmus, Ochinus, Servetus, Rabe-
laus, 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 Beftia
Triumphante of Giordano Bruno, and a wretched piece of
impiety, called the Spirit of Spinoza, were the ground-work or
materials from whence these hireling compilers, by modifying
some passages and adding others, drew the book which now passes
under the name of the Three Impostors, of which I have seen two
copies in manuscript, but no printed edition. See La Mon-
noye's Differtation sur le Livre de III Impofleurs, published at
Amsterdam in 1715, at the end of the fourth volume of the Men-
giana. See also an Anfeuer to this Differtation, which was
impudently expofed to the public eye, in 1716, from the prefs of
Schurleer in the Hague, and which contains a fabulous story of the
The External History of the Church.

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

Part I.

origin of the book in question. Whoever is desirous of a more ample and a very curious account of this matter, will find it in the late Prosper Marchand's 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, Gregory Pachymeres, and Joel, whose Chronology is yet extant. We learn from the writings of Gregory Pachymeres, and Nicephorus Blemidia, 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 subtleties of the Stagirite into one system, and to reconcile, as well as they could, their jarring principles. It is not necessary
The progress of learning in the west.

The internal History of the Church.

cent. 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 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.

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


Cf. Abulpharagius, or Abul Farai, was a native of Malatia, a city in Armenia, near the source of the river Euphrates, and acquired a vast reputation in the east on account of his extensive erudition. He composed An Abridgment of Universal History, from the beginning of the world to his own times, which he divided into ten parts, or dynasties. The 1st comprehends the history of the ancient Patriarchs, from Adam to Moses. The 2d, that of Joseph and the other Judges of Israel. The 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th, contain the history of the Kings of Israel, of the Chaldean Princes, of the Persian Magi, and of the Grecian Monarchs. The 7th, relates to the Roman history; the 8th, to that of the Greek Emperors of Constantinople. In the 9th, he treats concerning the Arabian Commanders; and in the 10th, concerning the Moguls. He is more to be depended upon in his history of the Saracens and Tartars, than in his accounts of other nations. The learned Dr. Edward Pocock translated this work into Latin, and published his translation in 1665; together with a Supplement, which carries on the history of the Oriental princes, where Abul Farai left it. The same learned translator had obliged the public, in 1650, with an abridgment of the ninth dynasty under the following title: Specimen Historie Arabum; sive Georgii Abulfaragii Malatienfis de origine et moribus Arabum succinenta narratio.
to day. The European kings and princes had learned, by a happy experience, how much the advancement of learning and arts contribute to the grandeur and happiness of a nation; and therefore they invited into their dominions learned men from all parts of the world, nourished the arts in their bosom, excited the youth to the love of letters, by crowning their progress with the most noble rewards, and encouraged every effort of genius, by conferring upon such as excelled, the most honourable distinctions. Among these patrons and protectors of learning the emperor Frederic II. and Alphon-sus 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


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

[d] This arrangement was executed about the year 1260. See Du Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. iii. p. 557. 564.
with an extensive authority [e]. The college first erected and endowed, in the year 1250, by an opulent and pious man, whose name was Robert de Sorbonne, a particular friend and favourite of St. Lewis, whose name was adopted, and is still retained, by that theological society [f].

IV. Such as were desirous of being admitted as 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 masters, and were saluted masters with a certain round of ceremonies, that were used in the societies of illiterate tradesmen, when their company was augmented by a new candidate. This vulgar custom was introduced, in the preceding century, by the professors of law in the academy of Bolonia, and, in

[e] See Herm. Conringii Antiquitates Academicae, 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, quæisque primo fuit in insula et episcoporum scholis, Lutet. 1637. in 4to.

this century, it was transmitted to that of Paris, 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].

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


contemptible, such as GUIL. BRITO \[i\], GUALTHE- CENT. RUS MURES \[k\], MATTHEW of Vendome, ALAIN de XIII. l’ISLE \[l\], GUUNDERUS, 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 Lichienau, 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 \[p\].

\[7\] See the Histoire de l’Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres, tom. xvi. p. 255.

\[k\] Jo. WOLFFII, Lectiones Memorabil. tom. i. p. 430.

\[l\] Called in Latin, ALANUS DE INSULIS.

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

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

\[o\] GERVAIS of Tilbury was nephew to HENRY II. king of England, and was in high credit with the emperor 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 SCHELHORNII Amanitates Literaria, tom. xi. p. 324.
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 Christianae, 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

[q] This illustrious Franciscan was, in point of genius and universal learning, one of the greatest ornaments of the British nation, and in general of the republic of letters. The astonishing discoveries he made in astronomy, chemistry, optics, and mathematics, made him pass for a magician in the ignorant and superstitious times in which he lived, while his profound knowledge in philosophy, theology, and the Greek and Oriental languages, procured him, with more justice, the title of the admirable, or wonderful doctor. Among other discoveries he is said to have made that of the composition and force of gun-powder, which he describes clearly in one of his letters; and he proposed much the same correction of the Kalendars, 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.

composed, in the year 1240, what he called, *Declarinae*, 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. But when it appeared, that Almeric had drawn from

[Franz. Pataric. *Discussiones Peripateticae*, tom. i. lib. xi. p. 145.—Jo. Launoius *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 geoffis Philippi regis Francorum ad A. 1209*, in Andr. Chesnii *Scriptor. Hist. Franc. p. 119.*

Almeric or Amauri, does not seem to have entertained any enormous errors. He held that every Christiant 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.
these books his 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. 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. It was referred 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, 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 ages. This translation, which was recommended, in a particular manner, to the academy of Bolonia by the learned emperor, raised the credit of Aristotle to the greatest height, and gave him an irresistible and despotic authority in all the European schools. This authority was still farther augmented by the

[a] Dr. Mosheini has fallen here into two light mistakes. It was in Paris, and not in Sens, and in the year 1210, and not in 1209, that the metaphysical books of Aristotle were condemned to the flames. The writers quoted here by our author are Launois, De varia Arisotelis 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.


[x] Petri de Vineis, Epistol. lib. iii. ep. lxvii. p. 503. This epistle is addressed ad magistros et scholarus Bononienfes, i.e. to the masters and scholars of the academy of Bolonia; but it is more than probable, that the emperor sent letters, upon this occasion, to the other European schools. It is a common opinion, that this learned prince had all the works of Aristotle, that were then extant, translated into Latin about the year 1220; but this cannot be deduced from the letter above mentioned, nor from any other sufficient testimony that we know of.
translations, which were made of some of the books of the Grecian fage 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.

VIII. The Aristotelian philosophy received the very last addition that could be made to its authority and luftre, when the Dominican and Francifcan 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 affiduity, by all such as were ambitious of being distinguished from the multitude by their superior knowledge. Alexander Hales, an English Francifcan, who taught philosophy at Paris, and acquired, by the strength of his metaphysical genius, the title of the Irrefragable Doctor, and Albert the Great, a German, of the Dominican order, and bishop of Ratisbon, a man of vast abilities and a universal dictator at this time, were the two first eminent writers who illustrated, in their learned:

[\text{\ }] See Wood's account of the interpreters of Aristotle, in his \textit{Antiquitat.} Oxon. tom. i. p. 119. as also Jebb's Preface to the \textit{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: \textit{Si haberem (fays he) poteslatem supra libros Aristotelis Latine convertos, ego fuerem omnes cremari, quia non est nisi temporis amissio fuderere in illis, et caufa erroris et multiplicatio ignorantiae, utra id quod valet explicari.}


[\text{\ a\ }] Jo. Alb. Fabricii \textit{Bibliotheca Latina mediæ aevi}, tom. i. p. 113.
The Internal History of the Church.

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

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

[b] The Dominicans maintain, that this Angelic Doctor was
the disciple of Albert the Great, and their opinion seems to be
founded in truth. See Antoine Touron, Vie de St. Thomas,
p. 99. The Franciscans however maintain as obstinately, that
Alexander Hales was the master of Thomas. See Wad-
dingi Annales Minorum, tom. iii. p. 133.
[c] It has been believed by many, that William de Moer-
beke, a native of Flanders, of the Dominican order, and
archbishop of Corinth, was the author of the new Latin translation
of the Works of Aristotle, which was carried on and finished
under the auspicious inspection of Thomas Aquinas. See J.
Echard, Scriptores Dominican, tom. i. p. 338.—Casim. Oudi-
Toppens, Bibliotheca Belgica, tom. i. p. 416. Others however
suppose, though indeed with less evidence, that this translation
was composed by Henry Kosbein, who was also a Dominican.
See Echard, Script. Dominie, tom. i. p. 469.
were desirous of enlarging the sphere of science by cent. new researches and new discoveries [d]. At the xiii. head of these noble adventurers we may justly place part II. Roger Bacon, a Franciscan friar, of the English nation, known by the appellation of the admirable doctor, renowned on account of his most important discoveries, and who, in the progress he had made in natural philosophy, mathematics, chemistry, the mechanic arts, and the learned languages, soared far beyond the genius of the times [e]. With him we may associate Arnold of Villa Nova, whose place of nativity is fixed by some in France, by others

[d] Bacon's contempt of the learning that was in vogue in his time may be seen in the following passage quoted by Jebb, in his Preface to the Opus Majus of that great man: Nunquam, says he, fuit tanta apparentia sapientis, nec tandum exercitum studii in tot facultatibus, in tot regionibus, ficut jam a quadranginta annis; ubique enim doctores sunt dispersi... in omni civitate, et in omni castro, et in omni burgo, præcipue per duos ordines students (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 quadranginta annis aut circiter, cum tamen nunquam fuit tanta ignorantia, tantus error... Vulgaris studentium languet et afninat circa malam translatam (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 expenfas. Apparentia quidem sola tenet eos, et non curant quid sitant, sed quid videantur esse coram multitudine insignitate. 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, Antig. Oxon. tom. i. p. 156.—Waddingi Annales Minor. tom. iv. p. 264. tom. v. p. 51.—Thom. Gale ad Jamblicum de Mysteris Egyptior. p. 255. General Hist. and Crit. Dictionary, at the article Bacon.
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 so named the Reconciler, from a book he wrote with a design to terminate the divisions 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 superflitious 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 Christianity 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


[g] This book was entitled, Conciliator Differentiarum Philosopherum 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 Calogeræ Opuscoli Scientifici et Philologici, tom. xiii. p. i.—liv.
with a peculiar zeal and application by almost all cent. who were ambitious of literary glory. These sciences, 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 Pennofort, 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.

CHAPTER II.

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

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 [?]. Several eminent men attempted to stem this torrent of licentiousness, which from the heads of the church had carried its pernicious streams through all the members; but their power and influence were unequal to such a difficult and arduous enterprize. The Grecian emperors were prevented from executing any project of this kind by the 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 superflition of the age hindered the Latins from accomplishing, or even attempting, a reformation in the church.

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

[?] See the remarkable letter of the Roman pontiff, GREGORY IX. to the archbishop of Bourges, which was written in the year 1227, with a design to reprove and reform the vices which had infested all the various orders of the clergy, and which is published by DION. SAMMARThANUS, in his Gallia Christiana, tom. ii. in append. p. 21.—See also Du Fresne, Adnotat. in Vitam Ludovici Sti. p. 99.
peculiarly obliged, by their sacred office, to exhibit to the world distinguished models of piety and virtue.

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

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

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. 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. The first of the pontiffs, who usurped such an extravagant extent of authority, was Innocent III. whose example was followed by Honorius III. Gregory IX. and several of their successors. But it was keenly opposed by the bishops, who had hitherto enjoyed


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. 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. 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; 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 authors of the pope's legates.


The Internal History of the Church.

The wealth and revenues of the pontiffs augmented.

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.

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 praefect 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, Avesi, and several cities and fortresses which had, according to him, been unjustly alienated from the patrimony of St. Peter [u]. On the other hand, Frederic II. who was extremely desirous that the pope should espouse his quarrel with Otho IV. loaded the


[t] This edit is published by Lami, in his Delicte Eruditorum, tom. ii. p. 300.

Roman fee with the richest marks of his munificence and liberality, and not only made a noble present in valuable lands to the pope's brother, but also permitted Richard count of Fland to leave, by will, all his possessions to the Roman fee, 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 fee, 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 fee of Rome arrived, partly by force, and partly by artifice, at that high degree of grandeur and opulence, which it yet maintains in our times.

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

[\textit{w}] This brother of the pontiff was called Richard. See for an account of this transaction, Muratori's Antiquitatis Italicae, tom. v. p. 652.


[\textit{y}] See Raynaldus, loc. cit. ad A. 1278, § 47.
The Internal History of the Church.

The Internal History of the Church.

He was a man of learning and application; but his cruelty, avarice, and arrogance clouded the lustre of any good qualities which his panegyrics 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. The same year he sent to Johannicus, duke of Bulgaria and Walachia, an extraordinary legate, who, in the name of the pontiff, invested that prince with the ensigns and honours of royalty, while, with his own hand, he crowned Peter II. of Arragon, who had rendered his dominions subject and tributary to the church, and saluted him publicly at Rome with the title of King. We omit many other examples of this frenetic pretension to universal empire, which might be produced from the letters of this arrogant pontiff, and many other acts of despotism, which Europe beheld with astonishment, but also, to its eternal reproach, with the ignominious silence of a passive obedience.

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

[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.

duke of Swabia, and Otho IV. third son of cent. 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. 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 loft dignity.

VIII. But of all the European princes none felt, in so dishonorable and severe a manner, the despotic fury of this insolent pontiff as John, surnamed Sans terre, king of England. This prince opposed vigorously the measures of Innocent, who had ordered the monks of Canterbury to choose Stephen Langton, a Roman cardinal of English descent, archbishop of that see, notwithstanding the election of John de Grey to that high dignity, which had been regularly made by the convent, and had been confirmed by royal authority. The

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


[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
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 fee 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 1200, he sent orders to the bishops of London, Worcester, and Ely, to lay the kingdom under an interdict, in case the monarch refused to yield and to receive Langton. John, alarmed at this terrible menace, and unwilling to break entirely with the pope, declared his readiness to confirm the election made at Rome; but, in the act that was drawn up for this purpose, he wisely threw in a clause to prevent any interpretation of this compliance, that might be prejudicial to his rights, dignity, and prerogative. This exception was rejected, and the interdict was proclaimed. A stop was immediately put to divine service; the churches were shut; the administration of all the sacraments was suspended except that of baptism; the dead were buried in the highways without the usual rites or any funeral solemnity. But, excommunication he issued out against the king's person, and the impious act by which he absolved the English from their 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.
 notwithstanding this interdict, the Cistercian order continued to perform divine service, and several learned and respectable divines, among which were the bishops of Winchester and Norwich, protested against the injustice of the pope’s proceedings.

The interdict not producing the effects that were expected from it, the pontiff proceeded to a still farther degree of severity and presumption, and denounced a sentence of excommunication against the person of the English monarch. This sentence, which was issued out in the year 1208, was followed about three years after by a bull, absolving all his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and ordering all persons to avoid him, on pain of excommunication. But it was in the year 1212, that Innocent carried his impious tyranny to the most enormous length, when, assembling a council of cardinals and prelates, he deposed John, declared the throne of England vacant, and wrote to Philip Augustus, king of France, to execute this sentence, to undertake the conquest of England, and to unite that kingdom to his dominions forever. He, at the same time, published another bull, exhorting all Christian princes to contribute, whatever was in their power, to the success of this expedition, promising such as seconded Philip in this grand enterprise, the same indulgences that were granted to those who carried arms against the infidels in Palestine. The French monarch entered into the views of the Roman pontiff, and made immense preparations for the invasion of England. The king of England, on the other hand, assembled his forces, and was putting himself in a posture of defence, when Pandulf, the pope’s legate, arrived at Dover, and proposed a conference in order to prevent the approaching rupture, and to conjure the storm. This artful legate terrified the king, who met him at that place, with an exaggerated account of the armament of Philip on the one hand, and of the disaffection...
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 scandaliously, his kingdoms to the papal jurisdiction, he declared that he had neither been compelled to this measure by fear nor by force; but that it was his own voluntary deed, performed by the advice, and with the consent, of the barons of his kingdom. He obliged himself and his heirs to pay an annual sum of seven hundred marks for England, and three hundred for Ireland, in acknowledgment of the pope’s supremacy and jurisdiction; and consented that he or such of his successors as should refuse to pay the submission now stipulated, to the see of Rome, should forfeit all their right to the British crown [g].

This shameful ceremony was performed, says a modern historian [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


[g] Cadet a juro regni, is the expression used in the Charter of resignation, which may be seen at length in the Hist. Major of Matthew Paris.

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

IX. Innocent III. was succeeded in the 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 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 re stifled the progress of his power by all the obstacles which the most fertile invention could sug gest. These contests, however, had not, as yet, brought on an open rupture.

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

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

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

PONTIFF, and contributed probably to the conclusion of his days, which happened soon after this remarkable event [k].

XI. GEOFFRY, bishop of Milan, who succeeded GREGORY IX. under the title of CELESTINE IV. died before his consecration, and, after a vacancy of twenty months, the apostolic stool was filled by SINIBALD, one of the counts of Fiesque, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1243, assumed the denomination of INNOCENT IV. and yielded to none of his predeceessors in arrogance and fury [/].

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

[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 contlicts between the empire and the papacy, see PETRUS DE VINJIS, Epistol. lib. i. and Matth. Paris, Historia Major. Add to these Raynaldi Annal.—Muratori Annal. Italic, tom. vii. & Antiquit. Italic. tom. iv. p. 325. 517. It must however be observed, that this branch of history stands yet in need of further illustrations.


[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.
vacant \[n\]. This unjust and insolent measure was cent.
regarded with such veneration, and looked upon as xiii.
so weighty by the German princes, seduced and
blinded by the superflition of the times, that they
proceeded instantly to a new election, and raised
first, Henry, landgrave of Thuringia, and after his
dead, William, count of Holland, to the head of
the empire. Frederic, whose firm and heroic
spirit supported without dejection these cruel vicissi-
tudes, 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 for-
midable and magnanimous adversary, Innocent
returned into Italy \[o\], hoping now to enjoy with
security the fruits of his ambition. It was principally
from this period, that the two famous factions,
called Guelphs and Guibelins, 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 discontents, though their origin is much
earlier than this century \[p\].

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

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

\[o\] Besides the writers, already mentioned, see Nicol. de

\[p\] See Muratori Dissertat. de Guelphis et Guibelinis, in
them the Dominicans and Franciscans, were much favoured by this pontiff, and received several marks of his peculiar bounty.

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

Gregory XIII. Upon the death of Clement IV. [q], 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

[q] Which happened in the year 1268.
was raised to the pontificate in the year 1271, and assumed the title of Gregory X. [r.] This devout ecclesiastic was in the Holy Land when he received the news of his election; and, as he had been an eye-witness of the miserable condition of the Christians in that country, he had nothing so much at heart, as the desire of contributing to their relief. Hence it was, that, immediately after his consecration, he summoned a council to meet at Lyons, in the year 1274, in which the relief and maintenance of the Christians in Palestine, and the re-union of the Greek and Latin churches, were the two great points, that were to come principally under deliberation. This assembly is acknowledged as the fourteenth general council, and is rendered particularly remarkable by the new regulations that were introduced into the manner of electing the Roman pontiff, and more especially by the famous law, which is still in force, and by which it was enacted, that the cardinal electors should be shut up in the conclave during the vacancy of the pontificate. With respect to the character and sentiments of the new pope we shall only observe, that, though he seemed to be actuated by a milder spirit than many of his predecessors, yet he inculcated, without the least hesitation, that odious maxim of Gregory VII. that declared the bishop of Rome the lord of the world, and, in a more especial manner, of the Roman empire. It was in consequence of this presumptuous system, that, in the year 1271, he wrote an imperious and threatening letter to the German princes, in which, deaf to the pretensions and remonstrances of Alphonsus, king of Castile [s], he ordered them to elect an emperor


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

Vol. III. A a
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 Franckfort, and Rodolphus,
count of Hapsburg, was raised to the imperial throne.

XIV. GREGORY X. was succeeded, in the year
1276, by Peter of Tarantasia, 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 distin-
guished in the papal list by the name of John XXI.
[tt]. The See of Rome continued vacant for above
six months after the death of the last mentioned
pontiff, but was at length filled, in the month of
November, 1277, by John Cajetan, of the family
of Ursins, cardinal of St. Nicolas, whose name he
adopted for his papal title. This famous pontiff,
as has been already observed, augmented greatly
both the opulence and authority of the bishops of
Rome, and had formed vast projects, which his
undaunted courage and his remarkable activity
would have enabled him, without doubt, to execute
with success, had not death blasted his hopes, and
disconcerted his ambitious schemes.

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
same dignity by the archbishops of Mentz and Bologna, the count
Palatine of the Rhine, and the duke of Bavaria.

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

[tt] 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.
Chap. II.  Doctors, Church-Government, &c.  

Martin IV. and was not inferior to Nicolas III. in ambition, arrogance, and constancy of mind, of which he gave several proofs during his pontificate. Michael Palæologus, the Grecian emperor, was one of the first princes, who was solemnly excommunicated by this audacious priest, and that, under the pretext of his having broken the peace that had been concluded between the Greek and Latin churches, at the council of Lions [w]. The same insult was committed against Peter, king of Aragon, 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 Savelli, who chose the denomination of Honorius IV. but was also fopt short, in the midst of his career, in the year 1287, having ruled the church only two years. Jerome d'Ascoli, bishop of Palestrina, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1288, and is known by the name of Nicolas IV. distinguished himself, during the four years that he remained at the head of the church, by his assiduous application both to ecclesiastical and political affairs. Sometimes we see the disputes of sovereign powers left to his arbitration, and terminated by his decision; at other times, we find him maintaining the pretensions and privileges of the church with the most resolute zeal and the most obstinate perseverance; at other times, again,

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

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

**Celestine V.**

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 *Di Murrone,* from a mountain where he had hitherto lived in the deepest solitude and with the utmost austerity. This venerable old man, who was in high renown on account of the remarkable sanctity of his life and conversation, was raised to the pontificate in the year 1294, and assumed the name of *Celestine V.* But the austerity of his manners, which was a tacit reproach upon the corruption of the Roman court, and more especially upon the luxury of the cardinals, rendered him extremely disagreeable to a degenerate and licentious clergy; and this dislike was so heightened by the whole course of his administration (which shewed that he had more at heart the reformation and purity of the church, than the increase of its 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 pleasure of seeing their advice followed with the utmost docility. The good man resigned his dignity the fourth month after his election, and died in the year 1297, in the castle of Fumone, where his tyrannic and sulpicious 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.

XVII. Benedict Cajetan, who had persuaded Boniface 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; in a word, exhibited to the church


[\&] [\p] 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.
The Internal History of the Church.

cent. 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 everywhere; and, on the other hand, the secular clergy were more attentive to their worldly advantages than to the interests of the church, and

[a] There is a history of this pontiff written by Jo. Rubeus, a Benedictine monk, whose work, which is entitled Boniface 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 Papbroch, Francis Pagi, and Muratori, in his Annales Italia, consulting at the same time the original sources collected by the last-mentioned author, in his Rerum Italicarum Scriptores.
spent in mirth and jollity the opulence with which the piety of their ancestors had enriched that sacred body. The monastic orders also had almost all degraded from their primitive sanctity, and, exhibiting the most offensive and shocking examples of licentiousness and vice to public view, rendered by their flagitious lives the cause of heresy triumphant, instead of retarding its progress. All these things being considered, it was thought necessary to encourage the establishment of new monastic societies, who, by the sanctity of their manners, might attract the esteem and veneration of the people, and diminish the indignation which the tyranny and ambition of the pontiffs had so universally excited; and who, by their diligence and address, their discourses and their arguments, their power and arms, when these violent means were required, might discover, persecute, convert, and vanquish the growing tribe of heretics.

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

The Internal History of the Church

CENT. the Vallischoleares, or scholars of the valley, so called from their being instituted by the scholeares, 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. Augustin, but is now incorporated into the order of the Regular canons of St. Genivieve. 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].

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

Chap. II. Doctors, Church-Government, &c.

and afterwards made a great progress under the government of Philip Benizi its chief. This order, though subjected to the rule of St. Augustin, was, nevertheless, erected in commemoration of the most holy widowhood of the blessed Virgin; for which reason its monks wear a black habit, and observe several rules unknown to other monasteries. The prodigious numbers of Christians, that were made prisoners by the Mahometans in Palestine, gave rise, towards the conclusion of the eleventh 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, because the grand design of their institution was to find out means for restoring liberty to the Christian captives in the Holy Land, in which charitable work they are

[k] Besides the ordinary writers of the Monastic History, see Pauli Florentini Dialog. de origine Ordinis Servorum, in Lamii Deliciis Eruditorum, tom. i. p. 1—48.

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

The mendicant order.

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

---

[m] Beside *Helvot* and the other writers of the Monastic History, see *Toussaint de Plessis, Hlst. de l'Eglise de Meaux*, tom. i. p. 172. and 566.—*Boulay, Hlst. Acad. Parisi.* tom. ii. p. 523. *Ant. Wood, Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 133. In the ancient records, this society is frequently styled the *Order of Aflés*, 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.
enemies of the church, the various sects which had left its communion, followed certain austere rules of life and conduct, which formed a strong contrast between them and the religious orders, and contributed to render the licentiousness of the latter still more offensive and shocking to the people. These sects maintained; that voluntary poverty was the leading and essential quality in a servant of Christ, obliged their doctors to imitate the simplicity of the apostles, reproached the church with its overgrown opulence, and the vices and corruptions of the clergy, that flowed from thence as from their natural source, and by this commendation of poverty and contempt of riches, acquired a high degree of respect, and gained a prodigious ascendant over the minds of the multitude. All this rendered it absolutely necessary to introduce into the church a set of men, who, by the austerity of their manners, their contempt of riches, and the external gravity and sanctity of their conduct and maxims, might resemble the doctors, who had gained such reputation to the heretical sects, and who might be so far above the allurements of worldly profit and pleasure, as not to be seduced, by the promises or threats of kings and princes, from the performance of the duties they owed to the church, or from persevering in their subordination to the Roman pontiffs. INNOCENT III. was the first of the popes who perceived the necessity of instituting such an order; and, accordingly, he gave such monastic societies as made a profession of poverty the most distinguishing marks of his protection and favour. They were also encouraged and patronized by the succeeding pontiffs, when experience had demonstrated their public and extensive usefulness. But when it became generally known, that they had such a peculiar place in the esteem and protection of the rulers of the church, their number grew to such an enormous and unwieldy multitude, and swarmed so prodigiously in all the European
provinces, that they became a burthen, not only to the people, but to the church itself.

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

[n] Concil. Ludg. II. A. 1274. Can. xxiii. in Jo. Harbuni Conciliis, tom. vii. p. 715. Importuna potentium inibiatio Religionum (fo were the religious orders entitled) multiplicationem extorrit, verum etiam aliquorum presumptuosa temeritas diversorum ordinum, præcipue Mendicantium... effrenatam multitudinem adinvinit... Hinc ordines Mendicantes post dictum concilium (i. e. the council of Lateran held in 1215) adinventos... perpetua prohibitioni subjicitimus.

[0] 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. Menf. Februar. tom. ii. p. 472.
Augustin. This project was put in execution in the year 1256.

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 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.
The Internal History of the Church.

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 Guzman, and regular canon of Osma, a man of a fiery and impetuous temper, and vehemently exasperated by the commotions and contests which the heretics of different denominations had excited in the church, set out for France with a few companions, in order to combat the sectaries, that were multiplied in that kingdom. This enterprize he executed with the greatest vigour, and we may add, fury, attacking the Albigeneses and the other enemies of the church with the power of eloquence, the force of arms, and subtilty of controversial writings, and the terrors of the inquisition, which owed its form to this violent and sanguine priest. Passing from thence into Italy, he was honoured by the Roman pontiffs Innocent III. and Honorius III. with the most distinguished
marks of their protection and favour; and, after cent. many labours in the cause of the church, obtained xiii. 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 austerer precepts and observances. But he afterwards changed the discipline of the canons for that of the monks; and, holding a chapter of the order at Bologna in the year 1220, he obliged the brethren to take a vow of absolute poverty, and to abandon entirely all their revenues and all their possessions. He did not live long enough to see the consequences of this reformation, for he died the year following at Bologna [q]. His monks were, at first, distinguished by the denomination of preaching friars, because public instruction was the main end of their institution; but were afterwards called Dominicans after their founder [r]. Just before his death Dominic sent Gilbert de Fresney with twelve of the brethren into England, where they founded their first monastery at Oxford in the year 1221, and soon after, another at London. In the year 1276, the mayor and aldermen of the

[q] See Jac. Echard, and Quetif in Scriptoribus Ord. Dominic. tom. i. p. 84.—Aeta Sanctor. April, tom. iii. p. 872.—Nicol. Jansenii Vita S. Dominicii, Antwerp, 1622, in 8vo. Add to these the long list of writers mentioned by Fabricius, in his Bibliotheca Lat. med. evo, tom. ii. p. 137. and also Antonii Bremondi Bullarium Ordinis Dominicans, published some years ago at Rome.

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

PART II.

The Franciscans.

CENT. XIII.

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, 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, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves, for the workman is worthy of his meat.

This produced a powerful effect upon his mind, made him consider a voluntary and absolute poverty as the essence of the gospel and the soul of religion, and prescribe this poverty as a sacred rule both to himself and to the few that followed him. Such was the commencement of the famous Franciscan order, whose founder and chief was, undoubtedly, a pious and well-meaning man, though grossly ignorant, and manifestly weakened in his intellect by the disorder from which he had but lately recovered. Nevertheless the new society, which appeared to Innocent III. extremely adapted to the present state of the church, and proper to restore its declining credit, was solemnly approved and confirmed by Honorius III. in the year 1223, and had already made a considerable progress when its devout founder

[s] In the year 1208. [t] Matthew, x. 9, 10.
The monks of his order to be called Fratres, i. e. Part II.

brethren, or friars, but Fratriculi, i. e. little brethren, or friars-minors [u], by which denomination they still continue to be distinguished [w]. The Franciscans came into England in the reign of Henry III. and their first establishment was at Canterbury.

XXVI. These two celebrated orders restored the church from that declining condition in which it had been languishing for many years, by the zeal and activity with which they let 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 ghastly 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

[u] They were called Fratricelli by the Italians, Freres Mineurs by the French, and Fratres Minoris 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 Annales 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 at Ebor. It is to the same Wadding that we are obliged for the Opuscula St. Francisci, and the Bibliotheca Ordinis Minorum, the former of which was published in 1610 at Antwerp, in the year 1623, and the latter at Rome, 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.
of other ecclesiastics. Such, among many other extraordinary prerogatives, was the permission they received from the pontiffs, of preaching to the multitude, hearing confession, and pronouncing absolution, without any license from the bishops, and even without consulting them; to which we may add the treasure of ample and extensive indulgences, whose distribution was committed by the popes to the Franciscans, as a mean of subsistence, and a rich indemnification for their voluntary poverty. These acts of liberality and marks of protection, lavished upon the Dominican and Franciscan friars with such an ill-judged profusion, as they overturned the ancient discipline of the church, and were a manifest encroachment upon the rights of the first and second orders of the ecclesiastical rulers, produced

---

[x] The popes were so infatuated with the Franciscans, that those whom they could not employ more honourably in their civil negotiations or domestic affairs, they made their publicans, beadles, &c. See for a confirmation of this, the following passages in the Histor. Major of Matthew Paris: Fratres minores et praedicatorum (says he) invitos, ut credimus, jam suos fecit dominus papa, non sine ordinis eorum laetione et scandalo, teloniarios et bedellos, p. 634.—Non cessavit papa pecuniam aggregare, faciens de Fratribus praedicatoribus et minoribus, etiam invitos, non jam piscatoribus hominum, sed nummorum, p. 639. Conf. p. 602. 664.

—Erant Minores et Praedicatorum magnatum consiliorum et nuntii, etiam dominii pape secretarii: nimiris in hoc gratiam fibi secularem comparantes; ad An. 1236. p. 354.—Faèi sunt eo tempore Praedicatorum et Minores regum consilii et nuntii speciales, ut sicut quondam mellibus induti in domibus regum erant, ita tunc qui vilibus vestibantur, in domibus, camerae et palatiis effent principium; ad An. 1239, p. 465.


—It is well known that no religious order had the distribution of so many and such ample indulgences as the Franciscans. Nor could these good friars live and multiply as they did, without some source of profit, since, by their institution, they were to be destitute of revenues and possessions of every kind. It was therefore in the place of fixed revenues, that such fat indulgences were put into their hands.
the most unhappy and bitter diffusions between the Mendicant orders and the bishops. And these diffusions, extending their contagious influence beyond the limits of the church, excited throughout all the European provinces, and even in the city of Rome, 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.

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

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

[c] 2 Timothy, iii. 1.
[d] 2 Timothy, iii. 1.
[d] The doctors of the university of Paris profefs 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
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 everywhere in the conduct of these supercilious orders. They had the presumption to declare publicly, that they had a divine impulse and commission to illustrate and maintain the religion of Jesus; they treated with the utmost insolence and contempt all the different ranks and orders of the priesthood; they affirmed, without a blush, that the true method of obtaining salvation was revealed to them alone, proclaimed with ostentation the superior efficacy and virtue of their indulgences, and vaunted, beyond measure, their interests at the court of heaven, and their familiar connexions with the Supreme Being, the Virgin Mary, and the Saints in glory. By these impious wiles, they so deluded and captivated the miserable and blinded multitude, that they would not entrust any others but the Mendicants with the care of their souls, their spiritual and eternal concerns [e].

We may the 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 Conflantia), 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. Sec. xiii. cap. iii. Art. vii. p. 95.—Rich. Simon. Critique de la Biblioth. Eccles. de M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 345.

give, as a specimen of these notorious frauds, the ridiculous fable, which the Carmelites impose upon the credulous, relating to Simon Stockius, the general of their order, who died about the beginning of this century. To this ecclesiastic, they tell us that the Virgin Mary appeared, and gave him a solemn promise, that the souls of such as left the world with the Carmelite cloak or scapulary upon their shoulders, should be infallibly preserved from eternal damnation. 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.

XXX. It is however certain, that the Mendicant Contests between the Dominicans and Franciscans, 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.


[g] The late pope Benedict XIV. notwithstanding his pretended freedom from superstition and priestly fraud, has deigned to appear among the supporters of this gross fiction, though he defends it with his usual air of prudence and timidity, in his book De Feflis B. Maria Virg. lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 472. tom. x. opp. edit. Rom.
Many schemes were formed, and various measures were employed, for terminating these scandalous diffusions; but the root of the evil still remained, and the flame was rather covered than extinguished. Besides this, the Franciscans were early divided among themselves, and split into several factions, which gathered strength and confidence 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.

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 indispensible 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. This injunction appeared


[7] The words of the rule itself relating to this point are as follow: C. vi. Fratres sibi nihil approprient, nec domum, nec
to severe to several of the Friars-minors, that they \textit{cent.}
took the liberty to dispense with it as soon as their \textit{xiii.}
founder was dead; and in this they were seconded \textit{part ii.}
by the Roman pontiff, \textit{g}regory ix. who, in the
year \textit{1231}, published an interpretation of this rule,
which mitigated considerably its excessive rigour \cite{k].
But this mitigation was far from being agreeable to
all the Franciscans; it shocked the austere monks of
that order, those particularly who were called the
\textit{spiritual} \cite{l}, whose melancholy temper rendered
them fond of every thing harsh and gloomy, and
whose fanatical spirit hurried them always into
extremes. Hence arose a warm debate, which
\textit{innocent iv.} decided, in the year \textit{1245}, in favour
of those who were for mitigating the severity of the
rule in question. By this decree of the pontiff it
was enacted, that the Franciscan friars should be
permitted to possess certain places, habitations,
goods and chattels, books, \&c. and to make use of
them, but that the \textit{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
depredation of their holy rule, and was, conseqently,
opposed and rejected by them with indignation.
Hence many of these \textit{spiritual} mal-contents retired

\textit{locum}, nec aliquam rem: \textit{sed} factum peregrini et \textit{advenae} in hoc \textit{seculo},
in paupertate et humilitate famulantes Domino, vadam pro dixemofyngu
confidentur \ldots (i.e. let them be sturdy beggars) \ldots \textit{hac est}
illa celibusto altissime paupertatis, que vos carissimos meos fratres
heredes et reges regni calorum institut.

\cite{k} This bull was published by \textit{emanuel roderic}, in
his \textit{colle\c{c}lio privilegiatorum regularium Mendicantium, et non}
Mendican\textit{tium, tom. i. p. 8.}

\cite{l} \textit{luca waddingh} \textit{annal. Minor. tom. iii. p. 99. they}
were also called \textit{zelatores}, and \textit{cesarians}, from their chief,
\textit{caesarius}.
The face of affairs was, however, soon changed in their favour, when, in the year 1247, John of Parma was chosen general of the order. This famous ecclesiastic, who was zealously attached to the sentiments of the spiritual, recalled them from their exile, and inculcated upon all his monks a strict and unlimited obedience to the very letter of the rule that had been drawn up by St. Francis [n]. By this reform, he brought back the order to its primitive state; and the only reward he obtained for his zealous labours was to be accused as a rebellious heretic at the tribunal of the Roman pontiff, Alexander IV, in consequence of which he was obliged to resign his post. He had also the mortification to see the monks who adhered to his sentiments cast into prison, which unhappy lot he himself escaped with great difficulty [o]. His successor, the famous Bonaventura, who was one of the most eminent scholastic divines of this century, proposed steering a middle course between the two contending factions, having nothing so much at heart as to prevent an open schism. Nevertheless, the measures he took to reconcile the jarring parties, and to maintain a spirit of union in the order, were not attended with the degree of success which he expected from them; nor were they sufficient to hinder the less austere part of the Franciscans from soliciting and obtaining, in the year 1247, from Alexander IV. a solemn renewal of the mild interpretation which Innocent IV. had given of the rule of their founder [p]. On

[o] Id. ibid. tom. iv. p. 4.
Another controversy arose among the Franciscans, concerning the Everlasting Gospel of the abbot Joachim.

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

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

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

[s] The Merlin of the English, the Malachi 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
The Internal History of the Church.

Joachim, 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 cenured 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

Joachim was the author of various predictions; and that he, in a particular manner, foretold the reformation of the church, of which he might easily see the absolute necessity. It is however certain, that the greatest part of the predictions and writings, which were formerly attributed to him, were composed by others; and this we may affirm even of the Everlasting Gospel, the work, undoubtedly, of some obscure, silly, and visionary author, who thought proper to adorn his reveries with the celebrated name of Joachim, in order to gain them credit, and to render them more agreeable to the multitude. The title of this senseless production is taken from Revelations xiv. 6. and it contained three books; the first was entitled, Liber Concordiae veritatis, i.e. The Book of the Harmony of Truth; the second, Apocalypsis Nova, or New Revelations; and the third, Psalterium decem Chordarurn, i.e. The Ten-stringed Harp. This account was taken from a manuscript of that work, in the library of the Sorbonne, by Jac. Echard, who has published it in his Scriptores Dominic. tom. i. p. 202.
founder St. Francis [t]; for they maintained, cent. that he delivered to mankind the true gospel, and that he was the angel whom St. John saw flying in the midst of heaven [u].

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]. In this

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


[w] As the accounts given of this book, by ancient and modern writers, are not sufficiently accurate, it may not be improper to offer here some observations that may correct their mistakes.

1. They almost all confound the Everlasting Gospel, or The Gospel of the Holy Ghost, (for so was it also called, as we are told by Guille. de St. Amour, in his book De Periculis noviss. Tempor. p. 38.) with the Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel. But these two productions must be carefully distinguished from each other. The Everlasting Gospel was attributed to the abbot Joachim, and it consisted in three books, as has been already observed. But the Introduction to this Gospel was the work of a certain Franciscan monk, who explained the obscure predictions of the pretended Gospel, and applied them to his order. The Everlasting Gospel was neither complained of by the university of Paris, nor condemned by the Roman pontiff, Alexander IV.; but the Introduction was complained of, condemned, and burnt, as appears evidently from the letters of the abovementioned pontiff, which are to be seen in Boulay’s Hislor. 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 defpised 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
book, the fanatical monk, among other enormities, as insipid as impious, inculcated the following detestable

Mendicant friars; but the votaries of St. Francis maintain, that the author was a Dominican; while the Dominican party affirm as obstinately, that he was a Franciscan. It is however certain, that the greatest part of the learned are of opinion, that the author of the infamous work in question was John of Parma, general of the Franciscans, who is known to have been most warmly attached to the spiritual faction of that order, and to have maintained the sentiments of the abbot Joachim with an excessive zeal. See Luc. Wadding. Annal. Minor. tom. iv. p. 9. who endeavours to defend him against this accusation, though without success. (See also the Acta Sanctorum, tom. iii. Martii. p. 157. for John of Parma, though he preferred the Gospel of St. Francis to that of Christ, has, nevertheless, obtained a place among the saints.) The learned Echard is of a different opinion, and has proved, in his Scriptor. Dominican. tom. i. p. 202, 203. from the curious manuscripts yet preserved in the Sorbonne, relating to the Everlasting Gospel, that Gerhard, a Franciscan friar, was the author of the infamous Introduction to that book. This Gerhard, indeed, was the intimate friend and companion to John of Parma, and not only maintained, with the greatest obstinacy, the cause of the spiritual, but also embraced all the sentiments that were attributed to the abbot Joachim, with such an ardent zeal, that he chose to remain eighteen years in prison rather than to abandon them. See Waddingii Annal. Minor. tom. iv. p. 4, 7. The Franciscans, who were called observantes, i.e. vigilant, from their professing a more rigid observance of the rule of their founder than was practised by the rest of their order, place Gerhard among the saints of the first rank, and impudently affirm, that he was not only endowed with the gift of prophecy, but also with the power of working miracles. See Waddingii Annales Min. tom. iii. p. 213, 214. It is to be observed 3dly, That whoever may have been the writer of this detestable book, the whole Mendicant order, in the judgment of the greatest part of the historians of this age, shared the guilt of its composition and publication, more especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, who are supposed to have fallen upon this impious method of deluding the multitude into a high notion of their sanctity, in order thus to establish their dominion, and to extend their authority beyond all bounds. This opinion however is ill-founded, notwithstanding the numbers by which it has been adopted. The Franciscans alone are chargeable with the guilt of this horrid production, as appears most evidently from the fragments of the book itself, which yet remain; but we are obliged in justice to observe farther, that this guilt does not even lie upon all the Franciscans, but only on that
doctrine; "That St. Francis, who was the cent. "angel mentioned in the Revelation xiv. 6. had xiii. "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 bare-footed friars, deftitute of all "worldly emoluments [x]." When this strange book was published at Paris in the year 1254, it excited in the doctors of the church, and, indeed, in all good men, the most lively feelings of horror

faction of the order, which is known under the title of the Spiritual. Perhaps we might go still farther, and allege, that the charge ought not to be extended even to all the members of this faction, but to such alone as placed an idle and enthusiastic 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 Eccles. Occident. c. ix. § 20. p. 337.—Boulay, Hift. Acad. Paris. tom. iii. p. 292.—Natal. Alexander, Hiflor. Eccles. Sec. xiii. Artic. iv. p. 78.—Luc. Wadding. Annal. Minor. tom. iv. p. 9.—Upon the whole it may be affirmed, that the book under consideration is not, as the greatest part of the learned have imagined, a monument of the arrogance of the Mendicant orders, but rather a proof of the impious fanaticism and extravagance of an handful of Franciscans.

[x] See Gu. de St. Amore, De Periculis noviff. 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 Corporis Hiflor. medii aevi, tom. ii. p. 850.—Chronicon Egmontanum, in Ant. Matth. Analefis veteris aevi, tom. ii. p. 517.—Ricobaldus apud Eccardum, loc. cit. tom. i. p. 1215.

—but there is a great difference between these extracts, which seems to have arisen from this, that some drew their citations from the Everlasting Gospel of Joachim, while others drew theirs from the Introduction of Gerhard, not sufficiently distinguishing the one work from the other.
and indignation against the Mendicant friars, who 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.

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, Nicholas 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.

By this edict, the pontiff renewed


\[\text{Some affirm, that this famous Constitution was issued out by Nicolas IV.; but their opinion is refuted by Wadding, in his Annal. Min. tom. v. p. 73.}\]
that part of the rule, that prohibited all kinds of property among the Franciscans, every thing that bore the least resemblance of a legal possession, or a fixed domain; but he granted to them, at the same time, the use of things necessary, such as houses, books, and other conveniences of that nature, the property of which, in conformity with the appointment of Innocent IV. was to reside in the church of Rome. Nor did the provident pontiff stop here; but prohibited, under the severest penalties, all private explications of this new law, lest they should excite disputes and furnish new matter of contention; and reserved the power of interpreting it to himself alone, and to his successors in the pontificate.

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 fanguine 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 distinctions and troubles in the order. This Pierre

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

[b] In some ancient records, this ringleader is called Petrus Betterrensis, i.e. Peter of Bessiers, because he resided for a long time in the convent of Bessiers, 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.

Vol. III.
The Internal History of the Church.

Cent. d'Olive was a native of Serignan in Languedoc, who had acquired 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, Poffseta, 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 cenfor 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 professed 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:

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

XXXVII. The credit and authority of Pierre d'Olive, whom the multitude considered not only as a man of unblemished sanctity, but also as a prophet sent from above, added new force and vigour to the Spiritual, and encouraged them to renew the combat with redoubled fury. But the prudence of the heads of the order prevented, for some time, the pernicious effects of these violent efforts, and so over-ruled the impetuous motions of this enthusiastic faction, that a sort of equality was preserved between the contending parties. But the promotion of Matthew of Aqua Sparta, who was elected general of the order in the year 1287, put an end to these prudential measures, and changed entirely the face

— 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. 372.

— 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. Avenon. tom. ii. p. 752.—Car. Plessis d'Argentr, Collectio judiciorum de novis Ecclesie Erroribus, tom. i. p. 226.—Wadding. Annal. Minor. tom. v. p. 52. 108. 121. 140. 236. and more especially p. 378. where he makes an unsuccessful attempt to justify this enthusiastic—Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. iii. p. 535.—Schelhornii Amenitates Literariae, tom. ix. p. 678.—Histoire Generale de Languedoc, par les Moines Benedictins, tom. iv. p. 91. 179. 182. The bones of Pierre d'Olive were raised by the order of the Roman pontiff John XXII. and burnt publicly, with his writings, in the year 1325. See Raynald. ad An. 1325. § 20.
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 marquifate of Ancona, and afterwards in France, which the new general endeavoured to suppress by imprisonment, exile, and corporal punishments; but, finding all these means ineffectual, resigned his place in the year 1289 [g]. His successor Raymond Goffredi employed his utmost efforts to appease these troubles. For this purpose he recalled the banished friars, set at liberty those that had been cast into prison, and put out of the way several of the austerer Franciscans, who had been the principal fomenters of these unhappy divisions, by sending them into Armenia in the character of missionaries. But the disorder was too far gone to admit of a remedy. The more moderate Franciscans, who had a relish for the sweets of property and opulence, accused the new general of a partial attachment to the Spiritual, whom he treated with peculiar affection and respect, and therefore employed their whole credit to get him removed from his office, which, with much difficulty, they, at length, effected under the pontificate of Boniface VIII. On the other hand, the more rigid part of the Spiritual faction renounced all fellowship, even with such of their own party as discovered a pacific and reconciling spirit; and, forming themselves into a separate body, protested publicly against the interpretation which Nicolas III. had given of the rule of St. Francis. Thus, from the year 1290, the affairs of the Franciscans carried a dismal aspect, and portended nothing else but seditions and schisms.

in an order, that had been so famous for its pre-
tended disinterestedness and humility \[b\].

XXXVIII. In the year 1294, a certain number
of Italian Franciscans, of the Spiritual party, addressed
themselves to Celestine V. for a permission to form
a separate order, in which they might not only pro-
fer, 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 Liber-
atus, and who was one of the greatest self-tormentors
of all the monastic tribe \[k\]. Soon after this, Ce-
lestins, finding himself unfit for the duties of his
high and important office, resigned the pontificate,
in which he was succeeded by Boniface VIII. who
anulled 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 Celestins of St. Francis \[l\].

This disgrace was, as it were, the signal which drew

\[b\] Id. ibid. tom. v. p. 108. 121. 140. and more especially
p. 235, 236.

\[i\] This pope, whose name was Peter Meuron, had
retired very young to a solitary mountain, in order to devote
himself entirely to prayer and mortification. The fame of his
piety brought many to see him from a principle of curiosity, several
of whom renounced the world, and became the companions of his
solitude. With these he formed a kind of community, in the
year 1254, which was approved by Urban IV. in 1264, and
erected into a distinct order, called The Hermits of St. Damien.
Upon Meuron's elevation to the pontificate, and his assuming the
name of Celestins V. his order, which must not be confounded
with the new Franciscan Celestins, took the title of Celestins.


\[l\] Id. ibid. tom. vi. p. 1. Bullarium Magnum Contin. III.
The Internal History of the Church.

CENT.

XIII.

PART II.

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 marquisate of Ancona; and, at length, spreading themselves through the greatest part of Europe, they continued in the most violent state of war with the church of Rome, until the face of things was changed by the Reformation. In these conflicts they underwent trials and sufferings of every kind, and multitudes of them perished in the flames, as miserable victims to the infernal fury of the Inquisition [m].

[m] The writers that serve generally as guides in this part of the history of the church, and whom I have been obliged to consult upon the divisions of the Franciscans, whose history, as will soon appear, is peculiarly interesting and important, are far from meriting the encomiums that are due to perspicuity and exactness. This part of the Ecclesiastical History of, what is called the Middle Age, has not hitherto been accurately illustrated by any writer, though it be, every way, worthy of the labours of the learned, and of the attention of Christians. Its principal merit consists herein, that it exhibits striking examples of piety and learning struggling against the power of superstition and
XXXIX. Towards the conclusion of this century, cent. arose in Italy the enthusiastic sect of the Fratricelli, and Bizochi, which, in Germany and France, received part II.

The Fratricelli and Beguards, 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, Eynmericus, in his Diretorium 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 surprized at the defects with which these latter abound. Wadding, who merits the highest encomiums as a laborious and learned writer, is yet an uncertain guide, when he treats of the matters now under consideration. His attachment to one party, and his fear of the others, lay him under restraints, that prevent his declaring the truth with a noble freedom. He shades his picture with dexterity. He conceals, diffembles, excuses, acknowledges, and denies, with such a timorous prudence and caution, that the truth could not but suffer considerably under his pen. He appears to have been attached to the rigid Franciscans, and yet had not the courage to declare openly, that they had been injured by the pontiffs. He saw on the other hand, the tumults and perplexities in which these rigid Franciscans had involved the church of Rome, and the strokes they had levelled, with no small success, at the majesty of the pontiffs: but he has taken all imaginable pains to throw such a shade upon this part of their conduct, as conceals its violence from the view of his readers. Such then being the characters of the writers, who have handed down to us the history of the church in this important period, I could follow none of them as a sure or constant guide in all the events they relate, the judgments they form, or the characters they describe. I have not, however, been defitute of a clue to conduct me through the various windings of this intricate labyrinth. The testimonies of ancient authors, with several manuscripts that have never yet been published, such as the Diplomas of the Pontiffs and Emperors, the Acts of the Inquisition, and other records of that kind, are the authentic sources from whence I have drawn my accounts of many things that have been very imperfectly represented by other historians.
the 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 their daily subsistence [\(o\)]. They alleged that neither Christ

\(n\) See Trithemius Annal. Hirsang. 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 facts and orders of this century one with another, in the most ignorant and unskillful manner. See rather Du Boulay, Histor. Acad. Parif. tom. iii. p. 541. where the edict published in the year 1297, by Boniface VIII. against the Bizocchi, or Beguards, is inserted; as also Jordan. Chronicon, in Muratorii Antig. Italie, tom. iv. p. 1020.

\(o\) The Fratricelli resemble the Spiritual in many of their maxims and observances: they, however, are a distinct body, and differ from them in various respects. The Spiritual, for instance, continued to hold communion with the rest of the Franciscans, from whom they differed in points of considerable moment, nor did they ever pretend to erect themselves into a particular and distinct order; the Fratricelli, on the contrary, renounced all communion with the Franciscans, and, withdrawing their obedience from the superiors of that society, chose for themselves a new chief, under whom they formed a new and separate order. The Spiritual did not absolutely oppose their order's possessing certain goods jointly, and in common, provided they renounced all property in these goods, and confined their pretensions to the mere use of them; whereas the Fratricelli rejected every kind of possession, whether personal or in common, and embraced that absolute poverty and want, which St. Francis had prefered in his Rule and in his last Testament. We omit the mention of other less important differences that might be alleged here.
nor his apostles had any possessions, either personal, cent. or in common; and that they were the models, whom XIII. St. Francis commanded his followers to imitate. P A R T H I I.

After the example also of their austere founder, they went about clothed with fordid 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 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. Hirfang. tom. ii. p. 74. affirms, that they derived their origin from Tanchelius, and thus ignorantly confounds them with the Catharists and other sects that arose in those times. The Franciscans leave no means unemployed to clear themselves from all relation to this society, and to demonstrate, that such a pestilential and impious sect, as that of the Fratricelli, did not derive their origin from the order of St. Francis. In consequence of this, they deny that the Fratricelli professed the Franciscan rule; and maintain, on the contrary, that the society, which was distinguished by this title, was a heap of rabble, composed of persons of all kinds and all religions, whom Herman Pongilup, towards the conclusion of this century, gathered together at Ferrara in Italy, and erected into a distinct order. See Luc. Wadding. Annal. Minor. tom. vi. p. 279. This author employs all his eloquence to defend his order from the infamous reproach of having given rise to that of the Fratricelli: But his efforts are vain; for he acknowledges, nay, even proves by unquestionable authorities, that this hated sect professed and observed, in the most rigorous manner, the rule of St. Francis:
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 suspected of heresy by the Inquisitors on account of the peculiar austerity of his life, which resembled that of the Cathariists, they made, even after his death, such an exact and scrupulous inquiry into his maxims and morals, that, many years after he was laid low in the grave, his impiety was detected and published to the world. Hence it was, that, in the year 1300, his tomb was destroyed, his bones dug up, and burned by the order of Boniface VIII. and the multitude effectually cured of the enthusiastic veneration they had for his memory. The judicial acts of this remarkable event are recorded by Mura-
tori, in his Antiquit. Italic. 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 enthusiastic was a Cathariist, infected with Pellican or Mainiebeau principles, and that he was a member of the sect entitled Bagnalizes, from a town of that name in Provence, where they resided. Some modern writers, indeed, have been far from the truth, as to perceive that the Fratricelli were a separate branch of the rigid and aultere Franciscans; but they err in this, that they consider them as the same sect with the

* These formidable censors were entitled, Inquisitors of Heretical Pravity.
observed the third rule that was prescribed by St. Cent. Francis, and were from thence commonly called xiii.

Beguards or Beguins, under a different denomination. Such is the opinion adopted by Limborch, in his His. Inquisit. lib. i. cap. xix. p. 60. who appears to have been very little acquainted with the matters now under consideration; by Baluzius, in his Miscellan. tom. i. p. 195. & Vit. Pontif. Avunculonis. tom. i. p. 509. by Beausobre, in his Dissertation concerning the Adamites, subjoined to the History of the Wars of the Hussia, p. 380. and by Wadding, in his Annual. Minor. tom. v. p. 376. But notwithstanding the authorities of these learned men, it is certain, as we shall shew in its place, that there was a real difference between the Fratricelli and the Beguards, not indeed with respect to their opinions, but in their rule of discipline and their manner of life.

The principal cause of the errors that have obscured the History of the Fratricelli, is the ambiguity that there is in the denomination of their order. Fratricellus, or Fratreculhus, or Little Brother, was an Italian nick-name, or term of derision, that was applied in this century to all those who, without belonging to any of the religious orders, affected a monkish air in their clothing, their carriage, and their manner of living, and assumed a saucy and vicious affect of piety and devotion. See Villani Istorie Florentine, lib. viii. c. 84. p. 423.—Imola in Danem, p. 111. 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 Waldensers, 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 ridiculous 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 Waldensers, &c. But, in order to have distinct ideas of this matter, it must be considered, that the word Fratreculus, or Little Brother, bore a quite different sense from the ridiculous one now mentioned, when it was applied to the austere part of the Franciscans, who maintained the necessity of observing, in the strictest manner, the rule of their founder. Instead of being a nick-name, or a term of derision when applied to them, it was an honourable denomination, in which they delighted, and which they preferred infinitely before all other titles. Fratricelli, or Little Brothers, is a word of the same signification with Friars-minors; and every
The Internal History of the Church.

Cent. Tertiaries [q]; so likewise the order of the Fratricelli, who were desirous of being considered as the only one knows, that this latter appellation was adopted by the Franciscans, as an expression of their extraordinary humility and modesty. In assuming this title, therefore, these monks did not, properly speaking, assume a new name, but only translated the ancient name of their order into the Italian language; for what the Latins called Fratres minores, i.e. Friars-minors, that the Italians called Fratricelli. Of the many proofs we might draw from the best authors in favour of this account of the matter, we shall only allege one, from the Life of Thomas Aquinas, by Guilelmus de Thoco in Atest Sanctor. Martii, tom. i. cap. ii. § xxii. Destruxit (says that biographer) et tertium pellferum pravitudis errorem St. Thomas ... quius sectorum simul et inventores se nominant Fratcerculos de vita paupere, ut etiam sub hoc humilitatis sojuslico nomine simpliectum corda seducunt ... Centro quem errorem pellferum Johanus Papa XXII. mirandum edidit Decretalem.

Now this very Decretal of John XXII. against the Fratricelli, which Thoco calls Admirabile, is, to mention no other testimonies, a sufficient and satisfactory proof of what I have affirmed in relation to that sect. In this Decretal, which is to be seen in the Extravagantia Job. XXII. Corporis Juris Canon. tom. ii. p. 1112. edit. Babneriana, the pontiff expresses himself thus: Nonnulli profanis muludinis viri, qui vulgariter Fratricelli seu Fratres de paupere vita, Bizzochi, seu Beguini, nunquam in partibus Italia, in insula Sicilia ... publice mendicare solent. The pontiff afterwards divides the Fratricelli, into Monks and Tertiaries, or (which amounts to the same thing, as we shall shew in its place) into Fratricelli and Beguins. With respect to the Fratricelli, properly so called, he expresses himself thus: Plurimi regularum seu ordinem Fratrum Minorum ... Se profetari ad litteram confervere contingunt, pretendentes se a sancta memorione Caleslino Papa Quinto, praecepsse noster, hujus status, seu vitae privilegium babuisse. Quod tamen, et fit oflenderent, non valeret, cum Bonificius Papa Octavus ex certis causis rationabilia nomnia ab ipso Caleslino concessa ... viribus penitus evacuaverit. Here the pontiff describes clearly those Fratricelli, who, separating themselves from the Franciscans with a view to observe more strictly the rule of St. Francis, were erected into a distinct order by pope Celestin V. And in the following passage he characterises, with the same perspicuity, the Bizzochi or Beguins, who entitled themselves of The third order of the penitents of St. Francis: Nonnulli ex ipsis afferentes se esse de tertio ordine beati Francisci penitentium vocati, praedictum statum et vitum eorum sub velamine talis nominis fatagunt palliace.

[q] Besides two very autere rules drawn up by St. Francis, the one for the Friars-minores, and the other for the Poor-Sifters;
genuine followers of St. Francis, had a great number of Tertiaries attached to their cause. These Tertiaries, or half-monks, were called, in Italy, Bizo chi and Bocasoti; in France, Beguins; and in Germany, Beguards, or Beghards, which last was the denomination by which they were commonly known in almost all places \([r]\). They differed from the called Clarissi, 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 falling, 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. — Heliot, 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 meaner of their garments, Brethren of the sack, but they were more generally known by the denomination of Tertiaries. The greatest part of the religious orders in the church of Rome imitated this institution of St. Francis, as soon as they perceived the various advantages that were deducible from it. And hence, at this day, these orders continue to have their Tertiaries.

\([r]\) The Tertiaries that were connected with the order of the Fratricelli, arose about the year 1296, in the marquisate of Ancona and the neighbouring countries, and were called Bizo chi, as we learn from the edict issued out against them, in the year 1297, by Boniface VIII. and published by Du Boulay, in his Hist. 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. media, tom. i. p. 1188. observes, that this denomination is derived from Bizo chi, which signifies in French une Beface, 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 Bocasoti, or Voca fos us, as Du Boulay writes it (in his Hist. 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
The Internal History of the Church.

CENT. Fratricelli, not in their opinions and doctrine, but
only in their manner of living. The Fratricelli

Part II.

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, how-
ever, 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 surprized to find the history of the
Beghards and Beguins involved in greater perplexity and darknes,
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 darknes, 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 Begbeard, Begutta, Begbinus, and
Begbina, which only differ in their termination, have all one and
the same fense. The German and Belgic nations wrote Beghard
and Begute, which terminations are extremely common in the
language of the ancient Germans. But the French substituted
the Latin termination in the place of the German, and changed
Beghard into Begbinus and Begbina; so that those who in Holland
and Germany were called Beghard and Begute, were denominated
in France, Begbini and Begbina. Nay, even in Germany and
Holland, the Latin termination was gradually introduced instead
of the German, particularly in the feminine term Begutta, of which
change we might allege several probable reasons, were this the
proper place for disquisitions of that nature. There are many
different opinions concerning the origin and signification of these
terms, which it would be too tedious to mention, and still more
so to refute. Besides, I have done this in a large work now
almost finished, concerning the Beghards and Beghines, wherein
I have traced out with the utmost pains and labour, in Records,
the greatest part of which have never seen the light, the history of
all the different sects to whom these names have been given, and
have at the same time detected the errors into which many learned
men have fallen in treating this part of the history of the church. At
present, therefore, setting aside many opinions and conjectures,
I shall confine myself to a brief inquiry into the true origin and
signification of these words. They are undoubtedly derived
from the old German word beggen, beggereu, which signifies to
seek any thing with importunity, zeal, and earnestnes. In joining
to this word the syllable bard, which is the termination of many
German words, we have the term Beggebard, which is applicable

* The work here hinted at has not yet appeared, though we hope
that those who are entrusted with the papers of the learned author, will
prevent such a valuable production being lost to the republic of letters.
to a person who asks anything with ardour and importunity. And as none are so remarkable for asking in this manner as common beggars, who subsist upon the liberality of the public, therefore, in the ancient German language, they were called Beghard, from which the English word beggar is manifestly derived. Begutta signifies a female beggar.—When Christianity was introduced into Germany, the word beggen, or beggeren, was used in a religious sense, and expressed the act of devout and fervent prayer to the Supreme Being. Accordingly we find in the Gothick translation of the Four Gospels attributed to Urhi-las, the word beggen employed to express the duty of earnest and fervent prayer. Hence, when any person distinguished himself from others by the frequency and fervour of his devotional services, he was called a Beghard, i.e. a devout man; and the denomination of Begutta was given, in the same sense, to women of uncommon piety. And as they, who distinguished themselves from others by the frequency of their prayers, assumed by that means a more striking air of external devotion than the rest of their fellow-christians; hence it came to pass, that all those who were ambitious of appearing more religious and devout than their neighbours, were called Beghardi, or Begutta.

The observations we have hitherto made, with respect to the origin and signification of the words in question, will serve as a clue to deliver the attentive reader from that labyrinth of difficulties in which the history of the Beghards and Beguines has been involved. They will also enable him to account for the prodigious multitudes of Beghards and Beguines that sprang up in Europe in the thirteenth century; and will shew him how it happened, that these denominations were given to above thirty sects or orders, which differed widely from each other in their opinions, their discipline, and manner of living. The first and original signification of the word Beghard (or Begiert, as it was pronounced by the common people) was importunate beggar. Therefore, when the people lawful 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 Apollites, the rigid Franciscans, the Brethren of the free spirit (of whom hereafter), all embraced this forldit state of beggary; and though among these orders there was not only the widest difference, but even the
their fordid habit, and certain observances and maxims, which they followed in consequence of 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 Begbard acquired a second and new signification in this century, being employed, as we have already observed, to signify a person who prayed with uncommon frequency, and who distinguished himself from those about him by an extraordinary appearance of piety. The force of this term, in its new signification, is the same with that of the word Methodist, which is at present the denomination of a certain set of fanatics in these kingdoms. Such, therefore, as departed from the manner of living that was usual among their fellow-citizens, and distinguished themselves by the gravity of their aspect, and the austerity of their manners, were comprehended under the general denomination of Beghards and Beguttes in Germany, and of Beguins and Beguines in France. The use of these terms was, at first, so extensive, that, as we could shew by many examples, they were applied even to the monks themselves; but, in process of time, they were applied with less extent, and were confined to those who formed a sort of an intermediate order between the monks and citizens, and who resembled the former in their manner of living, without assuming their name, or contracting their obligations. The Tertiaries, therefore, or half-monks of the Dominican, Francifcan, and, in general, of all the religious orders, were called Beghards; for though, as lay-citizens, they belonged to the body politic, yet they distinguished themselves by their monkish dispositions, and their profession of extraordinary piety and sanctity of manners. The Fraternity of weavers, the Brethren of St. Alexius, the Followers of Gerhard the Great, in a word, all who pretended to an uncommon degree of sanctity and devotion, were called Beghards, although they procured themselves the necessaries of life by honest industry, without having recourse to the fordid trade of begging.

The denominations, therefore, of Beghards, 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,
injunctions of the famous saint now mentioned, lived cent. after the manner of other men, and were therefore considered 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 derived their different denominations of perfect and

there were many, whose piety was nothing more than the most baseless superstition; many, also, whose aulter 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 Lollards, of which we shall have occasion to speak more amply hereafter, met with the same fate, and was rendered contemptible by the persons who masked their iniquity under that specious title.

[s] See the Aed. Inq. Theol. published by Limeorich, 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 Leguins, I shall quote only one, which is to be found in Jordan’s Chronicon, published by Muratori, in his Antigg. 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 Forosemprenco Apolalate fuerunt ordinis Minorum et heretici. His potestibus erenitice vivere, ut Regulam B. Francisci ad litteram servare possent. Quibus plures Apolalate adhaeruerunt, qui statum communis eamdemabant et declarationes Regulæ, et vocabant se Fraters S. Francisci (he ought to have said Fratricellos) Seculares; i.e. the Terriaries, who were the friends and associates of the Fratricelli, without quitting, however, their secular state or entering into the monastic order), Seculares autem vocarunt Bizochis aut Fratricellos vel Bocafotos (here Jordan is mistaken) in affirming, that the Seculares were called Fratricelli; for this latter name belonged only to the true monks of St. Francis, and not to the Terriaries. The other circumstances of this account are exact, and shew that the more aulter professors of the Franciscan rule were divided into two classes, viz. into friars and seculars, and that the latter were called Bizochi. Ti dogmatizabant, quod nullus summus Pontifex Regulam B. Francisci declararum potuit. Item, quod Angelus absiditi a Nicolao, tertio Papatus autoritatem . . . Et quod ipsi soli sunt in via Dei et vera ecclesia, &c.

Vol. III.
CENT. 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 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

[t] This division is mentioned, or supposed, by several authors, and more especially in the Acta Inquisit. Tholense, p. 303. 310. 312. 313. 319. &c.

[u] In the last century, there was a great debate carried on in the Netherlands concerning the origin of the Beghards and Beguines, of which I have given an ample account in a work not yet published. In the course of this controversy, the Beguines produced the most authentic and unexceptionable records and diplomas, from which it appeared, that, so early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there had been several societies of Beguines establilshed 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 Vilvoorden, by the Beguines, who, at that time, were settled there. See Abü. Mīrā. Opera Diplomatico-historica, tom. ii. c. xxvi. p. 948, and tom. iii. p. 628, edit. nov.—Erycius Puteanus, De Beghinarum apud Belgas instituto et nomine suffragio. This treatise of Puteanus is to be found with another of the same author, and upon the same subject, in a work entitled, Josephi Geldolphia Rycckel Vita S. Vegge 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 Vilvoorden in Brabant.
that they acquired a name, and made a noise in the world. Their primitive establishment was, undoubt-
edly, the effect of virtuous dispositions and upright intentions. A certain number of pious women, both virgins and widows, in order to maintain their integrity, and preserve their principles from the contagion of a vicious and corrupt age, formed themselves into societies, each of which had a fixed place of residence, and was under the inspection and government of a female head. Here they divided their time between exercises of devotion, and works of honest industry, reserving to themselves the liberty of entering into the state of matrimony, as also of quitting the convent, whenever they thought proper. And as all those among the female sex, who made extraordinary professions of piety and devotion, were distinguished by the title of Beguines, i.e. persons who were uncommonly assiduous in prayer, that title was given to the women of whom we are now speaking [w]. The first society of this kind, that we read of, was formed at Nivelle in Brabant, in the year 1226 [x]; and

[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. Beghe, duchess of Brabant, and daughter of Pepin, mayor of the palace to the king of Austria, 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 Ryc-

[kil in vita S. Begga cum Adnotat. Ducati 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 Beghiniagorem in Belgio, Leod, 1672, in 12mo.
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 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.

XLI. 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, referring to themselves the liberty of returning to their former method of life [z]. These pious persons were, in the style of this age, called Beghards, and by a corruption of that term usual among the Flemish and the Dutch, Bogards; from others they received the denomination of Lollards; in France

[y] See Matth. Paris, Hist. Major, ad An. 1243 & 1250, p. 540. 696.—Thomas Cantifraternis in Bono Universi de Apibus, lib. ii. cap. li. p. 478. edit. Colveorii.—Petrus de Herenthal, in his Annals, from which, though they are not yet published, we have a very remarkable passage cited by Jos. Geld. a Ryckel, in his Observationes ad Vitam S. Begga, § cxcvi. p. 355. The origin and charters of the convents of Beguines, that were founded during this and the following century in Holland and Flanders, are treated in an ample manner by Aub. Miræus, in his Opera Historico-diplomatica, John Bapt. Grammaye, in his Antiquitates Belgice, Anton. Sanders, in his Brabantia et Flandria illustrata, and by the other writers of Belgic history.

they were distinguished at first by that of Bons Valets, C E N T.
or Bons Garçons, and afterwards by that of Beguines: X I I I .
you 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 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,

The Internal History of the Church.

Indeed, a considerable number of the latter still subsist, but few of the former are to be found anywhere.

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 briefly the Greek and Latin writers, who, during the same period, acquired a name by their learned productions. The most eminent among the Greeks were,

Nicetas Acominatus, who composed a work entitled, The History and Treasure of the Orthodox Faith;

Germanus, the Grecian patriarch, of whom we have yet extant, among other productions of less note, A Book against the Latins, and An Exposition of the Greek Liturgy;

Theodorus Lascaris, who left behind him several treatises upon various subjects of a religious nature, and who also entered the lists against the Latins, which was the reigning passion among such of the Greeks, as were endowed with any tolerable parts, and were desirous of shewing their zeal for the honour of their nation;

Nicephorus Blemmida, who employed his talents in the salutary work of healing the divisions between the Greeks and Latins;

Arsenius, whose Synopsis of the Canon Law of the Greeks, is far from being contemptible;

Georgius Acropolita, who acquired a high degree of renown, not only by his historical writings, but also by the transactions and negociations in which he was employed by the emperor Michael;

Johannes Beccus or Veccus, who involved himself in much trouble, and made himself many enemies, by defending the cause of the Latins against his own nation with too much zeal;

George Metochita, and Constantine Meliteniota, who employed, without success,
their most earnest efforts to bring about a reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins;

George Pachymeres, who acquired a name by his commentary upon Dionysius, the pretended chief of the mystics, and by a history which he composed of his own time; and

George the Cyprian, whose hatred of the Latins, and warm opposition to Venetus above mentioned, rendered him more famous than all his other productions [b].

XLIV. The prodigious number of Latin writers that appeared in this century, renders it impossible for us to mention them all; we shall therefore confine our account to those among them, who were the most eminent, and whose theological writings demand most frequently our notice in the course of this history. Such are,

Joachim, abbot of Flora in Calabria, who, though esteemed on account of his piety and knowledge, was, nevertheless, a man of mean parts and of a weak judgment, full of enthusiastic and visionary notions, and therefore considered, during his life and after his death, by the miserable and blinded multitude, as a prophet sent from above. The pretended prophecies of this silly fanatic are abundantly known, and have been frequently published [c];

Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, who wrote commentaries upon the greatest part of the books of scripture [d];

[b] For a more ample account of these writers, the reader may consult the Bibliotheca Graeca of Fabricius.

[c] The life of Joachim was written in Italian by Gregory di Lauro, and published in 1660 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.
The Internal History of the Church.

CENT. FRANCIS, the founder of the famous society of Friars-minors, or Franciscans, whose writings were 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 founding the most hidden truths, and treating with facility the most abstruse subjects, though they are all chargeable with errors and reveries that do little honour to their memories [g]. The other writers, who trod the

[e] Several of the name of Alan lived in this century, who have been strangely confounded both by ancient and modern writers. See J. le Bœuf, Mémoires sur l’Histoire d’Auxerre, tom. i. p. 300. & Differt. sur l’Histoire Civil. et Ecclesi. de Paris, tom. ii. p. 293.


[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 Scholasitcs among other splendid titles, see the Acta Sanctorum. tom. i. Martii, p. 655. & Ant. Turon, Vie de St. Thomas, Paris, 1737, in 4to.—We have also a 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...
fame intricate paths of metaphysical divinity, were cent.
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, Robert Capito, Thomas Cantipratensis, John de Peckham, William Durand, Roger Bacon, Richard Middleton, Aegidius 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.

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.


[b] See the Gallia Chrisliana, published by the Benedictines, tom. vii. p. 95.

[?l] The learned Anthony Wood has given an ample account of Robert Capito, in his Antiquit. Oxon. tom. i. p. 81.

We are surprized 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.

Hugo de St. Caro, or St.icher, 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 Virtutum et Vitiorum [m].

Raymond Martin yet survives the oblivion that has covered many of his cotemporaries; and his Pugio Fidei, or Sword of Faith, which he drew against the Jews and Saracens, has escaped the ruins of time.

John of Paris deserves an eminent rank among the glorious defenders of truth, liberty, and justice; since he maintained the authority of the civil powers, and the majesty of kings and princes, against the ambitious stratagems and usurpations of the Roman pontiffs, and declared openly his opposition to the opinion that was commonly adopted with respect to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and the presence of Christ in that holy ordinance [n].

---

CHAPTER III.

Concerning the doctrine of the Christian church during this century.

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


[n] We may learn his opinion concerning the eucharist from his treatise, entitled, Determinatio de S. Cena, and published in 8vo. at London, by the learned Dr. Alix, in the year 1686.—See also Echardi Scriptor. Dominican. tom. i. p. 501.—Baldu-211 Vita Pontifi. Avignonensis. tom. i. p. 4. 576, 577.
nevertheless increased in this century, instead of being reformed, and the religion of Christ 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.
CENT. INNOCENT III. in the year 1215, and at which a
prodigious number of ecclesiastics were assembled
[0], that imperious pontiff, without deigning to
consult any body, published no less than seventy laws
or decrees, by which not only the authority of the
popes and the power of the clergy were confirmed
and extended, but also new doctrines, or articles of
faith, were imposed upon Christians. Hitherto the
opinions of the Christian doctors, concerning the
manner in which the body and blood of Christ
were present in the eucharist, were extremely
different; nor had the church determined by any
clear and positive decree, the sentiment that was to
be embraced in relation to that important matter.
It was reserved for INNOCENT to put an end to the
liberty, which every Christian had hitherto enjoyed,
of interpreting this presence in the manner he
thought most agreeable to the declarations of
scripture, and to decide in favour of the most mon-
strous doctrine that the frenzy of superstition was
capable of inventing. This audacious pontiff pro-
nounced the opinion, that is embraced at this day
in the church of Rome relating to that point, to be
the only true and orthodox account of the matter;
and he had the honour of introducing and estab-
lishing the use of the term Transubstantiation, which was
hitherto absolutely unknown [p]. The same pontiff
placed, by his own authority, among the duties
prescribed by the divine laws, that of auricular con-
feffion to a priest; a confession that implied not only
a general acknowledgment, but also a particular
enumeration of the sins and follies of the penitent.
Before this period several doctors, indeed, looked
upon this kind of confession, as a duty inculcated by

[0] At this council there were present 412 bishops, 800
abbots and priors, besides the ambassadors of almost all the Euro-
pine princes.

Chap. III. The Doctrine of the Church.

237
divine authority; but this opinion was not publicly received as the doctrine of the church. For though the confession of sins was justly looked upon as an essential duty, yet it was left to every Christian's choice, to make this confession mentally to the Supreme Being, or to express it in words to a spiritual confident and director [7]. These two laws, which, by the authority of Innocent, were received as laws of God, and adopted, of consequence, as laws of the church, occasioned a multitude of new injunctions and rites, of which not even the smallest traces are to be found in the sacred writings, or in the apostolic and primitive ages, and which were much more adapted to establish and extend the reign of superstition, than to open the eyes of the blinded multitude upon the enormous abuses of which it had been the source.

III. There is nothing that will contribute more to convince us of the miserable state of religion in this century, and of the frenzy that almost generally prevailed in the devotion of these unhappy times, than the rise of the sect called Flagellantes, or Whippers, which sprung up in Italy in the year 1260, and was propagated from thence through almost all the countries of Europe. The societies that embraced this new discipline, presented the most hideous and shocking spectacle that can well be conceived; they ran in multitudes, composed of persons of both sexes, and of all ranks and ages, through the public places of the most populous cities, and also through the fields and desarts, with whips in their hands, lashing their naked bodies with the most astonishing severity, filling the air with their wild shrieks, and beholding the firmament with an air of distraction, ferocity, and horror; and all this with a view to obtain the divine mercy for themselves, and others, by their

The Internal History of the Church.

The method of interpreting and explaining the scriptures little altered in this century.

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 practice 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, 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 infipid and nauseous to such as are not entirely destitute of

[r] Christ. Schotgenii Historia Flagellantium.—Jacques Boileau, Histoire des Flagellans, chap. ix. p. 253. We have also a lively picture of this fanatical discipline of the Whippers, exhibited in Martin's Voyage Litteraire de deux Benedictins, tom. ii. p. 105, with which the reader may compare Muratori Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi, tom. vi. p. 469.
judgment and taste. If our readers be desirous of a proof of the justice of this censure, or curious to try the extent of their patience, they have only to peruse the explications that have been given by archbishop Langton, Hugh de St. Cher, and Antony of Padua, of the various books of the Old and New Testament. The Mystic doctors carried this visionary method of interpreting scripture to the greatest height, and displayed the most laborious industry, or rather the most egregious folly, in searching for mysteries, where reason and common sense could find nothing but plain and evident truths. They were too penetrating and quick-fisted 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 fablities 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 \[5\], and the Dominicans, under the eye of their supreme chief, the learned Jordan, gave a new edition of the Latin translation of the Bible, carefully revised and corrected from the ancient copies \[6\]. 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 echo. The latter of these two truly great men, who is commonly called the Angel of the schools or the Angelic Doctor, sat unrivalled at the head of the divines of this century, and deservedly obtained the principal place among those who digested the doctrines of Christianity into a regular system, and illustrated and explained them in a scientific manner. For no sooner had his system or sum of theology and morals seen the light, than it was received universally with the highest applause, placed in the same rank with the famous Book of Sentences of Peter Lombard, and admitted as the standard of truth and the great rule according to which the public teachers formed their plans of instruction, and

the youth their method of study. Certain writers, indeed, have denied that Thomas was the author of the celebrated system that bears his name; but the reasons they allege in support of this notion are utterly destitute of evidence and solidity.

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 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

[See Jo. Launoii Traditio Ecclesiæ circa Simoniam, p. 290.]


* In the original we find Pofitiœ in the margin, which is manifestly a fault; since the Pofitiœ were quite opposite, in their method of teaching, to the schoolmen, and were the same with Biblici mentioned in the following section. See above, Cent. XII. Part II. Ch. III. § VIII.

Vol. III. I i
cent. 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 universally, and was followed with such ardour, that the number of those, who, in conformity with the example of the ancient doctors, drew their systems of theology from the holy scriptures and the writings of the fathers, and who acquired on that account the name of Bibliici, 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, cent.
and more especially those of the university of Paris, xiii.
to change their method of teaching theology, and,
laying aside their philosophical abstraction and sub-
tility, 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 inve-
terate to admit of a remedy, and the passion for logic
and metaphysic was grown so universal and so violent,
that neither remonstrances nor arguments could
check its presumption, or allay its ardour. In justice
however to the scholastic doctors, it is necessary to
observe, that they did not neglect the dictates of the
gospel, nor the authority of tradition; though what
they drew from these two sources proves sufficiently
that they had studied neither with much attention
or application of mind.[a]. And it is moreover
certain, that, in process of time, they committed to
others the care of consulting the sources now men-
tioned, and reserved to themselves the much-ref-
pected province of philosophy, and the intricate
mazes of dialectical chicane. And, indeed, inde-
pendent of their philosophical vanity, we may assign
another reason for this method of proceeding, drawn
from the nature of their profession, and the circum-
stances in which they were placed. For the greatest
part of these subtle doctors were Dominican or
Franciscan friars; and as the monks of these Orders
had no possessions, not even libraries, and led, besides,
wandering and itinerant lives, such of them as were
ambitious of literary fame, and of the honours of
authorship, were, for the most part, obliged to

[a] Faydit, Alteration du Dogme Theologique par la Philo-
sophie d'Aristote, p. 289.—Richard Simon, Critique de la Bib-
liothèque des Auteurs Eccles. par M. Du Pin, tom. i. p. 170.
187.
draw their materials from their own genius and
memory, being destitute of all other succours.

VIII. The opinions which these philosophical
divines infilled into the minds of the youth, appeared
to the votaries of the ancient fathers highly dan-
gerous 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 subtile doctors of the school
not only explained the mysteries of religion in a
manner conformable to the principles of their pre-
sumptuous 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 scrip-
ture, these scholastic quibblers had recourse, for a
reply, or rather for a method of escape, to that
perfidious distinction, which has been frequently
employed by modern deists, that these tenets were
philosophically true, and conformable to right reason,
but that they were, indeed, theologically false, and
contrary to the orthodox faith. This kindled an
open war between the Biblicists, or Bible-divines,
and the scholastic doctors, which was carried on
with great warmth throughout the whole course of
this century, particularly in the universities of Oxford
and Paris, where we find the former loading the
latter with the heaviest reproaches in their public
acts and in their polemic writings, and accusing them
of corrupting the doctrines of the gospel both in
their public lessons and in their private discourse [b].

[b] See Matth. Paris, Hist. Major, p. 541.—Boulay,
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. He accordingly saw a formidable scene of opposition arising against him, but had the good fortune to conjure the storm, and to escape untouched. Others, whose authority was less extensive and their names less respectable, were treated with more severity. The living were obliged to confess publicly their errors; and the dead, who had persevered in them to the last, had their memories branded with infamy.

IX. But the most formidable adversaries the scholastic doctors had to encounter, were the Mystics, who, rejecting every thing that had the least resemblance of argumentation or dispute about matters of doctrine and opinion, confined their endeavours to the advancement of inward piety, and the propagation of devout and tender feelings, and thus acquired the highest degree of popularity. The people, who are much more affected with what touches their passions, than with what is only addressed to their reason, were attached to the Mystics in the warmest manner; and this gave such weight to the reproaches and invectives which they threw out against the school-men, that the latter thought it more prudent to disarm these favourites of the multitude by mild and submissive measures, than to return their reproaches with indignation and bitterness. They accordingly set themselves to flatter the Mystics, and not only extolled their sentimental system, but employed their pens in illustrating and defending it; nay, they associated it with the scholastic philosophy, though they were as different from each other as

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 school-men and Mystics of this century treated, in their writings, of the obligations of morality, the duties of the Christian life; and of the means that were most adapted to preserve or deliver the soul from the servitude and contagion of vice; but their methods of handling these important subjects were, as may be easily conceived, entirely different. We may form an idea of mystical morality from the Observations of George Pachymeres, upon the writings of Dionysius, and from the Spiritual Institutes, or Abridgment of Mystic Theology, composed by Humbert de Romanis, of which productions the first was written in Greek and the second in Latin. As to the scholastic moralists, they were principally employed in defining the nature of virtue and vice in general, and the characters of the various virtues and vices in particular; and hence the prodigious number of sintes, or systematical collections, of virtues and vices, that appeared in this century. The school-men divided the virtues into two classes. The first comprehended the moral virtues, which differ, in no respect, from those which Aristotle recommended to his disciples. The second contained the theological virtues, which, in consequence of what St. Paul says, 1 Corinth. xiii. 13. they made to consist in Faith, Hope, and Charity. In explaining and illustrating the nature of the virtues 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 subtility in resolving difficulties which were of their
own creation. Thomas Aquinas shone forth as a cent.

star of the first magnitude, though, like the others, he was often covered with impenetrable fogs. The Part II.

second part of his famous jum was wholly employed

in laying down the principles of morality, and in deducing and illustrating the various duties that result from them; and this part of his learned labours has had the honour and misfortune of passing through the hands of a truly prodigious number of commentators.

XI. It is absolutely necessary to observe here, that the moral writers of this and the following centuries must be read with the utmost caution; and with a perpetual attention to this circumstance, that, though they employ the same terms that we find in the sacred writings, yet they use them in a quite different sense from that which they bear in these divine books. They speak of justice, charity, faith, and holiness; but as these virtues are illustrated by these quibbling sophists, they differ much from the amiable and sublime duties, which Christ and his disciples have inculcated under the same denominations. A single example will be sufficient to render this evident beyond contradiction. A pious and holy man, according to the sense annexed by our Saviour to these terms, is one, who consecrates his affections and actions to the service of the Supreme Being, and accounts it his highest honour and felicity, as well as his indispensible 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, and the decisions of the fathers, than by the dictates of reason and the authority of scripture. Raymond of Penafort 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. 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*, is unquestionably entitled to the first rank. Thomas Aquinas also appeared with dignity among the Christian champions; and his book against the Gentiles is far from being contemptible: nor ought we to omit mentioning a learned work of Alan de l'Isle, which was designed to refute the objections of both Jews and

[d] Echard et Quetif in *Scriptoribus Ordinis Pradicator*. tom. i. § xiii. p. 166.
The Doctrine of the Church.

Pagans [g]. The writers, who handled other more cent. particular branches of theological controversy, were far inferior to these now mentioned in genius and abilities; and their works seemed less calculated to promote the truth, than to render their adversaries odious.

XIII. The grand controversy between the Greek and Latin church was still carried on; and all the efforts that were made, during this century, to bring it to a conclusion, one way or another, proved ineffectual. Gregory IX. employed the ministration of the Franciscan monks to bring about an accommodation with the Greeks, and pursued with zeal this laudable purpose from the year 1232 to the end of his pontificate, but without the least appearance of success [b]. 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 negociations 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

[g] Liber contra Judeos et Paganos.


...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 Lions in the year 1274 [/], 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, cent.
by whose persuasion and authority it had been con-
cluded, was sent into exile [n]. This resolute mea-
measure, as may well be imagined, rendered the di-
visions 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.

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 con-
cerning 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, pre-
sumptuously taken upon him to place Transubstan-
tiation 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 Inno-
cent had defined it [o]. Among these John,
furnamed Pungens Asinus, a subtle doctor of the

[n] Leo Allatius de perpetua confessione Eccles. Orient. et
Occident. lib. ii. c. xv, xvi. p. 727.—Fred. Spanheim de perpet.
[o] Pet. Allix. Pref. ad F. Johannis Determinat. de Sacra-
mento Altaris, published at London in 8vo, in the year 1686.
The Internal History of the Church.

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].

CHAPTER IV.

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

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 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 shew \(q\). But these scenic representations, in which there was a motley mixture of mirth and gravity, these tragi-comical spectacles, though they amused and affected in a certain manner the gazing populace, were highly detrimental, instead of being useful, to the cause of religion; they degraded its dignity, and furnished abundant matter of laughter to its enemies.

II. It will not appear surprising that the bread, consecrated in the sacrament of the Lord’s supper, became the object of religious worship; for this was the natural consequence of the monstrous doctrine of Transubstantiation. But the effects of that impious and ridiculous doctrine did not end here; it produced all that train of ceremonies and institutions that are still used in the church of Rome in honour of that deified bread, as they blasphe-mously 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.

\(q\) It is probable enough, that this licentious custom of exhibiting mimic representations of religious objects derived its origin from the Mendicant friars.

\(r\) This blasphemous language, which Dr. Mosheim is obliged to use in representing the absurdities of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, is nothing in comparison with the impious figures that were made use of by the abettors of that monstrous tenet to 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.
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 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, 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

\[\text{\textcopyright}^\left[\text{s}\right]\text{ This fanatical woman declared, that as often as she addressed herself to God, or to the saints in prayer, she saw the full moon with a small defect or breach in it; and that, having long studied to find out the signification of this strange appearance, she was inwardly informed by the spirit, that the moon signified the church, and that the defect or breach was the want of an annual festival in honour of the holy sacrament.}\]
its full and proper effect, on account of the death of the pontiff, which happened soon after its publication; so that the festival under consideration was not celebrated universally throughout the Latin churches before the pontificate of Clement V. [t], who, in the council, held at Vienne in France, in the year 1311, confirmed the edict of Urban, and thus, in spite of all opposition, established a festival, which contributed more to render the doctrine of transubstantiation agreeable to the people, than the decree of the council of the Lateran under Innocent III. or than all the exhortations of his lordly successors.

III. About the conclusion of this century, Boniface VIII. added to the public rites and ceremonies of the church, the famous jubilee, which is still celebrated at Rome, at a stated period, with the utmost profusion of pomp and magnificence. In the year 1299, a rumour was spread abroad among the inhabitants of that city, that all such as visited, within the limits of the following year, the church of St. Peter, should obtain the remission of all their sins, and that this privilege was to be annexed to the performance of the same service once every hundred years. Boniface no sooner heard of this, than he ordered strict enquiry to be made concerning the author and the foundation of this report, and the result of this inquiry was answerable to his views; for he was assured, by many testimonies worthy of credit [u], (fay the Roman-catholic historians) that,


[u] These testimonies worthy of credit have never been produced by the Roman writers, unless we rank in that class, that of an old man, who had completed his 107th year, and
from the remotest antiquity, this important privilege of remission and indulgence was to be obtained by the services above-mentioned. No sooner had the pontiff received this information than he issued out an epistolary mandate addressed to all Christians, in which he enacted it as a solemn law of the church, that those who, every hundredth or jubilee year, confessed their sins, and visited, with sentiments of contrition and repentance the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome, should obtain thereby the entire remission of their various offences [w]. The successors of Boniface were not satisfied with adding who, being brought before Boniface VIII. declared (if we may believe the Abbé Fleury) that his father, who was a common labourer, had assisted at the celebration of a jubilee, an hundred years before that time. See Fleury Hist. Eccles. towards the end of the twelfth century. It is, however, a very unaccountable thing, if the institution of the jubilee year was not the invention of Boniface, that there should be neither in the acts of councils, nor in the records of history, nor in the writings of the learned, any trace, or the least mention of its celebration before the year 1300; this, with other reasons of an irrefutable evidence, have persuaded some Roman-catholic writers to consider the institution of the jubilee year, as the invention of this pontiff, who, to render it more respectable, pretended it was of a much earlier date. See Ghilen. & Victorell. apud Bonanni Numism. Pontif. Rom. tom. i. p. 22, 23.

[w] So the matter is related by James Cajetan, cardinal of St. George, and nephew to Boniface, in his Relatio de Centesimo seu Jubilaeo anno, which is published in his Magna Bibliotheca Vet. Patrum, tom. vi. p. 426. 440. and in the Bibliotheca Maxima Patrum, tom. xxv. p. 267. Nor is there any reason to believe that this account is erroneous and false, nor that Boniface acted the part of an impostor, from a principle of avarice, upon this occasion.

N. B. It is not without astonishment, that we hear Dr. Mosheim deciding in this manner with respect to the good faith of Boniface and the relation of his nephew. The character of that wicked and ambitious pontiff is well known, and the relation of the cardinal of St. George has been proved to be the most ridiculous, fabulous, motley piece of stuff that ever usurped the title of an historical record. See the excellent Lettres de M. Chois sur les Jubilés (that are mentioned more at large in the following note), tom. i. p. 53.
a multitude of new rites and inventions, by way of cent. ornaments, to this superflitious institution; but, finding by experience that it added to the luftre and augmented the revenues of the Roman church, they rendered its return more frequent, and fixed its celebration to every five and twentieth year [x].

[x] The various writers, who have treated of the institution of the Roman jubilee, are enumerated by Jo. Albert Fabricius in his Bibliogr. Antiquar. p. 316. Among the Authors that may be added to this list, there is one whom we think it necessary to mention particularly, viz. the Reverend Charles Chais, whose Lettres Historiques et Dogmatiques sur les Jubiles 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 jubilee year. He lays also before the reader an historical
CHAPTER V.

Concerning the divisions and herefics 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 Neftorians and Jacobites, which were settled in the remoter regions of the east, 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 Neftorians, and particularly to that branch of the sect which resided in the Northern parts of Asia [y]. The leading men both among the Neftorians and Jacobites seemed to give ear to the proposals that were made to them, and were by no means averse to a reconciliation with the church of view of all the jubilees that were celebrated from the pontificate of Boniface VIII. in the year 1300, to that of Benedict XIV. in 1750, with an entertaining account of the most remarkable adventures that happened among the pilgrims who repaired to Rome on those occasions. The second and third volumes of these interesting Letters treat of the indulgences that are administered in the church of Rome. The reader will find here their nature and origin explained, the doctrine of the Roman-Catholic divines relating to them stated and refuted, the history of this impious traffic accurately laid down, and its enormities and pernicious effects circumstantially exposed with learning, perspicuity, and candour.

Rome; but the prospect of peace soon vanished, and a variety of causes concurred to prolong the rupture.

II. During the whole course of this century, the Roman pontiffs carried on the most barbarous and inhuman persecution against those whom they branded with the denomination of heretics; i.e. against all those who called their pretended authority and jurisdiction in question, or taught doctrines different from those which were adopted and propagated by the church of Rome. For the sects of the Caibarists, Waldenses, Petrobrusians, &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 no where greater than in Narbonne
The Internal History of the Church.

CENT. Gaul [z] and the countries adjacent, where they were received and protected, in a singular manner, by Raymond VI. earl of Tholoufè, and other persons of the highest distinction; and where the bishops, either through humanity or indolence, were so negligent and remiss in the prosecution of heretics, that the latter, laying aside all their fears, formed settlements, and multiplied prodigiously from day to day. Innocent III. was soon informed of all these proceedings; and about the commencement of this century sent legates extraordinary into the southern provinces of France to do what the bishops had left undone, and to extirpate heresy, in all its various forms and modifications, without being at all scrupulous in using such methods as might be necessary to effect this salutary purpose. The persons charged with this ghastly commission were Rainier [a], a Cistercian monk, Pierre de Castelnau [b], archdeacon of Maguelonne, 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

[z] That part of France which, in ancient times, comprehended the provinces of Savoy, Dauphiné, Provence, and Languedoc.

de [a] Instead of Rainier, other historians mention one Raoul, or Ralph, as the associate of Pierre de Castelnau. See Fleury, Histoire Ecclef. livr. lxxvi. § xii.

[2] 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 Anna Salter. tom. i. Martii, p. 411.
Chap. IV. Divisions and Heresies.

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.

IV. When this new set of heresy-hunters had executed their commission, and purged the provinces to which they were sent of the greatest part of the enemies of the Roman faith, the pontiffs were so sensible of their excellent services, that they established missionaries of a like nature, or, in other words, placed Inquisitors in almost every city whose inhabitants had the misfortune to be suspected of heresy, notwithstanding the reluctance which the people shewed to this new institution, and the violence with which they frequently expelled, and sometimes massacred, these bloody officers of the popish hierarchy. The council held at Tholoufè, 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. This institution was, however, superseded in the year 1233, by Gregory IX. who intrusted the Dominicans, or preaching friars, with the important commission of discovering and bringing to judgment the heretics that were lurking in France, and in a formal epistle discharged the bishops from the burthen of that painful office. Immediately after this, the bishop of Tournay, who was the pope's

[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, cells, and other lurking places, but also in woods, caves, fields, &c.

The Internal History of the Church.

CENT. legate in France, began to execute this new resolution, by appointing Pierre Cellan, and Guillaume Arnaud, inquisitors of the heretical pravity at Tholouse, and afterwards proceeded in every city, where the Dominicans had a convent, to constitute officers of the same nature, chosen from among the monks of that celebrated order. From this period we are to date the commencement of the dreadful tribunal of the inquisition, which in this and the following ages subdued such a prodigious multitude of heretics, part of whom were converted to the church by terror, and the rest committed to the flames without mercy. For the Dominicans erected, first at Tholouse, and afterwards at Carcassonne 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 everywhere with the same success.

V. The method of proceeding in this court of inquisition was at first simple, and almost in every

[f] Echard & Percinus loc. citat.

[g] The accounts we have here given of the first rise of the Inquisition, though founded upon the most unexceptionable testimonies and the most authentic records, are yet ver different from those that are to be found in most authors. Certain learned men tell us, that the Tribunal of the Inquisition was the invention of St. Dominic, and was first erected by him in the city of Tholouse: that he, of consequence, was the first inquisitor: that the year of its institution is indeed uncertain; but that it was undoubtedly confirmed in a solemn manner, by Innocent III. in the council of the Lateran, in the year 1215. See Jo. Alb. Fabricius, in his Lux Evangelii toti orbi exorioris, p. 569.—Phil. Limborch Hist. Inquisit. lib. i. c. x. p. 39. and the other writers mentioned by Fabricius. I will not affirm, that the writers who give this account of the matter have advanced all this without authority; but this I will venture to say, that the authors, whom they have taken for their guides, are not of the first rate in point of merit and credibility. Limborch, whose History of the Inquisition is looked upon as a most important and capital work,
respekt similar to that which was observed in the cent.
ordinary courts of justice [6]. But this simplicity xiii.
was gradually changed by the Dominicans, to whom part ii.
experience suggested several new methods of aug-
menting the pomp and majesty of their spiritual
tribunal, and who made such alterations in the forms
of proceedings, that the manner of taking cogniz-
ance of heretical causes became totally different

is generally followed by modern writers in their accounts of that
odious tribunal. But, however laudable that historian may have
been in point of fidelity and diligence, it is certain, that he was
but little acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of the middle
age; that he drew his materials, not from the true and original
sources, but from writers of a second class, and thus has fallen, in
the course of his history, into various mistakes. His account of
the origin of the inquisition is undoubtedly false; nor does that
which is given by many other writers approach nearer to the truth.
The circumstances of this account, which I have mentioned in
the beginning of this note, are more especially destitute of all
foundation. Many of the Dominicans, who, in our times have
presided in the court of inquisition, and have extolled the sanctity
of that pious institution, deny, at the same time, that dominic
was its founder, as also that he was the first inquisitor, nay, that he
was an inquisitor at all. They go still farther, and affirm, that the
court of inquisition was not erected during the life of St. domi-
ic. Nor is all this advanced inconsiderately, as every impartial
inquirer into the proofs they allege will easily perceive. Never-
theless, 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 commiss-
ion and authority of the Roman pontiff to extirpate hereby and
oppose its abettors, but not cloathed 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 hereby, to pronounce sen-
tence according to their respective cases, and to deliver over to
the secular arm such as perfified 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.

[6] The records, published by the Benedictines in their Histoire
Gener. de Languedoc, tom. iii. p. 371. shew the simplicity that
reigned in the proceedings of the inquisition at its first institution.
The rights and privileges granted to the inquisition.

The Internal History of the Church.

The 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.

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 ministrv 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].

[i] The law of the emperor Frederic, in relation to the inquisitors, may be seen in Limborch's History of the Inquisition, as also in the Epistles of Pierre de Vignes, and in Bzovius, Raynalbus, &c. The edict of St. Lewis, in favour of these ghastly judges, is generally known under the title of Cupientes; for so it is called by the French lawyers on account of its beginning with that word. It was issued out in the year 1229, as the
These abominable laws were not, however, sufficient to restrain the just indignation of the people against these inhuman judges, whose barbarity was accompanied with superstition and arrogance, with a spirit of suspicion and perfidy, nay, even with temerity and imprudence. Accordingly they were insulted by the multitude in many places, were driven, in an ignominious manner, out of some cities, and were put to death in others; and Conrad of Marburg, 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 vengeance and fury [l].

VII. When Innocent III. perceived that the labours of the first inquisitors were not immediately attended with such abundant fruits as he had fondly expected, he addressed himself, in the year 1207, to Philip Augustus, king of France, and to the Benedictine monks have proved sufficiently in their Hift. Generale de Languedoc, tom. iii. p. 378. 575. It is also published by Catelius, in his Hiflor. 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 confifted in his furious and implacable averterion 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 Schminius. See also Wadding, Annal. Minor. tom. ii. p. 151. 355. & Echard, Scriptor. Dominican. tom. i. p. 437.

[l] The Abbé Fleury acknowledges the brutal barbarity of this unrelenting inquisitor, who, under the pretext of hereby, 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; Hift. Ecclef. livr. lxxx. § xxiv.
The Internal History of the Church.

leading men of that nation, soliciting them by the alluring promises 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 Cistertian monks, in the name of this pope, proclaimed a crusade against the heretics throughout the whole kingdom of France, and a storm seemed to be gathering against them on all sides: Raymond VI, earl of Tholouse, in whose territories Castelnau had been massacred was solemnly excommunicated, and, to deliver himself from this ecclesiastical male-diction, 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 \[o\], an open war which they

\[m\] Innocentii III. Epist. Lib. x. Epist. 49.
\[o\] The term Albigenses is used in two senses, of which the one is general, and the other more confined. In its more general and extensive sense it comprehends all the various kinds of heretics who resided at this time in Narbonne-Gaul, i. e. in the southern parts of France. This appears from the following passage of Petrus Sarnensis, who, in the Dedication of his History of the Albigenses to Innocent III. expresses himself thus. Tolosani et aliarum civitatum, et castrorum hereticorum, et defensores eorum generaliter Albigenses vocantur. The same author divides afterwards the Albigenses into various sects (Cap. ii. p. 3 & 8.) of which he considers that of the Waldenses as the least pernicious. Mal erant Waldenses, sed comparatione aliorum hereticorum longe minus perverae. It was not, however, from the city of Albige, 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.
carried on with the utmost exertions of cruelty, though with various successes, for several years. The chief director of this ghastly war was Arnald, abbot of the Cistercians, 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 Tholoufè, who, consulting his safety rather than his conscience, had engaged in the crusade against the heretics, was obliged to change sides, and to attack their persecutors. For Simon, who had embarked in this war, not so much from a principle of zeal for religion, or of aversion to the heretics, as from a desire of augmenting his fortune, cast a greedy eye upon the territories of Raymond, and his selfish views were seconded and accomplished by the court of Rome. After many battles, sieges, and a multitude of other exploits conducted with the most intrepid courage and the most abominable barbarity, he received from the hands of Innocent III. at the council of the Lateran, A. D. 1215, the county of Tholoufè and the other lands, belonging to that earl, as a reward for his zeal in supporting the cause of God and of the church. About three years after this, he lost his life at the siege of Tholoufè. Raymond, his valiant adversary, died in the year 1222.

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 passions of the earl on the side of the pontiffs, or calming the restless passions of the earl

The term Albigenes, in its more confined sense, was used to denote those heretics who inclined towards the Manichaean 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 Tolosana, published by Limborch, in his History of the Inquisition, and in which the Albigenes are carefully distinguished from the other sects that made a noise in this century.
spirit of faction on that of the pretended heretics.

Raymond VII. earl of Tholouse, 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 of peace gave a mortal blow to the cause of herey,

It was in consequence of this treaty (of which the articles were drawn up at Meaux, and afterwards confirmed at Paris, in presence of Lewis) that the university of Tholouse 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 says 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, Hift. Eccles. liv. lxxix. § 50.
and dispersed the champions that had appeared in cent. its defence; the inquisition was established at Tholouse, 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 Tholouse, the last representative of that noble and powerful house, dejected and exhausted by the losses he had sustained, and the perplexities in which he was involved, died, in the year 1249, without male issue. And thus ended a civil war, of which religion had been partly the cause, and partly the pretext, and which, in its consequences, was highly profitable both to the kings of France and to the Roman pontiffs.

Many writers both ancient and modern have related the circumstances of this religious war, that was carried on against the earls of Tholouse and their confederates, and also against the heretics, whose cause they maintained. But none of the historians, whom I have consulted on this subject, have treated it with that impartiality which is so essential to the merit of historical writing. The Protestant writers, among whom Basnage deserves an eminent rank, are too favourable to Raymond and the Albigenses; the Roman-catholic historians lean with still more partiality to the other side. Of these latter the most recent are Benedict, a Dominican monk, author of the Histoire des Albigoses, des Vaudois, et de Barbets, published at Paris, in 1691, in two volumes, 12mo. — J. Bap. Langlois, a Jesuit, who composed the Histoire des Croisades contre les Albigesses, which was published in 12mo, at Rouen, in 1703, to which we must add, Jo. Jac. Percini Monumenta Conventus Tolosani Ordinis F.R. Predicator. in quibus Historia hujus Conventus distribuitur, et referitur totius Albigensium fači narratio, Tolosa, 1693, Fol. These writers are chargeable
IX. The severity which the court of Rome employed in the extirpation of heresy, and the formidable arguments of fire and sword, racks and gibbets, with which the popes and their creatures reasoned against the enemies of the church, were not sufficient to prevent the rise of new and most pernicious sects in several places. Many of these sects were inconsiderable in themselves, and transitory in their duration, while some of them made a noise in the world, and were suppressed with difficulty. Among the latter we may reckon that of the Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit, which about this time gained ground secretly and imperceptibly in Italy, France, and Germany, and seduced into its bosom multitudes of persons of both sexes, by the striking appearance of piety that was observed in the conduct of the members that composed it. How far the councils of this century proceeded against this new sect, we cannot say with any certainty; because we have upon record but a few of the decrees that were issued out upon that occasion. Perhaps the obscurity of the rising faction screened it, in a great measure, from public view. But that was not the case in the following age; the Brethren and Sisters above mentioned came forth from their retreats in proportion as their numbers increased; they drew upon them the eyes of the world, and particularly those of the inquisitors, who committed to the flames such of these unhappy enthusiasts as fell into their hands; with the greatest partiality and injustice in the reproaches and calumnies they threw out so liberally against the Raymonds and the Albigenes, 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 Vaisssette, in their Histoire Generale de Languedoc, Paris, 1730, tom. iii. in which, however, there are several omissions, which render that valuable work defective.
while the councils, held in Germany and other nations, loaded them with excommunications and damnatory edicts.

This new sect took their denomination from the words of St. Paul \( [r] \), and maintained that the true children of God were invested with the privilege of a full and perfect freedom from the jurisdiction of the law \( [s] \). They were called, by the Germans and Flemish, Beghards and Beguttes, which, as we have seen already, was a name usually given to those who made an extraordinary profession of piety and devotion. They received from others, the reproachful denomination of Bicorni, i.e. Ideots. In France, they were known by the appellation of Beghins and Beghines, while the multitude distinguished them by that of Turlupins, the origin and reason of which title I have not been able to learn \( [t] \). Nothing

\( [r] \) Romans viii. 2. 14.

\( [s] \) The accounts we here give of these wretched Fanatics are, for the most part, taken from authentic records, which have not been as yet published, from the decrees of synods and councils held in France and Germany, from the Diplomas of the Roman pontiffs, the sentences pronounced by the inquisitors, and the other sources of information to which I have had access. I have also a collection of extracts from certain books of these enthusiasts, and more especially from that which treated of the Nine Spiritual rocks, and which was in the highest esteem among the free brethren, who considered it as a treasure of divine wisdom and doctrine.

As I cannot expose here these records to the examination of the curious reader, I beg leave to refer him to a long and ample edict issued out against these Brethren by Henry I. archbishop of Cologne, and published in the Statuta Colonienfia, A. 1554. p. 58.

This edict is, in every respect, conformable to those published on the same occasion, at Mentz, Aschaffenburg, Paderborn, Beziers, Triers, and other places.

\( [t] \) Many have written, but none with accuracy and precision, concerning the Turlupins. See Beausobre’s Dissertation sur les Adamites, part II. p. 384. where that learned author has fallen into several errors, as usually happens to him when he treats subjects of this kind. I know not the origin of the word Turlupin, but I am able to demonstrate by the most authentic records, that the persons so called, who were burnt at Paris and
carried a more shocking air of lunacy and distraction than their external aspect and manners. They ran from place to place cloathed 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. 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.

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 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 affiduous meditation, had plunged themselves, as it were, into the abys of the Divinity, acquired thereby

in other parts of France, were no other than the Brethren of the free spirit, who were condemned by the Roman pontiffs, and also by various councils.

[u] Hence they were called in Germany, Schwenfridiones, as appears by the decrees of several councils.
"a most glorious and sublime liberty, and were not cent. " only delivered from the violence of sinful lusts, XIII. " but even from the common instincts of nature." From these and such like doctrines, the brethren under consideration drew this impious and horrid conclusion, " That the person who had ascended " to God in this manner, and was absorbed by " contemplation in the abyss of Deity, became thus " a part of the Godhead, commenced God, was the " Son of God in the same sense and manner that " Christ was, and was thereby raised to a glorious " independence, and freed from the obligation of " all laws human and divine." It was in 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 pietv adapted to the state and capacity of children, and as of no sort of use to the perfect man, whom long meditation had raised above all external things, and carried into the bosom and essence of the Deity [w].

[w] It may not be improper to place here a certain number of sentences translated faithfully from several of the more secret books of these Heretics. The following will be sufficient to give the curious reader a full idea of their impiety.

Every pious and good man is the only begotten son of God, whom God engendered from all eternity: (for these Heretics maintained, that what the scriptures taught concerning the distinction of Three Persons in the divine nature, is by no means to be understood literally, and therefore explained it according to the principles of their mythical and fantastical system).

All created things are non-entities or nothing: I do not say that they are small or minute; but that they are absolutely nothing.

There is in the soul of man something that is neither created, nor susceptible of creation, and that is, rationality, or the power of reasoning.

God is neither good, nor better, nor best: whosoever therefore calls the Deity good, does as foolishly as he who calls an object black, which he knows to be white.
XI. Among these Fanatics there were several persons of eminent probity, who had entered into this sect with the most upright intentions, and who extended that liberty of the spirit, which they looked upon as the privilege of true believers, no farther than to an exemption from the duties of external worship, and an immunity from the positive laws of the church. The whole of religion was placed by this class of men in internal devotion, and they treated with the utmost contempt the rules of monastic discipline, and all other external rites and institutions, as infinitely beneath the attention of the perfect. Nor were their exhortations and their examples without effect; for about the middle of this century they persuaded a considerable number of monks and devout persons, in Swabia, to live without any rule, and to serve God in the liberty of the spirit, which was the most acceptable service that could be presented to the Deity [x]. The inquisitors, however, stopped these poor enthusiasts in the midst

God still engenders his only begotten Son, and begets still the same Son, whom he had begotten from eternity. For every operation of the Deity is uniform and one; and therefore he engenders his Son without any division.

What the scriptures say concerning Christ is true of every good, of every divine man. And every quality of the divine nature belongs equally to every person, whose piety is genuine and sincere.

To these horrid passages we may add the following sentences, in which, John, bishop of Strasburg (in an edict he published against the Brethren of the free spirit, or Beghards, in the year 1317, the Sunday before the feast of the assumption of the Virgin Mary) discovers farther the blasphemous doctrine of this impious sect. Deus (say these Heretics) est formaliter omne quod est. Quiuet homo perfectus est Christus per naturam. Homo perfectus est liber in totum, nec trunctur ad servandum praecipta ecclesiae data a Deo. Multa sunt poetica in evangelio, quae non sunt vera, et homines credere magis debeat consequi ex anima sua Deo juneta perfectiss, quam evangelio, &c.

[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.
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 tranquility, and holy apathy, which they looked upon as the great characteristics of Christian perfection. The persons who adopted these sentiments, took strange liberties in consequence of their pretended sanctity, and shewed, indeed, by their conduct, that they had little regard to external appearances; for they held their secret assemblies stark naked, and lay in the same beds with their spiritual sisters, or, indiscriminately, with other women, without the smallest scruple or hesitation. This shocking violation of decency was a consequence of their pernicious system. They looked upon decency and modesty as marks of inward corruption, as the characters of a soul that was still under the dominion of the sensual, animal, and lascivious spirit, and that was not, as yet, re-united to the divine nature, its center and source. And they considered, as at a fatal distance from the Deity, all such as either felt the carnal suggestions of nature, or were penetrated with warm emotions at the view or approach of persons of a different sex, or were incapable of vanquishing and suppressing the rising fervour of lust and intemperance.

[\text{\textit{y}}] Certain writers, whose principal zeal is employed in the defence of these heretics, and who have accustomed themselves
There were, moreover, in this fanatical troop, certain enthusiasts, who far surpassed in impiety the two classes we have been now mentioning, who abused the system and doctrines of the sect, so as to draw from them an apology for all kinds of wickedness, and who audaciously maintained, that the divine man, or the believer, who was intimately united to God, could not sin, let his conduct be ever so horrible and atrocious. This execrable doctrine was not, indeed, explained in the same manner by all the Brethren of the free spirit that were so outrageous as to adopt it. Some held, that the motions and actions of the body had no relation at all to the soul, which, by its union with God, was blended with the divine nature: others fell into a notion infinitely injurious to the Supreme Being, and maintained, that the propensities and passions that arose to entertain a high idea of the sanctity of all those who, in the middle age, separated themselves from the communion of the church of Rome, suspect the inquisitors of having attributed falsely these impious doctrines to the Brethren of the free spirit, with a view to blacken these pious men, and to render them odious. But this suspicion is entirely groundless; and the account of this matter, which we have given in the text, is conformable to the strictest truth. The inquisitors have been less fabulous in their accusations of these heretics, than many are apt to imagine. They acknowledge that the Beghards, though delirious of shame, were not chargeable, generally speaking, with a breach of the duties of chastity and abstinence. They were indeed of opinion, that this firmness and insensibility of heart, which rendered them proof against female charms and deaf to the voice of nature, was a privilege granted them by the devil. For they adopted the opinion of honest Nieder, (Fornicar. 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 (faith Nieder, who was both a Dominican and an inquisitor) quosdam ex eis demonis opera affectos suffus, ne moverentur ad naturales actus incontinentiam... Facillimum enim est demonibus infrigidare.
in the soul of the divine man after his union with the Deity, were the propensities and affections of God himself, and were therefore, notwithstanding their apparent deformity and opposition to the law, holy and good, seeing that the Supreme Being is infinitely exalted above all law and all obligation [z]. It is

[z] This account will be confirmed by the following passage faithfully translated from the famous book of the Nine Rocks, written originally in German: Moreover the divine man operates and engenders whatever the Deity operates and engenders. For in God he produced and formed the heavens and the earth. He is also the father of the eternal world. Neither could God produce anything 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 Mystical 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 Laurentius. 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 Alphæn, 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 Religionis cujusdam super revelatione Carthuijanorum cuidam de Ecclesie per gladium reformatione, Leodi, A. 1453; and almost in the beginning of this declaration the following passage relating to the Book of the Nine Rocks: Homo cujusdam devotissimus, licet Laicus, Librum de novem Rupibus conscripsit à Deo compulsus, ubi multa ad præfens pertinentia continentur de Ecclesie renovatione et prævia gravi persequitione. 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.
necessary to observe, before we leave 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 friars. 

Amalric.

XII. The famous Amalric, native of Bene, and professor of logic and theology at Paris, whose bones were dug up and publicly burnt in the year 1209, although he had abjured his errors before his death, and a considerable number of whose disciples and followers were committed to the flames on account of their absurd and pernicious doctrine, was, undoubtedly, of the same way of thinking with the sect

[a] The founder of this famous sect, the place of its origin, and the precise date of its first appearance, are not known with any degree of certainty. I have actually in my possession Eighty-nine Sentences of the Beghards, vulgarly called Schweftrones, but who style themselves Brethren of the sect of the Free Spirit and of voluntary Poverty, with a Refutation of the said Sentences, written at Worms towards the conclusion of this century by some one or other of the inquisitors. The 79th of those 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 Raimier bishop of Cromona (published by Odor. Raynaldus, Annal. tom. xv. A. 1311, n. 66. p. 90.) the zealous pontiff exhorts that prelate to suppress and extirpate, with all his might, the sect of the Brethren of the free spirit, which was settled in several parts of Italy, and particularly in the province of Spoleto and the countries adjacent. Such are the terms of the pontiff's letter; in nonnullis Italiae partibus, tam Spoletana provincie, quam circumiacentium regionum.
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 uni-
verse 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

[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). Dice re quod omnis creatura est Deus,
here fis Alexandri* est, qui dixit, materiam primam et Deum et
Hominem, hoc est mentes, effe in substantia, quod posita quidam
David de Dinanto sequutus est, qui temporibus nostris de hac
here fis de Francia fugatus est, et punitus fuisset, si deprehenfus
fuisset.

[c] The account given by Fleury, in his Ecclesiastical
History, of the opinions of Amalric, is very different from
that which is here given by Dr. Mosheim. The former
observes, that Amalric, or Amauri, taught that every Christian
was obliged to believe himself a member of Jesus Christ, and that
without this belief none could be saved, and he observes also, that
his discipiles introduced errors still more pernicious, such as the
following: "That the power of the Father had continued only
during the Mosaic dispensation, that of the Son 1200 years
after his entrance upon earth, and that, in the thirteenth
century, the age of the Holy Spirit commenced, in which the
sacraments and all external worship were to be abolished; that
there would be no resurrection; that heaven and hell were
mere fictions," and many more sentiments of that nature, which,
as the learned Spanheim † imagines, were falsely
imputed to Amalric, in order to render his memory odious,
because he had opposed the worship of saints and images. See
Fleury, Hist. Eccles. livr. lxxvi. § lix.—Dr. Mosheim looks
upon Amalric to have been a Pantheist, and many men of

* The person here mentioned is Alexander, the Epicurean, of whom
Plutarch speaks in his Symposium.
 CENT. and blasphemous principles he deduced that chimerical system of fanatical devotion, which we have already exposed to the view of the reader, pretended to demonstrate the possibility of incorporating or translating the human nature into the divine, and rejected all kinds of external worship, as insignificant and useless. The disciples of this enthusiast were men of exemplary piety, were distinguished by the gravity and austeritv of their lives and manners, and suffered death in the most dreadful forms with the utmost resolution and constancy. One of the most eminent among these was DAVID of DINANT, a Parisian doctor, who usually expressed the fundamental principle of his master in the following proposition: God is the primary matter or substance of all things. He composed a work entitled Quaternarii, with several other productions, which were chiefly designed to affect and gain the multitude: but, after all, was obliged to save himself by flight [d]. The bishops, assembled in council at Paris in the year 1209, considered the philosophy of ARISTOTLE as the source of all these impious doctrines, and, on that account, prohibited the reading, or explaining, either in public or private, the metaphysical, and other productions of the Grecian sage [e].

XIII. If we may depend upon the accounts given by certain writers, AMALRIC and his followers received with the utmost docility and faith the eminent learning are of this opinion. See among others JOH. GERSON apud JAC. THOMASIVM, and also BRUCKER'S Hist. Philosopb. tom. iii. p. 688. [d] See Martene, Thesaur. Anecdotor. tom iv. p. 163, where there is an account of the heresies, for which several priests were burnt at Paris in the year 1209.—Natal. Alexander, Hist. Eccl. Sec. iii. cap. iii. art. ii. p. 76.—Du Bois, Histvria Eccles. Paris. tom. ii. p. 244.—Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. iii. p. 24. 48. 53.—Jac. Thomasius, De Excussione Mundi Stoica, p. 199. [e] Launoius, De varia Ariflot. fortuna in Acad. Paris. p. 127.
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 a most extraordinary kind, a Bohemian woman named Wilhelmina, who resided in the territory of Milan. This delirious and wrong-headed woman, having studied with attention the predictions concerning the Age of the Holy Ghost, was extravagant enough to persuade herself, and, what is still more amazing, had influence enough to persuade others, that the Holy Ghost was become incarnate in her person, for the salvation of a great part of mankind. According to her doctrine, "None were saved by the blood of Jesus, but true and pious Christians; while the Jews, Saracens, and unworthy Christians, were to obtain salvation through the Holy Spirit which dwelt in her, and that, in consequence thereof, all that had happened to Christ, during his appearance upon earth in the human nature, was to be exactly renewed in her person, or rather in that of the Holy Ghost, which was united to her." This mad woman died at Milan in the year 1281, in the most fragrant odour of sanctity, and her memory was not only held in the highest veneration by her numerous followers and the ignorant multitude, but was also honoured with religious worship both in

Vol. III.
The Internal History of the Church.

XIII.

Part II

The Internal History of the Church.

public and in private. Her feet, 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 consum'd the chief leaders of this wretched faction, among which there were persons of both sexes [f].

XIV. It was upon predictions similar to those mentioned in the preceding section, that the sect of the apostles founded its discipline. The members of this sect made little or no alterations in the doctrinal part of the public religion; what they principally aimed at, was, to introduce among Christians the simplicity of the primitive times, and more especially the manner of life that was observed by the apostles. Gerhard Sagarelli, the founder of this sect, obliged his followers to go from place to place as the apostles did, to wander about cloathed in white, with long beards, dishevelled hair, and bare heads, accompanied with women, whom they called their Sistres. 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

[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. Italica mediæ aevi, 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 Punicelli, composed a history of Wilhelmina, and of her sect.
committed to the flames [g], than he was succeeded cent.
in that character by a bold and enterprising fanatic, named Dulcinus, a native of Novara, who publi-
ished his predictions with more courage, and main-
tained 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 Aragon, and that a new and most holy pontiff was to be raised to the head of the church. These visionary predictions were, no doubt, drawn from the dreams of the abbot Joachim, who is said to have declared, among other things, that an emperor called Frederic III. was to bring to perfection what Frederic II. had left unfinished. Be that as it may, Dulcinus appeared with intrepid assurance at the head of the apostles; and acting not only in the character of a prophet, but also in that of a general, he assembled an army to maintain his cause, and perhaps to accomplish, at least in part, his predictions. He was opposed by Raynerius, bishop of Verceil, 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 Verceil in the most barbarous manner in the year 1307, together with Margaret, whom he had chosen for his Spiritual Sister, according to the custom of his sect. The terrible end of Dulcinus was not immediately followed by the downfall of his sect, which still subsisted in France, Germany, and in other countries, and stood firm against the most

[g] This unhappy man was burnt alive at Parma, in the year 1300.
The Internal History of the Church.

CENT.vehement efforts of its enemies until the beginning of the xvth century, when, under the pontificate of
XIII. Boniface IX. it was totally extirpated [b].

PART II.

A true account of the heresy that was imputed to Joachim.

XV. This famous Joachim, abbot of Flora, whose fanatical predictions turned the heads of so many well-meaning people, and excited them to attempt reforming the church by the sword, and to declare open war against the Roman pontiffs, did not fall under the suspicion of heresy on account of these predictions, but in consequence of a new explication he had given of the doctrine of a Trinity of Persons in the Godhead. He had in an elaborate work attacked very warmly Peter Lombard, the master of the sentences, on account of the distinction this latter writer had made between the Divine Essence, and the three Persons in the Godhead; for Joachim looked upon this doctrine as introducing a fourth object, even an essence, into the Trinity. But the good man was too little versed in metaphysical matters, to carry on a controversy of such a subtle nature, and he was betrayed by his ignorance so far as to advance inconsiderately the most rash and exceptionable tenets. For he denied that there was anything, or any essence, that belonged in common to the three Persons in the Trinity, or was jointly

[b] I composed in the German language an accurate history, in three books, of this famous sect, which is very little known in our times, and I have in my hands materials, that will furnish an interesting addition to that history. That this sect subsisted in Germany, and in some other countries, until the pontificate of Boniface IX. is evident from the Chronicle of Herman Cornersus, published by Jo. George Echard, in his Corpus Historiicum mediæ ævi, tom. ii. p. 906. and may be sufficiently demonstrated by other authentic testimonies. In the year 1402, a certain member of this apostolical sect, whose name was William, or Wilhelmus, was burnt alive at Lubeck. See Cornersus, loc. cit. p. 1185. The Germans, who were accustomed to distinguish by the name of Beghards all those who pretended to extraordinary piety, and fought, by poverty and begging, an eminent reputation for sanctity and virtue, gave this title also to the sect of the Apostles.
possessed by them; by which doctrine the substantial cent. 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 damna-
tory sentence against the doctrine of Joachim, which sentence, however, did not extend to the person or name of the abbot himself. And, indeed, notwithstanding this papal sentence, Joachim has at this day a considerable number of adherents and defenders, more especially among those of the Franciscans, who are called Observants. Some of these maintain that the book of this abbot was corrupted and interpolated by his enemies, while the rest are of opinion that his doctrine was not thoroughly understood by those that opposed it.

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 unemployed, that could have the least tendency to engage the kings of England and France in an expedition to the Holy Land. But their success was not answerable to their zeal; and notwithstanding the powerful influence of their exhortations and remonstrances, something still happened to prevent their producing the desired effect. Clement V. urged the renewal of this holy war with the greatest ardour in the years 1307, 1308, and set apart an immense sum of money for carrying it on
The External History of the Church.

cent. with alacrity and vigour [a]. John XXII. ordered XIV. 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 enterprise. These indulgences he offered to such as contributed generously to the carrying on the war, and appointed legates to administer them in all the countries in Europe that were subject to his ghostly jurisdiction. But, under this fair shew of piety and zeal, John is supposed to have covered the most selfish and groveling views; and we find Lewis of Bavaria, who was at that time emperor, and several other princes, complaining loudly that this pontiff made use of the holy war as a pretext to disguise his avarice and ambition [c]; and indeed the character of this pope was proper to give credit to such complaints. Under the pontificate of Benedict XII. a formidable army was raised in the year 1330, by Philip de Valois king of France, with a view, as was said, to attempt the deliverance of the Christians in Palestine [d]; but when he was just ready to embark his troops, the apprehension of an invasion from England, obliged him to lay aside this weighty enterprise. In the year 1345, Clement V. at the request of the Venetians, engaged, by the persuasive power of indulgences, a prodigious number of adventurers to embark for Smyrna, where they composed a numerous army under the command of Guido or Guy, dauphin of Vienne; but the want

[c] Baluzius, loc. cit. tom. i. p. 175. 786.—Matthaei Analela vet. avi, tom. ii. p. 595. 598.
of provisions obliged this army to return with their cent.
general into Europe in a short time after their depart-
ture [e]. This disappointment did not, however, damp the spirits of the restless pontiffs; for another
formidable army was assembled in the year 1363, in
consequence of the zealous exhortations of Urban
V. and was to be employed in a new expedition against the infidels, with John, king of France, at its head; but the unexpected death of that prince blasted the hopes that many had entertained from this grand project, and occasioned the dispersion of that numerous body which had repaired to his
standards [f].

II. The missionaries that had been sent by the Roman pontiffs into China, Tartary, and the adja-
cent countries, in the preceding century, found their labours crowned with the desired success, and established a great number of Christian churches in these unenlightened nations. In the year 1307, Clement V. erected Cambalu (which at this time was the celebrated metropolis of Cathay, and is, undoubtedly, the same with Peking, the capital city at present of the Chinese empire) into an archbishopric, which he conferred upon John de Monte Corvino, an Italian friar, who had been employed in propagating the gospel in that country for many years. The same pontiff sent soon after to assist this prelate in his pious labours seven other bishops of the Franciscan order [g]. John XXII. exerted in this good cause the same zeal which had distinguished the

medii evi, tom. iii. p. 368.
371. 401.
[g] Waddingus, Annal. Ordin. Minor. tom. vi. ad A. 1305,
p. 537. — Ada Sanctor. tom. i. Januarii, p. 984. — Moshemis
Historia Ecclesi. Tartar.
Vol. III. P p
The External History of the Church.

Cent. 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 [b] 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.

III. There remained in this century scarcely any European prince, unconverted to Christianity, if we except Jagello, duke of Lithuania, who continued in the darkness of paganism, and worshipped the gods of his idolatrous ancestors, until the year 1386, when he embraced the Christian faith, received in baptism the name of Vladislaus, and persuaded his subjects to open their eyes upon the divine light of the gospel. We shall not pretend to justify the purity of the motives that first engaged this prince to renounce the religion of his fathers, as they were accompanied, at least, with views of policy, interest, and ambition. Upon the death of Lewis, king of Poland, which happened in the year 1382, Jagello was named among the competitors who aspired after the vacant throne; and as he was a rich and powerful prince, the Poles beheld his pretensions and efforts with a favourable eye. His religion was the only obstacle that lay in his way to the accomplishment of his views. Hedwige, the youngest daughter

of the deceased monarch, who, by a decree of the cent.
enate, was declared heirs 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 everywhere the resent-
ment of the magistrates and the fury of the people,
and brought the most terrible sufferings, that unre-
lething vengeance could invent, upon that wretched
and devoted nation.

IV. The Saracens maintained, as yet, a con-
siderable 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 par-
particularly the emperors of Morocco, became their

—Wadding! Annal Minor. tom. ix. p. 71.—Solignac, Hif-
toire de Pologne, tom. iii. p. 241.
The External History of the Church.

cent. 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 allurement that religion, superstition, or avarice could render powerful, were made use of in order to the execution of this arduous project. The Christians accordingly, united their counsels and efforts for this end; and though for some time the difficulty of the enterprize rendered their progress but inconsiderable, yet even in this century their affairs carried a promising aspect, and gave them reason to hope that they should one day triumph over their enemies, and become sole possessors of the Spanish dominions.

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

[k] See Jo. de Ferreras, Histoire de l'Espagne, tom. iv. v. vii.—Fragmenta Histor. Romana, in Muratorii Antiq. Ital. mediæ aevi, tom. iii. p. 319. in which, however, there is a considerable mixture of truth and falsehood.—Baluzii Miscellae, tom. ii. p. 267.
cities where it flourished, and substituted the impofsible 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 recounced every other religious doctrine, except that of the Alcoran. Timur Beg, commonly called Tamerlane, their mighty emperor, embraced himself the doctrine of Mahomet, though under a form different from that which was adopted by the Tartars in general [l]. This formidable warrior, after having subdued the greatest part of Asia, having triumphed over Bajazet the emperor of the Turks, and even filled Europe with terror at the approach of his victorious arms, made use of his authority to force multitudes of Christians to apostatize from their holy faith. To the dictates of authority he added the compellive 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 magnumions constancy of those that persevered in their attachment to the Christian religion, of whom some suffered death in the most

[l] This great Tamerlane, whose name seemed to strike terror even when he was no more, adhered to the sect of the Soumites, and professed the greatest enmity against their adversaries the Schiites. See Petit Croix, Histoire de Timur-Beg, tom. ii. p. 151. tom. iii. p. 228. It is, however, extremely doubtful, what was, in reality, the religion of Tamerlane, though he professed the Mahometan faith. See Mosheim, Hist. Eccles. Tartar. p. 124.

barbarous forms, while others were condemned to perpetual slavery [n].

II. In those parts of Asia, that are inhabited by the Chinese, Tartars, Moguls, and other nations as yet less known, the Christian religion not only lost ground, but seemed to be totally extirpated. It is, at least, certain, that we have no account of any members of the Latin church residing in those countries, later than the year 1370, nor could we ever learn the fate of the Franciscan missionaries that had been sent thither from Rome. We have, indeed, some records, from which it would appear that there were Nestorians residing in China so far down as the sixteenth century [o]; but these records are not so clear in relation to this matter, as to remove all uncertainty and doubting. However that may be, it is evident beyond all contradiction, that the abolition of Christianity, in those remote parts of the world, was owing to the wars that were carried on by the Tartars against the Chinese and other Asiatic nations; for in the year 1369, the last emperor of the race of Gengis Kan was driven out of China, and his throne filled by the Min family, who, by a solemn law, refuted to all foreigners the privilege of entering into China.

[n] Many instances of this we find in a History of Timur-Bec, wrote by a Persian, who was named Scherfedinus, tom. ii. p. 376. 384. 386. tom. iii. p. 243. tom. iv. p. 111. 115. 117. and published at Delft, in four volumes, 8vo, in the year 1723. —See also Herbelot, Biblioth. Oriental. at the article Timur, p. 877.

PART II.

The Internal History of the Church.

CHAPTER I.

Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during this century.

I. The Greeks, though dejected by the cent. foreign and intempine 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 was Nicephorus Gregoras, Manuel Chrysoloras, Maximus Planudes, and many others, who, by their indefatigable application to the study of humanity and antiquities, criticism and grammar, acquired considerable reputation. To omit writers of inferior note, Theodorus Metochila, John Cantacuzenus, and Nicephorus Gregoras, applied themselves to the composition of history, though with different success. Nor ought we to pass over in silence Nicephorus Callistus, who compiled an Ecclesiastical History, which, notwithstanding its being debased with idle stories and evident marks of superstition, is highly useful on account of the light it casts on many important facts.

II. As none of the sages of this century was 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].

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 Cologn, Orleans, Cabors, Perusia, Florence, and Pisa, in which all the liberal arts and sciences, distributed into the same classes that still subsist in those places, were taught with assiduity and zeal. Opulent persons founded and amply endowed particular colleges in the public universities, in which, besides the monks, young men of narrow circumstances were educated in all the branches of literature. Libraries were also collected, and men of learning animated to aspire to fame and glory, by the prospect of honourable rewards. It must be confessed indeed, that the advantages arising to the church and state, from so many professors and learned men, did not wholly answer the expence and care bestowed on this undertaking, by men of rank and fortune: yet we are by no means to conclude, as many have rashly done, that all the doctors of this age, who rose gradually from the lower to the higher

Chap. I. Learning and Philosophy.

and more honourable stations, were only distin-
cent,
guish'd by their stupidity and ignorance.

IV. Clement V. who was now raised to the
pontificate, ordered the Hebrew, and other Ori-
ental languages, to be taught in the public schools,
that the church might never want a sufficient number
of missionaries properly qualified to dispute with the
Jews and Mahometans, and to diffuse the divine
light of the gospel throughout the east [r]: in
consequence of which appointment, some eminent
proficients in these tongues, and especially in the
Hebrew, flourished during this age. The Greek
language, which hitherto had been much neglected,
was now revived, and taught with general applause,
first of all by Leontius Pilatus, a Calabrian, who
wrote a commentary upon Homer, and a few
others [s], but afterwards, with far greater success
and reputation, by Manuel Chrysoloras [t], a
native of Constantinople. Nor were there wanting
some extraordinary geniuses, who, by their zeal and
application, contributed to the restoration of the
ancient and genuine eloquence of the Latins, among
whom the excellent and justly-renowned Petrarch
held the first place [u], and Dante Alighieri
the second. Full of this worthy design, they both

s See Humph. Hody, De Græcis illuſtribus, Lingua Græce
Literarumque humaniorum infauratibus, lib. i. p. 5. Londini,
1742, in 8vo.—Calogera, Opusculi Scientifici, tom. xxv.
p. 258.
[t] Hody, loc. cit. lib. i. p. 10.—Angeili Calogeræ loc.
cit. p. 248.—And more especially Christ. Frid. Borneri
Lib. de Græcis Literarum Græcarum in Italia infauratoribus.
Meuschen Vite claror. viror. tom. iv. who in his Preface
enumerates all the other writers of his life. Of the celebrated
poet Dante, several have treated, particularly his translator
Benevenutus of Imola, from whence Muratorius has
borrowed large extracts in his Antiquit. Ital. mediæ evi, tom. i.
p. 1036.ʃ.

Vol. III.

Q q
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 entire strangers to the fame of Bartolus, Baldus, Andreas, and other doctors of laws in this century, who reflected honour on the universities of Italy. But, after all, it is certain that the jurisprudence of this age was a most intricate disagreeable study, unenlivened either by history or language, and destitute of every allurement that could recommend it to a man of genius. As for the mathematics, they were cultivated by many; yet, if we except Dr. Thomas Bradwardine, the acute and learned archbishop of Canterbury, there were but few who acquired any reputation worth mentioning by this kind of study.

VI. The vast number of philosophers, who rather disgraced than adorned this century, looked upon Aristotle as their infallible oracle and guide; though they stripped him of all those excellencies that really belonged to him, and were incapable of entering into the true spirit of his writings. So great was the authority of the peripatetic philosophy, that, in order to diffuse the knowledge of it as
widely as possible, even kings and emperors ordered the works of Aristotle to be translated into the native language of their respective dominions. Among the most eminent of this class was Charles V. king of France, who ordered all the writings of the ancients, and especially those of Aristotle, to be translated into French by Nicholas Oresme. Thoese, 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. Thoese who have a mind to be acquainted with their methods of argumentation, and whatever else relates to this wrangling tribe, need only consult John Scotus, or Walter Bulæus. But though they all followed one common track, there were several points on which they differed among themselves.

VII. The old disputes between the Realists and Nominalists, which had lain dormant a long time, were now revived with unextinguishable ardour, by an English Franciscan friar of the severer order, named William Occam, who was a follower of the great Scotus, and a doctor of divinity at Paris. The Greeks and Persians never fought against each other with more hatred and fury, than these two discordant sects, whose angry disputations subsisted without any abatement, till the appearance of Luther, who soon obliged the scholastic divines to

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 doating visionary, who, despising substantial matters, were pursuing mere shadows. The Nominalists had the most eloquent, acute, and subtle doctors of Paris for their leaders, among whom, besides Occam, the famous John Buridan [x] was very eminent: nevertheless, through the countenance given them by successive popes, the Realists prevailed. For when Occam joined the party of the Franciscan monks, who strenuously opposed John XXII. that pope himself, and his successors after him, left no means untried to extirpate the philosophy of the Nominalists, which was deemed highly prejudicial to the interests of the church [y]: and hence it was, that, in the year 1339, the University of Paris, by a public edict, solemnly condemned and prohibited the philosophy of Occam, which was that of the Nominalists [z]. But, as it is natural for men to love and pursue what is forbidden, the consequence was, that the party of the Nominalists flourished more than ever.

VIII. Among the philosophers of these times, there were many who mingled astrology with their philosophy, i.e. the art of telling fortunes, by the aspect of the heavens, and the influence of the stars;


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 diftraction. 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. There is yet extant a commentary of his upon the Sphere of John de Sacroboso, otherwise named Hollywood, which shews its author to have been deeply tainted with superstition.

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 chymist, a hot-headed fanatic, a heretic, a magician, and a mere compiler of the works of the more learned Mahometans. The popes entertained different opinions of him; some esteeming him a harmless pious man, while others pronounced him a vile heretic. But whoever peruses the writings of Lully without prejudice, will not be biased 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].

CHAPTER II.

Concerning the doctors and government of the church during this century.

I. THE governors of the church in this century, 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 immovable, the excessive superstition that enslaved the minds of the generality, together with the wretched ignorance and barbarity of the age, by which every spark of truth was stifled, as it were, in its very birth. Yet, firm and lasting as the dominion of the Roman pontiffs seemed to be, it was gradually undermined and weakened, partly by

the pride and rashness of the popes themselves, and partly by several unexpected events.

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 sanétam, 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 power; 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],


[f] Of this celebrated lawyer, who was the most intrepid and inveterate enemy the popes ever had before Luther, none have given us a fuller account than the Benedictine monks, Hist. Generale de Langueoc, tom. iii. p. 114. 117. f. Philip made him chancellor of France for his resolute opposition against the pope.
to draw up an accusation against the pope, in which he publicly charged him with heresies, simony, and many other vices, demanding, at the same time, an oecumenical council to depose such an execrable pontiff. The pope, in his turn, passed a sentence of excommunication, that very year, against the king and all his adherents.

III. Philip, shortly after he received his sentence, held an assembly of the states of the kingdom, where he again employed some persons of the highest rank and reputation to sit in judgment upon the pope, and appealed to a general council. After this he sent William de Nogaret, with some others, into Italy, to excite a sedition, to seize the pope's person, and then to convey him to Lyons, where the king was determined to hold the above-mentioned council. Nogaret, being a resolute active man, soon drew over to his assistance the powerful family of the Colonnas, then at variance with the pope, levied a small army, seized Boniface, who lived in perfect security at Anagni, and as soon as he had got him into his power, treated him in the most shocking manner, carried his resentment so far as to wound him on the head by a blow with his iron gauntlet. The inhabitants of Anagni rescued him out of the hands of this fierce and inveterate enemy, and conducted him to Rome, where he died soon after of an illness occasioned by the rage and anguish into which these insults had thrown him.

[g] See the Acta inter Bonifacium VIII. Bened. XI. Clement V. et Philippum Pulchrum, published, A. D. 1614, by Peter Puteanus.—A. BR. BAILLET, Hist. de Demeler du Boniface VIII. avec Philippe de Bel, printed at Paris, in 4to, in 1718.—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.
The Internal History of the Church.

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 ghastly majesty of the pontificate. Nogaret, on the other hand, set a small value upon the papal absolution, and prosecuted, with his usual vigour and intrepidity, in the Roman court, the accusation that he had formerly brought against Boniface; and, in the name of his royal master, insisted, that the memory of that pontiff should be branded with a notorious mark of infamy. While this was transacting, Benedict died, A. D. 1304; upon which Philip, by his artful intrigues in the conclave, obtained the see of Rome for a French prelate Bertrand de Got, archbishop of Bourdeaux, who was accordingly elected to that high dignity, on the 5th of June 1305. This step was so much the more necessary, in that the breach between the king and the court of Rome was not yet entirely healed, and, as Nogaret was not as yet absolved, might easily be renewed. Besides, the French monarch, inflamed with the desire of revenge, insisted upon the formal condemnation of Boniface by the court of Rome, the abolition of the order of Templars, and other concessions of great importance, which he could not reasonably expect from an Italian pope. Hence he looked upon a French pontiff, in whose zeal and compliance he could confide, as necessary to the execution of his designs. Bertrand assumed the name of Clement V. and, at the king's request, remained in France, and removed the papal residence to Avignon, where it continued during the space of seventy years. This period the
Italians call, by way of derision, the Babylonish captivity. [b]

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 fomenter of cabals, tumults, and civil wars; insomuch that laws and decrees sent thither from France were publicly treated with contempt by the common people, as well as by the nobles [i]. The influence of this example was propagated from Italy through most parts of Europe; it being evident, from a vast number of instances, that the Europeans in general did not pay near so much regard to the decrees and thunders of the Gallic popes, as they did to those of Rome. This gave rise to various seditions against the pontiffs, which they could not entirely crush, even with the aid of the inquisitors, who exerted themselves with the most barbarous fury.

VI. The French pontiffs, finding they could draw but small revenues from their Italian dominions, which

[b] For an account of the French popes, consult chiefly St Eph. Baluzii Vite Pontif. Avenionensis, 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.

The Internal History of the Church.

XIV. Part II.

The Internal History of the Church.

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 that *reserves, provisions, exactatives*, and other impositions of the like odious nature, that had seldom or never been heard of before, became familiar to the public ear, and filled all Europe with bitter complaints \([m]\). These complaints

\([k]\) Jo. Ciampinti, *De vicecancellario ecclesiae Rom.* p. 39.


exceeded all bounds, when some of these pontiffs, particularly John XXII. Clement VI. and XIII. Gregory X. openly declared that they had referred to themselves all churches and parishes within their jurisdiction, and were determined, in consequence of that sovereign authority and plenitude of power which Christ had conferred upon them, his vicars, to provide for them, and dispose of them without exception [n]. It was by these and other such mean and selfish contrivances, which had no other end than the acquisition of riches, that these inconsiderate pontiffs excited a general hatred against the Roman see, and thereby greatly weakened the papal empire, which had been visibly upon the decline from the time of Boniface.

VII. Clement V. was a mere creature of Philip the Fair, and was absolutely directed and governed by that prince as long as he lived. William de Nogaret, the implacable enemy of Boniface VIII. notwithstanding he was under a sentence of excommunication, had the boldness to prosecute his master's cause, and his own, against Boniface, even in the pope's court; an instance of assurance this, not easy to be paralleled. Philip insisted, that the dead body of Boniface should be dug up, and publicly burnt; but Clement averted this infamy by his advice and intreaties, promising implicit obedience to the king in every thing else. In order therefore to keep his word, he was obliged to abrogate the laws enacted by Boniface, to grant the king a bounty of five years' tithes, fully to absolve Nogaret of all his crimes, on condition of his submitting to a light penance (which, however, he never performed), to restore the citizens of Anagni to their reputation and honour, and to call a general

The Internal History of the Church.

CENT. council at Vienna in the year 1311, in order to condemn the Templars, on whose destruction Philip was most ardently bent. In this council everything 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 [9].

John XXII. 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 many of his enterprises; but he is more especially blamed for that calamitous and unhappy war into which he entered against Lewis of Bavaria. This powerful prince disputed the imperial throne of Germany with Frederic, duke of Austria; and they had been both chosen to that high dignity, in the year 1314, by their respective partisans among the electors and princes of the empire. John took it for granted, that the decision of this contest came under his ghostly jurisdiction. But, in the year 1322, the duke of Bavaria having vanquished his competitor by force of arms, took upon him the

administration of the empire without asking the cent. 
pope’s approbation, and would by no means allow, xiv. 
that their dispute, already determined by the sword, should be again decided by the judgment of the pope. John interpreted this refusal as a heinous 
insult upon his authority, and, by an edict issued out in the year 1324, pretended to deprive 
the emperor of his crown. But this impotent refent-
ment was very little regarded; nay, he was even 
accused of herefy by the emperor, who, at the same time, appealed to a general council. Highly 
exasperated by these and other deserved affronts, the pontiff 
prefumes, 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 arro-
gance 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 reft of his days. Thus ended the contesf between 
the duke of Bavaria and John XXII. who, not-
withstanding their mutual efforts to dethrone each other, continued both in the possession of their respecive dignities [p].

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 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 of Paris, in the year 1333. This favourite tenet of the pope was thus severely treated, because it seemed highly prejudicial to the felicity of happy spirits in their unembodied state; otherwise the point might have

he had published, basely aspersed the memory of the emperor. See also Luc. Waddingus in Annalib. Minor. tom. vii. p. 77. 106. f. &c. Whoever attentively peruses the history of this war, will perceive that Lewis of Bavaria followed the example of Philip the Fair, king of France. As Philip brought an accusation of 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.
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. This declaration did not satisfy his adversaries; hence his successor, Benedict XII. after many disputes had been held about it, put an end to this controversy by an unanimous resolution of the Parisian doctors, ordering it to be received as an article of faith, that the souls of the blessed, during their intermediate state, did fully and perfectly contemplate the divine nature. 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.


[c] [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. Ecclef. livr. xciv. § xxxix.

Ss
The Internal History of the Church.

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. 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 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.

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 unexceptionable parts of this pontiff's conduct, we shall only obverse that he trod faithfully in the steps of John XXII, in providing for vacant churches and bishoprics, by referring to himself the disposal of them, which shewed his fordid and infatiable avarice; that he conferred ecclesiastical dignities

and benefices of the highest consequence upon English strangers and Italians, which drew upon him the warm displeasure of the kings of England and France; and lastly, that by renewing the differences 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 Innocent 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
The Internal History of the Church.

from all the groffer vices, if we except thosé which cannot easily be separated from the papal dignity.

This pope, being prevailed on by the entreaties of the Romans, returned to Rome in the year 1367, but, in 1370, he came back to Avignon, to reconcile the differences that had arisen between the kings of England and France, and died there the same year.

Gregory 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. Upon which Gregory, in hopes of quieting the disorders of Italy, and also of recovering the cities and territories which had been taken from St. Peter's patrimony, transferred the papal seat from Avignon to Rome, in the year 1376. To this he was in a great measure determined by the advice of one Catharine, a virgin of Sens, who, in this 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. 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 deter-
mined intention he was taken off by death, in the year XIV.

XIV. After the death of Gregory XI. the cardinals assembled to consult about choosing a successor, when the people of Rome, fearing lest the vacant dignity should be conferred on a Frenchman, came in a tumultuous manner to the conclave, and with great clamours, accompanied with many outrageous threatenings, insisted that an Italian should be advanced to the popedom. The cardinals, terrified by this uproar, immediately proclaimed Bartholomew de Pregnano, who was a Neapolitan, and archbishop of Bari, and assumed the name of Urban VI. This new pontiff, by his unpolite behaviour, injudicious severity, and intolerable arrogance, had made himself many enemies among people of all ranks, and especially among the leading cardinals. These latter therefore, tired of his insolence, withdrew from Rome to Anagni, and from thence to Fondi, a city in the kingdom of Naples, where they elected to the pontificate Robert count of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII. and declared at the same time, that the election of Urban was nothing more than a mere ceremony, which they had found themselves obliged to perform, in order to calm the turbulent rage of the populace. Which of these two is to be considered as the true and lawful pope, is, to this day, matter of doubt; nor will the records and writings alleged by the contending parties, enable us to adjust that point with any certainty. \[x\], Urban remained at Rome: Clement

The Internal History of the Church.

The Internal History of the Church.

XIV. 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.

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 division, commonly known by the name of the great western schism [y]. This division was fomented with such dreadful success, and arose to such a shameful height, that, for the space of fifty years, the church had two or three different heads at the same time; each of the contending popes forming plots, and thundering out anathemas against their competitors. The distress and calamity of these times is beyond all power of description; for, not to insinuate upon the perpetual contentions and wars between the factions of the several popes, by which multitudes lost their fortunes and lives, all sense of religion was extinguished in most places, and profligacy rose to a most scandalous excess. The clergy, while they vehemently contended which of the reigning popes was the true successor of Christ, were so excessively corrupt, as to be no longer studious to keep up even an appearance of religion or decency: and in consequence of all this, many plain well-meaning people, who concluded that no one could possibly partake of eternal life, unless united with the vicar of Christ,

[y] An account of this division may be seen in Pierre du Puy, Histoire Generale du Schisme qui a été en l'Eglise depuis l'An. 1378. jusqu'en l'An. 1428, which, as we are informed in the Preface, was compiled from the Royal Records of France, and is entirely worthy of credit. Nor should we wholly reject Lewis Maimbourg's Histoire du grand Schisme d'Occident, though in general it be deeply tainted with the leaven of party spirit. A great many documents are to be met with in Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. iv. and v. and also in Edm. Martene, Theat. Ord. Anecdotus. tom. ii. p. 1074. I always pass over the common writers upon this subject, such as Alexander, Raynald, Bzovius, Spondanus, and Du Pin.
were overwhelmed with doubt, and plunged into the cent.
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 diffensions the papal power received 
an incurable wound; and kings and princes, 
who had formerly been the slaves of the lordly 
pontiffs, now became their judges and masters. 
And many of the least stupid among the people had 
the courage to disregard and despise the popes on 
account of their odious disputes about dominion, to 
commit their salvation to God alone, and to admit 
it as a maxim, that the prosperity of the church 
might be maintained and the interests of religion 
secured and promoted without a visible head, 
crowned with a spiritual supremacy.

XVI. The Italian cardinals attached to the interests of Urban VI. upon the death of that pope in 
the year 1389, set up for his successor, at Rome, 
PETER THOMACELLI, a Neapolitan, who took the 
name of Boniface IX. and Clement VII. dying 
in the year 1394, the French cardinals raised to the 
pontificate Peter de Luna, a Spaniard, who 
assumed the name of Benedict XIII. During 
these transactions various methods were proposed 
and attempted for healing this melancholy breach 
in the church. Kings and princes, bishops and 
divines, appeared with zeal in this salutary project. 
It was generally thought that the best course to be 
taken in this matter was, what they then styled, 
the Method of cession: but neither of the popes 
could be prevailed on, either by entreaties or threat- 
enings, to give up the pontificate. The Gallican 
church, highly incensed at this obstinacy, renounced 
solemnly, in a council held at Paris in the year

[z] Concerning the mischievous consequences of this schism, 
we have a large account in the Histoire du droit public Ecclesi.
The Internal History of the Church.

XIV. 

The enormities of the monks especially of the Mendicants.

CENT. 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 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 carcases, after death, should be wrapped in old, ragged Dominican or Franciscan habits, and interred among the Mendicants. For such was the barbarous superflition 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.

XVIII. The high esteem in which the Mendicant orders were held, and the excessive degree of authority they had acquired, only served to render them still more odious to such as had hitherto been their enemies, and to draw upon them new marks of jealousy and hatred from the higher and lower clergy, the monastic societies, and the public universities. So universal was this odium, that there was scarcely a province or university in Europe in which bishops, clergy, and doctors were not warmly engaged in opposition to the Dominicans and Franciscans, who employed the power and authority they had received from the popes, in undermining the ancient discipline of the church, and assuming to themselves a certain superintendence in religious matters. In England, the university of Oxford made a resolute stand against the encroachments of the Dominicans [b], while Richard, archbishop of Armagh, Henry Crump, Noris, and others, attacked all the Mendicant orders with great vehemence and severity [c]. But Richard, whose animosity against them was much keener than that of their other antagonists, went to the court of Innocent VI. in the year 1356, and there vindicated the cause of the church against them with the greatest fervour, both in his writings and discourse, until the year 1360, in which he died [d]. They had also many opponents in France, who, together with the university of Paris, were secretly engaged in contriving means to overturn


[d] See Simon, Lettres Choisies, tom. i. p. 164.—I have in my possession a manuscript treatise of Bartholomew de Brisac, entitled, Solutiones opposita Ricardi, Armachani episcopi, propositionibus contra Mendicantes in curia Romana coram Pontifice et cardinalibus fuis, Anno 1360.
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 utrinque 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 friends, and most effectual supports. Accordingly, John XXII. by an extraordinary decree, condemned the opinions of John de Polliac, in the year 1321 [e].

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, 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.

XX. The monks, whom Wickliff had principally exasperated, commenced a violent prosecution against him at the court of Gregory XI. who, in the year 1377, ordered Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, to take cognizance of the affair in the council held at London. Imminent as this danger evidently was, Wickliff escaped it by

[f] A work of his was published at Leipsic and Frankfort, in 4to, in the year 1753, entitled Dialogorum Libri quatuor, which, though it does not contain all the branches of his doctrines, yet shews sufficiently the spirit of the man, and his way of thinking in general.
the interest of the duke of Lancaster, and some other peers, who had an high regard for him. And soon after the death of Gregory XI. the fatal schism of the Romish church commenced, during which there was one pope at Rome, and another at Avignon; so that of course this controversy lay dormant a long time. But no sooner was this embroiled state of affairs tolerably settled, than the process against him was revived by William de Courteney, archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1385, and was carried on with great vehemence in two councils held at London and Oxford. The event was, that of the twenty-three opinions, for which Wickliff had been prosecuted by the monks, ten were condemned as heresies, and thirteen as errors [g]. He himself, however, returned in safety to Lutterworth, where he died peaceably in the year 1387. This latter attack was much more dangerous than the former; but by what means he got safely through it, whether by the interest of the court, or by denying or abjuring his opinions, is to this day a secret [h]. He left many followers in England,

[g] In the original Dr. Mosheim says, that, of eighteen articles imputed to Wickliff, nine were condemned as heresies, and fifteen as errors. This contradiction, which we have taken the liberty to correct in the text, is perhaps an oversight of the learned author, who may have confounded the eighteen heresies and errors that were enumerated and refuted by William Wodford, in a letter to Arundel archbishop of Canterbury, with the twenty-three propositions that had been condemned by his predecessor Courtay at London, of which ten were pronounced heretical, and thirteen erroneous. See the very curious collection of pieces, entitled Fasciculus rerum exspectandarum et fugiendarum Orthuini Gratii, published first at Cologne, by the compiler in the year 1535, and afterwards at London in 1690, with an additional volume of ancient pieces and fragments by the learned Mr. Edward Brown. The letter of Wodford is at full length in the first volume of this collection, p. 191.

[h] We have a full and complete History of the Life and Sufferings of John Wickliff, published in 8vo at London in the year 1720, by Mr. John Lewes, who also published, in the
and other countries, who were styled *Wickliffites* and *Lollards*, which last was a term of popular reproach *translated from the Flemish tongue into English*. Wherever they could be found, they were terribly persecuted by the *inquisitors*, and other instruments of papal vengeance, and, in the council of *Constance*, in the year 1415, the memory and opinions of *Wickliff* were condemned by a *solemn decree*: and about thirteen years after, his bones were dug up, and publicly burnt.

XXI. Notwithstanding the Mendicants were thus vigorously attacked on all sides, by such a considerable number of ingenious and learned adveraries, they could not be persuaded to abate any thing of their excessive pride, to set bounds to their superstition, or to desist from imposing upon the multitude, but were as diligent as ever in propagating opinions highly detrimental to religion in general, and particularly injurious to the majesty of the Supreme Being. The Franciscans, forgetting, in their enthusiastic frenzy, the veneration they owed to the Son of God, and animated with a mad zeal for advancing the glory of their order and its founder, impiously maintained, that the latter was a *second Christ*, in all respects similar to the *first*; and that their institution and discipline was the true gospel of *Jesus*. Yet, shocking as these foolish and impious pretensions were, the popes were not ashamed to patronize and encourage them by their letters and mandates, in which they made no scruple to assert.
The absurd fable of the sigmas, or five wounds impressed upon Francis by Christ himself, on mount Alvernum, was worthy of credit, because matter of undoubted fact [i]. Nor was this all; for they not only permitted to be published without any mark of their disapprobation, but approved, and even recommended, an impious piece, stuffed with tales yet more improbable and ridiculous than either of the above-mentioned fictions, and entitled, 

The book of the conformities of St. Francis with Jesus Christ, which was composed in the year 1383, by Bartholomew Albizi, a Franciscan of Pifsu,

[i] The story of the marks, or sigmas, impressed on Francis, is well known, as are also the letters of the Roman pontiffs, which enjoin the belief of it, and which Wadding has collected with great care, and published in his Annales Minorum, tom. viii. & ix. The Dominicans formerly made a public jest of this ridiculous fable, but, being awed into silence by the papal bulls, they are now obliged to deride it in secret, while the Franciscans, on the other hand, continue to propagate it with the most fervent zeal. That St. Francis had upon his body the marks or impressions of the five great wounds of Christ, is not to be doubted, since this is a fact proved by a great number of unexceptionable witnesses. But, as he was a most superstitious and fanatical mortal, it is undoubtedly evident, that he imprinted on himself these holy wounds, that he might resemble Christ, and bear about in his body a perpetual memorial of the Redeemer's sufferings. It was customary in these times, for such as were willing to be thought more pious than others, to imprint upon their bodies marks of this kind, that, having thus continually before them a lively representation of the death of Christ, they might preserve a becoming sense of it on their minds. The words of St. Paul, Galat. vi. 17. were sufficient to confirm in this wretched delusion, an ignorant and superstitious age, in which the scriptures were neither studied nor understood. A long list of these sigmatized fanatics might be extracted from the Alfa Sanctorum, and other records of this and the following century; nor is this ancient piece of superstition entirely abolished, even in our times. Be that as it may, the Franciscan monks, having found these marks upon the dead body of their founder, took this occasion of making him appear to the world as honoured by heaven above the rest of mortals, and invented, for this purpose, the story of Christ's having miraculously transferred his wounds to him.
with the applause of his order. This infamous contract, 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 excessive impiety 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 de Olive. These monastic factions were turbulent and seditious beyond expression; they gave incredible vexation to the popes, and for a long time disturbed, wherever they went, the tranquillity both of church and state. About the beginning of this century [l], the less austere

[k] Concerning Albizi in his book, see Wadding. Anna. Minor, tom. ix. p. 158.—J. A. Fabrici Biblioth. Lat. medii evi, tom. i. p. 131.—Schelhornii Aman. Litter. tom. iii. p. 160.—Bayle's Dictionarv, at the article Francis, and the Nouveau Dictionnaire Htfl. 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.

[l] 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, Prodigisum Natura et Gratia Portentum. The Conformities mentioned by Pedro de Alva Astorga, the authent author of this most ridiculous book, are whimsical beyond expression. See the Bibliotheca des Sciences et des Beaux Arts, tom. iv. p. 318.
Franciscans were outrageous in their resentment against the Fratricelli, who had deserted their communion [m]; upon which, such of the latter, as had the good fortune to escape the fury of their persecutors, retired into France in the year 1307, and associated themselves with the Spirituals or followers of Pierre d'Olive in Provence, who had also formerly abandoned the society. Soon after this, the whole Franciscan order, in France, Italy, and other countries, was divided into two parties. The one, which embraced the severe discipline and absolute poverty of St. Francis, were called 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 order. 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].

[m] Waddingi Annals Minor. tom. vi. ad A. 1307, p. 91.  
XXIII. After many deliberations, Clement V. cent. in a general council held at Vienne, in Dauphine, XIV. where he issued out the famous bull, Exivi de para-diso [o], proposed an expedient for healing the breach between the jarring parties, by wise con-
cessions on both sides. He gave up many points to the Spirituals, or rigid Franciscans, enjoining upon the whole order the profession of absolute poverty, according to their primitive rule, and the solemn renunciation of all property, whether common or personal, confining them to what was necessary for their immediate subsistence, and allowing them, even for that, a very scanty pittance. He however, on the other hand, permitted the Franciscans, who lived in places where it was extremely difficult to procure by begging the necessaries of life, to erect granaries and storehouses, where they might deposit a part of their alms as a stock in case of want; and ordered that all such granaries and storehouses should be under the inspection and management of overseers and store-
keepers, 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].

The Internal History of the Church.

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, strict, 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. In the next place, he admonished the king of Sicily to expel all the Spirituals who had taken refuge in his dominions: 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, strict 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 Sana Romana, &c. and is to be found among the Extravagantes Johannis XXII. tit. vii. De religiosis domibus, tom. ii. Jur. Canon. p. 1112.

the popes had acted sinfully in permitting the Frani-
cificans to have granaries and store-houses; and that
they added to their guilt in not allowing those habits
to be worn that were enjoined by St. Francis.

John, highly exasperated by this opposition, gave
orders that these obstinate Brethren should be
proceeded against as heretics. And surely nothing
could make them appear viler heretics in the papal
eye, than their daring thus audaciously to oppose the
authority and majesty of the Roman see. As for
F. Delitiiosi, who was at the head of this sect, and
who is sometimes called Delli Consi, he was
imprisoned, and died in his confinement. Four of
his adherents were condemned to the flames, in the
year 1318, at Marseilles [1], 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 im-
portant, since it did not affect religion in the least,
but turned wholly on these two points, the form of the
habits to be worn by the Franciscan order, and their
granaries and store-houses. The Brethren of the
community, or the less rigid Franciscans, wore long,

tom. v. p. 175. Martinus Fuldensis, in Ecardi Corpore
Hijlor. medii aevi, tom. i. p. 1725. et Herm. Cornerus, ibid.
f. Argentre Collectio Judicior. de nobis errorib. tom. i.
p. 294. f.
The Internal History of the Church.

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 store-houses. The inquisitors on the other hand, having, by the pope's order, apprehended as many of these people as they could find, condemned them to the flames, and sacrificed them without mercy to papal resentment and fury. So

[8] It may be seen in the Jus Canon. inter Extravag. communet de verbor. signif. cap. i. See also Waddingi Annal. Minor, tom. vi. p. 273.
that from this time a vast number of those zealous
defenders of the institute of St. Francis, viz. the
Minorities, 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
Norbonne, taught, among other things, That neither
Christ, nor his apostles, ever possessed any thing,
whether in common or personally, by right of property
or dominion. John de Belna, an inquisitor of
the Dominican order, pronounced this opinion
erroneous; but Berengarius Taloni, a Fran-
ciscan, maintained it to be orthodox, and perfectly
consonant to the bull, Exit qui seminet, of Nicholas
III. The judgment of the former was approved by
the Dominicans; the determination of the latter
was adhered to by the Franciscans. At length the
matter was brought before the pope, who prudently
endeavoured to put an end to the dispute. With
this view he called into his council Ubertinus de
Casalis, the patron of the Spiritual, and a person
of great weight and reputation. This eminent monk
gave captious, subtle, and equivocal answers to the

[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 Carca-
sone, 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 unpubli
cshed, we may make out a list of two thousand martyrs of this kind.
Compare Codex Inquis. Tholosana, à Limborchio editus,
p. 298. 302. 319. 327, &c.
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 [n].

XXVIII. But the Dominicans and Franciscans were so exceedingly exasperated against each other, that they could by no means be brought to conform themselves to this order. John XXII. perceiving this, permitted them to renew the controversy in the year 1322; nay, he himself proposed to some of the most celebrated divines of the age, and especially to those of Paris, the determination of this point, viz. Whether or no those were to be deemed heretics who maintained that Jesus Christ, and his apostles, had no common or personal property in any thing they possessed? The Franciscans, who held an assembly this year at Perugia, having got notice of this proceeding, unanimously decreed, that those who held this tenet were not heretics, but maintained an opinion that was holy and orthodox, and perfectly agreeable to the decisions and mandates of the popes. They also sent a deputy to Avignon, to defend this unanimous determination of their whole order against all opponents whatever. The person they commissioned for this purpose was F. Bonagratia, of Bergamo, who also went by the name of Boncortese [y], one of their fraternity, and a man famous for his extensive learning. John XXII. being highly incensed at this step, issued out a decree in the month of November, [n] Waddingi Annal. Minor. tom. vi. p. 361. Steph. Baluzii Miscellan. tom. i. p. 397. Gerh. du Bois, Hist. Eccles. Paris. p. 611. f. [y] I insert this caution, because I have observed that some eminent writers, by not attending to this circumstance, have taken these two names for two different persons.
wherein he espoused an opinion diametrically opposite 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 Nicholas III. concerning the property of the Franciscan possessions being transferred to the church of Rome, whereby the monks were supposed to be deprived of what we call right, and were only allowed the simple use of what was necessary for their immediate support. In order to confute this plea, he shewed that it was absolutely impossible to separate right and property from the lawful use of such things as were immediately consumed by that use. He also solemnly renounced all property in the Franciscan effects, which had been referred to the church of Rome by former popes, their churches and some other things excepted. And whereas the revenues of the order had been hitherto received and administered by procurators on the part of the Roman church, he dismissed these officers, and abolished all the decrees of his predecessors, and all the ancient constitutions relating to this affair.[z]

XXIX. By this method of proceeding, the dexterous pontiff entirely destroyed that boasted expropriation, which was the main bulwark of the Franciscans and John XXII.

[z] These constitutions are recorded in the Corpus Juris Canon. and also among the Extravagantes, tit. xiv. de verbor. signifi. cap. ii, iii. p. 1121. Concerning the transaction itself, the reader should chiefly consult that impartial writer Alvarus Pelagius, De planān ecclesia, lib. ii. c. 60. f. 145. as also Luc. Waddingus, Annal. Minor. tom. vi. p. 394. f. Each of them blames John Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paris. tom. iv. p. 191. f.
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 nor special property in any of their possessions, should be deemed heretics, and corrupters of the true religion [b]. Finding, however, that the Franciscans were not terrified in the least by this decree, he published another yet more flaming constitution about the end of the year 1324, in which he confirmed his former edicts, and pronounced that tenet concerning the expropriation of Christ and his apostles, a pestilential, erroneous, damnable, and blasphemous doctrine, subversive of the catholic faith, and declared all such as adhered to it, obstinate heretics and rebels against the church [c]. In consequence of this merciless decree, great numbers of those who persisted in asserting that Christ and


[c] This constitution as well as the two former already mentioned, is published among the Extravagantes, tit. xiv. De verbor. signis. Waddingus, tom. vii. p. 36. vigorously opposes this last, which is pretty extraordinary in a man so immoderately attached to the cause of the popes as he was.
his apostles were exactly such Mendicants as Franc- 
cis would have his brethren to be, were apprehended 
by the Dominican inquisitors, who were implacable 

edemies 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 exasper-

ated 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 Caesenas, who resided 
in Italy, and was the head of the order, could but 

ill dilemble the hatred he had conceived against the 
pope, who therefore ordered him to repair to 

Avignon, in the year 1327, and there deprived him 
of his office. [e]. But, prudent as this violent 

measure might appear at first sight, it served only 
to inflame the enraged Franciscans more than ever, 

and to confirm them in their attachment to the 
scheme of absolute poverty. For no sooner did the 
bitter and well-known contest between John XXII. 

and the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, break out, 

than the principal champions of the Franciscan 


Eccardi Corpus Histor. medii aevi, tom. i. p. 592, and 1491. 
The Internal History of the Church.

cent. cause, such as Marsilius of Padua, and Jo. de XIV. Janduno, of 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. This example was soon followed by others, particularly by Mic. Cæsenas, and William Occam, who excelled most men of his time in subtlety and acuteness of genius, and also by F. Bonagrata 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. All these learned 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.

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. The Fratricelli, Beghards, Beguines, and Spirituals, then at variance with the pope, were effectually protected by the emperor, in Germany, against the attempts of the inquisitors; so that, during his reign, that country was over-run with shoals of Mendicant friars. There was scarce a province or city in the empire that did not abound with Beghards and Beguines; that is, monks professing the third rule of St. Francis, and who placed the chief excellence of the Christian life in a voluntary and absolute poverty. 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.


[i] I have many pieces upon this subject that were never published.

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 [1]. 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 shewed great clemency and tenderness towards such of the order as thought the institute of their founder more sacred than the papal bulls. This lenity had some good effects. Many who had withdrawn themselves from the society were hereby induced to return to it, in which number were Francis de Esculo, and others, who had been some of John's most inveterate enemies [m]. Even those, who would not be prevailed on to return to their order, ceased to insult the popes, observed the rules of their founder in a quiet and inoffensive manner, and would have no sort of connexion 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 districts of Magdeburg and Bremen, Thuringia, Saxony, and Hesse, where they extirpated all the Beghards, as well as the Beguines, or Tertiaries, the associates of those Franciscans, who held that Christ and his apostles had no property in anything. These severe measures were approved by Charles IV. who then resided in Italy, at Lucca, from whence, in the year 1369, he issued out several 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


[o] In high Dutch, Die wilgen Armen.
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 shall be made [p].
The Beghards, being reduced to great straits by this
and other mandates of the emperor, and by the
constitutions of the popes, fought a refuge in those
provinces of Switzerland that border upon the
Rhine, and also in Holland, Brabant, and Pomerania
[q]. But the edicts and mandates of the emperor,
together with the papal bulls and inquisitors, followed
them wherever they went, and distressed them in
their most distant retreats; so that, during the reign
of Charles IV. the greatest part of Germany
(Switzerland, and those provinces that are con-
tiguous to it, excepted) was thoroughly purged of
the Beghards, or rebellious Franciscans, both perfect
and imperfect.

XXXIV. But neither edicts, bulls, or inquisitors,
could entirely pluck up the roots of this inveterate
discord. For so ardently were many of the brethren
bent upon observing, in the most perfect and rigorous
proceedings, that the Franciscan order is split
into two considerable parties.

[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 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. most strenuously opposed),
which they extend even to their wretched habits.—For so the
Spirituals and their associates used to do.

xxxiv. p. 513. See also the books of Felix Malleolus,
written in the following century against the Beghards in Switzer-
land.
manner, the institute of St. Francis, that numbers cent. were to be found in all places who either withstood the president of the society, or, at least, obeyed him with reluctance. At once therefore to satisfy both the laxer and more rigid party, after various methods had been tried to no purpose, a division of the order was agreed to. Accordingly, in the year 1368, the president consented that Paulutius Fulginas, who was the chief of the more rigid Franciscans in Italy, together with his associates, who were pretty numerous, should live separately from the rest of the brethren, according to the rules and customs they had adopted, and follow the institute of their founder in the strictest and most rigorous manner. The Spirituals, and the followers of Olive, whose scattered remains were yet observable in several places, joined themselves gradually and imperceptibly to this party. And as the number of those who were fond of the severer discipline continually increased in many provinces, the popes thought proper to approve that institute, and to give it the solemn sanction of their authority. In consequence of this, the Franciscan order was divided into two large bodies, which subsist to this day, viz. the Conventual Brethren, and the Brethren of the observation. Those who gave up the strict sense of the expressions in which the institute of their founder was conceived, and adopted the modifications that were given of them by the pontiffs, were called by the former name; and the council of Constance conferred the latter upon those who chose to be determined by the words of the institute itself, rather than by any explications of it [r]. But the Fratricelli, together with the Beghards, whom we have frequently had occasion to mention, absolutely rejected this reconciliation, and persisted in disturbing the peace of

the church, during this and the following century, in the marquifate of Ancona, and in other places.

XXXV. This century gave rise to other religious societies, some of which were but of short duration, and the rest never became famous. John Colom- bini, a nobleman of Sienna, founded, in the year 1368, the order of the Apostolic Clercs, who, because they frequently pronounced the name of Jesus, were afterwards called Jesuates. This institution was confirmed by Urban V. the following year, and subsisted till the last century, when it was abolished by Clement IX. [s]. The brethren belonging to it professed poverty, and adhered to the institute of St. Augustin. They were not, however, admitted to holy orders, but assisted the poor by their prayers, and other pious offices, and prepared medicines for them, which they distributed gratis [t]. But these statutes were in a manner abrogated when Clement dissolved the order.

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

[s] In the year 1668.
the plague, and on that account forsaken by the cent. affrighted clergy, and committed them to the grave xiv. with a solemn funeral dirge. It was with reference part ii. to this last office, that the common people gave them the name of Lollards [u]. The example of these

[u] Many writers have given us large accounts concerning the fact 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 Colonea, was their founder. How so many learned men came to adopt this opinion is beyond my comprehension. They indeed refer to Jo. Trithemius as the author of this opinion; yet it is certain, that no such account of these people is to be found in his writings. I shall therefore endeavour, with all possible brevity, to throw all the light I can upon this matter, that they who are fond of ecclesiastical history may have a just notion of it.

The term 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, bull a-sleep, which signifies to sing any one into a slumber with a sweet indistinct voice. See Franc. Junii Eymologicum Anglicanum, ab Edward Lye, Oxon. 1743, fol. under the word Lollard. The word is also used in the same sense among the Flemings, Swedes, and other nations, as appears by their respective Dictionaries. Among the Germans, both the sense and pronunciation of it have undergone some alteration: for they say, Lallen, which signifies to pronounce inductingly, 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 strictest 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
good people had such an extensive influence, that in a little time societies of the same sort of Lollards, tongue of the ancient Germans, denotes a person who is continually praising God with a song, or singing hymns to his honour. Hoscemus, a canon of Liége, has well apprehended and expressed the force of this word in his Geslia Pontificum Leodienium, lib. i. cap. xxxi. in Jo. Chapeauilli Geslis Pontificum Tungrensum et Leodienium, tom. ii. p. 350. f. In the same year (1309), says he, certain railing hypocrites, who were called Lollards, or praisers of God, deceived some women of quality in Hainault and Brabant. Because those who praised God, generally did it in verse, therefore, in the Latin style of the middle age, to praise God, meant to sing to him, and such as were frequently employed in acts of adoration were called religious singers. And as prayers and hymns are regarded as a certain external sign of piety towards God, therefore those who aspired after a more than ordinary degree of piety and religion, and for that purpose were more frequently occupied in singing hymns of praise to God than others, were, in the common popular language, called Lollards. Hereupon this word acquired the same meaning with that of the term Beghards, 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 Malleolus against the Beghards: so that there are precisely as many sorts of Beghards as of Lollards. Those whom the monks now call Lay Brothers, were formerly named Lollard Brethren, as is well observed by Barthol. Schönberger, Ad Ieac. Vadianum de collegii monasteriiisque Germaniae Vet., lib. i. p. 24. in Goldastii Scriptor., rerum Alemannicarum, tom. iii.

The Brethren of the free spirit, of whom we have already given a large account, are by some styled Beghards, 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 Colign, and whom so many learned men have unadvisedly represented as the founder of the sect of the Lollards, is by some called a Beggar, 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
Chap. II.  Doctors, Church-Government, &c.

confining both of men and women, were formed in-cent.
most parts of Germany and Flanders, and were XIV.

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 indignant 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. Bap. Gramaye, a man eminently skilful in the history of his country, in his Work, entitled, Antwerpia, lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 16. The Alexians, says he, who confidently employed themselves about funerals, had their rise at Antwerp; at which place, about the year 1300, some benevolent 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, Loxanum, p. 18. which is inserted in the splendid folio edition of the Belgic Antiquities, published at Louvain in 1708: The Alexians who were wholly engaged in taking care of funerals, now began to appear. They were laymen, who having wholly devoted themselves to works of mercy were named Lollards and Matemanni (or Moderatists). They made it their sole business to take care of all such as were sick or out of their senses. These they attended both privately and publicly, and buried the dead. The same learned author tells us, that he transcribed some of these particulars from an old diary written in Flemish rhyme. Hence we find in the Annals of Holland and Utrecht, in Ant. Matthæi 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 Lollard 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 perfons that dishonoured it. For among these 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
supported partly by their manual labours, and partly by the charitable donations of pious persons. The magistrates and inhabitants of the towns, where these brethren and sisters resided, gave them peculiar marks of favour and protection on account of their great usefulness to the sick and needy. But the clergy, whose reputation was not a little hurt by them, and the Mendicant friars, who found their profits diminished by the growing credit of these new-comers, persecuted them vehemently, and accused them to the popes of many vices and intolerable errors. Hence it was, that the word Lollard, which originally carried a good meaning, became a term of reproach to denote a person, who, under the mask of extraordinary piety, concealed either enormous vices, or pernicious sentiments. But the magistrates, by their recommendations and testimonials, supported the Lollards against their malignant rivals, and obtained many papal constitutions, by which their institute was confirmed, their persons exempted from the cognizance of the inquisitors, and subjected entirely to the jurisdiction of the bishops. But as these measures were insufficient to secure them from molestation, Charles, duke of Burgundy, in the year 1472, obtained a solemn bull from pope Sixtus IV. ordering that the Cellites, or Lollards, should be ranked among the religious orders, and delivered from the jurisdiction of the bishops; and priests and monks, being inveterately exasperated against these good men, propagated injurious suspicions of them, and endeavoured to persuade the people, that, innocent and beneficent as the Lollards seemed to be, they were in reality the contrary, being tainted with the most pernicious sentiments of a religious kind, and secretly addicted to all sorts of vices. Thus by degrees it came to pass, that any person, who covered himself, or crimes, under the appearance of piety, was called a Lollard. So that it is certain this was not a name to denote any one particular sect, but was formerly common to all persons and all sects, who were supposed to be guilty of impiety towards God and the church, under an external profession of extraordinary piety.
pope Julius II. granted them yet greater privileges in the year
yet subsisting at Cologn, and in the cities of Flanders, though they have evidently departed from their ancient rules[zu].

XXXVII. Among the Greek writers of this century the following were the most eminent.

Nicphorus Callistus, whose Ecclesiastical History we have already mentioned;

Matthæus Blastares, who illustrated and explained the canon laws of the Greeks;

Barlaam, who was a very zealous champion in behalf of the Grecian cause against the Latins;

Gregorius Acindynus, an inveterate enemy of the Palamites, of which sect we shall give some account in its proper place;

Johannes Cantacuzenus, famous for his history of his own time, and his confutation of the Mahometan law;

Nicphorus Gregoras, who compiled the Byzantine history, and left some other monuments of his genius to posterity;

Theophanes, bishop of Nice, a laborious defender of the truth of Christianity against the Jews, and the rest of its enemies;

Nilus Cabasilas, Nilus Rhodius, and Nilus Damyla, who most warmly maintained the cause of their nation against all the Latin writers;

Philotheus, several of whose tracts are yet extant, and seem well adapted to excite devotional temper and spirit;

[zu] Besides many others, whom it is not proper to mention here, see Ægid. Gellenumus, De admiranda sacra et civilis magnitude urbis Coloniæ, lib. iii. Syntagm. ii. p. 534. 598. 603.—Jo. Bapt. Gramaye, in Antiquit. Belgicis.—Anton. Sanderus, in Brabantia et Flandria illustratis.—Aur. Miræus, in operibus Diplomatico Historiæ, 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.
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 subtlety of genius [x].

After him the most celebrated writers of this class were Durandus of St. Portian, who combated the commonly received doctrine of the divine co-operation with the human will [y], Antonius Andraes, 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;


[y] See Jo. Launoius, in a small treatise, entitled, Syllabus rationum, quibus Durandi causa defenditur, tom. i. opp.—Gallia Christ. tom. ii. p. 723.


[a] For a full account of all these persons, see Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane, tom. xiv. p. 11, 12. f.
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 doctrine, 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 everywhere 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.

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 mystical and abstruse. They who are desirous of being acquainted with this art, may have recourse to Vitalis a Furno, his Moral Mirror of the Scriptures [c], or to Ludolphus of Saxony, in his Psalter Spiritualized [d]. The philosophers, who commented upon the sacred writings, sometimes proposed subtle questions drawn from what was called, in this century, Internal Science, and solved them in a dexterous and artful manner.

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

[c] Speculum Morale totius Scripturae.
[d] Psalterium juxta Spiritualenum Senarium.
Chap. III. The Doctrine of the Church.

Cydonius, and others [e]. Prodigious numbers cent. among the Latins were fond of this subtile method, in which John Scotus, Durandus a S. Portian, and William Occam, peculiarly excelled. Some few had recourse to the decisions of Scripture and Tradition in explaining divine truths, but they were overborne by the immense tribe of logicians, who carried all before them.

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 recall the youth designed for the ministry, to the study of the scriptures and the writings of the ancient fathers. This proceeding kindled the flame of discord almost 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 often into opinions that were evidently absurd and impious. Hence it came to pass, that some of them were compelled to abjure their errors, others to seek their safety by flight; some had their writings publicly

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 by various contrivances, and deprived them of their reputation, their profits, and many of their followers.

V. It is remarkable, that these scholastic doctors, or philosophical theologists, far from agreeing among themselves, were furiously engaged in disputations with each other concerning many points. The flame of their controversy was, in this century, supplied with plentiful accensions of fuel, by John Duns Scotus, an Englishman, of the Franciscan order, who was extremely eminent for the subtlety 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

[f] See Boulay, Hist. Acad. Paril. 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 Ultircuria 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 Guino of the Augustinian 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. Oxen. tom. i. p. 153. 183. f.
the origin of the two famous sects, the Scotists and the 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.

VI. A prodigious number of the people, denominated Mystics, resided and propagated their tenets in almost every part of Europe. There were, undoubtedly, among them many persons of eminent piety, who endeavoured to wean men from an excessive attachment to the external part of religion, and to form them to the love of God, and the practice of genuine virtue. Such, among others, were Taulerus, Ruysbrocius, Suso, and Gerard of Zutphen [h], who, it must be confessed, have left many writings that are exceedingly well calculated to excite pious dispositions in the minds of their readers; though want of judgment, and a propensity to indulge enthusiastic visions, is a defect common to them all. But there were also some fanatical fanatics belonging to this party, who ran about, from place to place, recommending a most unaccountable extirpation 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 form of Mystics, who charged their followers to have no connexions with them [i].

VII. It is needless to say much concerning those who applied themselves to the study of morality, seeing their merit is much of the same kind with that of the authors whom we have already mentioned; though it may be proper to mention two circumstances, by which the reader may ascertain the true state of this science. The first is, that, about this time, more writers than in any former century made it their business to collect and solve, what they stiled, Cases of conscience; by which Astesanus, an Italian, Monaldus, and 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

[i] Joh. Ruysbrocius inveighed bitterly against them, as appears from his Work published by Laur. Surius, p. 52. 378. as also from his treatise De vera contemplatione, cap. xviii. p. 608.
Nieder's Formicarius, a treatise concerning Bees by Cent.
Thomas Brabantinus, Hugo de St. Victor's dissertation upon Beasts, and a tract of Thomas Part II.
Walley's, intitled, The Nature of Brute Animals moralized.

VIII. The defenders of Christianity in this age were, generally speaking, unequal to the glorious cause they undertook to support; nor do their writings discover any striking marks of genius, dexterity, perspicuity, or candour. Some productions, indeed, appeared from time to time, that were not altogether unworthy of notice. The learned Bradwardine, an English divine, advanced many pertinent and ingenious things towards the confirmation of the truth of Christianity in general, in a Book upon Providence. The book, intitled, Collyrium Fidei contra Hereticos, or, Eye-salve of Faith against the Heretics, shews that its author Alvarus Pelagius was a well meaning and judicious man, though he has by no means exhausted the subject in this performance. Nicholas Lyra wrote against the Jews, as did also Porchetus Salvaticus, whose treatise, intitled, The Triumph of Faith, is chiefly borrowed from the writings of Raymond Martin. Both these writers are much inferior to Theophanes, whose Book against the Jews, and his Harmony between the Old and New Testament, contain many observations that are by no means contemptible.

IX. During this century, there were some promising appearances of a reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins. For the former, apprehending they should want the assistance of the Latins to set bounds to the power of the Turks, which about this time was continually increasing, often pretended a willingness to submit to the Latin canons. Accordingly, A. D. 1339, Andronicus, the Younger, sent Barlaam as his ambassador into the west, to desire a reconciliation in his name. In the year 1349,
The Internal History of the Church.

Another Grecian embassy was sent to Clement XIV. for the same purpose, and, in 1356, a third was dispatched upon a like errand to Innocent VI. who resided at Avignon. Nor was this all; for, in the year 1367, the Grecian patriarch arrived at Rome in order to negotiate this important matter, and was followed, in the year 1369, by the emperor himself, John Palæologus, who undertook a journey into Italy, and, in order to conciliate the friendship and good-will of the Latins, published a confession of his faith, which was agreeable to the sentiments of the Roman pontiff. But, notwithstanding these prudent and pacific measures, the major part of the Greeks could not be persuaded by any means to drop the controversy, or to be reconciled to the church of Rome, though several of them from views of interest or ambition, expressed a readiness to submit to its demands; so that this whole century was spent partly in furious debates, and partly in fruitless negotiations.

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 Duns Scotus, had from the beginning almost of this century, publicly adopted the doctrine of the sinless conception of the holy Virgin [1]. Upon this, the Dominicans, together with their champion Montesonus, appealed from the sentence of the university to pope Clement VII. at Avignon, and raised an outcry, that St. Thomas himself was condemned by the judgment passed upon their brother. But, before the pope could decide the affair, the accused friar fled from the court of Avignon, went over to the party of Urban VI. who resided at Rome, and thus, during his absence, was excommunicated. Whether or no the pope approved the sentence of the university of Paris we cannot say. The Dominicans, however, deny that he did, and affirm, that Montesonus was condemned purely on account of his flight [m]; though there are many others, who assert that his opinion was also condemned. And as the Dominicans would not acknowledge the sentence of the university to be valid, they were expelled in the year 1389, and were not restored to their ancient honours in that learned body till the year 1404 [n].


CHAPTER IV.

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

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, is the change that was made in the time of celebrating the jubilee. In the year 1350, Clement VI. in compliance with the request 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 [6]. 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]. cent. 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 Prayers. John XXII. besides the sanction he gave to many other superstitions, ordered Christians to add to their prayers those words with which the angel Gabriel saluted the Virgin Mary.

CHAPTER V.

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

I. DURING some part of this century the Controversies excited by the Qui-efychajhs, 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,


Vol. III. 3 A
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 imagined that there was a celestial light concealed in the deepest retirements of the mind), used to sit every day, during a certain space of time, in a solitary corner, with their eyes eagerly and immovably 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 pleazure and delight. To such as inquired

We have no reason to be surprized 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 abstaining the mind from the body, in order to hold communion with God, which is exactly the same thing with the contemplative and mystic life among the Latins), that the eyes must be steadily fixed every way for some hours upon some particular object; and that he who complies with this precept will be thrown into an 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 Kämpfer, in his History of Japan, tom i. p. 30. and also concerning those of India, in the Voyages of Bernier, tom. ii. p. 127. Indeed, I can easily admit, that they who continue long in the abovementioned posture, will imagine they behold many things which no man in his senses ever beheld or thought of. For certainly the combinations they form of the unconnected notions that arise to their fancy while their minds are in this odd and unnatural state, must be both singular and whimsical; and that so much the more, as the rule itself which promotes 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 extatic and sublime interval. This total suspension of reason and reflection, during the period of contemplation, was not, however, peculiar to the eastern Quietists; the Latin Mystics observed the same rule, and inculcated it upon their disciples. And from hence
what kind of light this was, they replied, by way of illustration, that it was the glory of God, the same celestial radiance that surrouned 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 styled the monks, who adhered to this institution, Maffalians, and Euchites\[r\], and also gave them the new name of Umbeliean\[s\]. On the other hand, Gregory Palamas, archbishop of Thessalonica, defended the cause of these monks against Barlaam\[t\].

If. 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 we may safely conclude, that the many surprising visions, of which these fanatics boast, are fables utterly delirious of reason and probability. But this is not the proper place for enlarging upon prodigies of this nature.

\[r\] The Maffalians (so called from a Hebrew word which signifies prayer, as Euchites from a Greek word of the same signification) formed themselves into a sect, during the fourth century, under the reign of Constantius. Their tenets resembled those of the Quietists in several respects.

\[s\] Ομβελιανοί.

\[t\] For an account of these two famous men, Barlaam and Gregory Palamas, see, in preference to all other writers, Jo. Aub. Fabricius, Biblioth. Graec. tom. x. p. 427. and 454.
The Internal History of the Church.

The 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 incircled, as it were, with an eternal light, which might be styled his energy or operation, and was distinct from his nature and essence; and that he favoured the three disciples with a view of this light upon mount Tabor. Hence he concluded, that this divine operation was really different from the substance of the Deity; and further, that no Being could possibly partake of the divine substance or essence, but that finite natures might possess a share of his divine light, or operation. The Barlaamites, on the 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 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.

IV. This sect was most numerous in those cities of Germany that lay upon the Rhine, especially at Cologne, which circumstance induced Henry I. archbishop of that diocese, to publish a severe edict against them, A. D. 1306 [w]; an example that was soon followed by the bishops of Mentz, Triers, Worms, and Strafburg [x]. And as there were some subtle acute men belonging to this party, that

eminently keen logician, John Duns Scotus, 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 Poreta, 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 contrading any guilt. 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 Beggards and Beguines of Germany. And though the edict only mentions imperfectly the opinions of this sect, yet, by the enumeration of them, we may easily perceive that the Mystic brethren and sisters of the free spirit are the persons principally intended. Clement, in the same council, issued another constitution, by which he suppressed another and a very different sort of Beguines, 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 above mentioned. For the Brethren and Sisters of the free spirit had infinuated 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

[a] It is extant in the Corpus Juris Canon. inter Clementinas, lib. v. tit. iii. De Hæresiis, cap. iii. p. 1088.
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.

V. The Brethren of the free spirit, oppressed by so many severe edicts and constitutions, formed the design of removing from Upper Germany into the lower parts of the empire; and this emigration was so far put in execution, as that Westphalia was the only province which refused admission to these dispersed fanatics, and was free from their disturbances. This was owing to the provident measures of Henry, archbishop of Cologne, who, having called a council, A. D. 1322, seriously admonished the bishops of his province of the approaching danger, and thus excited them to exert their utmost vigilance to prevent any of these people from coming into Westphalia. About the same time the Beggards 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.

[c] For this reason, in the German records of this century, we often find a distinction of the Beggaires 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.

c[f] [d] By Beggards here Dr. Mosheim means particularly the Brethren of the free spirit, who frequently passed under this denomination.

[e] Jo. Trithemii Annal. Hiftaug. tom. ii. p. 155.—Schaten, Annal. Paderborn. tom. ii. p. 250.—This is that famous Walter, whom so many ecclesiastical historians have represented as the founder of the sect of the Lollards, and as an eminent martyr to their cause. Learned men conclude all this and more from the following words of Trithemius. But that same Walter Lobareus (to it stands in my copy, though I fancy it ought to have been Lollardus; 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
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 Cologn, and in many other provinces of Germany, but also that they had several men among them of high rank and great learning, of which number Henry Aycardus, or Eccard, a Saxon, was the most famous. He was a Dominican, and also the superior of that order in Saxony; a man of a subtile genius, and one who had acquitted himself with reputation as professor of divinity at Paris [f]. In the year 1330, pope John XXII. endeavoured to suppress this obstinate sect by a new and severe constitution, in which the errors of the sect of the free spirit are marked out in a more distinct and accurate manner than in the Clementina [g]. But his attempt was this short passage, learned men have concluded that Walter's surname was Lollhard; from whence, as from its founder and master, they supposed his sect derived the name of Lollards. But it is very evident, not only from this, but from many other passages of Trithemius, that Lollhard was no surname, but merely a term of reproach applied to all heretics whatever, who concealed the poison of error under the appearance of piety. Trithemius, speaking of the very same man, in a passage which occurs a little before that we have just quoted, calls him the head of the Fraticelli, or Minorites: but the term Minorites was a very extensive one, including people of various sects. This Walter embraced the opinions of the Mylistes, and was the principal doctor among those Brethren of the free spirit, who lived on the banks of the Rhine.


[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, siefedta, et temeraria, que Beghardi et Beghine predictant et observant. We are favoured with a summary of it by Her. Cornerus, in Chronico, in Eccardi Corpore Histor. medii evoi, tom. ii. p.
fruitsless, 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 female societies, who lived together in fixed habitations, under a common rule of pious discipline and virtuous industry, gave rise to a persecution of these people, which lasted till the reformation by Luther, and ruined the cause both of the Beguines and Beggards in many places. For though the pope, in his last constitution, had permitted pious women to live as nuns in a state of celibacy, with or without taking the vow, and refused a toleration only to such of them as were corrupted with the opinions of the Brethren of the free spirit; yet the vast number of enemies which the Beguines and Beggards had, partly among the mechanics, especially the weavers, and partly among the priests and monks, took a handle from the Clementina to molest the Beguines in their houses, to seize and destroy their goods, to offer them many other insults, and to involve the Beggards in the like persecution. The Roman pontiff, John XXII. afforded the Beguines some relief under these oppressions, in the year 1324, by means of a special constitution, in which he gave a favourable explication of the Clementina, and ordered that the goods, chattels, habitations, and societies of the innocent Beguines should be preserved from every kind of violence and insult; which example of clemency and moderation was afterwards followed by other popes. On the other hand, the Beguines in hopes of disappointing more effectually the malicious attempts of their enemies, and avoiding their snares, embraced in many places the third rule of St. Francis, and

1035, 1036. It is also mentioned by Paul Langius, in Chronico Citizenfi, in Jo. Pistorii Scriptor. rerum German. tom. i. p. 1206.
The Internal History of the Church.

The feet of the Flagellants appear again.

VII. Some years before the middle of this century, while Germany and many other parts of Europe were distressed with various calamities, the Flagellants, a fact 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

[b] I have collected a great number of particulars relating to this long persecution of the Beguines. But the most copious of all the writers who have published anything upon this subject, (especially if we consider his account of his persecution at Basil, and Mulbercius, the most inveterate enemy of the Beguines) is Christianus Wurstisen, or Ursstisius, in his Chronicum Basilense, 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 Mulbercius, written against the Beguines in the following century.
inquisitors in several places. It was, however, found as difficult to extirpate them, as it had been to suppress the other sects of wandering fanatics.

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 these fanatics for persons of both sexes, publicly, as well as in private, to fall a dancing all of a sudden, and, holding each others hands, to continue their motions with extraordinary violence, till, being almost suffocated, they fell down breathless together; and they affirmed, that, during these intervals of vehement agitation, they were favoured with wonderful visions. Like the Flagellants, they wandered about from place to place, had recourse to begging for their subsistence, treated with the utmost contempt both the priesthood and the public rites and worship of the church, and held secret assemblies. Such was the nature, and such the circumstances of this new frenzy, which the ignorant clergy of this age looked upon as the work of evil demons, who possessed, as they thought, this dancing tribe. Accordingly the priests of Liege endeavoured to cast out the devils, which rendered these fanatics so merry, by singing hymns and applying fumigations of incense: and they gravely tell us, that the evil spirit was entirely vanquished by these powerful charms.


[k] See Baluzii Pontif. Avenion. tom. i. p. 485.—Ant, Matth. Analeclta vet. evii, 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
The Internal History of the Church.

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 gospel of Christ, and trampled upon the obligation of all laws human and divine. For it is affirmed, that 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.
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.\[1\]

\[1\] See the Acts annexed to Putean's Histoire de la Condemnation des Templiers, and other writings of his, relating to the history of France, published in 4to, at Paris, 1654. Another edition of this book was printed in 8vo, at Paris, 1685: another at Brussells, 1713, two volumes in 8vo. The fourth, and most valuable of all, was published in 4to, at Brussells, 1751, enlarged by the addition of a great number of proofs, by which every diligent and impartial reader will be convinced that the Templars were greatly injured. See also Nicolai Gurtleri Historia Templariorum, Amfcelod. 1703, in 8vo. If the reader has opportunity, he would do well to consult Steph. Baluzius Vit. Pontif. Avenion. tom. i. p. 8. 11, 12, &c. Germ. de Bois, Histor. Ecclef. Paris. tom. ii. p. 540. The principal cause of king Philip's indelible hatred against the Templars, was, that,
The Internal History of the Church.

cent. and especially against their grand master, who had highly offended him.

in his quarrel with Boniface VIII. the knights espoused the cause of the pope, and furnished him with money to carry on the war; an offence this, which Philip could never pardon.
THE

FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

The External History of the Church.

CHAPTER I.

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

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 infincere, 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: 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 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].

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 ardor 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 this pious nature was made by

[e] See Charlevoix, Histoire de l’Isle de St. Domingo, tom. i. p. 64.
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. But what must we think of a conversion brought about with such astonishing rapidity, and of a people which all at once, without hesitation, abandon their ancient and inveterate prejudices? Has not such a conversion a ridiculous, or rather an afflicting, aspect?

After this religious revolution in Africa, Alexander VI. gave a rare specimen of papal presumption, in dividing America between the Portuguese and Spaniards; but shewed at the same time his zeal for the propagation of the Gospel, by the ardor with which he recommended to these two nations the instruction and conversion of the Americans, both in the isles and on the continent of that immense region. 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.


[g] See the Bull itself, in the Bullarium Romanum, tom. i. p. 466.

CHAPTER II.

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

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 luster. Asiatic Tartary, Mogul, Tangut, and the adjacent provinces, where the religion of Jesus had long flourished, were now become the dismal seats of superstition, which reigned among them under the vilest forms. Nor in these immense tracts of land were there at this time any traces of Christianity visible, except in China, where the Nestorians still preserved some scattered remains of their former glory, and appeared like a faint and dying taper in the midst of a dark and gloomy firmament. That some Nestorian churches were still subsisting in these regions of darkness is undoubtedly certain; for in this century the Nestorian pontiff, in Chaldea, sent missionaries into Cathay and China, who were empowered to exercise the authority of bishops over the Christian assemblies, which lay concealed in the remoter provinces of these great empires. This circumstance was communicated to the author in a letter from the learned Mr. Theophilus Sigifred Bayer, one of the greatest adepts in Eastern History and Antiquities, that this or any other age has produced.
and a formidable warrior, had made themselves masters of Constantinople, in the year 1453; the cause of Christianity received a blow from which it has never, as yet, recovered. Its adherents in these parts had no resources left, which could enable them to maintain it against the perpetual insults of their fierce and incensed victors; nor could they stem that torrent of barbarism and ignorance that rushed in with the triumphant arms of Mahomet, and overspread Greece with a fatal rapidity. The Turks took one part of the city of Constantinople by force of arms; the other surrendered upon terms. 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. 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

[1] 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.

The External History of the Church.

cent. persuade that prince to profess the Gospel; but this letter is equally destitute of piety and prudence

Part I. [m].

[m] Bayle’s Dictionary, at the article Mahomet II.
PART II.

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 unmuffled. 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

[n] We have a full account of the obligations which the republic of letters has to the family of Medicis, in a valuable work of Joseph Bianchini de Prato, Del gran Duchi di Toscana della neale Cafa de Medici, Protettori della Lettere et delle Belle Arti, Ragionamenti Historici, published in folio at Venice, in 1741.
cent. house of Arragon [o], acquired immortal renown 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 Guttemburg. By the succours of this incomparable art, the productions of the most eminent Greek and Latin writers, which had lain concealed, before this interesting period, in the libraries of the monks, were now spread abroad with facility, and perused by many, who could never have had access to them under their primitive form [p]. The perusal of these noble


[p] Dr. Mosheim decides here, that Guttemburg 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 Strasburg, 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 Guttemburg, a discovery made during his residence at Strasburg; 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
compositions purified the taste, excited the emulation of men of genius, and animated them with a noble ambition of excelling in the same way.

II. The downfall of the Grecian empire contributed greatly to the propagation and advancement of learning in the west. For, after the reduction of Constantinople, the most eminent of the Greek Literati passed into Italy, and were from thence dispersed into the other countries of Europe, where, to gain subsistence, these venerable exiles instructed every where the youth in Grecian erudition, and propagated throughout the western world the love of learning, and a true and elegant taste for the sciences. Hence it was, that every noted city and university possessed one or more of these learned Greeks, who formed the studious youth to literary pursuits. 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 in the year 1760 at Strasbourg under the following title: Jo. Danielis Schopfeli. Consil. Reg. ac Franciae. Historiogr. Vindvic. Typographice, &c. *


* So this note stands in the first edition of this History in 1760. Since that time, the very learned and ingenious Mr. Gerard Meerman, ppeninyary of Rotterdam, has published his laborious and interesting account of the origin and invention of the art of printing, under the following title: Origines Typographiae, 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 irrefutable proofs), Laurent. Coster, of Hasselt, invented the moveable wooden types.—Genfleish and Gutenberg carved metallic types at Mentz, which, though superior to the former, were still imperfect, because often unequal.—Schoffer perfected the invention at Strasbourg, by casting the types in an iron mould, or matrix, engraved with a puncheon. Thus the question is decide—Laurent. Coster is evidently the inventor of printing; the others only rendered the art more perfect.
The Internal History of the Church.

The Internal History of the Church.

cēnt. distinguished by the family of Medicis, whose
xv. liberality to the learned had no bounds. It was
part II. consequently in Italy that these ingenious fugitives
were most numerous; and hence that country became, in some measure, the centre of the arts and
sciences, and the general rendezvous of all who were
ambitious of literary glory [s].

Philology, poetry, and languages cultivated.

III. The greatest part of the learned men, who
adorned at this time the various provinces of Italy,
were principally employed in publishing accurate and
elegant editions of the most eminent Greek and Latin
authors, illustrating these authors with useful commentaries, in studying them as their models both
in poetry and prose, and in casting light upon the
precious remains of antiquity, that were discovered
from day to day. In all these branches of literature,
many arrived at such degrees of excellence, as it is
almost impossible to surpass, and extremely difficult
to equal. Nor were the other languages and sciences
neglected. In the university of Paris, there was
now a public professor, not only of the Greek, but
also of the Hebrew tongue [t]; and in Spain and
Italy the study of that language, and of Oriental
learning, and antiquities in general, was pursued
with the greatest success [u]. John Reuchlinus,
otherwise called Capnion, and Trithemius,
who had made a vast progress both in the study of
the languages and of the sciences, were the restorers

[s] For a farther account of this interesting period of the
History of Learning, the reader may consult the learned Work of
Humphr. Hody, De Gracis illustribus literarum Graecarum in
Italia inflauratoribus, published in 8vo at Leipsic, in the year
1750. To which may be added, Sam. Battierii Oratio de
inflauratoribus Graecarum literarum, published in the Museum
Helveticum, tom. iv. p. 163.


[u] Pauli Columesii Italia Orientalis, p. 4. et Hispasia
Orientalis, p. 212.
of solid learning among the Germans \[\varepsilon\]; Latin \textit{cent.}

poetry was revived by \textit{Antonius Panormitanus}, who excited a spirit of emulation among

the favourites of the Muses, and had many followers

in that sublime art \[\star\]; while \textit{Cyriac of Ancona},

by his own example, introduced a taste for coins, medals, inscriptions, gems, and other precious monu-

ments of antiquity, of which he himself made a large

collection in \textit{Italy} \[\gamma\].

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 \textit{Italy}, \textit{Aristotle}

reigned unrivalled there, and captivated, as it were

by a sort of enchantment, all without exception, whose genius led them to philosophical enquiries. The veneration that was shewn him degenerated into a foolish and extravagant enthusiasm; the encomiums with which he was loaded surpassed the bounds of decency; and many carried matters so far as to compare him with the respectable precur sor 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 \textit{Gemestius Pletho}, acquired among the Latins, many of whom they persuaded to abandon the contentious and subtile doctrine of the Peripatetics, and to substitute in its place the mild

\[\varepsilon\] \textit{R. Simon, Lettres Choisis}, tom. i. p. 262. tom. iv.

p. 131. 140.

\[\star\] \textit{Bayle's Dictionary}, at the article \textit{Panormit}.

\[\gamma\] See the \textit{Itinerarium of Cyriac of Ancona}, published at

\textit{Florence} in the year 1742, in 8vo, by Mr. \textit{Lawrence Mehus},

from the original manuscript, together with a Preface, Anno-

tations, and several letters of this learned man, who may be

considered as the first antiquarian that appeared in \textit{Europe}.—See also \textit{Leon. Aretini Epistolae}, tom. ii. lib. ix. p. 149.

\[\z\] See \textit{Christ. Aug. Heumannii Aetia Philosophorum},

tom. iii. p. 345.
CENT. and divine wisdom of Plato. It was in 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?

V. Between these two opposite factions, certain eminent men, among both Greeks and Latins, thought proper to steer a middle course. To this class belonged Johannes Picus de Mirandola, Bessarion, Hermolaus Barbarus, and others of less renown, who indeed considered Plato as the supreme oracle of philosophy, but would by no means suffer Aristotle to be treated with indifference or contempt, and who proposed to reconcile the jarring doctrines of these two famous Grecian sages, and to combine them into one system. These moderate philosophers, both in their manner of teaching, and in the opinions they adopted, followed the modern Platonic school, of which Ammonius was the original founder. Their sect was, for a long time, held in the utmost veneration, particularly among the Mystics; while the scholastic doctors, and all such as were infected with the itch of disputing, favoured the Peripatetics. But, after all, these reconciling Platonists were chargeable with many errors and follies; they fell into the most childish superstitions, and followed, without either reflection or restraint, the extravagant dictates of their wanton imaginations.

VI. Their system of philosophy was, however, much less pernicious than that of the Aristotelians, their adversaries, who still maintained their superiority.

Bianchini, in his account of the protection granted to the learned by the house of Medicis, which we have mentioned note [n].


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.

in Italy, and instructed the youth in all the public schools of learning. For these subtle doctors, and more especially the followers of AVERROES (who maintained that all the human race were animated by one common soul) sapped imperceptibly the foundations of both natural and revealed religion, and entertained sentiments very little, if at all, different from that impious pantheistical system, which confounds the Deity with the universe, and acknowledges but one self-existent being, composed of infinite matter and infinite intelligence. The most eminent among this class of sophists was Peter POMPONACE, a native of Mantua, a man of a crafty turn, and an arrogant, enterprising spirit, who, notwithstanding the pernicious tendency of his writings (many of which are yet extant) to 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 pernicious 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 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.

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 Terminifts [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 delivered from their confinement [f]. In the year 1481, he went much farther; and not only granted a full liberty to the Nominalists and their

CHAPTER II.

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

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 orders, were so flagrant, that the complaints of these good men did not appear at all exaggerated, or their apprehensions ill-founded; nor had any of the corrupt advocates of the clergy the courage to call them to 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 the infamous practice of all kinds of vice, were obliged to hear with a placid countenance, and even to commend, these bold censours, who declaimed against the degeneracy of the church, declared that there was almost nothing found either in its visible head, or in its members, and demanded the aid of the secular arm, and the destroying sword, to lop off the parts

[390] The proofs of this we find in Salabert's Philosophia Nominal. Vindicata cap. i. p. 104.—See also Boulay, loc. cit., tom. v. p. 739. 747.
that were infected with this grievous and deplorable contagion. Things, in short, were brought to such a pass, that they were deemed the best Christians, and the most useful members of society, who, braving the terrors of persecution, and triumphing over the fear of man, inveighed with the greatest freedom and fervor against the court of Rome, its lordly pontif, and the whole tribe of his followers and votaries.

II. At the commencement of this century, the Latin church was divided into two great factions, and was governed by two contending pontiffs, Boniface IX. who remained at Rome, and Benedict XIII. who resided at Avignon. Upon the death of the former, the Cardinals of his party raised to the pontificate, in the year 1404, Cossetat 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 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 his 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, another at Austria near Aquileia, in the district of Friuli. The latter, however, apprehending the resentment of the Venetians [k], made his escape in a clandestine manner.


[k] He had offended the Venetians by depofing their patriarch Antony Panciariini, and putting Antony du Pont, the bishop of Concordia, in his place.
from the territory of Aquileia, arrived at Caieta, where he threw himself upon the protection of Ladislaus, king of Naples, and, in the year 1412, fled from thence to Rimini.

III. Thus was the Christian church divided into three great factions, and its government violently carried on by three contending chiefs, who loaded each other with reciprocal maledictions, calumnies, and excommunications. Alexander V. who had been elected pontiff at the council of Pisa, died at Bologna in the year 1410; and the sixteen cardinals, who attended him in that city, immediately filled up the vacancy, by chusing as his successor Balthasar Cossa, a Neapolitan, who was destitute of all principles both of religion and probity, and who assumed the title of John XXIII. The duration of this schism in the papacy was a source of many calamities, and became daily more detrimental both to the civil and religious interests of those nations where the flame raged. Hence it was, that the emperor Sigismund, the king of France, and several other European princes, employed all their zeal and activity, and spared neither labour nor expence, in restoring the tranquillity of the church, and uniting it again under one spiritual head. On the other hand, the pontiffs could not be persuaded by any means to prefer the peace of the church to the gratification of their ambition; so that no other possible method of accommodating this weighty matter remained, than the assembling of a general council, in which the controversy might be examined, and terminated by the judgment and decision of the universal church. This council was accordingly summoned to meet at Constance, in the year 1414, by John XXIII. who was engaged in this measure by the entreaties of Sigismund, and also from an expectation, that the decrees of this grand assembly would be favourable to his interests. He appeared in person, attended with a great number of cardinals and bishops, at this
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 personably present at the decision of this important controversy [1].

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 seances of this council, by two decrees, that the Roman pontiff was inferior and subject to a general assembly of the universal church; and the authority of councils was vindicated and maintained, by the same decrees, in the most effectual manner [m]. This vigorous proceeding prepared the way for the degradation of John XXIII. who, during the twelfth seance, was unanimously deposed from the pontificate [n], on account of several flagitious crimes that were laid to his charge,

[1] The Acts of this famous council were published in six volumes in folio, at Francfort, in the year 1700, by Herman van der Hardt. This collection, however, is imperfect, 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 Chastenet, a French lawyer, is but an indifferent performance. It is entitled, Nouvelle Histoire du Concile de Constance, où l'on fait voir combien la France a contribué à l'extinction du Schisme.

[m] For an account of these two famous decrees, which set such wise limits to the supremacy of the pontiffs, See Natalis Alexander, Hist. Eccles. Sac. XV. Diff. iv.—Bossuet, Defens. Sententie Cleri Gallicae. de Potes. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 2. 23.—Lenfant, Differt. Historique et Apologetique pour Jean Gerfen, et le Concile de Constance, which is subjoined to his history of that council.

[n] On the 29th of May, 1415.
and more especially on account of the scandalous violation of a solemn engagement he had taken about the beginning of the council, to resign the papal chair, if that measure should appear necessary to the peace of the church; which engagement he broke some weeks after by a clandestine flight. In this same year (1415), Gregory XII. sent to the council of Charles de Malatesta to make, in his name, and as his proxy, a solemn and voluntary resignation of the pontificate. About two years after this, Benedict XIII. was deposed by a solemn resolution of the council [a], and Ottâ de Colonna raised, by the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals, to the high dignity of head of the church, which he ruled under the title of Martin V. Benedict, who resided still at Perpignan, was far from being disposed to submit either to the decree of the council, which deposed him, or to the determination of the cardinals with respect to his successor. On the contrary, he persisted until the day of his death, which happened in the year 1423, in assuming the title, the prerogatives, and the authority of the papacy. And when this obstinate man was dead, a certain Spaniard, named Giles Munios, was chosen pope in his place by two cardinals, under the auspicious patronage of Alphonsus, king of Sicily, and adopted the title of Clement VIII.; but this sorry pontiff, in the year 1429, was persuaded to resign his pretensions to the papacy, and to leave the government of the church to Martin V.

V. If, from the measures that were taken in this council to check the lordly arrogance of the Roman pontiffs, we turn our eyes to the proceedings that were carried on against those that were called heretics, we shall observe in this new scene nothing worthy of applause, but several things, on the contrary, that are proper to excite our indignation.

[a] On the 26th of July, 1417.
The Internal History of the Church.

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. This eminent ecclesiastic declaimed with vehemence against the vices that had corrupted all the different ranks and orders of the clergy; nor was he singular in this respect; such remonstrances were become very common, and they were generally approved of by the wife and good. Huss, however, went still farther; and, from the year 1408, used his most earnest and assiduous endeavours to withdraw the university of Prague from the jurisdiction of Gregory XII. whom the kingdom of Bohemia had hitherto acknowledged as the true and lawful head of the church. The archbishop of Prague, and the clergy in general, who were warmly attached to the interests of Gregory, were greatly exasperated at these proceedings. Hence arose a violent quarrel between the incensed prelate and the zealous reformer, which the latter inflamed and augmented, from day to day, by his pathetic exclamations against the court of Rome, and

[\(p\)] A Bohemian Jesuit, who was far from being favourable to John Huss, and who had the best opportunity of being acquainted with his real character, describes him thus: He was more subtle than eloquent; but the gravity and austerity of his manners, his frugal and exemplary life, his pale and meagre countenance, his sweetness of temper, and his uncommon affability towards persons of all ranks and conditions, from the highest to the lowest, were much more persuasive than any eloquence could be. See Bohus Balbinus, Epitom. Rev. Bohem. lib. iv. cap. v. p. 431.
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 shewed his warm attachment to their cause, in the manner that was usual in this barbarous age, even by persecuting to the utmost of his power their adversaries the Nominalists, whose number was great, and whose influence was considerable in the university of Prague. He also multiplied the number of his enemies in the year 1408, by procuring, through his great credit, a sentence in favour of the Bohemians, who disputed with the Germans concerning the number of suffrages, that their respective nations were entitled to in all matters that were carried by election in the university of Prague. That the nature of this contest may be better understood, it will be proper to observe, that this famous university was divided, by its founder Charles IV., into four nations, to wit, the Bohemians, Bavarians, Poles, and Saxons, of which, according to the original laws of the university, the first had three suffrages; and the other three, who were comprehended under the title of the German nation, only one. This arrangement, however, had not only been altered by custom, but was entirely inverted.

[q] See the Literæ Nominalium ad Regem Francic Ludovicum VI. in Baluzii Miscell. tom. iv. p. 534, where we read the following passage: Legimus Nominales expulsos de Bohemia eo tempore, quo heretici voluerunt Bohemicum Regnum sui heresibus inicere.—Quum dii heretici non possent disputando superare impetraverunt ab Abbiffelio (Wenceslao) Principe Bohemia, ut gubernavent studia Pragensia ritu Parisiensium. Quo edito coadiunt sunt superadditi Nominales Pragam civitatem relinquere, et se translitterunt ad Lipzacam civitatem, et ibidem erexerunt universitatem solennissimam.
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 was so offensive to the Germans, that a prodigious number of them, with John Hoffman the rector of the university at their head, retired from Prague, and repaired to Leipsic, where Frederick, surnamed the Wise, elector of Saxony, erected for them in the year 1409, the famous academy which still subsists in a flourishing state. This event contributed greatly to render Huss odious to many, and, by the consequences that followed it, was certainly 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

**[r]** Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, who was bribed by both of the contending parties, protracted instead of abridging this dispute, and used to say with a smile, that he found a good goose, which laid every day a considerable number of gold and silver eggs. This was playing upon the word Hufs, 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. Eneas Sylvius reckons 5000, Trithemius and others 2000, Dubravius 24,000, Lupatius 44,000, Lauda, a contemporary writer, 36,000.
writings and opinions of the famous Wickliff, cent.
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 con-
tempt, and, both in his conversation, and in his
writings, laid open the disorders that preyed upon
the vitals of the church, and the vices that disho-
oured the conduct of its ministers; and the
fortitude and zeal he discovered in this matter were
almost universally applauded.

VII. This eminent man, whose piety was truly
fervent and sincere, though his zeal perhaps was
rather too violent, and his prudence not always
equally circumspect, was summoned to appear before
the council of Constance. Obedient to this order,
and thinking himself secured from the rage of his
enemies, by the safe-conduct which had been granted
him by the emperor Sigismund, both for his journey
to Constance, his residence in that place, and his
return to his own country, John Huss appeared
before the council, to demonstrate his innocence, and
to prove that the charge of his having deserted the
church of Rome was entirely groundless. And it
may be affirmed with truth, that his religious
opinions, at least in matters of moment and impor-
tance, were conformable to the established doctrine
of the church in this age. He declared,


[5] It was observed in the preceding section, that John
Huss adopted with zeal, and recommended in an open and
public manner the writings and opinions of Wickliff; but
this must be understood of the writings and opinions of that
great man in relation to the papal hierarchy, the despotic
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.
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 clerical and monastic orders, were censured with the utmost severity. The enemies, however, of this good man who were very numerous both in the kingdom of Bohemia, and also in the council of Constance, coloured the accusation that was brought against him with such artifice and success, that by the most scandalous breach of public faith, he was cast into prison, declared a heretic, because he refused to obey the order of the council, which commanded him to plead guilty against the dictates of his conscience, and was burnt alive the 6th of July, 1415; which dreadful punishment he endured with unparalleled magnanimity and 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 Cent.

Many learned men have endeavoured to investigate the reasons that occasioned the pronouncing such a cruel sentence against Huss and his associate; and as no adequate reasons for such a severe proceeding can be found, either in the life or opinions of that good man, they conclude, that he fell a victim to the rage and injustice of his unrelenting enemies. And indeed this conclusion is both natural and well-grounded; nor will it be difficult to shew how it came to pass, that the reverend fathers of the council of Constance were so eagerly bent upon burning, as a heretic, a man who neither deserved such an injurious title, nor such a dreadful fate. In the first place, John Huss had excited, both by his discourse and by his writings, great commotions in Bohemia, and had rendered the clergy of all ranks and orders extremely odious in the eyes of the people. The bishops, therefore, together with the facerdotal 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. It may

\[\text{[w]}\] The translator has here inserted into the text the large note \([a]\) of the original, which relates to the circumstances that precipitated the ruin of these two eminent reformers: and he has thrown the citations therein contained into several notes.

\([x]\) The bribery and corruption that was employed in bringing about the ruin of John Huss, are manifest from the following remarkable passages of the *Diarium Hufsticum* of Laur. Byzinius, p. 135. (see *Ludewigi Reliquiae*, tom. vi.) *Clerus pervertit praepite in regno Bohemie et Marchionatu Moravie, condemnationem*
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, 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 foes, 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 conflantly recourse to corporal punishments to decide the matter. The Nominalists procured the

\[
\text{ipsius (Huffi) contributione pecuniarum, et modis aliis diversis procuravit et ad ipsius confenst interitu. And again, p. 150. Clerus perversus regni Bohemiae et Marchionatus Moraviae, et pre-
\]

\[\text{cipus Episcopi, Abbates, Canonici, plebani, et religiis ipsius fideles ac salutiferis admonitiones, adhortationes, ipforum pontam, fynoniam, avaritiam, forniciationem, vitaeque detestande abominationem detegentes, ferre non valendo, pecuniarum contributione ad ipsius extinctionem faciendo procurarunt.}\]

\[\text{[y]} \text{ See Baluzii Miscell. tom. iv. p. 534, in which we find the following passage: Suscitavit Deus Doctores catholicos, Petrum de Allayso, Johanne de Gerfona, et alios quam pluris dociliissimos homines Nominales, qui convocati ad Concilium Constantiense, ad quad citati fuerunt heretici, et nominatin Hieronymus et Johannes—}
\]

\[\text{diitos hæreticos per quadraginta dies disputando superaverant.}\]

\[\text{402 The Internal History of the Church.}\]
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. These contending sects carried their blind fury so far as to charge each other with the sin against the Holy Ghost, 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. The Germans, on the other hand, remembering the affront they had received in the


[a] In the Examen mentioned in the preceding note, we find the following striking passage, which may shew us the extravagant length to which the disputes between the Nominalists and Realists were now carried: "Quis nisi ipsi Diabulus seminarii illum eisianam inter Philosophos et inter Theologos, ut tanta sit dussentio, etiam animorum inter diversa opiniones? Adeo ut si universalia quisquam Realia negaverit, existimetur in Spiritum Sanctum Peccavisse, immo finum et maximo peccato planus creditur contra Deum, contra Christianam religionem, contra juresiam, contra omnem politicam gravitatem deliquisse. Unde hac ecatas mentis nisi a Diabolo, qui phantasias nostras illudit?" We see by this passage that the Realists charged their adversaries (whom only crime was the absurdity of calling universal idées 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.

[2] See Theod. de Niem, Invesitiva in Job. XXIII. in Hardth. Actis Concilii Constant. tom. ii. p. 430. Improperabant etiam in publicos Alamannos, dicendo, quod essent praesumptuosae excellent uique per orborum dominari... Sicque fadiam sui facta f. pe in Bohemia, ubi voluntas etiam dominari Alamanni violenter, inde repuls... et male tractati fuerunt...
The Internal History of the Church.

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, 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 Mifnia 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
Chap. II. Doctors, Church-Government, &c. 405

heretical, according to the general opinion of the cent. times. For it became a dutiful son of the church xv. to renounce his eye-fight, and to submit both his judgment and his will, without any exception or reservation, to the judgment and will of that holy mother, under a firm belief and entire persuasion of the infallibility of all her decisions. This ghostly mother had, for many ages past, followed, whenever her unerring perfection and authority were called in question, the rule which Pliny observed in his conduct towards the Christians. "When "they persevered, says he in his letter to Trajan "[ε], I put my threats into execution, from a "persuasion that whatever their confession might be, "their audacious and invincible obstinacy deserved "an exemplary punishment."

VIII. Before sentence had been pronounced against John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the famous Wickliff, whose opinions they were supposed to adopt, and who was long since dead, was called from his rest before this ghostly tribunal, and his memory was solemnly branded with infamy by a decree of the council. On the 4th day of May, in the year 1415, a long list of propositions, invidiously culled out of his writings, was examined and condemned, and an order was issued out to commit all his works, together with his bones, to the flames. On the 14th of June following, the assembled fathers passed the famous decree, which took the cup from the laity in the celebration of the eucharist, ordered that the Lord's supper should be received by them only in one kind, i.e. the bread, and rigorously prohibited the communion in both kinds. This decree was occasioned by complaints that had been made of the conduct of Jacobellius de Misa, curate of the parish of St. Michael at Prague,

by Peter of Dresden, to administer the Lord's supper in both kinds, and was followed in this by several churches. 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.

IX. In the same year, the opinion of John Petit, a doctor of divinity at Paris, 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 sovereign and the ruin of their country. 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.

X. After these and other transactions of a like nature, it was now time to take into consideration a point of more importance than had yet been proposed, even the reformation of the church in its head and in its members, by setting bounds to the despotism and corruption of the Roman pontiffs, and to the luxury and immorality of a licentious clergy. It was particularly with a view to this important object, that the eyes of all Europe were fixed upon the council of Constance, from an universal persuasion of the necessity of this reformation, and an ardent desire of seeing it happily brought into execution. Nor did the assembled fathers deny, that this reformation was the principal end of their meeting. Yet this salutary work had so many obstacles in the passions and interests of those very persons by whom it was to be effected, that little could be expected,

---

[f] This appears manifestly from the very discourse of Petit, which the reader may see in Lefont's History of the Council of Pisa, tom. ii. p. 303*. See also August. Letseri Diff. qua memoriam Job. Burgundi et doctrinam Job. Parvi de caede per duillum vindicat. Witteberg. 1735, in 4to.


* See also the same author's History of the Council of Constance book iii. § xix.
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's being called. The remonstrances, however, of those whose zeal for the reformation of the church interested them in this event, prevailed, at length, over the pretexts and stratagems that were employed to put it off from time to time; and Martin V. summoned a council to meet at 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, 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 lift 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 Cesari, 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, by its method of proceeding, and by the first decrees that were enacted by its authority, that the assembled fathers were in earnest, and firmly resolved to answer the end and purpose of their meeting. Eugenius IV. was much alarmed at the prospect of a reformation, which he feared above all things, and beholding with terror the

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.
The internal History of the Church.

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, the month following, wrote a letter from Rome, containing his approbation of the council, and his acknowledgment of its authority [i].

XII. These preliminary measures being finished, the council proceeded with zeal and activity to the accomplishment of the important purposes for which it was assembled. The pope’s legates were admitted

[i] The history of this grand and memorable council is yet wanting. The learned Stephen Baluzius (as we find in the Histoire de l’Academie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres, tom. vi. p. 544.), and after him Mr. Lentant, promised the world a history of this council; but neither of these valuable writers performed their promise *. The acts of this famous assembly have been collected with incredible industry, in a great number of volumes, from various archives and libraries, at the expense of Rodolphus Augustus, duke of Brunswick, by the very learned and laborious Herman van der Hardt. They are preserved, as we are informed, in the library at Hanover, and they certainly deserve to be drawn from their retreat, and published to the world. In the mean time, the curious may consult the Abridgment of the Acts of this council, which were published in 8vo at Paris, in the year 1512, and which I have made use of in this History, as also the following authors: Aeene Sylvii Lib. duo de Concilio Basilienfi.—Edmun. Richerius, Histor. Concilior. General. lib. iii. cap. 1.—Henr. Canisii Lexiones Antiquae, tom. iv. p. 447.

* Dr. Mosheim has here been guilty of an oversight; for Lentant did in reality perform his promise, and composed the History of the Council of Basel, 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 Basel apart.
as members of the council, but not before they had declared, upon oath, that they would submit to the decrees that should be enacted in it, and more particularly that they would adhere to the laws that had been made in the council of Constance, in relation to the supremacy of general councils, and the subordination of the pontiffs to their authority and jurisdiction. Nay, these very laws, which the popes beheld which such aversion and horror, were solemnly renewed by the council the 26th of June, in the year 1434, and, on the 9th of the same month in the following year, the Annats, as they were called, were publicly abolished, notwithstanding the opposition that was made to this measure by the legates of the Roman see. On the 25th of March 1436, a confession of faith was read, which every pontiff was to subscribe on the day of his election, the number of cardinals was reduced to twenty-four, and the papal impositions, called Expectatives, Reservations, and Provisions, were entirely annulled. These measures, with others of a like nature, provoked Eugenius to the highest degree; and made him form a design, either for removing this troublesome and enterprising council into Italy, or of setting up a new council in opposition to it, which might fix bounds to its zeal for the reformation of the church. Accordingly, on the 7th of May, in the year 1437, the assembled fathers having, on account of the Greeks, come to a resolution of holding the council at Basil, Avignon, or some city in the duchy of Savoy, the intractable pontiff opposed this motion, and maintained that it should be transferred into Italy. Each of the contending parties persevered with the utmost obstinacy, in the resolution they had taken, and this occasioned a warm and violent contest between the pope and the council. The latter summoned Eugenius to appear before them at Basil the 26th day of July 1437, in order to give an account of
The Internal History of the Church.

XV.

The council of Ferrara held by Eugenius.

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 thunddered 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 disaffections; but the negotiations were more successful at Florence, whither Eugenius removed the council about the beginning of the year 1439, on account of the plague that broke out at Ferrara. On the other hand, the council of Basil, exasperated by the imperious proceedings of Eugenius, deposed him from the papacy on the 25th of June, in the year 1439; which vigorous
measure was not approved of by the European kings and princes. It may be easily conceived what an impression this step made upon the affronted pontiff; he lost all patience; and devoted, for the second time, to hell and damnation the members of the council of Basil by a solemn and most severe edict, in which also he declared all their acts null, and all their proceedings unlawful. This new peal of papal thunder was held in derision by the council of Basil, who, persisting in their purpose, elected another pontiff, and raised to that high dignity Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who then lived in the most profound solitude at a delicious retreat, called Ripaille, upon the borders of the Leman Lake, and who is known in the papal list by the name of Felix V.

XIV. This election was the occasion of the revival of that deplorable schism, which had formerly rent the church, and which had been terminated with so much difficulty, and after so many vain and fruitless efforts, at the council of Constance. Nay, the new breach was still more lamentable than the former one, as the flame was kindled not only between two rival pontiffs, but also between the two contending councils of Basil and Florence. The greatest part of the church submitted to the jurisdiction, and adopted the cause of Eugenius; while Felix was acknowledged, as lawful pontiff, by a great number of academies, and, among others, by the famous university of Paris, as also in several kingdoms and provinces. The council of Basil continued its deliberations, and went on enacting laws, and publishing edicts, until the year 1443, notwithstanding the efforts of Eugenius and his adherents to put a stop to their proceedings. And, though in that year the members of the council retired to their respective places of abode, yet they declared publicly that the council was not dissolved, but would resume its deliberations at Basil, Lyons, or Lausanne, as soon as a proper opportunity was offered.
In the mean time, the council of Florence, with Eugenius at its head, was chiefly employed in reconciling the differences between the Greeks and Latins; which weighty business was committed to the prudence, zeal, and piety, of a select number of eminent men on both sides. The most distinguished among those whom the Greeks chose for this purpose was the learned Bessarion, who was afterwards raised to the dignity of cardinal in the Roman church. This great man, engaged and seduced by the splendid presents and promises of the Latin pontiff, employed the whole extent of his authority, and the power of his eloquence, nay, he had recourse even to promises and threatenings, to persuade the Greeks to accept the conditions of peace that were proposed by Eugenius. These conditions required their consent to the following points:—That the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son, as well as from the Father; that departed souls were purified in the infernal regions, by a certain kind of fire, before their admission to the presence and vision of the Deity;—that unleavened bread might be used in the administration of the Lord’s supper;—and lastly, which was the main and principal thing insisted upon by the Latins, that the Roman pontiff was the supreme judge, the true head of the universal church. Such were the terms of peace to which the Greeks were obliged to submit, all except Mark of Ephesus, whom neither entreaties nor rewards could move from his purpose, or engage to submit to a reconciliation founded upon such conditions. And indeed this reconciliation, which had been brought about by various stratagems, was much more specious than solid, and had by no means stability sufficient to assure its duration. We find accordingly, that the Grecian deputies were no sooner returned to Constantinople, than they declared publicly, that all things had been carried on at Florence by artifice and fraud, and renewed the schism, which had been
so imperfectly healed a little time before. The council of Florence put an end to its deliberations on the 26th of April, in the year 1442 [k], without having executed any of the designs that were proposed by it, in a satisfactory manner. For, besides the affair of the Greeks, they proposed bringing the Armenians, Jacobites, and more particularly the Abyssinians, into the bosom of the Roman church; but this project was attended with as little success as the other.

XV. Eugenius IV. who had been the occasion of the new schism in the see of Rome, died in the month of February 1447, and was succeeded, in a few weeks, by Thomas de Sarzano, bishop of Bologna, who filled the pontificate under the denomination of Nicolas V. This eminent prelate had, in point of merit, the best pretensions possible to the papal throne. He was distinguished by his erudition and genius; he was a zealous patron and protector of learned men; and what was still more laudable, he was remarkable for his moderation, and for the meek and pacific spirit that discovered itself in all his conduct and actions. Under this pontificate the European princes, and more especially the king of France, exerted their warmest endeavours to restore tranquillity and union in the Latin church, and their efforts were crowned with

[k] The History of this council, and of the frauds and stratagems that were practised in it, was composed by that learned Grecian Sylvester Scyropulus, 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 Creightonii Apparatum, Versionem et Notas ad Historiam Concilii Florentini scriptam a Scyropulo, Roma, 1674, 4to. See the same author's Perpetua Confession Ecclésie Oriental. et Occident. p. 875; as also Mabillon, Museum italicum, tom. i. p. 243.—Spanhemius, De perpetua diffensione Eccles. Orient. et Occident. tom. ii. opp. p. 491.—Hermann. Historia concertat. de parte azyng, part II. cap. v. p. 124.
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 Nicholas as their lawful pontiff. On the other hand, Nicholas proclaimed this treaty of peace with great pomp on the 18th of June, in the same year, and set the seal of his approbation and authority to the acts and decrees of the council of Basil. This pontiff distinguished himself in a very extraordinary manner, by his love of learning, and by his ardent zeal for the 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 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

[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 literatos viros patrocinio, published in 4to at Rome, in the year 1742.
of Pius II. rendered his name much more illustrious, not only by his extensive genius, and the important transactions that were carried on during his administration, but also by the various and useful productions with which he enriched the republic of letters. The lustre of his fame was, indeed, tarnished by a scandalous proof which he gave of his fickleness and inconstancy, or rather perhaps of his bad faith; for after having vigorously defended, against the pontiffs, the dignity and prerogatives of general councils, and maintained with peculiar boldness and obstinacy the cause of the council of Basil against Eugenius IV, he ignominiously renounced these generous principles upon his accession to the pontificate, and acted in direct opposition to them during the whole course of his administration. Thus, in the year 1460, he denied publicly that the pope was subordinate to a general council, and even prohibited all appeals to such a council under the severest penalties. The year following, he obtained from Lewis XI. king of France, the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction, which favored, in a particular manner, the pretensions of the general councils to supremacy in the church. But the most egregious instance of impudence

There was a famous edict, entitled, The Pragmatic Sanction, issued out by Lewis IX. who, though he is honoured with a place in the Kalendar, was yet a zealous assertor of the liberty and privileges of the Gallican church, against the despotic encroachments and pretensions of the Roman pontiffs. It was against their tyrannical proceedings, and intolerable extortions, that this edict was chiefly levelled; and though some creatures of the court of Rome have thrown out infinuations of its being a spurious production, yet the contrary is evident from its having been registered, as the authentic edict of that pious monarch, by the parliament of Paris, in the year 1461, by the states of the kingdom assembled at Tours in the year 1483, and by the university of Paris 1491. See, for a farther account of this edict, the excellent History of France (begun by the Abbé Velly, and continued by M. Villaret,) vol. vi. p. 57.

The edict which Dr. Mosheim has in view here, is the Pragmatic Sanction that was drawn up at Bourges, in the year 1438.
The Internal History of the Church.

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 Basle, and the twenty-three articles it contains were taken from the decrees of that council; though they were admitted by the Gallican church with certain modifications, which the nature of the times, and the manners of the nation, rendered expedient. Such then was the Pragmatic Sanction, which pope Pius II. engaged Lewis XI. (who received upon that occasion, for him and his successors, the title of Most Christian) to abolish, by a solemn declaration, the full execution of which was, however, prevented by the noble stand made by the university of Paris in favour of the Pragmatic Sanction. Lewis also perceiving that he had been deluded into this declaration by the treacherous insinuations of 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 Concordat, 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.

* 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 chosing its bishop, and every monastery its abbott or prior. By the Concordat, 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 clafs, 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 Francais, published in Octavo in 1757, and in quarto in 1752.
retraction of all that he had written in favour of cent. 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].

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 dubious in after-times, and was viewed in different lights by different persons [p]. The following pontiffs, Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII. whose names were Francis Albescola and John Baptist Sibo, were neither remarkable for their virtues nor their vices. The former departed this life in the year 1484, and the latter in 1492. Filled with the most terrible apprehensions of the danger that threatened Europe in general, and Italy in particular, from the growing power of the Turks, they both attempted putting themselves in a posture of defence, and warmly exhorted the European

[o] Besides the writers of Ecclesiastical History, see Nouveaux Diction. Historique et Critique, tom. ii. at the article Æne Sylvius, p. 26.

[p] Paul II. has had the good fortune to find, in one of the most eminent and learned men of this age (the famous cardinal Lurini), a zealous apologisit. See among the productions of that illustrious prelate, the piece, entitled, Pauli II. Vita ex Codice Anglice Bibliothecae desumpta, præmissis ipsius vindiciis adversus Platinam, alioque obscuritatores, Rome, 1740, in 4to.
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.

Alexander XVI. In the series of pontiffs that ruled the church during this century, the last, in order of time, was Alexander VI. a Spaniard by birth, whose name was Roderic Borgia. The life and actions of this man shew, that there was a Nero among the popes as well as among the emperors. The crimes and enormities that history has imputed to this papal Nero, evidently prove him to have been not only destitute of all religious and virtuous principles, but even regardless of decency, and hardened against the very feeling of shame. And, though it may be possible, that the malignity of his enemies may have forged false accusations against him, and, in some instances, exaggerated the horror of his real crimes; yet there is upon record, an authentic list of undoubted facts, which, both by their number and their atrocity, are sufficient to render the name and memory of Alexander VI. odious and detestable in the esteem even of such as have the smallest tincture of virtuous principles and feelings. An inordinate affection for his children was the principal source from whence proceeded a great part of the crimes he committed. He had four sons of a concubine with whom he had lived many years, among whom was the infamous Caesar 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].

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 Augustinian orders, perverted their revenues to the gratification of their lufts; and renouncing, in their conduct, all regard to their respective rules of discipline, drew upon themselves a popular odium by their sensuality and licentiousness [s]. This was matter of affliction to many wise and good men, especially in France and Germany, who formed the pious design of stemming the torrent of monkish luxury, and excited a spirit of reformation among that degenerate order [t]. Among the German reformers, who undertook the restoration of virtue and temperance in the convents, Nicholas de Mazen, an Austrian abbot, and Nicholas Dunkelspuhl, professor at Vienna,

[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. Ecclef. 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.


The Internal History of the Church.

CENT. 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 subjects, were received with applause [w]. It is however certain, that the greatest part of the monks, both in France and elsewhere, resisted, with obstinacy, the salutary attempts of these spiritual physicians, and returned their zeal with the worst treatment that it was possible to shew them.

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 inextinguishable 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 facerdotal order; and it was their vain curiosity, and their inordinate

[u] For an account of these reformers, see MARTIN KROPP: Bibliotheca Mellicenfis, seu de vita et Scriptis Benedictinar. Mellicenfium, p. 143. 163. 203. 206.
[w] See LIRON, Singularités Historique et Littéraires, tom. iii. p. 49.
passion for novelty, that made the divines, in the cent. greatest part of the European academies, complain 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 pontiffs that ruled the church, during this century, were differently affected towards the Mendicants; some patronized them, others opposed them; and this circumstance frequently changed the face of things, and, for a long time, rendered the decision of the contest dubious [x]. The persecution that was carried on against the Beguins became also an occasion of increasing the odium that had been cast upon the begging monks, and was extremely prejudicial to their interests. For the Beguins and Lollards, to escape the fury of their inveterate enemies, the bishops and others, frequently took refuge in the third order of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, hoping that, in the patronage and protection of these powerful and respected societies, they should find a secure retreat from the calamities that oppressed them. Nor were their hopes entirely disappointed here; but the storm that hitherto pursued them, fell upon their new patrons and protectors, the Mendicants, who, by affording a refuge to a sect so odious to the clergy, drew upon themselves the indignation of that sacred order, and were thereby involved in difficulties and perplexities of various kinds [y].


[y] See the preceding century.
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 Tertiarics, the Beghards, to carry on an open war against the court of Rome. Their head-quarters were in Italy, in the marquifate of Ancona, and the neighbouring countries; for it was there that their leader and chief ruler resided. They were persecuted, about the middle of this century, with the greatest severity by pope Nicholas V. who employed every method he could think of to vanquish their obstinacy, sending for that purpose successively against them the Franciscan monks, armed hosties, 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 fanâsty which they exhibited to the world, opposed force to force, and went so far as to put to death some of the inquisitors, among whom

[z] Mauritius Sartius, De Antiqua Picentum civitate Cupromontana, in Angeli Calogere Raccolta di Opuscoli Scientifici, tom. xxxix. p. 39. 81. 97. where we have several extracts from the Manuscript Dialogue of Jacobus de Marchia against the Fratricelli.

[a] Ang. Mar. Quirini Vita Pauli II. p. 78.—Jo. Targionius, Pref. at Clarar. Venetor. Epistolas ad Magthabechium, tom. i. p. 43. where we have an account of the books that were written against the Fratricelli by Nicholas Palmerius and others under the pontificate of Paul II. and which are yet in manuscript.
Angelo of Camaldoli fell a victim to their vengeance. 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 imitation of Christ consisted in beggary, and extreme poverty) became the theatre of the spiritual war. The king of Bohemia was well affected to these fanatics, granted them his protection, and was, on that account, excommunicated by Paul II. 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, and they were eagerly searched after in the province of Toulouse 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. 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. Augustin, and were eminently useful in promoting the cause of religion.

[d] Quirini Vita Pauli II. p. 73.
[e] I have in manuscript in my possession, the acts, or decrees, of the Inquisition against John Guddulchi de Castellione and Francis de Archata, both of them Fratricelli, who were burnt in France in the year 1454.
The Internal History of the Church.

learning and virtue. This society had been formed in the preceding age by **Gerard de Groote**, a native of Deventer [*g*], and a man remarkable for his fervent piety and extensive erudition; it was not, however, before the present century, that it received a proper degree of confidence, 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

[*g*] The life of this famous Dutchman, **Gerard Groote**, was written by Thomas a Kempis, and is to be found in his Works. It stands at the head of the lives of eleven of his contemporaries, which were composed by this eminent writer.
others [b]. The institution of the order of the CENT.
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].

XXIII. Of the Greeks, who acquired a name by the Greek
their learned productions, the most eminent were,

SIMEON of Thessalonica, the author of several
treatises, and, among others, of a book against the
Heretics that had troubled the church; to which we
may add his writings against the Latins, which are
yet extant [k];

JOSEPHUS BRYENNIUS, who wrote a book
Concerning the Trinity, and another against the
Latins;

MACARIUS MACRES, whose animosity against
the Latins was carried to the greatest height;

[b] Accounts of this order have been given by AUB. MIREUS,
in his Chronicon. ad A. 1384, and by HELYOT, in his History of
the Religious Orders, tom. iii. But, in that which I have here
given, there are some circumstances taken from ancient records
not yet published. I have in my possession several manuscripts,
which furnish materials for a much clearer and more circumstantial
account of the institution and progress of this order, than can be
derived from the books that have hitherto appeared on that subject.

[i] We read frequently, in the records of this century, of
schools erected by the Lollards, and sometimes by the Beghards,
at Deventer, Brunswic, Koningjsberg, 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. ALE. FABRICIUS, Bibl. Græc. vol. xiv. p. 49.—
RICH. SIMON, Critique de la Bibliothèque Ecclés., par M. Du Pin,
tom. i. p. 400.
The Internal History of the Church.

The tribe of Latin writers, that adorned or dishonoured this century, is not to be numbered. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the enumera-

[CXv.] George Phranza, whose historical talent makes a figure in the compilation of the Byzantine historians;

Marcus Ephesius, who was an obstinate enemy to the council of Florence [l];

Cardinal Bessarion, the illustrious protector and supporter of the Platonic school, a man of unparalleled genius and erudition; but much hated by the Greeks, because he seemed to lean to the party of the Latins, and proposed an union of the two nations to the prejudice of the former [m];

George Scholarius, otherwise called Genadius, 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.


[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 Graeca of Fabricius.

ration of those who wrote upon theological matters, cent. and even of these we shall only mention the most eminent. At their head we may justly place John Gerson, chancellor of the university of Paris, the most illustrious ornament that this age can boast of, a man of the greatest influence and authority, whom the council of Constance looked upon as its oracle, the lovers of liberty as their patron, and whose memory is yet precious to such among the French, as are at all zealous for the maintenance of their privileges against papal despotism. This excellent man published a considerable number of treatises that were admirably adapted to reform the corruptions of a superstitious worship, to excite a spirit of genuine piety, and to heal the wounds of a divided church: though, in some respects, he does not seem to have understood thoroughly the demands and injunctions of the gospel of Christ. The most eminent among the other theological writers were,

Nicholas de Clemangis, a man of uncommon candour and integrity, who lamented, in the most eloquent and affecting strains, the calamities of the times, and the unhappy state of the Christian church;

Alphonsus Tostatus, bishop of Avila, who loaded the Holy Scriptures with an unwieldy and voluminous Commentary, and composed also other

[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 Gymnast. Regii Navarreni, part III. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 514. tom. iv. part I. opp.—Herm. van der Hardt, Acta Concil. Const. tom. i. part IV. p. 26.]

works, in which there is a great mixture of good and bad;

Ambrose of Camaldoli, who acquired a high degree of reputation by his profound knowledge of the Greek language, and his uncommon acquaintance with Grecian literature, as also by the zeal and industry he discovered in the attempts he made to effectuate a reconciliation between the Greeks and Latins;

Nicholas de Cusa, a man of vast erudition, and no mean genius, though not so famed for the solidity of his judgment, as may appear from a work of his entitled, Conjectures concerning the last day [q];

John Nieder, whose writings are very proper to give us an accurate notion of the manners and spirit of the age in which he lived, and whose voyages and transactions have rendered him famous;

John Capistran, who was in high esteem at the court of Rome, on account of the ardour and vehemence with which he defended the jurisdiction and majesty of the pontiffs against all their enemies and opposers [r];

John Wesselus and Jerome Savanarola, who may justly be placed among the wisest and worthiest men of this age. The former who was a native of Groningen, and on account of his 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

[9] Bayle, Réponse aux Questions d'un Provincial, tom. ii. cap. cxvii. p. 517.—The works of Nicholas were published, in one volume, at Basle, in the year 1565.


native of Ferrara, remarkable for piety, eloquence, cent. and learning, who touched the fores of the church with a heavier hand, and inveighed against the pontiffs with greater severity. This freedom cost him dear; he was committed to the flames at Florence in the year 1498, and bore his fate with the most triumphant fortitude and serenity of mind [†];

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, Dyomysius a Ryckel, Henry Gorcomius, Gabriel Biel, Stephen Brulifer, and others. The most remarkable among the Mystics were, Vincentius Ferrerinus, Henr. Harphius, Laurentius, Justinianus, Bernardinus Senensis, and Thomas a Kempis, who shone among these with a superior lustre, and to whom the famous book Concerning the Imitation of Christ, is commonly attributed [u].

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 Aesthetic 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 a Kempis. See Graenetus 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 Posthumæ Mabillonii et Ruinarii, tom. iii. p. 54.
CHAPTER III.

Concerning the state of religion, and the doctrine of the church during this century.

I. The state of religion was become so corrupt among the Latins, that it was utterly deficient 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 grotest 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 minister) propitious by frequent and rich donations, who were exact and regular in the observance of the stated ceremonies of the church, and who had wealth enough to pay the fines which the papalquestors had annexed to the commission of all the different degrees of transgression; or, in other words, to purchase indulgences. Such were the ingredients of ordinary piety; but such as added to these a certain degree of austerity and bodily mortification were placed in the highest order of
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. The Waldenses, though persecuted and oppressed on all sides, and from every quarter, raised their voices even in the remote vallies and lurking-places whither they were driven by the violence of their enemies, and called aloud for succour to the expiring cause of religion and virtue. Even in Italy many, and among others the famous Savanarola, had the courage to declare, that Rome was become the image of Babylon; and this notion was soon adopted by multitudes of all ranks and conditions. But the greatest part of the clergy and monks, persuaded that their honours, influence, and riches would diminish in proportion to the increase of knowledge among the people, and would receive inexpressible detriment from the downfall of superstition, opposed, with all their might, every thing that had the remotest aspect of a reformation, and imposed silence upon these

importunate censors by the formidable authority of fire and sword.

III. The religious diffusions 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 Bcehin, 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 tumults of this war, which were no more than a prelude to calamities of a much more dreadful kind, Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, departed this life in the year 1419 [n-]

[This prince had no sooner begun to execute the decrees of the council of Constance against the Hussites, than the]
IV. The emperor Sigismund, who succeeded him in the throne of Bohemia, employed not only edicts and remonstrances, but also the terror of penal laws, and the force of arms, to put an end to these lamentable divisions; and great numbers of the Hussites perished, by his orders, in the most barbarous manner. The Bohemians, irritated by these inhuman proceedings, threw off his despotic yoke in the year 1420, and, with Ziska at their head, made war against their sovereign. This famous leader, though deprived of his sight, discovered, in every step he took, such an admirable mixture of prudence and intrepidity, that his name became a terror to his enemies. Upon his death, which happened in the year 1424, the plurality of the Hussites chose for their general Procopius Rasa, a man also of undaunted courage and resolution, who maintained their cause and carried on the war with spirit and success. The acts of barbarity that were committed on both sides, were shocking and terrible beyond expression; for, notwithstanding the irreconcilable opposition that there was between the religious sentiments of the contending parties, they both agreed in this one horrible point, that it was innocent and lawful to persecute and extirpate with fire and sword the enemies of the true religion, and such they reciprocally appeared to be in each other's eyes. The Bohemians maintained, that Huss had been unjustly put to death at Constance, and consequently revenged, with the utmost fury, the injury that had been done him. They acknowledged it nevertheless, as an incontestible principle, that heretics were worthy of capital punishment; inhabitants of Prague took fire at their proceeding, raised a tumult, murdered the magistrates who published the order, and committed other outrages, which filled the court of Wenceslaus with consternation, and so affected that pusillanimous monarch, that he was seized with an apoplexy, of which he died in a few days.
The Internal History of the Church.

C E N T. but they denied obstinately that Huss was a heretic.

This pernicious maxim, then, was the source of that cruelty that disdained 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.

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 diffusion arose among them, which, in the year 1420, came to an open rupture, and divided this multitude into two great factions, which were distinguished by the titles of Calixtines and Taborites. The former, who were so called from their insisting upon the use of the cup, or chalice, in the celebration of the eucharist, were mild in their proceedings, and modest in their demands, and shewed no disposition to overturn the ancient system of church-government, or to make any considerable changes in the religion which was publicly received. All that they required, may be comprehended under the four articles which follow. They demanded, first, that the word of God should be explained to the people in a plain and perspicuous manner, without the mixture of superstitious comments or inventions; secondly, that the sacrament of the Lord's supper should be administered in both kinds; thirdly, that the clergy, instead of employing all their attention and zeal in the acquisition of riches and power, should turn their thoughts to objects more suitable to their profession, and be ambitious of living and acting as became the successors of the holy apostles; and fourthly, that
The doctrine of the Church.

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.

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 Louis, a Moravian, and his followers, went so far as to flatter themselves with the chimerical notion, that Christ would descend in person upon earth armed with fire and sword, to extirpate heresy, and purify the church from its multiplied corruptions. These fanatical dreams they propagated everywhere, 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 indifferently laid to the charge of the

Byzinii Diarium Hussiticum, p. 130.
The com-
motions in
Bohemia ter-
minated.

The Internal History of the Church.

CENT. 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 executing vengeance
upon their enemies, against whom they breathed
nothing but bloodshed and fury, without any
mixture of humanity or compassion.

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 to

[z] From the following opinions and maxims of the Taborites,
which may be seen in the Diarium Hussiticum of Byzinius, we
may form a just idea of their detestable barbarity: Omnes leges
Christi adversariorum debent puniri septem plagis novissimis, ad
quorum executionem sudeles sunt provocandi.—In isto tempore ulterior Christi
in sua humilitate et miseracione non est imitantis ad ipsos peccatores,
sed in zelo et furore et justa retributione.—In hoc tempore ulterioris,
quilibet sullis, eiam presbyteri, quantunque spiritualis, eft
maledictus, qui gladium suum corporalem prohibeat 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, Cochlaeus, and others) Lefchant, Histoire
de la guerre des Hussites, which was published at Amsterdam in
two volumes in 4to, in the year 1731. To this history it will,
however, be advisable to add the Diarium Belli Hussitici of By-
zinius, a book worthy of the highest esteem, on account of the
condemn and impartiality with which it is composed, and which
Mr. Lefchant does not seem to have consulted. This valuable
production has been published, though incomplete, in the sixth
volume of the Reliquiae Manufcriptorum of the very learned John
Peter Ludwig. See also Beausobre’s supplement to the
Histoire de la guerre des Hussites, Lausanne, 1745, in 4to.
long and so ardently desired. The Calixtines were not averse to peace; but no methods of persuasion could engage the Taborites to yield. This matter, however, was transacted with more success by Aeneas Sylvius and others, whom the council sent into Bohemia to renew the conferences. For these new legates, by allowing the Calixtines the use of the cup in the holy sacrament, satisfied them in the point which they had chiefly at heart and thereby reconciled them with the Roman pontiff. But the Taborites remained firm, adhered inflexibly to their first principles; and neither the artifice nor eloquence of Sylvius, nor the threats, sufferings, and persecutions to which their cause exposed them, could vanquish their obstinate perseverance in it. From this period, indeed, they began to review their religious tenets, and their ecclesiastical discipline, with a design to render them more perfect. This review, as it was executed with great prudence and impartiality, produced a very good effect, and gave a rational aspect to the religion of this sect, who withdrew themselves from the war, abandoned the doctrines, which, upon serious examination, they found to be inconsistent with the spirit and genius of the gospel, and banished from their communion all those whose disordered brains, or licentious manners might expose them to reproach [a]. The Taborites, thus new-modelled, were the same with those Bohemian brethren (or Piccards, i. e. Beghards, as their adversaries called them) who joined Luther and his successors at the reformation, and of whom there are at this day many of the descendants and followers in Poland and other countries.

[a] See Adriani Regenvolschii Historia Eccles. provinciar. Slavonicae. lib. ii. cap. viii. p. 165.—Joach. Camerarii Historica Narratio de fratrum Ecclesis in Bohemia, Moravia, et Polonia, Heidelb. 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.
VIII. Among the greatest part of the interpreters of scripture that lived in this century, we find nothing worthy of applause, if we except their zeal and their good intentions. Such of them as aimed at something higher than the character of bare compilers, and ventured to draw their explications from their own sense of things, did little more than amuse, or rather delude, their readers, with mystical and allegorical fancies. At the head of this class of writers is Alphonsus Tostatus, bishop of Avila, whose voluminous commentaries upon the sacred writings exhibit nothing remarkable but their enormous bulk. Laurentius Valla is entitled to a more favorable judgment, and his small collection of Critical and Grammatical Annotations upon the New Testament is far from being destitute of merit, since it pointed out to succeeding authors, the true method of removing the difficulties that sometimes present themselves to such as study with attention the divine oracles. It is proper to observe here, that these sacred books were, in almost all the kingdoms and states of Europe, translated into the language of each respective people, particularly in Germany, Italy, France, and Britain. This circumstance naturally excited the expectations of a considerable change in the state of religion, and made the thinking few hope, that the doctrine of the church would be soon reformed by the light, that could not but arise from consulting the genuine sources of divine truth.

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
Chap. III. The Doctrine of the Church.

of the ancient fathers, and who, with all their defects, were much superior to the vain and obscure pedants of whom we now speak. The senseless jargon of the latter did not escape the just and heavy censure of some learned and judicious persons, who looked upon their method of teaching as highly detrimental to the interests of true religion, and to the advancement of genuine and solid piety. Accordingly various plans were formed by different persons, some of which had for their object the abolition of this method, others its reformation, while, in the mean time, the enemies of the schoolmen encroached from day to day. The Mystics, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more largely hereafter, were ardently bent upon banishing entirely this scholastic theology out of the Christian church. Others, who seemed disposed to treat matters with more moderation, did not insist upon its total suppression, but were of opinion, that it was necessary to reform it, by abolishing all vain and useless subjects of debate, by restraining the rage of disputing that had infected the seminaries of theology, and by seasoning the subtility 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 affability in correcting and reforming the disorders and abuses that the scholastic divines had introduced into the seminaries \[b\], as also by Savanarola, Petrus de Alliaco, and Nicholas Cusanus, whose treatise concerning Learned Ignorance is still extant.

X. The litigious herd of schoolmen found a new class of enemies equally keen, in the restorers of Eloquence and Letters, who were not all, however,

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 cloaths the principal intricacies of scholastic divinity with the graces of an agreeable and perspicuous style[c]. But after all, the scholastic theology, supported by the extraordinary credit and authority of the Dominicans and Franciscans, maintained its ground against its various opposers, nor could these two religious orders, who excelled in that litigious kind of learning, bear the thoughts of losing the glory they had acquired by quibbling and disputing in the pompous jargon of the schools.

XI. This vain philosophy, however, grew daily more contemptible in the esteem of the judicious and the wise, while, at the same time, the Mystics gathered strength, and saw their friends and abettors multiply on all sides. Among these there were, indeed, certain men of distinguished merit, who are chargeable with few of the errors and extravagancies that were mingled with the discipline and doctrine of that famous sect, such as Thomas a Kempis, the author of the Germanic theology, so highly commended by Luther, Laurentius, Justinianus,

[c] This work was published in folio at Rome in the year 1512, and at Basil in 1513.
Savanarola, and others. There are, on the cent. other hand, some writers of this sort, such as Vincentius Ferrerius, Henricus Harphius, and Bernard Senensis, in whose productions we must carefully separate certain notions which were the effects of a warm and irregular fancy, as also the visions of Dionysius, whom the Mystics consider as their chief, from the noble precepts of divine wisdom with which they are mingled. The Mystics were defended against their adversaries, the Dialecticians, partly by the Platonics, who were every where held in high esteem, and partly by some even of the most eminent scholastic doctors. The former considered Dionysius as a person whose sentiments had been formed and nourished by the study of Platonism, and wrote commentaries upon his writings; of which we have an eminent example in Marcilius Ficinus, whose name adds a lustre to the Platonic school. The latter attempted a certain sort of association between the scholastic theology and that of the Mystics; and in this class were John Gerson, Nicholas Cusanus, Dionysius the Carthusian, and others.

XII. The controversy with the enemies of Christianity was carried on with much more vigour in this than in the preceding ages, and several learned and eminent men seemed now to exert themselves with peculiar industry and zeal in demonstrating the truth of that divine religion, and defending it against the various objections of its adversaries. This appears from the learned book of Marcilius Ficinus, Concerning the Truth of Christianity, Savanarola's Triumph of the Cross, the Natural Theology of Raymond de Sabunde, and other productions of a like nature. The Jews were refuted by Perezius and Jerome de St. Foi, the Saracens by Johannes de Turrecremata, and both these classes of unbelievers were opposed by Alphonsus de Spina, in his work entitled,
The Internal History of the Church.

The Fortresses 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 subtilties and quarrels of the schoolmen, who modelled religion according to their extravagant fancies, tended to bring it into contempt. Add to all this, that the Jews and Saracens lived in many places promiscuously with the Christians, who were therefore obliged, by the proximity of the enemy, to defend themselves with the utmost assiduity and zeal.

We have already taken notice of the fruitless attempts that had been made to heal the unhappy divisions that separated the Greek and Latin churches. After the council of Florence, and the violation of the treaty of pacification by the Greeks, Nicholas V. exhorted and intreated them again to turn their thoughts towards the restoration of peace and concord. But his exhortations were without effect; and in about the space of three years after the writing of this last letter, Constantinople was besieged and taken by the Turks. And from that fatal period to the present time, the Roman pontiffs, in all their attempts to bring about a reconciliation, have always found the Grecian patriarchs more obstinate and intractable than they were when their empire was in a flourishing state. Nor is this circumstance so difficult to be accounted for, when all things are duly considered. This obstinacy was the effect of a rooted aversion to the Latins and their pontiffs, that acquired, from day to day, new degrees of strength and bitterness in the hearts of the Greeks: an aversion, produced and nourished by a persuasion that the calamities they suffered under the Turkish yoke might have been
easily removed, if the western princes and the Roman pontiffs had not refused to succour them against their haughty tyrants. And accordingly, when the Greek writers deplore the calamities that fell upon their devoted country, their complaints are always mingled with heavy accusations against the Latins, whose cruel insensibility to their unhappy situation they paint in the strongest and most odious colours.

XIV. We pass over in silence many trifling controversies among the Latins, which have no sort of claim to the attention of our readers. But we must not omit mentioning the revival of that famous dispute concerning the kind of worship that was to be paid to the blood of Christ, which was first kindled at Barcelona, in the year 1351, between the Franciscans and Dominicans, and had been left undecided by Clement VI. This controversy was now renewed at Brixen, in the year 1462, by Jacobus a 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.

CHAPTER IV.

Concerning the rites and ceremonies 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 Ceremonies, 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 alledge several reasons for multiplying, as they did, the external rites and institutions of religion; and casting over the whole of divine worship such a pompous garb of worldly

splendor. But in these reasons, and in all the explications they give of this gaudy ritual, there is much subtility and invention, without the least appearance of truth or good sense to render them plausible. The origin of these multiplied rights, that cast a cloud over the native beauty and lustre of religion, is often obscure, and frequently dishonorable. And such as, by force of ill-applied genius and invention, have endeavoured to derive honour to these ceremonies from the circumstances that gave occasion to them, have failed egregiously in this desperate attempt. The deceit is too palpable to seduce any mind that is void of prejudice and capable of attention.

II. Though the more rational and judicious of the Roman pontiffs complained of their overgrown multitude of ceremonies, festivals, temples, and the like, and did not seem unwilling to have this enormous mass somewhat diminished, they nevertheless distinguished, every one his own pontificate, by some new institution, and thought it their duty to perpetuate their fame by some new edict of this nature. Thus Calixtus III. to immortalize the remembrance of the deliverance of Belgrade from the victorious arms of Mahomet II. who had been obliged to raise the siege of that city, ordered, in the year 1456, the festival in honour of the Transfiguration of Christ (which had been celebrated in some places by private authority before this period) to be religiously observed throughout all the western world. And Sixtus IV. in the year 1476, granted Indulgences, by an express and particular edict, to all those who should devoutly celebrate an annual festival in honour of the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin, with respect to which none of the Roman pontiffs before him had thought proper to make any express declaration, or any positive
The Internal History of the Church.

CENT. XVI.

PART II.

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.

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 Francifcan order at open war with the church of Rome. In Bosnia, and the adjacent countries, the Manicheans, or Paulicians, who were the same with the sect named in Italy, Catharists, propagated their doctrines with confidence, and held their religious assemblies with impunity. It is true, indeed, that the great protector of the Manicheans, Stephen Thomascus, king of Bosnia, abjured their errors, received baptism by the ministry of John

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 Manicheans 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.

II. The Brethren and Sifters of the free spirit (who were called, in Germany, Beghards, or Schwefttriones, 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 Suabia 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. When the war between

[b] 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 lift, 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
The Internal History of the Church.

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 shewed, that the mind was not sufficiently purified nor rendered conformable to the divine nature, from whence it derived its origin. And they alone were deemed perfect by these fanatics, and supposed to be united to the Supreme Being, who could behold, without any emotion, the naked bodies of the sex to which they did not belong, and who, in imitation of what was practised before the fall by our first parents, went stark naked, and conversed familiarly in this manner with males and females, without feeling any of the tender propensities of nature. Hence it was that the Begbards, (whom the Bohemians, by a change in the pronunciation of that word called Picards) when they came into their religious assemblies, and were present at the celebration of divine worship, appeared absolutely naked, without any sort of veil or covering at all. They had also constantly in their mouths a maxim, which indeed, was very suitable to the genius of the religion they professed, viz. that they were not free (i.e. sufficiently extricated from the shackles of the body) who made use of the garments, particularly such garments as covered the thighs and the parts

Begbards and Lollards; as 1st, the Tertiarics, or third order of the more austerite Franciscans; 2dly, the Brethren of the free spirit; and 3dly, the Cellite or Alcian friars. Many writers have fallen into the same error.
adjacent. These horrible tenets could not but cast a deserved reproach up this absurd sect; and though nothing passed in their religious assemblies that was contrary to the rules of virtue, yet they were universally suspected of the most scandalous incontinence, and of the most lascivious practices. Ziska, the austere general of the Hussites, gave credit to these suspicions, and to the rumours they occasioned; and, falling upon this miserable sect in the year 1421, he put some to the sword, and condemned the rest to the flames, which dreadful punishment they sustained with the most cheerful fortitude, and also with that contempt of death that was peculiar to their sect, and which they possessed in a degree that seems to surpass credibility [1]. Among the various titles by which these extravagant enthusiasts were distinguished, that of Adamites was one; and it was given them on account of their being so studious to imitate the state of innocence in which the first man was originally created. The ignominious term of Beghards, or Picards, which was at first peculiar to

[i] See Jo. Lasiti Histories Fratrum Bohemorum, MS. lib. ii. § lxxvi. who proves, in a satisfactory and circumstantial manner, that the Hussites and the Bohemian Brethren were entirely distinct from these Picards, and had nothing at all in common with them. The other authors that have written upon this subject are honourably mentioned by Isaac de 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 Ethiopian 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.
The Internal History of the Church.

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.

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, arrayed in a white garment, and accompanied with a prodigious number of persons of both sexes, who, after the example of their chief, were also clothed in white linen, from whence they were distinguished by the name of Fratres Albati, i.e. White Brethren. This enthusiastic multitude went in a kind of procession through several provinces, following a cross, which their leader held erected like a standard, and by the striking appearance of their sanctity and devotion, captivated to such a degree the minds of the people wherever they went, that persons of all ranks and orders flocked in crowds to augment their number. The new chief exhorted his followers to appease the anger of an incensed Deity, emaciated

[k] THEODORIC DE NIEM tells us, that it was from Scotland that the sect came, and that their leader gave himself out for the prophet Elias. SIGONIUS and PLATINA inform us, that this enthusiast came from France; that he was clothed in white, carried in his aspect the greatest modesty, and seduced prodigious numbers of people of both sexes, and of all ages; that his followers (called penitents), among whom were several cardinals and priests, were clothed in white linen down to their heels, with caps which covered their whole faces, except their eyes; that they went in great troops of ten, twenty, and forty thousand persons, from one city to another, calling out for mercy, and singing hymns; that wherever they came, they were received with great hospitality, and made innumerable 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.
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], had him seized and committed to the flames; upon which his followers were dispersed, and his sect entirely extinguished. Whether a punishment so severe was inflicted with reason and justice, is a point that has been debated, and yet remains uncertain; for several writers of great credit and authority maintain the innocence of the sectary, while others assert that he was convicted of the most enormous crimes [m].

IV. In the year 1411, a sect was discovered in Flanders, and more especially at Brussels, which owed its origin to an illiterate man, whose name was Aegidius Cantor, and to William of Hildesnissen, 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

[l] What Dr. Mosheim hints but obscurely here, is farther explained by Sigonius and Platina, who tell us, that the pilgrims, mentioned in the preceding note, stopped at Viterbo, and that Boniface, fearing left 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.

The Internal History of the Church.

cent. 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; since they declared, that a new dispensation of grace and spiritual liberty was to be promulgated to mortals by the Holy Ghost. It must however be acknowledged, on the other hand, that their absurdities were mingled with several opinions, which shewed, that they were not totally void of understanding; for they maintained, among other things, "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; 2dly, 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 3dly, that voluntary penance and mortification were not necessary to salvation." These propositions, however, and some others, were declared heretical by Peter d'Ailly, bishop of Cambray, who obliged William of Hildesissen 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 perplicity in the records of antiquity. The person that appeared at the head of this sect in Thuringia was Conrad Schmidt, who, with many of his followers, was apprehended and committed to the flames \([o]\), in the year 1414, by Henry Schonefeld, who was, at that time, inquisitor in Germany, and rendered his name famous by his industry and zeal in the extirpation of heresy. Nicholas Schaden suffered at Quedlingburg for his attachment to this sect. Berthold Schade, who was seized at Halberstadt in the year 1481, escaped death, as appears most probable, by abjuring their doctrine \([p]\); and we find in the records of


—From xvi articles of faith adopted by this sect, which were committed to writing by a certain inquisitor of Brandenboreh 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 subsistence 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 Apolles’ Creed, repeats frequently the Lord’s Prayer, and the Ave Maria, and at certain times lashes his body severely, as a voluntary punishment of the transgressions he has committed, shall obtain eternal salvation.

\[p\] See the account of this matter which is given by the learned Jo. Ernest Kappius, in his Relat. de rebus Theologicis Antiquis et Novis, A. 1747, p. 475.
The Internal History of the Church.

CENT. these unhappy times a numerous list of the Flagellantes, whom the German inquisitors devoted to the flames.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.