

# Ecclesiastical History,

ANTIENT 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

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And Chancellor of the University of GOTTINGEN.

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Translated from the ORIGINAL LATIN,

And accompanied with NOTES and CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES,

By ARCHIBALD MACLAINE, D.D.

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To the whole is added AN ACCURATE INDEX.

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# THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

## PART I.

The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

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### CHAPTER I

*Concerning the prosperous events that happened to the church during this century.*

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

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Several of the northern provinces received the light of the gospel.

CENT. numbers stood firm against his most vigorous  
 XII. efforts, and persisted with an invincible obstinacy  
 PART I. in the religion of their idolatrous ancestors. Nor  
 was this the only mortification which that illustrious prelate received in the execution of his pious enterprise; for, upon his return into Germany, many of those, whom he had engaged in the profession of Christianity, 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 [a]. From this period, the Christian religion seemed to acquire daily new degrees of stability among the Pomeranians; who could not be persuaded hitherto to permit the settlement of a bishop among them. They now received ADALBERT, or ALBERT, in that character, who was accordingly the first bishop of Pomerania.

The Slavonians and inhabitants of the isle of Rugen.

II. Of all the northern princes 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 Slavonians, Venedi, Vandals, and others, who, either by their incursions or this revolt, drew upon them the weight of his victorious arm. He unsheathed his sword not only for the defence and

[a] See HENR. CANISI *Lectiones Antiquæ*, 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 Julii*, tom. i. p. 349 — DAN. CRAMERI *Chronicon Eccles. Pomeraniæ*, lib. i. as also a learned *Dissertation* concerning the conversion of the Pomeranians by the ministry of OTHO, written in the German language by CHRISTOPHER SCHOTGEN, and published at Stargard in the year 1724. Add to these, MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 123. 146. 323.



happinefs of his people, but alfo for the propagation and advancement of Chriftianity; and wherever his arms were fuccefsful, there he pulled down the temples and images, of the gods, deftroyed their altars, laid wafte their facred groves, and fubftituted in their place the Chriftian worfhip, which deferved to be propagated by better means than the fword, by the authority of reafon rather than by the defpotic voice of power. The ifland of *Rugen*, which lies in the neighbourhood of *Pomerania*, fubmitted to the victorious arms of WALDEMAR, A. D. 1168; and its fierce and favage inhabitants, who were, in reality, no more than a band of robbers and pirates, were obliged, by that prince, to hear the inftructions of the pious and learned docters that followed his army, and to receive the Chriftian worfhip. This falutary work was brought to perfection by ABSALOM, archbifhop of *Lunden*, a man of a fuperior genius, and of a moft excellent character in every refpect, whole eminent merit raifed him to the fummit of power, and engaged WALDEMAR to place him at the head of affairs [b].

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III. The Finlanders received the gofpel in the fame manner in which it had been propagated

The Finlanders.

[b] SAXO-GRAMMATICUS, *Hiftor. Danic.* lib. xiv. p. 239. HELMOLDUS, *Chron. Sclavonum*, lib. ii. cap. xii. p. 234. & HENR. BANGERTUS, *ad b. l.*—PONTOPPIDANI *Annales Ecclefie Danicæ*, tom. i. p. 404.

Befides the hiftorians here mentioned by Dr. MOSHEIM, we refer the curious reader to an excellent hiftory of *Denmark*, written in French by M. MAIET, profeffor at *Copenhagen*. In the firft volume of this hiftory, the ingenious and learned author has given a very interefting account of the progrefs of Chriftianity in the northern parts of *Europe*, and a particular relation of the exploits of ABSALOM, who was, at the fame time, archbifhop, general, admiral, and prime minifter, and who led the victorious Danes to battle by fea and land, without neglecting the cure of fouls, or diminifhing, in the leaft, his pious labours in the propagation of the gofpel abroad, and its maintenance and fupport at home.

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

The Livonians.

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

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

[d] *OERNHIELMI Histor. Eccles. gentis Suecorum*, lib. iv. cap. iv. § 13.—*JO. LOCENII Histor. Suecica*, lib. iii. p. 76. ed. *Francf.*—*ERLANDI Vita Erici Sancti*, cap. vii.—*VASTOVIV Vitæ Aquilonia*, p. 65.

[e] *VASTOVIV Vitæ Aquilon. seu Vitæ Sanctorum regni Suegotibici*, p. 62. *ERIC. BENEZZII Monumenta Ecclesiæ Suegotibicæ*, part I. p. 33.

The

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

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[f] In the year 1186.  
[g] *Equestris Ordo Militum Ensisferorum.*

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profession of Christianity, and to oblige them, by force of arms, to receive the benefits of baptism [b]. New legions were sent from *Germany* to second the efforts, and add efficacy to the mission, of these booted apostles; and they, together with the knights sword-bearers, so cruelly oppressed, slaughtered, and tormented this wretched people, that exhausted, at length, and unable to stand any longer firm against the arm of persecution, strengthened still by new accessions of power, they abandoned the statutes 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 [i].

The Slavonians.

V. None of the northern nations had a more rooted aversion to the Christians, and a more obstinate antipathy to their religion, than the Slavonians, 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.

[b] See HENR. LEONH. SCHURZFLEISCHII *Historia Ordinis Ensisferorum Equitum, Witteberg, 1701, 8vo.*

[i] See the *Origines Livoniae seu Chronicon vetus Livonicum*, published in folio, at *Frankfort*, 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.

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

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[*k*] Dr. MOSHEIM's account of this matter is very different from that which is given by FLEURY, who asserts, that it was HARTWICK, archbishop of *Bremen*, who restored the three ruined sees, and consecrated VICELINUS, bishop of *Oldenbourg*; and that, having done this without addressing himself to HENRY, that prince seized the tithes of VICELINUS, until a reconciliation was afterwards brought about between the offended prince and the worthy bishop. See FLEURY, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. lxxix. p. 665. 668 *edit. Bruxelles*. FLEURY, in this and other parts of his 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 *Origines Guelficæ*, tom. iii. p. 16. 19. 34. 55. 61. 63. 72. 82. with the celebrated Preface of SCHFIDLIUS, § xiv. p. 41.—LUDEWIG's *Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum*, tom. vi. p. 230.—J. ERN. DE WESTPHALEN, *Monumenta inedita rerum Cimbricarum et Megapolens.* tom. ii. p. 1. 98.

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

C E N T. and untractable people. Nor was his ministry  
 XII. among the Slavonians the only circumstance  
 P A R T I. that redounds to the honour of his memory; the  
 history of his life and actions in general furnishes  
 proofs of his piety and zeal, sufficient to transmit  
 his name to the latest generations [m].

The judg-  
 ment we  
 ought to  
 form of these  
 conversions.

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

[m] There is a particular and ample account of VICELINUS in the *Cimbria Literata* of MOLLERUS, tom. ii. p. 910. and in the *Hamburg.* of LAMBECIUS, lib. ii. p. 12. See also upon this subject the *Origines Neomaster, et Borgholmens.* of the most learned and industrious JOH. ERN. DE WESTPHALEN, which are published in the second tome of the *Monumenta inedita Guabrica*, p. 2344, and the *Preface* to this tome, p. 33. There is in this work a print of VICELINUS well engraven.

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

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

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The state of  
affairs in  
Tartary  
changes in  
favour of the  
Christians.

CEN T. when he was seated on the throne [n]; but his  
 XII.  
 PART I. king's name was UNGHAN. The high notions  
 the

[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 DUFRESNE's *Adnot. ad vitam Ludovici Str. à Joinville scriptam*, p. 89.) as also a certain bishop of Gabala, mentioned by OTTO FUSING, *Chronoc.* lib. vii. cap. xxxiii. See also GUILAUME RUBRUQUIS, *Voyage*, cap. xviii. p. 36. in the *Antiqua in Africam Itinera*, collected by father BERGERON, and ALBERIC in *Chronico.* ad A. 1165 & 1170. in LEIBNITII *Accessionibus Historicis*, tom. ii. p. 345. 355. It is indeed surprising, that such authentic records as these should have escaped the observation of the learned, and that so many different opinions should have been advanced concerning PRESTER JOHN, and the place of his residence. But it is too generally the fate of learned men, to overlook those accounts that carry the plainest marks of evidence, and, from a passion for the marvellous, to plunge into the regions of uncertainty and doubt. In the fifteenth century, JOHN II. king of Portugal, employed PEDRO 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 sacris Eccles. Ordinationibus*, part II. p. 367. But a new light was cast upon this matter in the seventeenth century, by the publication of several pieces, which the industry of the curious drew forth from their obscurity, and by which a great number of learned men were engaged to abandon the Portuguese opinion, and were convinced that PRESTER JOHN reigned in Asia, though they still continued to dispute about the situation of his kingdom, and other particular circumstances. There are, notwithstanding all this, some men of the most eminent learning in our times, who maintain, that JOHN was emperor of the Abyssinians, and thus prefer the Portuguese opinion, though destitute



the Greeks and Latins generally entertained of the grandeur and magnificence of this royal presbyter, were principally owing to the letters he wrote to the Roman emperor FREDERIC I., and to EMANUEL emperor of the Greeks, in which, puffed up with prosperity and flushed with success, he vaunts his victories over the neighbouring nations that disputed his passage to the throne, describes, in the most pompous and extravagant terms, the splendor of his riches, 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 territories towards the conclusion of this century, and deprived him both of his life and his dominions.

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

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The affairs  
of the Chris-  
tians in Pa-  
lестine in a  
declining  
state.

defitute of authentic proofs and testimonies, to the other above mentioned, though supported by the strongest evidence, and the most unquestionable authorities. See EUSEB. RENAUDOT, *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr.* p. 223. 337.—JOS. FRANC. LAFITAU, *Hist. des-Decouvertes des Portugais.* tom. i. p. 58. & tom. iii. p. 57.—HENR. LE GRAND, *Diss. de Johanne Presbytero* in LOBE's *Voyage de Abyssinie*, tom. i. p. 295.

Mahometans

CENT. XII.  
PART I. Mahometans saw vast numbers of those that had engaged in this holy war returning into *Europe*, and the Christian chiefs that remained in *Palestine* divided into factions, and advancing, every one, his private interest, without any regard to the public good, they resumed their courage, recovered from the terror and consternation into which they had been thrown by the amazing valour and rapid success of the European legions, and gathering troops and soliciting succours from all quarters, they harassed and exhausted the Christians by invasions, and wars without interruption. The Christians, on the other hand, sustained their efforts with their usual fortitude, and maintained their ground during many years; but when ATABEC ZENGHI [o], after a long siege, made himself master of the city of *Edeffa*, 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*.

The crusade renewed.

IX. This new expedition was hot, however, resolved upon with such unanimity and precipita-

[o] *Atabek* was a title of honour given by the *Sultans* to the viceroys or lieutenants, whom they intrusted with the government of their provinces. The Latin Authors, who have wrote the history of this holy war, and of whom BONGARSIVS has given us a complete list, call this *Atabek Zenghi*, SANGVINUS. See HERBELÔT, *Descript. Orient.* at the word ATABECK, p. 142.

tion

tion as the former had been ; it was the subject of long deliberation, and its expediency was keenly debated both in the cabinets of princes, and in the assemblies of the clergy and the people. BERNARD, the famous abbot of *Clairval*, a man of the boldest resolution and of the greatest authority, put an end to 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, and declared with such assurance that he had a divine commission to foretel its glorious success, that the king, the queen, and all the nobles, immediately put on the military cross, and prepared themselves for the voyage into *Palestine*. CONRAD III., emperor of *Germany*, was, for some time, unmoved by the exhortations of BERNARD ; but he was soon gained over by the urgent solicitations of the fervent abbot, and followed, accordingly, the example of the French monarch. The two princes, each at the head of a numerous army, set out for *Palestine*, to which they were to march by different roads. But, before their arrival in the Holy land, the greatest part of their forces were melted away, and perished miserably, some by famine, some by the sword of the Mahometans, some by shipwreck, and a considerable number by the perfidious cruelty of the Greeks, who looked upon the western nations as more to be feared than the Mahometans themselves. LEWIS VII. left his kingdom A. D. 1147, and, in the month of *March* of  
the

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

The kingdom of *Jerusalem* overturned.

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

[p] Besides the historians enumerated by BONGARSIIUS, see MABILLON, *Annal. Benedi.* tom. vi. p. 399. 404. 407. 417. 451. JAC. GERVASII *Histoire de l'Abbé Suger*, tom. iii. p. 104. 128. 173. 190. 239. This was the famous SUGER, abbot of *St. Dennis*, who had seconded the exhortations of BERNARDIN favour of the *crusade*, and whom LEWIS appointed regent of *France* during his absence. VERTOT, *Histoire des Chevaliers de Malte*, tom. i. p. 86. JOH. JAC. MASCOVIUS. *De rebus imperii sub Conrado III.*

Both

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

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

[r] See the *Life of Saladin* by BOHAO'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, *Biblioth. Orient.* at the article SALAH'ADDIN, p. 742, and MARIGNY'S *Histoire des Arabes*, tom. iv. p. 289. But above all, see the learned *History of the Arabians* in the *Modern Part of the Universal History*.

and

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

A third  
 crusade un-  
 dertaken.

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

[s] MAIMBOURG, in his *Histoire des Croisades*, and MARGNI, in his *Hist. du XII Siecle*, say, that FREDERIC perished in the *Cydus*, 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 REGER the Annalist, it appears that the *Saleph* and the *Cydus* were the same river under different names.

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

XII. The example of FREDERIC BARBAROSSA CENT. was followed, in the year 1190, by PHILIP AUGUSTUS king of *France*, and lion-hearted RICHARD, XII. king of *England*. These two monarchs set out PART 1. 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 *Accâ*, or *Ptolemais*, which had been defended by the Moslems with the most obstinate valour, the French monarch returned into *Europe*, in the month of *July*, 1191, leaving, however, behind him a considerable part of the army which he had conducted into *Palestine*. After his departure, the king of *England* pushed the war with the greatest vigour, gave daily marks of his heroic intrepidity and military skill, and not only defeated SALADIN in several engagements, but also made himself master of *X'assa* [*w*] and *Cæsarea*. • Deserted, however, by the French and Italians, and influenced by other motives and considerations of the greatest weight, he concluded, A. D. 1192, with SALADIN, a truce of three years, three months, and as many days, and soon 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

[*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 *five ships*, whereas RENAUDOT mentions 100 sail as employed in this expedition. The fleet of RICHARD consisted of 150 large ships, besides galleys, &c.

[*w*] More commonly known by the name of *Joppa*.

[*x*] DANIEL, *Histoire de France*, tom. iii. p. 426. — RAPIN THOYRAS, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, tom. ii. See there the reign of RICHARD, *Cœur de Lion*. — MARIIGNY, *Histoire des Arabes*, tom. iv. p. 285.

C F N T. even a favourable turn, to the affairs of the  
XII. Christians in the Holy land.

PART 1.

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

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 incursions and warlike achievements, to assist the poor and sick pilgrims, whom the devotion of the times conducted to the holy sepulchre, and to perform several other services that tended to the general good [y]. The first of these orders was that of the *knights of St. John of Jerusalem*, who derived their name, and particularly that of *Hospitallers*, from an hospital dedicated, in that city, to St. JOHN the *Baptist*, in which certain pious and charitable brethren were constantly employed in relieving and refreshing with necessary supplies the indigent and diseased pilgrims, who were daily arriving at *Jerusalem*. When this city became the metropolis of a new kingdom, the revenues of the hospital were to 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 expence, seconded by his brethren, who served under him in this famous hospital. BALDUIN II., to whom this proposal was made, accepted it readily, and the enterprize was solemnly approved of and confirmed by the authority of the Roman pontif. Thus, all of a sudden, the world was surprised with the strange transformation of a devout fra-

[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.



ternity, who had lived remote from the noise and tumult of arms in the performance of works of charity and mercy, into a valiant and hardy band of warriors. The whole order was upon this occasion divided into three classes; the first contained the *knights*, or soldiers of illustrious birth, who were to unsheath their swords in the Christian cause; in the second were comprehended the *priests*, who were to officiate in the churches that belonged to the order; and in the third, the *servant 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].

CENT.  
XII.  
PART I.

XIV. Another order, which was entirely of a military nature, was that of the *knights templars*, so called from a palace, adjoining to the temple of *Jerusalem*, which was appropriated to their use for a certain time by BALDUIN II. The foundations of this order were laid at *Jerusalem*, in the year 1118, by HUGUES DES PAYENS, GEOFFRY of St. ALDEMAR, or St. OMER, as some will have it, and seven other persons whose names are unknown; but it was not before the year 1228, that it acquired a proper degree of stability, by be-

The knights  
templars.

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

CENT.  
XII.  
PART I.

ing 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].

The Teuto-  
nic order.

XV. The third order resembled the first in this respect, that, though it was a military institution, the care of the poor and the relief of the sick were not excluded from the services it prescribed. Its members were distinguished by the title of *Teutonic knights of St. Mary of Jerusalem*; and as to its first rise, we cannot, with any degree of certainty, trace it farther back than the year 1190, during the siege of *Accâ*, 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 *Accâ*, several pious and charitable

[a] See MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 159.

[b] See MATTHEW PARIS, *Histor. Major.* p. 56. for an account of the commencement of this order. See also PUTEAN, *Histoire de l'Ordre Militaire des Templiers*, which was republished, with considerable additions, at *Brussels*, in 4to. in the year 1751. NIC. GURTLER *Historia Templariorum Militum*, *Amstelodam.* 1691. in 8vo.

merchants

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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 pontif CELESTINE III., who confirmed the new order by a bull issued out the twenty-third of February, A. D. 1192. This order was entirely appropriated to the Germans, and even of them none were admitted as members of it, but such as were of an illustrious birth. The support of Christianity, the defence of the Holy land, and the relief of the poor and needy, were the important duties and service to which the Teutonic knights devoted themselves by a solemn vow. Austerity and frugality were the first characteristics of this rising order, and the equestrian garment [c], with bread and water, were the only rewards which the knights derived from their generous labours. But as, according to the fate of human things, prosperity engenders corruption, so it happened that this austerity was of a short duration, and diminished in proportion as the revenues and possessions of the order augmented. The Teutonic knights, after their retreat from *Palestine*, made themselves masters of *Prussia*, *Livonia*, *Courland*, and *Semi-gallen*; but, in process of time, their victorious arms received several checks, and when the light of the reformation arose upon *Germany*, they

[c] This garment was a white mantle with a black cross,

CENT. XII.  
PART I. 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].

## CHAP. II.

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

The state of  
the church  
in the west-  
ern and  
northern  
provinces,

I. **T**HE progress of Christianity in the west had disarmed its most inveterate enemies, and deprived them of the power of doing much mischief, though they still entertained the same aversion to the disciples of Jesus. The Jews and Pagans were no longer able to oppose the propagation of the gospel, or to oppress its ministers. Their malignity remained, but their credit and authority were gone. The Jews were accused by the Christians of various crimes, whether real or fictitious we shall not determine; but, instead of attacking their accusers, they were satisfied to defend their own lives, and to secure their persons, without daring to give vent to their resentment. The state of things was somewhat different in the Northern provinces. The Pagans were yet numerous there in several districts, and wherever they were the majority, they persecuted the Christians with the utmost barbarity, the most unre-

[d] See RAYMUNDI DUELLII *Histor. Ord. Teutonici*, published in folio at Vienna in 1727.—PETRI DUSBURG, *Chronicon Prussia*, published in 4to. at Jena, in the year 1679, by CHRISTOPH. HARTKNOCHIUS.—HEYLOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. iii. p. 140.—*Chronicon Ordinis Teutonici* in ANTON. MATTHÆI *Analectis veteris ævi*, tom. v. p. 621. 658. ed. nov.—*Privilegia Ordinis Teutonici* in PETR. à LUDEWIG *Reliquis Manuscriptor.* tom. vi. p. 43.

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

C E N T.  
XII.  
P A R T I.

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

Its sufferings  
in the east.

[e] HELMOLD, *Chronic. Sclavor.* lib. i. cap. xxxiv. p. 88. cap. xxxv. p. 89. cap. xl. p. 99.—LINDENBROGH *Scriptor. Septentrional.* p. 195, 196. 201.—PETRI LAMBECHII *Res Hamburg.* lib. 1. p. 23.

CENT. XII. ing war upon the Mahometans in order to de-  
 PART II. liver *Jerusalem* and the holy sepulchre out of their  
 hands, but carried their brutal fury to the greatest  
 length, disgraced their cause by the most detest-  
 able 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 exasper-  
 ated, 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 re-  
 sided in *Palestine*, as professing the religion which  
 gave occasion to the war, and attached, of con-  
 sequence, to the cause of their enemies and  
 invaders?

Prefter J hn  
 departs this  
 life.

III. The rapid and amazing victories of the  
 great GENGHIZKAN, emperor of the Tartars, gave  
 an unhappy turn to the affairs of the Christians  
 in the northern parts of *Asia*, towards the con-  
 clusion of this century. This heroic prince,  
 who was by birth a Mogul, and whose military  
 exploits raise him in the list of fame above almost  
 all the commanders either of ancient or modern  
 times, rendered his name formidable throughout  
 all *Asia*, whose most flourishing dynasties fell  
 successively before his victorious arms. DAVID,  
 or UNGCHAN, who, according to some, was the  
 son, or, as others will have it, the brother, but  
 who was certainly the successor, of the famous  
 PRESTER JOHN, and was himself so called in com-  
 mon discourse, was the first victim that GEN-

GHIZKAN

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

[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 PRESTLY JOHN. The most of the Latin writers place this event in the year 1202, and consequently in the XIIth century. But MARCUS PAULUS VENETUS (in his book *De Regionibus Orientalibus*, lib. 1. cap. li, lii, liii.) and other historians, whose accounts I have followed as the most probable, place the defeat of this second PRESTER JOHN in the year 1187. The learned and illustrious DEMETRIUS CANTEMIR (in his *Præf. ad Histor. imperii Ottomanici*, p. 45. tom. i. of the French edition) gives an account of this matter different from the two now mentioned, and affirms, upon the authority of the Arabian writers, that GENGHIZKAN did not invade the territories of his neighbours before the year 1214.

[g] See PETIT DE LA CROIX, *Histoire de Genghizkan*, p. 120, 121. published in 12mo. at Paris in the year 1711. — HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Oriental.* at the article GENGHIZKAN, p. 378. — ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. iii. part 1. p. 101, & 295. — JEAN DU PLAN CARPIN, *Voyage en Tartarie*, ch. v. in the *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*, tom. vii. p. 350.

must

CENT. must except, however, in this general account,  
 XII. the kingdom of *Tangut*, the chief residence of  
 PART I. 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 [*b*].

[*b*] ASSEMANNI *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. iii. part II.  
 p. 500.



## P A R T II.

## The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

## C H A P T E R I.

*Concerning the state of letters and philosophy during  
this century*

I. NOTWITHSTANDING the decline of the Gre-  
cian empire, the calamities in which it was  
frequently involved, and the perpetual revolutions  
and civil wars that consumed its strength and  
were precipitating its ruin, the arts and sciences  
still flourished in Greece, and covered with glory  
such as cultivated them with assiduity and success.  
This was owing, not only to the liberality of the  
emperors, and to the extraordinary zeal which  
the family of the COMNENI discovered for the ad-  
vancement of learning, but also to the provident  
vigilance of the patriarchs of *Constantinople*, who  
took all possible measures to prevent the clergy  
from falling into ignorance and sloth, lest the  
Greek church should thus be deprived of able  
champions to defend its cause against the Latins.  
The learned and ingenious commentaries of EU-  
STATHIUS, 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 anti-  
quity. And if we turn our view towards the  
various writers who composed in this century the  
history of their own times, such as CINNAMUS,  
GLYCAS, ZONARAS, NICEPHORUS, BRYENNIUS,  
and others, we shall find in their productions un-

C E N T.  
XII.  
P A R T II.  
The state of  
learning  
among the  
Greeks.

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

The state of  
 philosophy.

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

The state of  
 learning  
 among the  
 Latins.

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

[a] THEODORUS BALSAMON, *Præf. ad Photii Nomocanonem* in HENR. JUSTELLI *Bibliotheca juris canonici veteris*, torn. II. p. 814.

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

CENT.  
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PART II.

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[b] DE BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 463.—PASQUIER, *Recherches de la France*, livr. iii. ch. xxix.—PETRI LAMBECCII *Histor. Biblioth. Vindobon.* lib. ii. cap. v. p. 260.—*Histoire Litter. de la France*, tom. ix. p. 60—80.

that

CENT.  
XII.  
PART II.

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

[c] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. ii. p. 215.—PASQUET DE LA LIVONIERE, *Dissert. sur l'Antiquité de l'Université d'Angers*, p. 21. published in 4to at Angers, 1735.

[d] *Histoire Gen. de Languedoc, par les Benedictins*, tom. ii. p. 517.

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

many

many princes and prelates, and discovered itself in the erection of so many academies and schools of learning, the Roman pontif, 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.

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XII.  
PART II.

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

A new division of sciences.

[f], See B. BOHMERI *Jus Eccles. Protestant.* tom. iv. p. 705.  
the

CENT.  
XII.  
PART II.

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

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

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

V. A happy and unexpected event restored in *Italy* the lustre and authority of the ancient Roman law, and, at the same time, lessened the credit of all the other systems of legislation that had been received for several ages past. This event was the discovery of the original manuscript of the famous *Pandect* of JUSTINIAN, which was found in the ruins of *Amalphi*, or *Melfi*, when that city was taken by LOTHARIUS II., in the year 1137, and of which that emperor made a present to the inhabitants of *Pisa*, whose fleet had contributed, in a particular manner, to the success of the siege. This admirable collection, which had been almost buried in oblivion, was no sooner recovered, than the Roman law became the grand object of the studies and labours of the learned. In the academy of *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 sollicit-

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Roman law  
revived.

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cal or canon  
law.

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

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

[*b*] Otherwise called WERNER.

[*i*] See HERM. CONRINGIUS, *De origine juris Germanici*, cap. xxii.—GUIDO GRACIUS, *Epist. de Pandectis*, p. 21. 69. published at *Florence*, in 4to, in 1737.—HENRY BRENCMANN, *Historia Pandectarum*, p. 41.—LUD. ANT. MURATORI *Præf. ad Leges Langobardicas*, *Scriptor. rerum Italicar.* tom. i. part II. p. 4. & *Antiqq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. ii. p. 285. There was a warm controversy carried on concerning this matter between GEORGE CALIXTUS and BARTHOL. NINUSIUS, 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 MOLERUS, tom. iii. p. 142.

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*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 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 Romish communion acknowledge, that it is full of errors and defects of various kinds [m]. As, however, the main design of this abridgment of the canons was to support the despotism, and to extend the authority of the Roman pontiffs, its innumerable defects were overlooked, its merits were exaggerated; and, what is still more surprising, it enjoys at this day, in an age of light and liberty, that high degree of veneration and authority, which was inconsiderately, though more excusably, lavished upon it in an age of tyranny, superstition, and darkness [n].

VII.

[k] *Decretum GRATIANI.*[l] *Concordia Discordantium Canonum.*[m] See, among others, ANTON. AUGUSTINUS, *De Emendatione GRATIANI*, published in 8vo at *Arnheim*, A.D. 1672, with the learned observations of STEPH. BALUZIUS and GER. A MASTRICHT.[n] See GERHARD. A MASTRICHT, *Historia juris Ecclesiastici*, § 293. p. 325.—B. JUST. HEN. BOHMERT *Jus. Eccl. 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 Sigonius*  
D 2 *Histor.*

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The state of  
philosophy  
among the  
Latins.

VII. Such among the Latins as were ambitious of making a figure in the republic of letters, applied themselves, with the utmost zeal and diligence, to the study of philosophy. Philosophy, taken in its most extensive and general meaning, comprehended, according to the method which was the most universally received towards the middle of this century, four classes; it was divided into *theoretical*, *practical*, *mechanical*, and *logical*. The first class comprehended *natural theology*, *mathematics*, and *natural philosophy*. In the second class were ranked *ethics*, *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 [o].

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

[o] These literary anecdotes I have taken from several writers, particularly from HUGO a St. VICTOR, *Didascalii Libro* ii. cap. ii. p. 7. tom. i. opp. and from the *Metalogicum* of JOHN of Salisbury.

VIII. The learned, who treated these different branches of science, were divided into various factions, which attacked each other with the utmost animosity and bitterness [p]. There were, at this time, *three* methods of teaching philosophy that were practised by different doctors. The *first* was, the *ancient* and *plain* method, which confined its researches to the philosophical notions of PORPHYRY, and the *dialectic* system, commonly attributed to St. AUGUSTINE, and in which was laid down this general rule, that philosophical inquiries were to be limited to a small number of subjects, lest, by their becoming too extensive, religion might suffer by a profane mixture of human subtilty with its divine wisdom. The *second* method was called the *Aristotelian*, because it consisted in explications of the works of that philosopher [q], several of whose books, being translated into Latin, were now almost every where in the hands of the learned. These translations were, indeed, extremely obscure and incorrect, and led those who made use of them in their academical lectures, into various blunders, and often into notions, which were not more

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Diffusions  
among the  
philoso-  
phers.

[p] See GODOF. de St. VICTOR. *Carmen de Sectis Philosoph.* published by LE BOEUF, in his *Diff. sur l'Histoire Ecclesiast. et Civile de Paris*. tom. ii. p. 254.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 562.—ANT. WOOD, *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 51.—JO. SARISBURIENSIS *Metalog. et Policrat.* passim.

[q] ROB. DE MONTE, *Append. ad Sigebertum Gemblacens.* published by LUC. DACHERIUS, among the works of GUIBERT, abbot of Nogent, ad A. 1128, p. 753. *Jacobus Clericus de Venecia transtulit de Græco in Latinum quosdam libros Aristotelis et commentatus est, scilicet Topica, Annal. priores et posteriores et elenchos. Quamvis antiquior translatio super eisdem libros haberetur.* THOM. BECKET, *Epistolar.* lib. ii. ep. xciii. p. 454. edit. Bruxell. 1682, in 4to. *Itero preces, quatenus libros Aristotelis, quos habetis, mihi faciatis exscribi . . . Precor etiam sterata supplicatione quatenus in operibus Aristotelis, ubi difficiliora fuerint, notulas faciat, eo quod interpretem aliquatenus suspectum habeo, quia licet eloquens fuerit alias, ut sæpe audiui, minus tamen fuit in grammatica institutus.*

C E N T. XII. P \* \* T II. absurd than whimsical and singular. The *third* was termed the *free method*, employed by such as were bold enough to search after truth, in the manner they thought the most adapted to render their inquiries successful, and who followed the bent of their own genius, without rejecting, however, the succours of ARISTOTLE and PLATO, Laudable as this method was, it became an abundant source of sophistry and chicanery, by the imprudent management of those that employed it; for these subtle doctors, through a wanton indulgence of their metaphysical fancies, did little more than puzzle their disciples with vain questions, and fatigue them with endless distinctions and divisions [r]. These different systems, and vehement contests that divided the philosophers, gave many persons a disgust against philosophy in general, and made them desire, with impatience, its banishment from the public schools.

The contests  
of the Dia-  
lecticians,  
Realists, and  
Nominalists  
described,

IX. Of all the controversies that divided the philosophers in this century, there were none carried on with greater animosity, and treated with greater subtilty and refinement, than the contests of the *Dialectics* concerning *universals*. 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

[r] See Jo. SARISBURIENSIS *Polycrat.* p. 434. *et Metalog.* p. 814, &c.

[s] JOHN of Salisbury, a very elegant and ingenious writer of this age, censures, with a good deal of wit, the crude and unintelligible speculations of these sophists, in his book entitled, *Polycrat: con seu de Nugis Curialium*, lib. vii. p. 451. He observes, that there had been more time consumed in resolving the question relating

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

Those

relating to *genus* and *species*, than the *Cæsars* 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 speciebus* (he speaks here of a certain philosopher) *in qua laborans mundus jam senuit, in qua plus temporis consumptum est, quam in acquirendo et regendo orbis imperio consumpsit Cæsarea domus: plus effusum pecuniæ, quam in omnibus divitiis suis possederit Cræsus. Hæc enim tam diu multos tenuit, ut cum hoc unum tota vita quærent, tandem nec istud, nec aliud invenirent.*

[t] See the above-cited author's *Polycrat.* lib. vii. p. 451. where he gives a succinct account of the *Formalists*, *Realists*, and *Nominalists* in the following words: *Sunt qui more mathematicorum FORMAS abstrahunt, et ad illas quicquid de universalibus dicitur referunt.* Such were the *Formalists*, who applied the doctrine of universal ideas to what the mathematicians call *abstract forms*. *Alii discutiunt INTELLECTUS et eos universalem nominibus censeri confirmant.* Here we find the *Realists* pointed out,

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

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

[*u*] GERHARD of *Cremona*, who was so famous among the Italians for his eminent skill in astronomy and physic, undertook a voyage to *Toledo*, where he translated into Latin several Arabian treatises; see *MURATORI Antiq. Ital. medi ævi, tom. iiii. p. 936, 937.*—MIRMET, a French monk, travelled into *Spain* and *Africa*, to learn geography among the Saracens. See *LUC. DACHERI 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 *Clugny*, surnamed the *Venerable*,  
after

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

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## C H A P. II.

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

I. **W**HEREVER 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

The lives  
and manners  
of the  
clergy

after having sojourned for some time among the Spaniards, in order to make himself master of the Arabian language, translated into Latin, the *Alcoran*, and the *Life of Mahomet*; see MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. lib. lxxvii. 345. This eminent ecclesiastic, as appears from the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, p. 116g. found, upon his arrival in *Spain*, persons of learning from *England* and other nations, who applied themselves with extraordinary assiduity and ardour to the study of astrology. We might multiply the examples of those who travelled in quest of science during this century; but those now alleged are sufficient for our purpose.

live

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The pontiffs  
ambitious  
to extend  
their au-  
thority.

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].

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

[w] In the work entitled. *Considerationum Libri v. ad Eugenium Pontificem*.

[x] See his defence of the crusades, under the title of *Apologia ad Gulielmum Abbatem*; as also GERHONUS, *De corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu*, in BALUZII *Miscell.* tom. v. p. 63.—*Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 6. *App.* tom. ii. p. 265. 273, &c. BOU-LAY, *Histor. Academ. Parisi.* tom. ii. p. 490. 690.



sion 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 [y].

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PASCAL, therefore, unwilling to let pass unimproved the present success of the papal faction, renewed, in a council assembled at *Rome*, A. D. 1102, the decrees of his predecessors against *investitures*, and the excommunications they had thundered out against HENRY IV., and used his most vigorous endeavours to raise up on all sides new enemies to that unfortunate emperor. HENRY, however, opposed, with great constancy and resolution, the efforts of this violent pontif, and eluded with much dexterity and vigilance his perfidious stratagems. But his heart, wounded in the tenderest part, lost all its firmness and courage, when, in the year 1106, an unnatural son, under the impious pretext of religion, took up arms against his person and his cause. HENRY V., so was this monster afterwards named, seized his father in a most treacherous manner, and obliged him to abdicate the empire; after which the unhappy prince retired to *Liege*, where, deserted by all his adherents, he departed this life, and so got rid of his misery, in the year 1106. It has been a matter of dispute, whether it was the instigation of the pontif, 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

The dispute concerning investitures is fomented anew.

[y] Dr. MOSHEIM's affirmation here must be somewhat modified in order to be true: it is certain, that, after the death of GUIBERT, the imperial party chose in his place a person named ALBERT, who, indeed, was seized the day of his election, and cast into prison. THEODORIC and MAGNULF were successively chosen after ALBERT, but could not support for any time their claim to the pontificate. See FLEURY, *Hist. Eccles.* livr. lxx. vol. xiv. p. 10. *Brussels* edition in 8vo.

perfect

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The progress  
of this de-  
bate.

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

III. The revolution that this odious rebellion caused in the empire, was, however, much less favourable to the views of PASCAL than that lordly pontif expected. HENRY V. could by no means be persuaded to renounce his right of *investing* the bishops and abbots, though he was willing to grant the right of election to the *canons* and *monks*, as was usual before his time. Upon this the exasperated pontif renewed, in the councils of *Guastalla* and *Troyers*, 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 pontif, 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

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

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 possessing independent lands and territories, with other immunities of a like nature. These conditions were agreeable to HENRY, who accordingly gave a formal consent to them in the year 1111; but they were extremely displeasing to the Italian and German bishops, who expressed their dissent in the strongest terms. Hence a terrible tumult arose in the church of St. PETER, where the contending parties were assembled with their respective followers; upon which HENRY ordered the pope to be seized, and to be confined in the castle of *Viterbo*. After having lain there for some time, the captive pontif 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 *crozier*. Thus was the peace concluded, in consequence of which the vanquished pontif arrayed HENRY with the imperial diadem [a].

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

Pascal  
breaks this  
convention,  
and dies.

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

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

[b] PASCAL, upon this occasion, as GREGORY VII. had formerly done in the case of BERENGER, submitted his proceedings and his authority to the judgment of a council, to which, of consequence, he acknowledged his subordination. Nay, still more, that council condemned his measures, and declared them scandalous.

[c] See GERVAISE, *Diff. sur l'Herésie des investitures*, which is the fourth of the *Dissertations* which he has prefixed to his *History of the Abbot Suger*.

PASCAL,

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

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V. A few days after the death of PASCAL, JOHN of *Gaieta*, a Benedictine monk of *Montcassin*, and chancellor of the Roman church, was raised to the pontificate under the title of GELASIUS II. In opposition to this choice, HENRY elected to the same dignity MAURICE BURDIN, archbishop of *Braga* in *Spain* [*d*], who assumed the denomination of GREGORY VIII. [*e*]. Upon this, GELASIUS, not thinking himself safe at *Rome*, nor indeed in *Italy*, set out for *France*, and in a little time after died at *Clugny*. 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 pontifs 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 pontif continued to oppose the em-

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

[*e*] See STEPHANI BALUZII *Vita Mauriti Burdini Miscellaneor.* tom. iii. p. 471.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This convention was solemnly confirmed the year following in the general council of Lateran,

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

[h] From this period the people in *Germany* were excluded from the right of voting in the election of bishops. See *PETRA DE MARCA, De concordia sacerdotii et imperii*, lib. vi. cap. ii. § 9. p. 783. edit. *Bohmeri*.

[i] See *MURATORI Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. vi. p. 76.—*SCHILTERUS, De Libertate Eccl. Germanicæ*, lib. iv. cap. iv. p. 545.—*CÆSAR RASPONUS, De Basilica Lateranensi*, lib. iv. p. 295.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[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.

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[i] See MURATORI *Antiq. Ital. mediæ ævi*, tom. vi. p. 76 — SCHILFERUS, *De Libertat. Eccl. Germanicæ*, lib. iv. cap. iv. p. 545. — CÆSAR RASPOVUS, *De Basilica Lateranensi*, lib. iv. p. 295.

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PART II.

Two popes  
raised at the  
same time to  
the pontifi-  
cate.

and remains still in force in our times; though the true sense of some of its articles has occasioned disputes between the emperors and pontifs [k].

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

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



entire and undisputed possession of the apostolic chair. The surviving pontif presided, in the year 1139, at the second council of Lateran, and about four years after ended his days in peace [1].

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PART II.

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

Succession of  
the pontiffs,  
from the  
death of In-  
nocent to the  
end of this  
century.

[1] Besides the ordinary writers of the papal history, see JEAN DE LANNES, *Histoire du pontificat du Pape Innocent II.*, Paris. 1741, in 8vo.

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

CENT. time. At length, exhausted by the opposition  
 XII. he met with in supputing what he looked upon  
 PART II. as the prerogatives of the papacy, he departed  
 this life in the year 1153. The pontificate of his  
 successor CONRAD, bishop of *Sabino*, who, after  
 his elevation to the see of *Rome*, assumed the title  
 of ANASTASIUS IV., was less disturbed by civil  
 commotions, but it was also of a very short dura-  
 tion; for ANASTASIUS died about a year and four  
 months after his election.

The contest  
 between the  
 emperors  
 and popes is  
 renewed un-  
 der Frederic  
 Barbarossa  
 and Adrian  
 IV.

IX. The warm contest between the emperors  
 and the popes, which was considered as at an  
 end ever since the time of CALLIXTUS II.,  
 was unhappily renewed under the pontificate of  
 ADRIAN IV., who was a native of *England*, and  
 whose original name was NICOLAS BREAKSPEAR.  
 FREDERIC I., surnamed *Barbarossa*, was no sooner  
 seated on the imperial throne, than he publicly  
 declared his resolution to maintain the dignity  
 and privileges of the Roman empire in general,  
 and more particularly 'to render it respectable in  
*Italy*; nor was he at all studious to conceal the  
 design he had formed of reducing the overgrown  
 power and opulence of the pontiffs and clergy  
 within narrower limits. ADRIAN perceived the  
 danger that threatened the majesty of the church,  
 and the authority of the clergy, and prepared  
 himself for defending both with vigour and  
 constancy. The first occasion of trying their  
 strength was offered at the coronation of the em-  
 peror at *Rome*, in the year 1155, when the pontif  
 insisted upon FREDERIC's performing the office of  
 equerry, and holding the stirrup to his Holiness.  
 This humbling proposal was at first rejected with  
 disdain by the emperor, and was followed by  
 other contests of a more momentous nature relat-  
 ing 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 pontifs, bishops, and monks, which increased from day to day, enacted a law to prevent the transferring of *sefs*, 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 pontif was expected as the inevitable consequence of such vigorous measures, when the death of ADRIAN, which happened on the first of *September*, A. D. 1159, suspended the storm [o].

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X. In the election of a new pontif; the cardinals were divided into two factions. The most numerous and powerful of the two raised to the pontificate ROLAND, bishop of *Sienna*, who assumed the name of ALEXANDER III., while the opposite party elected to that high dignity OCTAVIAN, cardinal of *St. Cecilia*, known by the title of VICTOR IV. The latter was patronised by the emperor, to whom ALEXANDER was extremely disagreeable on several accounts. The council of *Pavia*, which was assembled by the emperor in the year 1160, adopted his sentiments, and pronounced in favour of VICTOR, who became thereby triumphant in *Germany* and *Italy*; so that *France* alone was left open to ALEXANDER, who accordingly left *Rome*, and fled thither for safety

A dispute arises in the election of a new pontif.

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

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

CENT. and protection. Amidst the tumults and com-  
 XII. motions which this schism occasioned, VICTOR  
 PART II. 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 pontif  
 under the title of PASCAL III., and acknowledged  
 in that character by the German princes assembled  
 in the year 1167, at the diet of *Wurtzbourg*. In  
 the mean time ALEXANDER recovered his spirits,  
 and returning into *Italy* maintained his cause with  
 uncommon resolution and vigour, and not with-  
 out 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 in-  
 solent pontif fled to *Benevento*, and left the apo-  
 stolic chair to PASCAL, his competitor.

XI. The affairs of ALEXANDER seemed to take  
 soon after a more prosperous turn, when the  
 greatest part of the imperial army being con-  
 sumed by a pestilential disorder, the emperor was  
 forced to abandon *Italy*, and when the death of  
 PASCAL, which happened in the year 1168, de-  
 livered 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 CAL-  
 LIXTUS III., whom FREDERIC, notwithstanding  
 his absence in *Germany*, and the various wars and  
 disputes in which he was involved, supported to  
 the utmost of his power. When peace was, in a  
 good measure, restored to the empire, FREDERIC  
 marched

marched into *Italy*, A. D. 1174, with a design to chastise the perfidy of the states and cities that had revolted during his absence, and seized the first favourable opportunity of throwing off his yoke. Had this expedition been crowned with the expected success, ALEXANDER would, undoubtedly, have been obliged to desist from his pretensions, and to yield the papal chair to 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, and consider it as utterly destitute of authority and unworthy of credit [r].

## XII.

[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 Venetia à Venetia occultamente nel A. 1177. di Papa Alessandro III.* Venet. 1629, in 4to.—MURATORI *Antiq. Italianæ mediæ ævi*, tom. iv. p. 2. 9.—*Origines Guelphicæ*, tom. ii. p. 379.—*Ad Sanctorum*, tom. i. April. p. 46. in *Vita Hugonis, abbatis Eboracensis*, & tom. ii. April. in *Vita Galdini Mediolanensis*, p. 596. two famous ecclesiastics, who were employed as ambassadors and arbiters in the treaty of peace here mentioned.

[q] Psalm xci. 13.

[r] See BUNAU's *Life of Frederic I.*, p. 242.—HEUMANNI *Pæcibus*, tom. iii. lib. i. p. 145.—*Bibliothèque Italique*, tom. vi.

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PART II.

Amisunder-  
standing  
arises be-  
tween Alex-  
ander III.,  
and Henry  
II., king of  
England.

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 these laws,

p. 5. as also the authors mentioned by CASPAR. SAGITTARIUS, in his *Introduc. in Histor. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 63c. tom. ii. p. 600.

[s] See MATTH. PARIS, *Histor. Major.* p. 32, 83. 101. 114.—DAV. WILKINS, *Concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, tom. i. p. 434.

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

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

II. Those churches which are *fiefs* 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 judiciary, 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 judiciary 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.

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

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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 passage, stay, or return, to the prejudice of the king, or kingdom.

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

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

VII. No person that *holds in chief of the king*, or any of his barons, shall be excommunicated, or any of their estates put under an *interdict*, before application made to the king, provided he is in the kingdom; and, in case his highness be out of *England*, then the judiciary 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.



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

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

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



the resolute monarch and the rebellious prelate, which obliged the latter to retire into *France*, where ALEXANDER III. was at that time in a kind of exile. This pontif 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-instated in his forfeited dignity. But the generous and indulgent proceedings of his sovereign towards him, were not sufficient to conquer his arrogant and rebellious obstinacy in maintaining, what he called, the privileges of the church, nor could he be induced by any means to comply with the views and measures of HENRY.

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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 excommunicate such disseizers and injurious persons in case they proved refractory and incorrigible.*

XIV. The goods and chattels of those who lie under forfeitures of felony or treason are not to be detained in any church or 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 without the consent of the lord of the manor where they were born.

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

The

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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 [†]. This event produced warm

☞ [†] This assertion is, in our opinion, by much too strong. It can only be founded upon certain indiscreet and passionate expressions, which the intolerable insolence and frenetic obstinacy of BECKET drew from HENRY in an unguarded moment, when, after having received new affronts, notwithstanding the reconciliation he had effected with so much trouble and condescension, he expressed himself to this purpose: *Am I not unhappy, that, among the numbers, who are attached to my interests, and employed in my service, there is none possessed of spirit enough to resent the affronts which I am constantly receiving from a miserable priest?* These words, indeed, were not pronounced in vain. Four gentlemen of the court, whose names were *Fitz Urse, Tracy, Britton, and Morville*, murdered BECKET in his chapel, and thus performed, in a licentious and criminal manner, an action which the laws might have commanded with justice. But it is extremely remarkable, that, after the murder, the assassins were afraid they had gone too far, and durst not return to the king's court, which was then in *Normandy*; but retired, at first, to *Knaresborough* in *Yorkshire*, which belonged to *Morville*, from whence they repaired to *Rome* for absolution, and being admitted to penance by ALEXANDER III., were sent, by the orders of that pontif, to *Jerusalem*, and passed the remainder of their lives upon the *Black Mountain* in the severest acts of austerity and mortification. All this does not look as if the king had been deliberately concerned in this murder, or had expressly consented to it. On the contrary, various circumstances concur to prove that HENRY was entirely innocent of this murder. Mr. HUME mentions particularly one, which is worthy of notice. The king, suspecting the design of the four gentlemen above mentioned, by some menacing expressions they had dropt, “dispatched (says Mr. HUME) a messenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing against the person of the primate. “But these orders came too late.” See his *History of England*, vol. i. p. 294. RAPIN THOYRAS, *History of England*; COLLIER's *Ecclesiastical History of England*, vol. i. p. 370. The authors which Dr. MOSHEIM refers to for an account of this matter are as follow: GUILIEL. STEPHANIDÆ, *Historia Thomæ Cantuariensis* in SPARKS *Scriptores rerum Anglicarum*, published

warm debates between the king of *England* and the Roman pontif, 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 pontifs. 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<sup>st</sup>, That in order to put an end to the confusion and dissensions which so often accompanied the election of the Roman pontifs, 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 pontif. 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

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

published in folio at *London* in the year 1723.—CHRISP. LUPI *Epistolæ et vita Thomæ Cantuar.*—*Epistolæ Alexandri III., Ludovici VII., Henrici II., in hac causa ex MSS. Vaticano, Bruxelles* 1682, 2 vol. 4to.—NATALIS ALEXANDER, *Select. Hist. Eccles. Capitib. Sæc. xii. Diss. x.* p. 833.—THOMÆ STAPLETONI *Tres Thomæ, seu res gestæ Thomæ Apostoli, S. Thomæ Cantuariensis, et Thomæ Mori, Colon.* 1612, in 8vo.

[u] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 328. et *De Die Festo ejus*, p. 397. DOM. COLONIA, *Histoire Littéraire de la Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 249.

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important dignity. 2dly, A spiritual war was declared against Heretics, whose numbers increasing considerably about this time, created much disturbance in the church in general, and infested, in a more particular manner, several provinces in *France*, which groaned under the fatal dissensions that accompanied the propagation of their errors [w]. 3dly, The right of recommending and nominating to the 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 pontif alone [x]. To all this we must not forget to add, that the power of erecting new kingdoms, which had been claimed by the pontifs from the time of GREGORY VII., was not only assumed, but also exercised by ALEXANDER in a remarkable instance; for, in the year 1179, he conferred the title of king, with the ensigns of royalty, upon ALPHONSO I., duke of *Portugal*, who, under the pontificate of LUCIUS II., had rendered his province tributary to the Roman see [y].

[w] See NATALIS ALEXANDER, *Select. Histor. Eccles. Capit. Sæc. xii. Diss. ix.* p. 819. where he treats particularly concerning this council.—See also tom. vi. part II. *Conciliorum HARDUINI*, p. 1671.

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

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

[y] BARONIUS, *Annal. ad A. 1179.*—INNOCENTII III. *Epistolæ Lib. ep. xlix.* p. 54. tom. i. ed. *Baluzian.*

✠ ALPHONSO had been declared, by his victorious army, king of *Portugal*, in the year 1136, in the midst of the glorious exploits he had performed in the war against the *Moor*s; 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, URBALD, C E N T. XII. PART II. bishop of *Ostia*, otherwise known by the name of LUCIUS III., was raised to the pontificate, A. D. 1181, by the suffrages of the cardinals alone, in consequence of the law mentioned in the preceding section. His successor. The administration of this new pontif 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 [x], whose papal denomination was GREGORY VIII., exhibited still a more striking instance of the fragility of human grandeur; for this pontif yielded to fate about two months after his elevation. He was succeeded by PAUL, bishop of *Preneſte*, who filled the papal chair above three years under the title of CLEMENT III., and departed this life, A. D. 1191, without having distinguished his ghostly reign by any memorable atchievement, 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 pontifs we have been now mentioning; for he thundered his excommunications against the emperor HENRY VI., and LEOPOLD,

[x] This prelate, before his elevation to the papacy, was bishop of *Basewento*, and chancellor of the Roman church.

[a] Whose name was HYACINTH, a native of *Rome*, and a cardinal deacon.

**CENT.** duke of *Austria*, on account of their having seized  
**XII.** and imprisoned **RICHARD I.**, king of *England*, as  
**PART II.** he was returning from the Holy Land; he also  
 subjected to the same malediction **ALPHONSO X.**  
 king of *Gallicia* and *Leon*, on account of an in-  
 cestuous marriage into which that prince had  
 entered, and commanded **PHILIP AUGUSTUS**,  
 king of *France*, to re-admit to the conjugal state  
 and honours **INGELBURG** his queen, whom he had  
 divorced for reasons unknown; though this order,  
 indeed, produced but little effect [b]. But the  
 most illustrious and resolute pontif, 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 pontif, who was placed at the head  
 of the church in the year 1198, belong to the  
 history of the following century.

A view of  
 the other  
 ecclesiastical  
 orders, and  
 their vices.

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

[b] It was in consequence of the vigorous and terrible  
 proceedings of **INNOCENT III.**, that the re-union between  
**PHILIP** and **INGELBURG** was accomplished. - See *L'Histoire*  
*de France, par l'Abbé Velly*, tom. iii. p. 367, 368, 369.

and

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

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[c] See RUPERTI *Epistola* in MARTENE *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. i. p. 285. This writer prefaces the monks before the apostles.

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

[e] ISAIAH, xlvii. 8.

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The pro-  
sperous state  
of the Cif-  
tertian Or-  
der.

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

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

[*f*] See MARTENE, *Amplissima Collectio Monumentorum Veterum*. tom. ix. p. 1119.

[*g*] See Jo. MABILLION, *Annal. Ordinis Benedicti*. tom. vi. passim, in *vita S. Bernardi*, which he has prefixed to his edition of the works of that saint.—See also ANGELI MANRIQUEZ, *Annales Cistercienses*, tom. ii. and iii.



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.

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XVII. The growing prosperity of the *Cistercian Order* excited the envy and jealousy of the monks of *Clugni*, and, after several dissensions of less consequence, produced at length an open rupture, a declared war between these two opulent and powerful monasteries. They both followed the rule of St. BENEDICT, though they differed in their habit, and in certain laws, which the Cisterrians more especially, had added to that rule. The monks of *Clugni* accused the *Cisterrians* of affecting an extravagant austerity in their manners and discipline; while the *Cisterrians*, 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 Cisterrians, 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* [b]. This charge was answered, though with

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

[b] 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 dress, 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 pomps and vanities of a present world. He declares, with a pious concern, that he

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

Lives and  
manners of  
the canons.

XIII. 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

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 FLURY, *Hist. Ecclesiastique*, liv. lxxvii. tom. xiv. p. 351. edit. *Bruxelles*.

[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 Cluniacensem et Cisterciensem*, published by MARTENE, in his *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 1573.—1613.—Compare with all these MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 80. and MANRIQUEZ, *Annal. Cisterc.* tom. i. p. 28.

[k] See ANGELI MANRIQUEZ, *Annal. Cistercienses*, tom. i. p. 232.—MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 212. 479. & *Præfat. ad Opera S. Bernardi*.—JO. DE LANNES, *Histoire du Pontificat d'Innocent II.* p. 68—79.—JO. NIC. HERTII *Diff. de exemptione Cisterc. à decimis*.

drones,

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 able and willing to distinguish merit, and were also often put in possession of the revenues of the monks, whose dissolute lives occasioned, from time to time, the suppression of their convents. This, as might well be expected, inflamed the rage of the monastic orders against the regular canons, whom they attacked with the greatest fury, and loaded with the bitterest invectives. The canons, in their turn, were far from being backward in making reprisals; they exclaimed, on the contrary, against the monks with the utmost vehemence; enumerated their vices both in their discourses and in their writings, and insisted upon their being confined to their monasteries, sequestered from human society, and excluded from all ecclesiastical honours and functions. Hence arose a long and warm contest between the monks and canons concerning pre-eminence, in which both parties carried their pretensions too high, and exceeded the bounds of decency and moderation [m]. The champions, who espoused the 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

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[l] See the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ix. p. 112.

[m] See LAMBERTI *Epistula* in MARTENE, *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. i. p. 329.

[n] ABELARDI *Opera*, p. 228, Paris. 1616, in 4to.—MARTENE, *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 970—975. 1614. et *Amplissima*

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New mon-  
astic or-  
ders,

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

XIX. A new society of religious Benedictines arose about the commencement of this century, whose principal monastery was erected in a barren and solitary place, called *Fontevraud*, between *Angers* and *Tours*, from whence the order derived its name. ROBERT of *Arbrifelles*, its founder, who had been first an hermit, and afterwards a monk, prescribed to his religious of both sexes, the rule of St. BENEDICT, amplified, however, by the addition of several new laws, which were extremely singular and excessively severe. Among other singularities that distinguished this institution, one was, that the several monasteries which ROBERT had built, within one and the same inclosure, for his monks and nuns, were all subjected to the authority and government of one abbeys; 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 [6]. 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

*plissima ejusdem Collectio*, tom. ix. p. 971, 972.—PHIL. HARVENGII *Opera*, p. 385. Duaci 1621, in folio.

[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. Benedict.* tom. v. p. 423. For an account of ROBERT and his order, see the *Acta Sanctor.* tom. iii. Februar. p. 593.—DION. SAMMARTHANI *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 1311.—BAYLE's *Dictionary*, at the article FONTEVRAUD.—HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vi. p. 83.—The present state of this monastery is described by MOLEON, in his *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 108. and by MARTENE, in his *Voyage Litteraire de deux Benedictins*, part II. p. 1.

the

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, 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 matter [p].

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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 dis-

The Order  
of Premon-  
stré.

[p] See the letters of GEOFFREY, 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 *Chypus Nascentis Ordinis Fontebaldensis*, published in 8vo at *Paris*, in the year 1684; and also by another production of the same author, entitled *Dissertationes in Epistolam contra Robertum de Abrisfello, Salurni*, 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'Abrisfelles sur ce qu'en a dit M. Bayle, Anvers 1701*, in 8vo.—MABILLON, *Annal.* tom. v. et vi. p. 9 10.

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

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

## XXI. About

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

[r] See HELYOT. *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. ii. p. 156.—CHRYSOST. VAN DER SERIE, *Vita S. Norberti Præmonstratensis Patriarchæ*, published in 8vo, at *Antwerp* in 1656.—LOUIS HUGHES, *Vie de S. Norbert*, *Luxemb.* 1704, in 4to.—Add to these, notwithstanding his partiality, JO. LAUNOIS, *Inquisit. in Privilegia Ordin. Præmonstrat.* cap. i, ii. *Oper.* tom. iii. part I. p. 448. For an account of the present state of the *Order of Piemontre*, see MARTENE's *Voyage Littéraire de deux Bénédictins*, tom. ii. p. 59.

✎ The

XXI. About the middle of this century, a CERT. certain Calabrian, whose name was BERTHOLD, XII. set out with a few companions for mount Carmel, PART II. and, upon the very spot where the prophet ELIAS is said to have disappeared, built an humble cottage, with an adjoining chapel, in which he led a life of solitude, austerity, and labour. This little colony subsisted, and the places of those that died were more than filled by new-comers; so that it was, at length [s], erected into a monastic community by ALBERT, patriarch of Jerusalem. This austere prelate drew up a rule of discipline for the new monks, which was afterwards confirmed by the authority of the Roman pontifs, 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 *Præmonstratenses*, or monks of *Premontre*, vulgarly called *White Canons*, came first into England A. D. 1146. Their first monastery, called *New House*, was built in *Lincolnshire*, by *Peter de Saulia*, and dedicated to St. *Martial*. In the reign of EDWARD I., the Order in question had twenty-seven monasteries in *England*.

[s] In the year 1205.

[t] I have here principally followed DAN. PAPERBROCH, an accurate writer, and one who is always careful to produce sufficient testimonies of the truth of his narrations, see the *Acta Sanctorum. Antwerp. Mense April. tom. iii. p. 774—802.* It is well known, that an accusation was brought against this learned jesuit, before the tribunal of the Roman pontif, 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.

the

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the highest indignation, an origin so recent and obscure, and affirm to this very day, that the prophet ELIAS was the parent and founder of their ancient community [u]. Very few, however, have been engaged to adopt this fabulous and chimerical account of their establishment, except the members of the order, and many Roman catholic writers have treated their pretensions to such a remote antiquity with the utmost contempt [w]. [E] 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, MIRAH, 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

[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 Eliæ vindicatur*, published in 8vo, at Paris, in the year 1632. The modern writers, who have maintained the cause of the Carmelites against PAFEBROCH, are extremely prolix and tiresome.

[w] See HARDUINI *Opera posthum.* p. 642.—LABAT, *Voyage en Espagne et Italie*, tom. iii. p. 87.—COUREYER, *Examen des défauts Theologiques*, tom. i. p. 455.

distinguished



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 ELISHAH as he was on his way to *Carmel* [x]. They tell us, moreover, that PYTHAGORAS was a member of this ancient order; that he drew all his wisdom from mount *Carmel*, and had several conversations with the prophet DANIEL at *Babylon*, upon the subject of the Trinity. Nay, they go still farther into the region of fable, and assert, that the Virgin MARY, and JESUS himself, assumed the habit and profession of Carmelites; and they load this fiction with a heap of absurd circumstances, which it is impossible to read without the highest astonishment [y].

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[x] See 2 KINGS, ii. 23.

[y] For an ample account of all the absurd inventions here hinted at, see a very remarkable work, entitled, *ORDRES MONASTIQUES, Histoire extraite de tous les Auteurs qui ont conservé à la Posterité ce qu'il y a de plus curieux dans chaque ordre, enrichie d'un tres grand nombre de passages des mêmes Auteurs; pour servir de demonstration que ce qu'on y avance est également véritable 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 gravest authors, and from the most zealous defenders of monachism. If he has embellished his subject, it is by the vivacity of his manner, and the witty elegance of his style, and not by lay-  
ing

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

PHILIPPUS SOLITARIUS, whose *Dioptra*, or controversy between the soul and the body, is sufficiently known ;

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

EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS, who, by his *Antihæretical 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 ZONARA, 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 ;

ing to the charge of the monastic communities any practices which their most serious historians omit or disavow. The authors of the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et 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.

[z] See RICH. SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, par M. DU PIN, tom. i. p. 318. 324.

[a] Other historians place GLYCAS in the fifteenth century. See LAMI *Dissertatio de Glyca*, which is prefixed to the first volume of his *Deliciæ vivorum eruditorum*.

ANDRONICUS CAMATERUS, who wrote with CENT.  
great warmth and vehemence against the Latins, XII  
and Armenians; PART II.

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

THEODORUS BALSAMON, who employed great diligence, erudition, and labour, in explaining and digesting the civil and ecclesiastical laws of the Greeks [b].

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

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

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

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

[b] See the *Bibliotheca Græca* of FABRICIUS.

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

[d] The Epistles of INNOCENT III. were published at *Paris*, in two large volumes in folio, by BALUZIIUS, in the year 1682.

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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 *Dissertations* are yet extant;

RUPERT of *Duytz*, 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];

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];

[e] See BAYLE'S *Dictionary*, at the articles ABEIARD and PARACLET.—GIRVAIS, *Vie de Pierre Abeillard, Abbe de Rug., et de Heloy.*, published at Paris in two volumes 8vo, in the year 1728. The works of this famous and unfortunate monk were published at Paris in 1615, in one volume 4to. by FRANC. AMLOIST. Another edition, much more ample, might be given, since there are a great number of the productions of ABEIARD that have never yet seen the light.

[f] See MABILLON, *An. al. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 19, 20. 42. 144. 168. 261. 282. 296. who gives an ample account of RUPERT, and of the disputes in which he was involved.

[g] See *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 661. The works of this learned man were published at Rouen, in three volumes in folio, in the year 1648. See for a farther account of him, DERLANGII *Dissert. de Hugoni a S. Victore, Helmstadt*, 1746, in 4to, and MARTENE'S *Voyage Littéraire*, tom. ii. p. 91, 92.

[b] *Gallia Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 669.

HONORIUS

HONORIUS of *Autun* [i], no mean philosopher, and tolerably versed in theological learning; CENT.  
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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 pontifs, the capitularies of the kings of *France*, &c.;

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

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

GILBERTUS PORRETANUS [l], a subtle dialectician, and a learned divine, who is, however, said to have adopted several erroneous sentiments concerning *The Divine Essence*; *The Incarnation*; and *The Trinity* [m];

WILLIAM of *Auxerre*, who acquired a considerable reputation by his *Theological System* [n];

PETER of *Blois* [o], whose epistles and other productions may yet be read with profit;

[i] Such is the place to which HONORIUS is said to have belonged. But LE BOEUF proves him to have been a German, in his *Dissert. sur l'Hist. Francoise*, tom. i. p. 254.

[k] *Galla Christiana*, tom. vii. p. 68.

[l] GILBERT, *De la Poësie*.

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

[n] LE BOEUF, *Dissert. sur la Somme Theologique de Guillaume d'Auxerre*, in MOLAT's *Continuation des Memoires d'Histoire et de Littérature*, tom. iii. part II. p. 317.

[o] PETRUS BLESSENSIS.

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

PETRUS COMESTOR, author of *An Abridgment of the 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.

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### C H A P. III.

*Concerning the doctrine of the Christian church in this century.*

Christianity  
corrupted  
more and  
more.

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

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

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

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Supersti-  
tion reigns  
among the  
multitude.

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

[p] See GUIBERT DE NOVIGENTO, *De pignoribus* (so were relics called) *sanctorum*, in his *Works* published by DACHERIUS, p. 327. where he attacks, with judgment and dexterity, the superstition of these miserable times.

[q] See HAYMON's Treatise concerning this custom, published by MABILLON, at the end of the sixth tome of his *Annal. Benedict.* See also these *Annals*, p. 392.

[r] As a proof that this assertion is not without foundation, we shall transcribe the following remarkable passage of the *Life of St. ALTMAN, bishop of PADUA*, as it stands in SEB. TENG-



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

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

The scandalous traffic of indulgences begun by the bishops.

NAGL's Collect. Vet. Monumentor. p. 41. *Vos licet, sancti Domini, somno vestro requiescatis . . . haud tamen crediderim, spiritus vestros deesse locis quæ viventes tanta devotione construxistis, et diluxistis. Credo vos accessisse cunctis illic degentibus, astare videlicet orantibus, succurrere laborantibus, et vota singulorum in conspectu divinæ majestatis promovere.*

[s] See *MARILLON, Annales Benedictæ. tom. vi. p. 431.*  
529. 554.

CENT. XII. PART II. 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 [1]. 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 carcases and relics of the saints in solemn procession, and permitted the multitude to behold, touch, and embrace these sacred and lucrative remains at certain fixed prices. The monastic orders gained often as much by this raree-show, as the bishops did by their indulgences [u].

And afterwards monopolized by the Roman pontiffs.

IV. When the Roman pontiffs cast an eye upon the immense treasures that the inferior rulers of the church were accumulating by the sale of *indulgences*, they thought proper to limit the power of the bishops in remitting the penalties imposed upon transgressors, and assumed, almost entirely, this profitable traffic to themselves. In consequence of this new measure, the court of *Rome* became the general magazine of indulgences; and the pontiffs, when either the wants of the church, the emptiness of their coffers, or the 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*

[1] STEPHANUS, *Obavinenfis* in BALUZZI *Miscellan.* tom. iv. p. 130. — MABILLON, *Annal. Benedic.* tom. vi. p. 535, &c.

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

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

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

[w] MORINUS, *De administratione sacramenti pœnitentiæ*, lib. x. cap. xx, xxi, xlii. p. 768. — RICH. SIMON, *Biblioth. Critique*, tom. iii. cap. xxviii. p. 371. — MÆILLON, *Præf. ad Acta Sanctor. Sac. v. Acta Sanctor. Benedicti*. p. 54. not to speak of the protestant writers, whom I designedly pass over.

[x] MURATORI *Antiq. Italic. mediævi*, tom. v. p. 761. — FRANC. PAGI *Breviar. Rom. Pontif.* tom. ii. p. 60. — THEOD. RUINARTI *Vita Urbani II.* p. 231. tom. iii. Opp. Posthum.

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

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pontifs, 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 pontif; and that of "consequence he was empowered to *assign* to "such as he thought proper, a *portion* of this "inexhaustible source of *merit*, suitable to their "respective guilt, and sufficient to deliver them "from the punishment due to their crimes." It is a most deplorable mark of the power of superstition, that a doctrine, so absurd in its nature, and so pernicious in its effects, should yet be retained and defended in the church of Rome [a].

The expositors and commentators of this century.

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

☞ [z] These works are known by the name of *Works of Supererogation*.

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

the

the sacred writers, or to investigate the precise sense in which they were used; and these few were destitute of the succours which such researches demand. The Greek and Latin commentators, blinded by their enthusiastic love of antiquity, and their implicit veneration for the doctors of the early ages of the church, drew from their writings, without discernment or choice, a heap of passages, which they were pleased to consider as illustrations of the holy scriptures. Such were the commentaries of EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS, an eminent expositor among the Greeks, upon the *Psalms*, *Gospels*, and *Epistles*; though it must, at the same time, be acknowledged, that this writer follows, in some places, the dictates of his own judgment, and gives, upon certain occasions, proofs of penetration and genius. Among the Latins, we might give several examples of the injudicious manner of expounding the divine word that prevailed in this century, such as the *Lucubrations* of PETER LOMBARD, GILBERT DE LA POREE, and the famous ABE-LARD, upon the *Psalms of DAVID*, and the *Epistles of St. PAUL*. Nor do those commentators among the Latins, who expounded the whole of the sacred writings, and who are placed at the head of the expositors of this age, such as GILBERT, bishop of *London*, surnamed the *Universal*, on account of the vast extent of his erudition [b], and HERVEY, a most studious Benedictine monk [c], deserve a higher place in our esteem, than the authors already mentioned. The writers that merit the preference among the Latins are RU-

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[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 Historiques et Litteraires*, tom. iii. p. 29.—See also MABILLON, *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 477. 719.

CENT. PERT of *Duytz*, and ANSELM of *Laon*; the former  
 XII. of whom expounded several books of scripture,  
 PART II. and the latter composed, or rather compiled, a  
 glossary upon the sacred writings. As to those doc-  
 tors who were not carried away by an enthusiasti-  
 cal 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, dis-  
 regarding 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 doc-  
 trines, their enthusiastic feelings, and the system  
 of discipline which they had drawn from the ex-  
 cursions of their irregular fancies. Nor were the  
 commentators, who pretended to logic and phi-  
 losophy, and who, in effect, had applied them-  
 selves to these profound sciences, free from the  
 contagion of *mysticism* in their explications of  
 scripture. They followed, on the contrary, the  
 example of these fanatics, as may be seen by  
 HUGH of ST. VICTOR's *Allegorical Exposition of the  
 Old and New Testament*, by the *Mystical Ark* of  
 RICHARD of ST. VICTOR, and by the *Mystical  
 Commentaries* of GUIBERT, abbot of *Nogent*, on  
*Obadiab*, *Isaiah*, and *Amos* [d]; not to mention  
 several other writers, who seem to have been ani-  
 mated by the same spirit.

The manner  
 of teaching  
 theology  
 that now  
 prevailed.

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

[d] The *Prologus in Abdiam* has been published by MABIL-  
 LON, in his *Annales Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 637.

from

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 Theologists*, explained the doctrines of religion, in a plain and simple manner, by passages drawn from the holy scriptures, from the decrees of councils, and the writings of the ancient doctors, and very rarely made use of the succours of reason or philosophy in their theological lectures. In this class we place St. BERNARD, PETER surnamed the *Chanter*, WALTER of St. VICTOR, and other doctors, who declared an open, and bitter war against the *philosophical divines*. The doctors, which were afterwards known by the name of *Positivi* and *Sententarii*, were not in all respects, different from these now mentioned. Imitating the examples of ANSELM, archbishop of *Canterbury*, LANFRANC, HILDBERT, and other doctors of the preceding century, they taught and confirmed their system of theology, principally by collecting the decisions of the inspired writers, and the opinions of the ancients. At the same time they were far from rejecting the succours of reason, and the discussions of philosophy, to which they more especially had recourse, when difficulties were to be solved, and adversaries to be refuted, but, in the application of which, all did not discover the same degree of moderation and prudence. HUGH of St. Victor is supposed to have been the first writer of this century, who taught in this manner the doctrines of Christianity, digested into a regular system. His example, however, was followed by many; but none acquired such a shining reputation by his labours, in this branch of sacred erudition, as PETER, bishop of *Paris*, surnamed LOMBARD, from the country which gave him birth. The *Four books*

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of

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The schol-  
tics, properly  
so called.

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

VII. The followers of LOMBARD, who were called *Sentenarij*, 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

[e] ERPOLDI LINDENBROGII *Scriptores Septentrionales*, p. 250.

[f] A list of the commentators who laboured in explaining the *Sentences* of PETER LOMBARD, is given by ANTON. POSSEVINUS, in his *Biblioth. Selecta*, tom. 1. lib. III. cap. XIV. p. 242.

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

obscure



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 theologists, 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 same 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 chichane; for these subtle doctors never explained or illustrated any subject, but, on the contrary, darkened and disfigured the plainest expressions, and the most evident truths, by their laboured and useless distinctions, fatigued both themselves and others with unintelligible solutions of abstruse and frivolous questions, and through a rage for disputing, maintained with equal vehemence and ardour the

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[b] ABELARD acknowledges this himself, *Epist.* i. cap. ix. p. 20. *Oper.*—See also LAUNOIUS, *De Scholis Caroli M.* p. 67. cap. lix. tom. iv. opp. part i.

C. E. N. T.  
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The Christian  
doctors  
divided into  
two classes,  
called *biblici*  
and *scholasti-*  
*ci*.

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 succours from reason or philosophy, and confirmed their opinions by the united testimonies of *Scripture* and *Tradition*. The *latter* expounded, instead of the Bible, the famous *Book of Sentences*; reduced, under the province of their 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 unfre-

[i] CÆS. EGASSE DE BOULAY, *Hystor. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 201. 583. ANTON. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 58 — LAUNOIUS, *De varia Aristotelis fortuna in Acad. Paris.* cap. iii. p. 187. Edit. Elfwichii Vtern. 1720. in 8vo.

[k] See BOULAY, *Hystor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 657.

quented,

quented, and almost deserted [1]. The scholastic theology continued in high repute in all the European colleges until the time of LUTHER.

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

The scholastic divines opposed from different quarters.

[1] 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. JIBB, from the original MSS. *Baccalaureus qui legit textum (scripturæ) succumbit lectori sententiarum, et ubique in omnibus honoratur et prefertur: nam ille, qui legit sententias habet, principalem horam legendi secundum suam voluntatem, habet et focum et cameram apud religiosos: sed qui legit Bibliam, caret his, et mercedat horam legendi secundum quod placet lectori sententiarum: et qui legit summus, disputat ubique et pro magistro habetur, reliquus qui textum legit, non potest disputare, sicut jussit hoc anno Bononiæ, et in multis aliis locis, quod est absurdum: manifestum est igitur, quod textus illius facultatis (sc. Theologicæ) subalternum summæ magistrali.* Such was now the authority of the scholastic theology, as appears from the words of BACON, who lived in the following age, and in whose writings there are many things highly worthy of the attention of the curious.

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GUIBERT abbot of *Nogent* [*m*], PETER abbot of *Mouftier-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 subtle tribe. These dissensions and contests, whose deplorable effects augmented from day to day, engaged ALEXANDER III., who was pontif at this time, to interpose his authority, in order to restore tranquillity and concord in the church. For this purpose he convoked a solemn and numerous assembly of the clergy in the year 1164 [*q*], in which the licentious rage of disputing about religious matters was condemned; and another in the year 1179, in which some particular errors of PETER LOMBARD were pointed out and censured [*r*].

And principally by St. Bernard.

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

[*m*] In his *Tropologia in Oseam*, p. 293. Opp.

[*n*] *Opuscul.* p. 277. 396. edit. *Benedict.*

[*o*] In his *Verbum Abbreviat.* cap. iii. p. 6, 7. published at Mons in the year 1639, in 4to, by GEORGE GALOPIN.

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

[*q*] ANTON. PAGI, *Critic. in Baronium*, tom. iv. ad A. 1164. p. 614, 615.

[*r*] MARTIN. PARIS, *Hist. Major*, p. 115;—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 402.

combating

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 *Seissons*, and before that of *Sens* in the year 1140, in both of which assemblies he was accused by St. BERNARD of the most pernicious errors, and was finally condemned as an egregious heretic [s]. The charge brought against this 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 [t]; and this indeed is one of the inconveniences to

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[s] See BAILE's Dictionary, at the Article ABELARD.—GERVAIS, *Vie d'Abelard et d'Héloïse*.—MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 63. 84. 324. 395.—MARTENE, *Thesaur. Auctor.* tom. v. p. 1139.

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

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

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

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

vehemence,

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

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

The state of  
moral and  
practical  
theology.

[w] See DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 223. 232.—MABILLON, *Annal. Benedicte*. tom. vi. p. 343. 415. 433.—*Gallia Christiana Benedicte*. tom. ii. p. 1175.—MATTH. PARIS, *Hist. Major*, p. 56.—PETAVII *Dogmata Theologica*, tom. i. lib. i. cap. viii.—LONGUEVAL, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. ix. p. 147.

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

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

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

Polemic  
 writers,

XIII. Both Greeks and Latins were seized with that enthusiastic passion for 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



love of controversy seduced them from the paths that lead to truth, and involved them in labyrinths of uncertainty and error. The discovery of truth was not, indeed, the great object they had in view; their principal design was to puzzle and embarrass their adversaries, and overwhelm them with an enormous heap of fine-spun distinctions, an impetuous torrent of words without meaning, a long list of formidable authorities, and a specious train of fallacious consequences embellished with railings and invectives. The principal polemic writers among the Greeks were CONSTANTINUS HARMENOPULUS,\* and EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS. The former published a short treatise *De Sectis Hæreticorum*, i. e. concerning the *Heretical Sects*. The latter, in a long and laboured work, entitled *Panoplia*, attacked all the various heresies and errors that troubled the church; but, not to mention the extreme levity and credulity of this writer, his manner of disputing was highly defective, and all his arguments, according to the wretched method that now prevailed, were drawn from the writings of the ancient doctors, whose authority supplied the place of evidence. Both these authors were sharply censured in a satirical poem composed by ZONARAS. The Latin writers were also employed in various branches of religious controversy. HONORIUS of Autun wrote against certain heresies; and ABELARD combated them all. The Jews, whose credit was now entirely sunk, and whose circumstances were miserable in every respect, were refuted by GILBERT DE CASTILIONE, ODO, PETRUS ALFONSUS, RUPERT of 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.

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The contest  
between the  
Greeks and  
Latins con-  
tinued.

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

Matters of  
less moment  
controverted  
among the  
Greeks.

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

[x] See LEO ALLATIUS *De perpetua consensione Ecclesiarum Oriental. et Occident.* lib. ii. cap. xi. p. 644.

to fatigue than to amuse or instruct, but shall confine ourselves to a brief mention of those which made the greatest noise in the empire. Under the reign of EMANUEL COMNENUS, whose extensive learning was accompanied with an excessive curiosity, several theological controversies were carried on, in which he himself bore a principal part, and which fomented such discords and animosities among a people already exhausted and dejected by intestine tumults, as threatened their destruction. The first question that exercised the metaphysical talent of this over-curious emperor and his subtle doctors was this: *In what sense it was or might be affirmed, that an incarnate God was at the same time the OFFERER and the OBLATION?* When this knotty question had been long debated, and the emperor had maintained, for a considerable time, the solution of it that was contrary to the opinion generally received, he yielded at length, and embraced the popular notion of that unintelligible subject. The consequence of this step was, that many men of eminent abilities and great credit, who had differed from the doctrine of the church upon this article, were deprived of their honours and employments [y]. What the emperor's opinion of this matter was, we find 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*

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

[y] NICETAS CHONIATES, *Annal. Lib.* vii. § 5. p. 112. *ed. Venetæ.*

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

Concerning  
the God of  
Mahomet.

XVII. The same theological emperor troubled the church with another controversy concerning the God of MAHOMET. The Greek Catechisms pronounced *anathema* against the Deity worshipped by that false prophet, whom they represented as a *solid and spherical Being* [c]; for so they trans-

[z] Καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ κλητὸν καὶ παθὴν σάρκα.

[a] NICETAS CHONIATES, *Annal.* lib. vii. § 6. p. 113.

[b] NICETAS in *Andromaco*, lib. ii. § 5. p. 175.

[c] Ὀλόσφαις.

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

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

The contro-  
verſy con-  
cerning the  
Lord's ſup-  
per is carried  
on among  
the Latins.

[*d*] RELAND. *De Religione Mohammedica*, lib. ii. § 3. p. 142.

[*e*] NICETÆ CHON. *Annales*, lib. vii. p. 113—116.

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

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

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

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

[*f*] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 30.

[*g*] See MENDOZ. *Epistola*, published by MERTENE, in his *Theaur. Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 290.—JO. MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.* tom. vi. p. 19, 20. 42. 168. 261.

called,

called, the *Immaculate conception of the Virgin* CENT.  
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 MARY [b]. 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 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 [i]. The controversy, however, notwithstanding the zeal of the contending parties, was carried on, during this century, with a certain degree of decency and moderation. But, in after-times, when the Dominicans were established in the academy of *Paris*, the contest was renewed with the greatest vehemence, and the same subject was debated, on both sides, with the utmost animosity and contention of mind. The Dominicans declared for St. BERNARD, while the academy patronized the Canons of *Lions*, and adopted the new festival.

☞ [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.

[i] STI. BERNARDI *Epistola* 174. tom. i. p. 170.—BOU-  
 IAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 135.—MABILLON, *Annal.*  
*Bened.* tom. vi. p. 327.—DOM. COLONIA, *Hist. Litt. de la*  
*Ville de Lyon*, tom. ii. p. 233.

## C H A P. IV.

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

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P A R T II.

Rites used  
in the Greek  
church.

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



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

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The Latin  
ritual.

## CHAP. V.

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

I. **T**HE Greek and eastern churches were infected with fanatics of different kinds, who gave them much trouble, and engaged them in the most warm and violent contests. Certain

Fanatics of  
different  
kinds infected  
the Greek  
church.

[k] MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.* tom. vi. p. 327. 412.—  
*Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 1198.

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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 enthusiastical sect is said to have been a person called LUCOPE-TRUS. 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* [1]. It is well known, that enthusiasts of this kind, who were rather wrong-headed than vicious, lived among the Greeks and Syrians, and more especially among the monks, for many ages before this period, and also in this century. The accounts, indeed, that have been given of them, are not in all respects to be depended upon; and there are several circumstances which render it extremely probable, that many persons of eminent piety, and zeal for genuine Christianity, were confounded by the Greeks with these enthusiasts, and ranked in the list of heretics, merely on account of their opposing the vicious practices and the insolent tyranny of the priesthood, and their treating with derision that motley spectacle of superstition that was supported by public authority. In Greece, and in all the eastern provinces, this sort of men were distinguished by the general and invidious appellation of *Massilians*, or *Eu-*

[1] See EUTHYMI *Triumphus de Secta Massalianorum* in IAC. TOLLII *Insignibus Ineris Italici*, p. 106—125.

*ebites* [m], as the Latins comprehended all the adversaries of the Roman pontif under the general terms of *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*. It is, however, necessary to 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 *Massalians*, whenever they opposed the raging superstition of the times, or looked upon true and genuine piety as the essence of the Christian character.

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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,

The Bogomiles.

☞ [m] *Massalians* and *Euchites* are denominations that signify the same thing, and denote, the one in the Hebrew, and the other in the Greek language, *persons that pray*. A sect, under this denomination, arose during the reign of the emperor CONSTANTIUS, about the year 361, founded by certain monks of *Mesopotamia*, who dedicated themselves wholly to prayer, and held many of the doctrines attributed by Dr. MOSHEIM to the *Massalians* of the twelfth century. See AUGUST. *De Heres.* cap. lvii. and THEOD. *Hæret. Fab.* lib. iv. EPIPHANIUS speaks of another sort of *Massalians* still more ancient, who were mere Gentiles, acknowledged several gods, yet adored only one whom they called *Almighty*, and had oratories in which they assembled to pray and sing hymns. This resemblance between the *Massalians* and *Essenes*, induced SCALIGER to think that EPIPHANIUS confounded the former with the latter.

that

CENT. XII. that his doctrine resembled, in a striking manner, the religious system of the ancient Gnostics and  
 PART II. Manichæans; 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 phantom, rejected the law of MOSES, and maintained that the body, upon its separation by death, returned to the malignant mass of matter, without either the prospect or possibility of a future resurrection to life and felicity. We have so many examples of fanatics of this kind in the records of ancient times, and also in the history of this century, that it is by no means to be wondered, that some one of them more enterprising than the rest should found a sect among the Greeks. The name of this sect was taken from the *divine mercy*, which its members are said to have incessantly implored; for the word *bogomilus*, in the Mysian language, signifies *calling out for mercy from above* [n].

III.

[n] See ANNA COMNENA *Alexiados*, lib. xv. p. 384. edit. Venetæ.—ZONARAS *Annalium*, lib. xviii. p. 336.—JO. CHRIST. WOLF, *Historia Bogomilorum*, published at Witteberg, in 4to, 1712.—

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

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

1712.—SAM. ANDREÆ *Diff. Bogomilis* in JO. VOIGTII *Bibliotheca Historiæ Hæresiologicalæ*, tom. i. part II. p. 121. CHR. AUG. HEUMANNI *Dissertat. de Bogomilis*.

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The Ca-  
thari.

IV. Among the sects that troubled the Latin church during this century, the principal place is due to the *Catharists*, whom we have had already occasion to mention [o]. This numerous faction, leaving their first residence, which was in *Bulgaria*, spread themselves throughout almost all the European provinces, where they occasioned much tumult and disorder; but their fate was unhappy; for, wherever they were caught, they were put to death with the most unrelenting cruelty [p]. Their religion resembled the doctrine of the Manichæans and Gnostics, on which account they commonly received the denomination of the former, though they differed from the genuine and primitive Manichæans in many respects. They all indeed agreed in the following points of doctrine: viz. That matter was the source of all evil; that the Creator of this world was a being distinct from the Supreme Deity; that CHRIST was not 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 useless institutions, destitute of all efficacy and power. They exhorted all who embraced their doctrine to a rigorous abstinence from animal food, wine, and wedlock, and recommended to them in the most pathetic terms the most severe acts of austerity and mortification. They moreover treated with the utmost contempt all the books of the *Old Testament*, but expressed a high degree of veneration for the *New*, particularly for the *Four Gospels*;

[o] See CENT. III. PART II. CH. V. § 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.

and,

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

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

The Catharists divided into two sects.

[q] Besides the writers which shall be mentioned presently, see the *Disputatio inter Catholicum et Paterinum*, published by MARTENE, in his *Thesaur. Anecdotor.* tom. iv. p. 1703. as also BONACURSI *Manifestatio Hæresis Catharorum* in LUC. DACHERII *Spticlegio*, tom. i. p. 208.

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

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

[r] See BERN. MONETA, in *summa adversus Catharos et Waldenses*, published at Rome, in the year 1743, by THOM. AUGUST. RICHINI, who prefixed to it a dissertation concerning the *Cathari*, that is by no means worthy of the highest encomiums. MONETA was no mean writer for the time in which he lived. See *Lib. i. p. 2. & 5. Lib. ii. p. 247, &c.*

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



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

[†] See SACHONI *summa de Catharis*, p. 1766.

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XII. into that fanatical order [u].  
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The Petro-  
brussians.

VII. A much more rational sect was that which was founded about the year 1110 in *Languedoc* and *Provence* by PETER DE BRUYS, who made the most laudable attempts to reform the abuses and to remove the superstitions that disfigured the beautiful simplicity of the gospel, and after having engaged in his cause a great number of followers, during a laborious ministry of twenty years continuance, was burnt at *St. Giles'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 *Petrobrussians* his disciples, is not known; it is however certain, that the five following tenets made a part of his system; 1. That no persons whatever, were to be baptized before they were come to the full use of their reason. 2. That it was an idle superstition to build churches for the service of God, who will accept of a sincere worship wherever it is offered; and that therefore such churches as had already been erected were to be pulled down and destroyed. 3. That the crucifixes, as instruments of superstition, deserved the same fate. 4. That the real body and blood of Christ were not exhibited in the eucharist, but were merely represented, in that holy ordinance, by their figures and symbols. 5. and lastly, That the oblations, prayers, and good works of the living, could be in no respect advantageous to the dead [w].

#### VIII.

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

[w] See PETRI *Venerab. Lib. contra Petrobrussianos in Bibliotheca Cluniensi*, p. 1117.—MABILLON, *Annal. Benedict.*

tom.

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

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The Henricians.

tom. vi. p. 346.—BASNAGE, *Histoire des Eglises Reformées*, period iv. p. 140.

[x] *Gesta Episcoporum Cenomanens.* in MABILLON, *Analec. veter. ævi*, p. 315. ed. Nov.—GAUFRIDI *Epistola in Lib. vi. Vita Sti. Bernardi.* tom. ii. Opp. *Bernhard.* p. 1207.—MATTHEW, *Histor. Major*, p. 71.—MABILLON, *Pref. ad Opera Bernardi*, § vi. & *Annal. Benedic.* tom. vi. p. 346. 420. 434.

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The horrid  
blasphemy  
of Tanque-  
linus.

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

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

[z] *Epistola Trajectens. Ecclesiæ ad Tridericum Episcopum de Tarnhelru*, in SEL. TENGNAGELII *Collectione Veterum Monumentor.* p. 368.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 98.—ARGENTRE, *Collectio Judicior. de novis erroribus*, tom. i. p. 10.

external

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

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

Seditions  
excited in  
*Italy* by AR-  
nold of *Bres-*  
*cia*.

[a] LEWIS HUGO, *Vie de S. Norbert*, livr. II. p. 126.—  
CHRYS. vander STERRE *Vita S. Norberti*, cap. xxxvi. p. 164.  
& POLYC. de HERTOGHE, *ad illam Annotationes*, p. 387.

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

The origin  
and history  
of the Wal-  
denſes.

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

[b] See OITTO *Fr. sing. de gestis Frederici I.*, lib. ii. cap. xx.—S. BERNHARDUS *Epist.* 195, 196. tom. i. p. 187.—BOULAY *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 157.—MURATORI *Droits de l'Empire sur l'État Ecclesiastique*, p. 137.—HENR. DE BUNAU *Vita Frederici I.*, p. 41.—CHAUPEPIED *Nouveau Diction. Hist. Crit.* tom. ii. p. 482.

the 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 *Leonists*, and, from the wooden shoes which its doctors wore, and a certain mark that was imprinted upon these shoes, they were called *Insabbatati*, or *Sabbatati* [d]. The origin of this famous sect was as follows: PETER, an opulent merchant of *Lions*, surnamed *Valdensis*, or *Falidisius*, 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 [e], about the year 1160, in translating from Latin into French the *Four Gospels*, with other books of Holy Scripture and the most remarkable sentences of the ancient doctors, which were so highly esteemed in this century. But no sooner had he perused these sacred books with a proper degree of attention, than he perceived that the religion, which was now taught in the Roman church, differed totally from that which

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

[d] See STEPH. de BORBONE *De septem donis spiritus sancti*, in EDWARD & QUETIF *Bibliotheca Scriptor. Dominicanor.* tom. i. p. 192.—ANNONYM. *Traclatio de Hæresi Pauperum de Lugduno*, in MARTENE *Thesaurus Anecdotor.* tom. v. p. 1777.

[e] This priest was called STEPHANUS DE Evisa.

was

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

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

[g] Certain writers give different accounts of the origin of the *Waldenses*, and 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 don't 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



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

## XII.

and chief. ☞ We may venture to affirm the contrary, with the learned *BEZA* and other writers of note; for it seems evident from the best records, that *VALDUS* derived his name from the true *Valdenses* of *Piedmont*, whose doctrine he adopted, and who were known by the names of *Vaudois* and *Valdenses*, before he or his immediate followers existed. If the *Valdenses* or *Waldenses* had derived their name from any eminent teacher, it would probably have been from *VALDO* who was remarkable for the purity of his doctrine in the IXth century, and was the cotemporary and chief counsellor of *BERNGARIUS*. But the truth is, that they derive their name from their *Vallies* in *Piedmont*, which in their language are called *Vaux*, hence *Voidois*, their true name; hence *PLTER* or (as others call him) *John of Lyons*, was called in Latin, *Valdus*, because he had adopted their doctrine; and hence the term *Valdenses* and *Waldenses* used by those, who write in English or Latin, in the place of *Vaudois*. The bloody Inquisitor *REINFRUS SACCO*, who exerted such a furious zeal for the destruction of the *Waldenses*, lived but about 80 years after *Valdus* of *Lyons*, and must therefore be supposed to know whether or not he was the real founder of the *Valdenses* or *Leonists*; and yet it is remarkable that he speaks of the *Leonists* (mentioned by *Dr. MOSHEIM* in the preceding page, as synonymous with *Waldenses*) as a sect that had flourished above 500 years; nay mentions authors of note, who make their antiquity remount to the Apostolick age. See the account given of *SACCO*'s book by the Jesuit *GRETZER*, 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 distinguished from the *Waldenses*; and I am persuaded, that whoever will be at the pains to read attentively the 2d, 25th, 26th, and 27th chapters of the first book of *LEGER*'s *histoire Generale des Eglises Vaudaises*, will find this distinction entirely groundless.—When the Papists ask us where our religion was before *LUTHER*? we generally answer, in the Bible; and we answer well. But to gratify their taste for Tradition and human authority, we may add to this answer, and in the *Vallies* of *Piedmont*.

[b] See the following ancient writers, who have given accounts of the sect in question, to wit, *SACHONI Summa contra Valdenses*.—

CENT.  
XII.  
PART II.

The doctrine, discipline, and views of the Waldenses.

XII. The attempts of PETER WALDUS and his followers were neither employed nor designed to introduce new doctrines into the church, nor to propose new articles of faith to Christians. All they aimed at was, to reduce the form of ecclesiastical government, and the lives and manners both of the clergy and people, to that amiable simplicity, and that primitive sanctity, that characterised the apostolic ages, and which appear so strongly recommended in the precepts and injunctions of the divine author of our holy religion. In consequence of this design, they complained that the Roman church had degenerated, under CONSTANTINE the Great, from its primitive purity and sanctity. They denied the supremacy of the Roman pontif, 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

*Waldenses.*—MONETÆ *Summa contra Catharos et Waldenses.*—published by RICHINI.—*Tr. de Hæresi Pauperum de Lugduno*, published by MARTENI, in his *Thesaur. Anecd.* tom. v. p. 1777.—PILICHDORFIUS *contra Waldenses*, t. xxv. B. B. Max. Patr.—Add to these authors, JO. PAUL FERRIN *Histoire de Vaudois*, published at Geneva in 1619.—JO. LEGER. *Histoire Generale, des Eglises Vaudoises*, livr. i. ch. xiv. p. 136.—US-SERI *De Successione Ecclesiarum Occidentis*, cap. viii. p. 209.—JAC. BASNAGE *Histoire des Eglises Reformées*, tom. i. period iv. p. 329.—THOM. AUGUST. RICHINI *Dissertat. de Valdensesibus*, prefixed to his edition of the *Summa* MONETÆ, p. 36.—BOULAY *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 292.

qualified

qualified and entitled to prescribe to the penitent the kind and degree of *satisfaction* or expiation that their transgressions required; that confession made to priests was by no means necessary, since the humble offender might acknowledge his sins and testify his repentance to any true believer, and might expect from such the counsels and admonitions that his case and circumstances demanded. They maintained, that the power of delivering sinners from the guilt and punishment of their offences belonged to God alone; and that *indulgences*, of consequence, were the criminal inventions of sordid avarice. They looked upon the prayers, and other ceremonies that were instituted in behalf of the dead, as vain, useless, and absurd, and denied the existence of departed souls in an intermediate state of purification, affirming, that they were immediately, upon 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].

## XIII.

[i] See the *Codex Inquisitionis Tolosane*, published by LIMBORCH, as also the *Summa MONETÆ contra Waldenses*, and the other writers of the Waldensian history. Though these writers are not all equally accurate, nor perfectly agreed about the number of doctrines that entered into the system of this sect, yet they are almost all unanimous in acknowledging the sincere piety and exemplary conduct of the Waldenses, and shew plainly enough

CENT.  
XII.  
PART II.

The form of  
church go-  
vernment  
among the  
Waldenses.

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

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

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

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

continue

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, that *whore of Babylon* mentioned in the *Revelations of St. JOHN* [m].

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

CENT.  
XII.  
PART II.

Sects of a  
less eminent  
kind. The  
Pasagini.

[m] MONETÆ *Summa contra Catharos et Valdenses*, p. 406. 410, &c. They seem to have been also divided in their sentiments concerning the possession of worldly goods, as appears from the accounts of STEPHANUS DE BORBONE, in ECHARDI *Scriptoribus Dominicis*, tom. i. p. 191. This writer divides the *Waldenses* into two classes; *The poor men of Lyons*, and *The poor men of Lombardy*. The former rejected and prohibited all sorts of possessions; the latter looked upon worldly possessions as lawful. This distinction may be also confirmed by several passages of other ancient authors.

[n] For an account of these obscurer sects, see STEPHANUS DE BORBONE, in ECHARDI *Scriptoribus Dominicis*, tom. i. p. 191.

[o] The origin of the name *Pasagini*, or *Pasagii*, is not known.

crifices,

CENT.  
XII.  
PART II.

crifices, 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 æconomy, and celebrated the Jewish Sabbath. The second tenet that distinguished this sect was advanced in opposition to the doctrine of three persons in the divine nature; for the *Pasaginians* maintained that CHRIST was no more than the *first and purest creature of God*; nor will their adopting this opinion seem so surprising, if we consider the prodigious number of Arians that were scattered throughout *Italy* long before this period of time [p].

The Capu-  
tatio.

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

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

[p] See F. BONACURSI *Manifestatio hæresis Catharorum*, in LUC. DACHERII *Spicilegio Veter. Scriptor.* tom. i. p. 211. edit. nov.—GERHARD. BERGAMENSIS *contra Catharos et Pasagios*, in LUD. ANTON. MURATORII *Antiqq. Ital. medii ævi*, tom. v. p. 151.

[q] JAC. LE BOEUF, *Memoires sur l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. i. p. 317.

their

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

XVI. In the council, which was assembled at Rheims in the year 1148, and at which pope EUGENIUS III. presided, a certain gentleman of the province of *Bretagne*, whose name was LEON, 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

CENT.  
XII.  
PART II.EUM, a  
wrong-  
headed  
fanatic.

[r] St. BERNARDUS, *Sermo LXV, in Canticum*, tom. iv. Opp. p. 1495. edit. Mabillon.

**CENT.** rather have been delivered over to the physicians,  
**XII.** than placed in the list of heretics. He ended his  
**PART II.** 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.

[s] MATTH. PARIS, *Historia Major*. p. 68.—GUIL. NEUBRIGENSIS, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, lib. i. p. 50.—BOULAY, *Historia Acad. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 241.



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# THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

## PART I.

The External HISTORY of the CHURCH.

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### CHAPTER I.

*Concerning the prosperous events that happened to  
the church during this century.*

I. **T**HOUGH the successors of GENGIS-KAN, 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

CENT.  
XIII.  
PART I.

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

[a] GREGOR. ABULPHARAIUS, *Historia Dynastiar.* p. 281.

C E N T. and exhortations of the Nestorians [b]. But the  
 XIII. religion of MAHOMET, which was so adapted to  
 PART I. flatter the passions of men, infected, by degrees,  
 these noble converts, opposed with success the  
 progress of the gospel, and, in process of time,  
 triumphed over it so far, that not the least glimpse  
 or remains of Christianity were to be perceived  
 in the courts of these eastern princes.

A papal em-  
 bassy is sent  
 to the Tar-  
 tars.

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

[b] See MARC. PAUL. VENETUS, *De Regionibus Oriental.* lib. i. c. iv. lib. ii. c. vi.—HAYTHO the Armenian's *History of the Oriental.* 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 *Helmstadt*, in the year 1741, in 4to.

[c] See LUC. WADDINGI *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 116. 149. 175. 256.

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

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

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III. The Roman pontifs employed their most zealous and assiduous efforts in the support of the Christian cause in *Palestine*, which was now in a most declining, or rather in a desperate state. They had 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 [f]. 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

Crusades re-  
newed.

[e] ODOR. RAYNALDUS, *Annal. Ecclesiastic.* tom. xiv. ad A. 1278. § 17. p. 232. & ad A. 1289. § 59. p. 419. edit. Colon.—PIERRE BERGERON. *Traité des Tartares*, chap. xi. p. 61. See also the writers mentioned in the *Historia Ecclesiastica Tartatarum*.

[f] This is remarked by the writers of the twelfth century, who had soon perceived the avaricious and despotic views of the pontifs, in the encouragement they gave to the crusades. See MATTH. PARIS, *Hist. Major*, p. 174. 364. et passim.

CENT.  
XIII.  
PART I.

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countries, a certain number of French nobles entered into an alliance with the republic of *Venice*, and set sail for the east with an army that was far from being formidable. Besides; the event of this new expedition was by no means answerable to the expectations of the pontif. The French and Venetians, instead of steering their course towards *Palestine*, sailed directly for *Constantinople*, and, in the year 1203, took that imperial city by storm, with a design to restore to the throne ISAAC ANGELUS, who implored their succour against the violence of his brother ALEXIUS, who had usurped the empire. The year following a dreadful sedition was raised at *Constantinople*, in which the emperor ISAAC was put to death, and his son, the young ALEXIUS, was strangled by ALEXIUS DUCAS, the ringleader of this furious faction [g]. The account of this parricide no sooner came to the ears of the chiefs of the crusade, than they made themselves masters of *Constantinople* for the second time, dethroned and droye 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

☞ [g] The learned authors of the *Universal History* call this ringleader, by mistake, JOHN DUCAS.

stratagems

stratagems of his general, CÆSAR ALEXIUS, became master of *Constantinople*, and forced the Latin emperor, BALDWIN II., to abandon that city, and save himself by flight in *Italy*. Thus fell the empire of the Franks at *Constantinople*, after a duration of fifty-seven years [b].

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PART I.

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

Another  
crusade un-  
dertaken.

[b] See, for a full account of this empire, DU FRESNE, *Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople sous les Empereurs François*; in the former part of which we find the *Histoire de la Conquête de la Ville de Constantinople par les François*, written by GODFREY DE VILLE HARDUIN, one of the French chiefs concerned in the expedition. This work makes a part of the Byzantine history. See also CLAUDE FONTENAY, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. x. p. 216.—GUNTHERI *Monachi Histor. captæ à Latinis: Constantinopoleos*, in HENR. CANISII *Lectiones Antiquæ*, tom. iv. p. 1.—INNOCENTII III., *Epistol. à Baluzio editas*, passim.

[i] See JAC. DE VITRACIO, *Histor. Oriental.* & MARTIN SANCTUS, *Secret. fidel. crucis inter Bangarsianos de sacris bellis scriptores, seu gesta Dei per Francos*.

CENT.  
XIII.  
PART 1.

An historical  
view of the  
other cru-  
sades, each  
in their or-  
der.

V. The legates and missionaries of the court of *Rome* still continued to animate the languishing zeal of the European princes in behalf of the Christian cause in *Palestine*, and to revive the spirit of crusading, which so many calamities and disasters had almost totally extinguished. At length, in consequence of their lively remonstrances, a new army was raised, and a new expedition undertaken, which excited great expectations, and drew the attention of *Europe*, and that so much the more, as it was generally believed, that this army was to be commanded by the emperor *FREDERIC II.* That prince had, indeed, obliged himself by a solemn promise, made to the Roman pontif, 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 pontif *GREGORY IX.* [k], he fol-

[k] This papal excommunication, which was drawn up in the most outrageous and indecent language, was so far from exciting *FREDERIC* to accelerate his departure for *Palestine*, that it produced no effect upon him at all, and was, on the contrary, received with the utmost contempt. He defended himself by his 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 pontifs. See *FLÉURY*, *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, livr. lxxix. tom. xvi. p. 601. edit. *Bruxelles*.

lowed

lowed with a small train of attendants the troops, who expected, with the most anxious impatience, his arrival in *Palestine*. No sooner did he land in that disputed kingdom, than, instead of carrying on the war with vigour, he turned all his thoughts towards peace, and, without consulting the other princes and chiefs of the crusade, concluded, in the year 1229, a treaty of peace, or rather a truce of ten years, with MELIC-CAMEL, sultan of *Egypt*. The principal thing stipulated in this treaty was, that FREDERIC should be put in possession of the city and kingdom of *Jerusalem*: this condition was immediately executed; and the emperor, entering into the city with great pomp, and accompanied by a numerous train, placed the crown upon his head with his own hands; and, having thus settled matters in *Palestine*, he returned without delay into *Italy*, to appease the discords and commotions which the vindictive and ambitious pontif 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 [1].

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 *Cornwal*, brother to HENRY III., king of *England*. The issue of

[1] 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 Italiae*, and the various authors of the Germanic History.

[m] Dr. MOSHEIM calls him, by a mistake, THEOBALD V.. unless we are to attribute this fault to an error of the press, these

CENT.  
XIII.  
PART I

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

The expedition of  
Lewis IX.

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

☞ [*n*] FREDERIC II., who had still a great party in *Palestine*, and did not act in concert with the clergy and the creatures of his bitter enemy, GREGORY IX., from which division the Christian cause suffered much.

[*o*] All these circumstances are accurately related and illustrated by the learned GEORGE CHRIST. GEBAVERUS, in his *Historia Richardi Imperatoris*, lib. i. p. 34.—It appears however by the *Epistolæ Petri de Vineis*, that RICHARD was created by FREDERIC II., his lord-lieutenant of the kingdom of *Jerusalem*, and this furnishes a probable reason why GREGORY IX. used all possible means to retard RICHARD's voyage.

consequence



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

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☞ [p] ALPHONSUS earl of *Poitiers*, and CHARLES earl of *Arjou*.

☞ [q] The ransom, which, together with the restoration of *Damietta*, the king was obliged to pay for his liberty, was eight hundred thousand gold bezants, and not eighty thousand as COLLIER erroneously reckons \*. This sum, which was equal then to 500,000 livres of French money, would, in our days, amount to the value of four millions of livres, that is, to about 90,000 pounds sterling.

\* See COLLIER'S *Eccles. History*, Cent. XIII. vol. i. p. 456.

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XII.  
PART I.

A second  
crusade un-  
dertaken by  
the same  
monarch.

four years in *Palestine*, returned into *France*, in the year 1254, with a handful of men [r], 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 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 dif-

[r] Of 2800 illustrious knights, who set out with LEWIS from *France*, there remained about an hundred when he sailed from *Palestine*. See JOINVILLE's *Hist. de S. Louis IX.* p. 81.

[s] Among the various histories that deserve to be consulted for an ampler account of this last crusade, the principal place is due to the *Histoire de S. Louis IX. du nom, Roy de France, écrite par Jean Sr. de Joinville, enrichie de nouvelles Dissertations et Observations Historiques, par Charles du Fresne, Paris 1688, Fol.* See also FILLEAU DE LA CHAIZE, *Histoire de S. Louis, Paris 1688, 2 vol. in 8vo.*—MENCONIS *Chronicon*, in ANT. MATTHÆI *Analectis veteris ævi*, tom. iii. p. 172. 179.—LUC. WADDINGI *Annales Minorum*, tom. iv. p. 294. 307, & passim.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 212. 392, &c.—PIERRE CLAUDE FONTENAY, *Histoire de l'Eglise Gallicane*, tom. xi. p. 337. 405. 575.

orders, and the enormous 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 [1]. 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 *Maffovia*, 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

Conversion  
of the Prus-  
sians.

[1] ANT. MATTHEI *Analekta veteris ævi*, tom. v. p. 748.  
—JAC. ECHARDI *Scriptores Dominici*, tom. i. p. 422.—  
IMOLA in *Dantem*, in *MURATORI* *Antiq. Italica medii ævi*,  
tom. i. p. 1111, 1112.

expulsion

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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 [*u*]. After having established Christianity, and fixed their own dominion in *Prussia*, these booted apostles made several excursions into the neighbouring countries, and particularly into *Lithuania*, where they pillaged, burned, massacred, and ruined all before them, until they forced the inhabitants of that miserable province to profess a feigned submission to the gospel, or rather to the furious and unrelenting missionaries, by whom it was propagated in a manner so contrary to its divine maxims, and to the benevolent spirit of its celestial author [*w*].

Of the Ara-  
bians in  
Spain.

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

[*u*] See MATTHÆI *Analeſta vet. ævi*, tom. iii. p. 18. tom. v. p. 684—689.—PEIRI DE DUISBURGH, *Chronicon. Prussia*, published by HARTKNOCHIIUS at *Jena*, in the year 1679.—CHRISTOPH. HARTKNOCHIIUS, his *History of the Prussian Church*, written in the German language, book i. ch. i. p. 33. and *Antiquitates Prussiae*, *Diff.* xiv. p. 201.—BALUSII *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 427. 478.—WADDINGI *Annales Minor.* tom. iv. p. 40. 63.—SOLIGNAC, *Histoire de Pologne*, tom. ii. p. 238.

[*w*] Besides the authors mentioned in the preceding note, see LUDWEGII *Reliquæ Manuscriptorum omnis ævi*, tom. i. p. 336.

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 *Valentia* in the year 1236, than he employed, with the greatest pains and assiduity, every possible method of converting to the faith his Arabian subjects, whose expulsion would have been an irreparable loss to his kingdom. For this purpose he ordered the Dominicans, whose ministry he made use of principally in this salutary work, to learn the Arabic tongue; and he founded public schools at *Majorca* and *Barcelona*, in which a considerable number of 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 pontif CLEMENT IV. exhorted the king to drive the Mahometans out of *Spain*. The obsequious prince followed the counsel of the inconsiderate pontif; in the execution of which, however, he met with much difficulty, both from the opposition which the Spanish nobles made to it on the one hand, and from the obstinacy of the Moors on the other [y].

[x] See JOH. FERRERAS, *History of Spain*, vol. iv.

[y] See GEDDES, his *History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, vol. i. p. 26.

## C H A P. II.

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

CENT. I.  
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PART I.

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

[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,

II. The Latin writers of this age complain in many places of the growth of infidelity, of daring and licentious writers, some of whom attacked publicly the doctrines of Christianity, while others went so far as atheistically to call in question the perfections and government of the Supreme Being. These complaints, however they might have been exaggerated in some respects, were yet far from being entirely destitute of foundation; and the superstition of the times was too naturally adapted to create a number of infidels and libertines, among men who had more capacity than judgment, more wit than solidity. Persons of this character, when they fixed their attention only upon that absurd system of religion, which the Roman pontiffs and their dependents exhibited as the true religion of CHRIST, and maintained by the odious influence of bloody persecution, were, for want of the means of being better instructed, unhappily led to consider the Christian religion as a fable invented and propagated by a greedy and ambitious priesthood, in order to fill their coffers and to render their authority respectable. The philosophy of ARISTOTLE, which flourished in all the European schools, and was looked upon as the very essence of right reason, contributed much to support this delusion, and to nourish a proud and presumptuous spirit of infidelity. This quibbling and intricate philosophy led many to reject some of the most evident and important doctrines both of natural and revealed religion, such as the doctrine of a divine providence governing the universe, the immortality of the soul, the scripture account of the origin of the world, and other points of less mo-

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

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PART I.

FREDERIC II.  
accused of  
impiety.

ment. These doctrines were not only rejected, but the most pernicious errors were industriously propagated in opposition to them, by a set of Aristotelians, who were extremely active in gaining proselytes to their impious jargon [a].

III. If the accusations brought against FREDERIC II., by the Roman pontif GREGORY IX., deserve any credit, that prince may be ranked among the most inveterate and malignant enemies of the Christian religion, since he was charged by

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

GREGORY



GREGORY with having said, that *the world had* CENT.  
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PART I.  
*been deceived by three impostors, MOSES, CHRIST,*  
*and MAHOMET [b].* This charge was answered  
 by a solemn and public profession of his faith,  
 which the emperor addressed to all the kings and  
 princes of *Europe*, to whom also had been ad-  
 dressed the accusation brought against him by the  
 pontif. The accusation, however, was founded  
 upon the testimony of HENRY RASPOIN, landgrave  
 of *Thuringia*, who declared that he had heard the  
 emperor pronounce the abominable blasphemy  
 above mentioned [c]. It is, after all, difficult  
 to decide with sufficient evidence concerning the  
 truth of this fact. FREDERIC, who was extremely  
 passionate and imprudent, may, perhaps in a fit  
 of rage, have let some such expression as this  
 escape his 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 consideration. It was this affair that gave  
 occasion, in after-times, to the invention of that  
 fabulous account [d], which supposes the detest-  
 able book *Concerning the three impostors*, to have  
 been composed by the emperor himself, or, by  
 PETER DE VINEIS, a native of *Capua*, a man of  
 great credit and authority, whom that prince [e]  
 had

[b]. MATTH. PARIS, *Histor. Major.* p. 408. 459.—PETR.  
 DE VINEIS, *Epistolarum, lib. i.*

[c] HERM. GYGANTIS *Flores temporum*, p. 126.—CHR.  
 FRID. AYRMANN, *Sylloge Anecdotor.* tom. i. p. 639.

[d] See CASIM. OUDINI *Comment. de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasti-*  
*cis*, 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 111 Impostoribus, sive*  
*Traſtatus 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 impu-

CENT. had chosen for his prime minister, and in whom  
 XIII.  
 PART I. he placed the highest confidence.

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ous saying of SIMON OF TOURNAY, doctor of divinity in the university of *Paris* in the thirteenth century, which amounts to this: "That the Jews were seduced out of their senses by MOSES, " the Christians by JESUS, and the Gentiles by MAHOMET." This, or some expressions of a similar kind, were imputed to the emperor FREDERIC, and other persons, and that perhaps without any real foundation; and the imaginary book, to which they have given rise, has been attributed, by different authors, to FREDERIC, to his chancellor PETER DE VINEIS, to ALPHONSO, king of *Castile*, to BOCCACE, POGGE, the ARETINS, POMPONACE, MACHIAVEL, ERASMUS, OCHINUS, SERVETUS, RABELAIS, GIORDANO BRUNO, CAMPANELLA, and many others. In a word, the book was long spoken of before any such work existed; but the rumour that was spread abroad encouraged some profligate traders in licentiousness to compose, or rather compile, a bundle of miserable rhapsodies, under the famous title of the *Three Impostors*, in order to impose upon such as are fond of these pretended rarities. Accordingly, the *Spaccio della Bestia Triomphante* of GIORDANO BRUNO, and a wretched piece of impiety, called the *Spirit of SPINOZA*, were the ground-work 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 MONNOYE's *Dissertation sur le Livre de III Imposteurs*, published at *Amsterdam* in 1715, at the end of the fourth volume of the *Menagiana*. See also an *Answer* to this Dissertation, which was impudently exposed to the public eye, in 1716, from the press of *Scheurleer* in the *Hague*, and which contains a fabulous story of the origin of the book in question. Whoever is desirous of a more ample and a very curious account of this matter, will find it in the late PROSPER MARCHAND's *Dictionnaire Historique*, vol. ii. at the article IMPOSTORIBUS.

## P A R T II.

## The INTERNAL HISTORY of the CHURCH.

## C H A P T E R I.

*Concerning the state of learning and philosophy during this century.*

I. **T**HE Greeks, amidst the dreadful calamities, discords, and revolutions, that distracted and perplexed their unhappy country, had neither that spirit, nor that leisure, that are necessary to the culture of the arts and sciences. Yet, under all these disadvantages, they still retained a certain portion of their former spirit, and did not entirely abandon the cause of learning and philosophy, as appears by the writers that arose among them during this century. Their best historians were NICETAS, CHONIATES, GEORGIUS ACROPOLITA, GREGORIUS PACHYMERES, and JOEL, whose *Chronology* is yet extant. We learn from the writings of GREGORY PACHYMERES and NICEPHORUS BLEMIDA, 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 subtilities of the Stagiritic into one system, and to reconcile, as well as they could, their jarring principles. It is not necessary to exhibit a list of those authors, who wrote the lives and discourses of the saints, or distinguished themselves in the controversy with the Latin church, or of those who employed

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The state of  
learning  
among the  
Greeks.

CENT. XIII. PART II. their learned labours in illustrating the canon law of the Greeks. The principal Syrian writer, which this century produced, was GREGORY ABUL FARAI, primate of the Jacobites, a man of true genius and universal learning, who was a judicious divine, an eminent historian, and a good philosopher [a]. GEORGE ELMACIN, who composed the history of the Saracens, was also a writer of no mean reputation.

The progress of learning in the west.

II. The sciences carried a fairer aspect in the western world, where every branch of erudition was cultivated with assiduity and zeal, and, of consequence, flourished, with increasing vigour, from day to day. The European kings and princes had learned, by a happy experience, how much the advancement of learning and arts contribute to the grandeur and happiness of a nation; and therefore they invited into their dominions

[a] See BAYLE'S *Dictionary*, at the article ABULPHARAGE; as also JOS. SIM. ASSESMANNI *Biblioth. Oriental. Vatican.* tom. ii. cap. xlii. p. 244.

ABULPHARAGIUS, or ABUL FARAI, was a native of *Malatia*, a city in *Armenia*, near the source of the river *Euphrates*, and acquired a vast reputation in the east on account of his extensive erudition. He composed *An Abridgment of Universal History*, from the beginning of the world to his own times, which he divided into ten parts, or dynasties. The 1st comprehends the history of the ancient Patriarchs, from *Adam* to *Moses*. The 2d, that of *Joshua* 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 1663: together with a Supplement, which carries on the history of the Oriental princes, where ABUL FARAI left it. The same learned translator had obliged the public, in 1650, with an abridgment of the ninth dynasty under the following title: *Specimen Historiæ Arabum; sive Georgii Abulfaragii Malatiensis de origine et moribus Arabum succineta narratio.*

learned

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

[b] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris* tom. iii. p. 115.—GIANNONE, *Hist. de Naples*, tom. ii. p. 497. Add to these the observations of JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, *Biblioth. Latin. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 618.

[c] NIC. ANTONII *Bibliotheca vetus Hispan.* lib. viii. c. v. p. 217.—JO. DE FERRERAS, *Histoire d'Espagne*, tom. iv. p. 347.

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PART II.

The state of  
the Euro-  
pean acad-  
emics.

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

[*d*] This arrangement was executed about the year 1260. See DU BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Parisi.* tom. iii. p. 557. 564.

rity [e]. The college set apart for the study of divinity was first erected and endowed, in the year 1250, by an opulent and pious man, whose name was ROBERT DE SORBONNE, a particular friend and favourite of St. LEWIS, whose name was adopted, and is still retained, by that theological society [f].

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

The academical  
course.

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

[f] See DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 223. — DU FRESNE'S *Annotations upon the Life of St. LEWIS*, written by JOINVILLE, p. 36.

in

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

The state of  
literature or  
humanity.

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

[g] Besides the writers above mentioned, see JO. CHR. ISTERUS, *De Gradibus Academicis*.—JUST. HEN. BOHMERI *Præf. ad jus Canonicum*, p. 14.—ANT. WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 24.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. ii. p. 256. 682. 684, &c.

[h] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 265. where there is an epistle of INNOCENT, III., who seems to take this matter seriously to heart.—ANT. WOOD, *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 124.—IMOLA in *Dantem in Muratori Antiquit. Ital. mediævi*, tom. i. p. 1462.

ing



ing all this, the thirteenth century produced several writers, who were very far from being contemptible, such as GUIL. BRITO [i], GUALTHERUS MAPES [k], MATTHEW of *Vendosme*, ALAIN DE L'ISLE [l], GUNTHERUS, JACOBUS DE VITRIACO, and several others, who wrote with ease, and were not altogether destitute of elegance. Among the historians the first place is due to MATTHEW PARIS, a writer of the highest merit both in point of knowledge and prudence, to whom we may add RODERICUS XIMENIUS, RIGORDUS [m], VINCENT of *Beauvais*, ROBERT of *St. Marino* [n], MARTINUS, a native of *Poland*, GERVAIS of *Tilbury* [o], CONRAD of *Lichtenau*, GULIELMUS NANGIUS, whose names are worthy of being preserved from oblivion. The writers who have laboured to transmit to posterity the lives and exploits of the saints, have rather related the superstitions and miseries of the times, than the actions of these holy men. Among these biographers, JAMES of *Vitri*, mentioned above, makes the greatest figure; he also composed a *History of the Lombards*, that is full of insipid and trifling stories [p].

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

[k] JO. WOLFII, *Lectiones Memorabil.* tom. i. p. 430.

[l] Called in Latin, ALANUS DE INSULIS.

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

[n] See LE BOEUF, *Memoires pour l'Histoire d'Auxerre*, tom. ii. p. 490. where there is also a learned account of VINCENT of *Beauvais*, p. 494.

[o] 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 *Amantitates Literariæ*, tom. xi. p. 324.

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The Study of  
the Greek  
and Oriental  
languages.

VI. ROGER BACON [q], JOHN BALBI, and ROBERT CAPITO, with some other learned men, whose number was but inconsiderable, applied themselves to the study of Greek literature. The Hebrew language and theology were much less cultivated; though it appears that BACON and CAPITO, already mentioned, and RAYMOND MARIN, author of an excellent treatise, entitled, *Pugio Fidei Christianæ*, or, *The Dagger of the Christian Faith*, were extremely well versed in that species of *erudition*. Many of the Spaniards, and more particularly the Dominican friars, made themselves masters of the Arabian learning and language, as the kings of *Spain* had charged the latter with the instruction and conversion of the Jews and Saracens who resided in their dominions [r]. As to the Latin grammarians, the best of them were extremely barbarous and insipid, and equally destitute of taste and knowledge. To be convinced of this, we have only to cast an eye upon the productions of ALEXANDER DE VILLA DEI, who was looked upon as the most eminent of them all, and whose works were read in almost all the schools from this period until the sixteenth century. This pedantic Franciscan composed, in

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

[r] See RICH. SIMON's *Lettres Choisies*, tom. iii. p. 112.—NIC. ANTONII *Bibliotheca vetus Hispanica*.

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

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

[s] FRANC. PATRICII, *Discussiones Peripateticæ*, tom. i. lib. xi. p. 145.—JO. LAUNOIUS *de varia Aristot. fortuna in Acad. Parisiensi*, cap. i. p. 127. ed. *Elzev.* It is commonly reported, that the books of ARISTOTLE here mentioned, were translated from Arabic into Latin. But we are told positively, that these books were brought from *Constantinople*, and translated from Greek into Latin. See RIGORDUS, *De gestis Philippi regis Francorum ad A.* 1209, in ANDR. CHESNII *Scriptor. Histor. Franc.* p. 119.

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

erroneous

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

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

[w] NAF. ALEXANDER, *Select. Histor. Eccles. Capita*, tom. viii. cap. iii. § 7. p. 76.

[x] PETR. DE VINEIS, *Epistolar.* lib. iii. ep. lxxvii. p. 503. This epistle is addressed *ad magistros et scholares Bononienses*, i. e. to the masters and scholars of the academy of *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 1020; but this cannot be deduced from the letter above mentioned, nor from any other sufficient testimony that we know of.

which

which were made of some of the books of the Grecian sage by several Latin interpreters, such as MICHAEL SCOT, PHILIP of Tripoly, WILLIAM FLEMING, and others; though these men were quite unequal to the task they undertook, and had neither such knowledge of the languages, nor such an acquaintance with philosophy, as were necessary to the successful execution of such a difficult enterprise [y].

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

Thomas Aquinas and others adopt and maintain the Aristotelian system.

[y] See WOOD's account of the interpreters of ARISTOTLE, in his *Antiquitat. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 119. as also JEBB's *Preface* to the *Opus Majus* of the famous ROGER BACON, published at London in folio, in the year 1733. We shall give here the opinion which BACON had of the translators of ARISTOTLE, in the words of that great man, who expresses his contempt of these wretched interpreters in the following manner. *Si haberem* (says he) *potestatem super libros Aristotelis Latine converteres, ego facerem omnes cecitari, quia non est nisi temporis amissio studere in illis, et causa erroris et multiplicatio ignorantie, ultra id quod valet explicari.*

[z] See LUCÆ WADDINGI *Annales Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 233.—DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 200. 673.

[a] JO. ALB. FABRICII *Bibliotheca Latina mediæ ævæ*, tom. i. p. 113.

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

The limits  
of science  
are extended  
by several  
eminent  
men.

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

[b] The Dominicans maintain, that this *Angelic Doctor* was the disciple of ALBERT the Great, and their opinion seems to be founded in truth. See ANTOINE TLOURON, *Vie de St. Thomas*, p. 99. The Franciscans however maintain as obstinately, that ALEXANDER HALS was the master of THOMAS. See WADDING *Annals Minorum*, tom. iii. p. 133.

[c] It has been believed by many, that WILLIAM DE MOERBEKA, a native of Flanders, of the Dominican order, and archbishop of Corinth, was the author of the new Latin translation of the Works of ARISTOTLE, which was carried on and finished under the auspicious inspection of THOMAS AQUINAS. See J. ECHARD, *Scriptores Dominican*, tom. i. p. 338.—CASIM. OUDINUS, *Comm. de Scriptor. Eccles.* tom. iii. p. 468. JO. FRANC. FOPPENS, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, tom. i. p. 416. Others however suppose, though indeed with less evidence, that this translation was composed by HENRY KOSBEIN, who was also a Dominican. See ECHARD, *Scripts. Dominic.* tom. i. p. 469.

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

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

[e] That BACON deserves this high rank in the learned world appears evidently from his book, entitled *Opus Majus*, which was dedicated to the Roman pontif, CLEMENT IV., and which doctor JEBB published at London in 1733, from a manuscript which still exists in the university of Dublin, enriching it with a learned Preface and a considerable number of judicious observations. The other works of BACON, which are very numerous, lie as yet for the most part concealed in the libraries of the curious. For a farther account of this eminent man, see WOOD, *Antiq. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 136.—WADDINGI *Annales Minor.* tom. iv. p. 264. tom. v. p. 51.—THOM. GALE *ad Jamblichum de Mysteriis Egyptior.* p. 255. *General Hist. and Crit. Dictionary*, at the article BACON.

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

The study of  
law and  
physic.

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

[*f*] See NIC. ANTONII *Biblioth. vetus Hispan.* tom. ii. lib. ix. c. i. p. 74.—PIERRE JOSEPH *Vie d'Arnaud de Ville neuve*, Aix, 1719.—NICERON, *Memoires des hommes illustres*, tom. xxxiv. p. 82.—NICOL. EYMERICI *Directorium Inquisitorum*, p. 282. where, among other things, we have an account of his errors.

[*g*] This book was entitled, *Conciliator Differentiarum Philosophorum et Medicorum*.

[*h*] There is a very accurate account of this philosopher given by JOH. MARIA MAZZUCHELLI *Notizie Storiche e Critiche intorno alla vita di Pietro d'Abano*, in ANGELI CALOGERÆ *Opusculi Scientifici et Philologici*, tom. xiii. p. i.—liv.

tianity



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

[i] See BOULAY, *Hist. Academ. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 98.

[k] GERH. A MASTRICHT, *Historia juris Ecclesiastici*, § 353. p. 384.—JO. CHIFLET, *De juris utriusque Architectis*, cap. vi. p. 60.—ECHARD et QUINTIF, *Scriptores Dominici*, tom. i. p. 106.—*Acta Sanctor. Antwerp.* tom. i. *Januarii ad d. vii.* p. 404.

## C H A P. II.

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

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The corrup-  
tion of the  
clergy.

I. BOTH the Greek and Latin writers, provoked, beyond measure, by the flagitious lives of their spiritual rulers and instructors, complain loudly of their licentious manners, and load them with the severest reproaches; nor will these complaints and reproaches appear excessive to such as are acquainted with the history of this corrupt and superstitious age [1]. Several eminent men attempted to stem this torrent of licentiousness, which from the heads of the church had carried its pernicious streams through all the members; but their power and influence were unequal to such a difficult and arduous enterprise. The Grecian emperors were prevented from executing any project of this kind by the infelicity of the times, and the various calamities and tumults, that not only reigned in their dominions, but even shook the throne on which they sat; while the power and opulence of the Roman pontiffs and the superstition of the age hindered the Latins from accomplishing, or even attempting, a reformation in the church.

And of the  
Roman  
pontiffs,

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

[1] See the remarkable letter of the Roman pontif, 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.

dels 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 [m]. In opposing thus the haughty

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

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

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

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

[n] Many examples of this may be taken from the history of this century. See STEPH. BALUZI *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 443. 466. 470. 488. 491. 493.—*Gahla Christiana*, tom. i. p. 69. *Append.*—LUC. WADDINGI *Annal. Minor. in Diplom.*—WOOD, *Antiquit. Oxon.* tom. i. p. 148. 201, 202.

[o] See the *Epistle* of INNOCENT IV., in BALUZ. *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 468.

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

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

The authority of the pope's legates.

[p] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 659. and principally tom. iv. p. 911.

[q] Idem, ib. p. 389.

[r] See BALUZZI *Miscellanea*, tom. vii. p. 437. 475. 480, &c.

CENT. extorted money from the people by the vilest  
 XI<sup>th</sup>. and most iniquitous means; seduced the un-  
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 that nature; excited tumults among the multi-  
 tude, and were, themselves, the ringleaders of  
 the most furious and rebellious factions; carried  
 on, in the most scandalous manner, the impious  
 traffick of *relicks* and *indulgencies*, 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 un-  
 animously of the flagitious conduct and the enor-  
 mous crimes of the pope's legates [s]. Nay, we  
 see the Roman pontif ALEXANDER IV., enacting,  
 in the year 1256, a severe law against the avarice  
 and frauds of these corrupt ministers [t], which,  
 however, they easily evaded, by their friends and  
 their credit at the court of *Rome*.

The wealth  
 and revenues  
 of the pon-  
 tif aug-  
 mented.

V. From the ixth century to this period, the  
 wealth and revenues of the pontifs had not re-  
 ceived any considerable augmentation; but at  
 this time they were vastly increased under INNO-  
 CENT III. and NICOLAS III., partly by the events  
 of war, and partly by the munificence of kings  
 and emperors. INNOCENT was no sooner seated  
 in the papal chair, than he reduced under his  
 jurisdiction the præfect of *Rome*, who had hitherto  
 been considered as subject to the emperor, to  
 whom he had taken an oath of allegiance in en-  
 tering upon his office. He also seized upon  
*Ancona*, *Spoletto*, *Affisi*, and several cities and for-  
 tresses which had, according to him, been un-

[s] See that judicious and excellent writer MATTH. PARIS, in his *Historia Major*, p. 313. 316. 549. and particularly p. 637. where we find the following remarkable words: *Semper solent legati quales, et omnes nunci papales regna quæ ingrediuntur depauperare, vel aliquo modo perturbare.* See also BOULAY, *Histor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 659.

[t] This edict is published by LAMI, in his *Deliciæ Eruditæ*, tom. ii. p. 300.

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

[u] See FRANC. PAGI *Brevior. Romanor. Pontif.* tom. iii. p. 161.—MURATORI *Antiq. Italica*, tom. i. p. 328.

[w] This brother of the pontif was called RICHARD. See for an account of this transaction, MURATORI'S *Antiquitat. Italica*, tom. v. p. 652.

[x] ODOR. RAYNALDUS, *Continuat. Annal. Baronii, ad A.* 1212, § ii.

C E N T. grandeur and opulence, which it yet maintains in  
XIII. our times [y].  
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The tyrannic pontificate of Innocent III., proved by several examples,

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

[y] See RAYNALDUS, *loc. cit. ad A.* 1278, § 47.

[z] See MATTH. PARIS, *Histor. Major*, p. 206. 230.

☞ [a] Other historians affirm, that it was the emperor PHILIP that conferred the royal dignity upon PRIMISLAUS, in order to strengthen his party against OTHO.

[b] MURATORII *Antiq. Ital. medi ævi*, tom. vi. p. 116.

—JO. DE FERRERA, *Histoire d'Espagne*, tom. iv. p. 8.



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

VIII. But of all the European princes none felt, in so dishonourable and severe a manner, the despotic fury of this insolent pontif as JOHN, surnamed *Sans terre*, king of *England*. This prince

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

[d] BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 8.—DANIEL, *Histoire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 475.—GERHARD, DU BOIS, *Hist. Eccles. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 204—257.

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opposed vigorously the measures of INNOCENT, who had ordered the monks of *Canterbury* to chuse 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 [e]. The pope, after having consecrated LANGTON at *Viterbo*, wrote a soothing letter in his favour, to the king, accompanied with four rings, and a mystical comment upon the precious stones with which they were enriched. But this present was not sufficient to avert the just indignation of the offended monarch, who sent a body of troops to drive out of the kingdom the monks of *Canterbury*, who had been engaged by the pope's menaces to receive LANGTON as their archbishop. The king also declared to the pontif, that, if he persisted in imposing a prelate upon the see of *Canterbury*, in opposition to a regular election already made, the consequences of such presumptuous obstinacy would, in the issue, prove fatal to the papal authority in *England*. INNOCENT was so far from being terrified by this menacing remonstrance, that, in the year 1203, 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

☞ [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 pontif, the excommunication he issued out against the king's person, and the impious act by which he absolved the English from their allegiance. The translator, however, thought this event of too great importance to be treated with such brevity, and has, therefore, taken the liberty to enlarge considerably this eighth section, which contains but eleven lines in the original.

confirm

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, 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 pontif proceeded to a still farther degree of severity and presumption, and denounced a sentence of excommunication against the person of the English monarch. This sentence, which was issued out in the year 1208, was followed about three years after by a bull, absolving all his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and ordering all persons to avoid him, on pain of excommunication. But it was in the year 1212, that INNOCENT carried his impious tyranny to the most enormous length, when, assembling a council of cardinals and prelates, he deposed JOHN, declared the throne of *England* vacant, and wrote to PHILIP AUGUSTUS, king of *France*, to execute this sentence, to undertake the conquest of *England*, and to unite that kingdom to his dominions for ever. He, at the same time, published another bull, exhorting all Christian princes to contribute, whatever was in their power, to the success of this expedition, promising such as seconded PHILIP in this grand enterprise,

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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 scandalously, his kingdoms to the papal jurisdiction, he declared that he had neither been compelled to this measure by fear nor by force; but that it was his own voluntary deed, performed by the advice, and with the consent, of the barons of his kingdom. He obliged himself and his heirs to pay an annual sum of seven hundred marks for *England*, and

[*f*] For a full account of this shameful ceremony, see MATTHEW PARIS, *Historia Major*, p. 189. 192. 195.—As also BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*, tom. iii. p. 67.—RAPIN THOYRAS, *Histoire d'Angleterre*, tom. ii. p. 304.

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

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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

Honorius  
III.

[g] *Cadet a jure regni*, is the expression used in the *Charter of resignation*, which may be seen at length in the *Hist. Major* of MATTHEW PARIS.

[b] See the *Complete History of England*, by Dr. SMOLLET, vol. i. p. 437.

**CENT.** was in consequence of this zeal, that the new  
**XIII.** pontif opposed the measures, and drew upon him  
**PART II.** 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 pontifs 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 pontif, on the other hand, urged, with importunity, the emperor's departure, encouraged, animated, and strengthened, by secret succours, the *Italian* states that opposed his pretensions, and resisted the progress of his power by all the obstacles which the most fertile invention could suggest. These contests, however, had not, as yet, brought on an open rupture.

The calamities that arose from the ambition of Gregory IX.

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

**RIC**

RIC at last set out and arrived in the Holy Land; CENT. XIII. PART II. 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 *Apulia* during his absence [i], and used his utmost efforts to arm against him all the European powers. FREDERIC, having received information of these perfidious and violent proceedings, returned into *Europe* in the year 1229, defeated the papal army, retook the places he had lost in *Sicily* and in *Italy*, and the year following made his peace with the pontif, from whom he received a public and solemn absolution. This peace, however, was but of a short duration; nor was it possible for the emperor to bear the insolent proceedings, and the imperious temper, of GREGORY. He therefore, broke all measures with that headstrong pontif, distressed the states of *Lombardy* that were in alliance with the see of *Rome*, seized upon the island of *Sardinia*, which GREGORY looked upon as a part of his spiritual patrimony, and erected it into a kingdom for his son ENTIVS. These, with other steps that were equally provoking to the avarice and ambition of GREGORY, drew the thunder of the Vatican anew upon the emperor's head in the year 1239. FREDERIC was excommunicated publicly with all the circumstances of severity that vindictive rage could invent, and was charged with the most flagitious crimes, and the most impious blasphemies,

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

C E N T. by the exasperated pontif, who sent a copy of this  
 XIII. terrible accusation to all the courts of *Europe*.  
 PART II. The emperor, on the other hand, defended his  
 injured reputation by solemn declarations in writ-  
 ing, while, by his victorious arms, he avenged  
 himself of his adversaries, maintained his ground,  
 and reduced the pontif 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 dis-  
 concerted 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 pontif, and  
 contributed probably to the conclusion of his  
 days, which happened soon after this remarkable  
 event [k].

Innocent  
 IV.

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

[k] Besides the original and authentic authors collected by  
 MURATORI, in his *Scriptores rerum Italicarum*, and the Ger-  
 man and Italian historians, few or none of whom are abso-  
 lutely void of partiality in their accounts of these unhappy con-  
 tests between the empire and the papacy, see PETRUS DE VI-  
 NIIS, *Epistol. lib. i.* and MATTH. PARIS, *Historia Major*.  
 Add to these RAYNALDI *Annal.*—MURATORI *Annal. Italiae*,  
 tom. vii. & *Antiquit. Italic.* tom. iv. p. 325. 517. It must  
 however be observed, that this branch of history stands yet in  
 need of farther illustrations.

assumed



assumed the denomination of INNOCENT IV., and yielded to none of his predecessors in arrogance and fury [1]. - His elevation, however, offered at first a prospect of peace, as he had formerly been attached to the interests of the emperor, and accordingly the conferences were opened, and a reconciliation was proposed; but the terms offered by the new pope were too imperious and extravagant, not to be rejected with indignation by the emperor [m]. Hence it was that INNOCENT, not thinking himself safe in any part of *Italy*, set out from *Genoa*, the place of his birth, for *Lyons* in the year 1244, and assembling there a council the following year, deposed, in their presence, though not with their approbation, the emperor FREDERIC, and declared the imperial throne vacant [n]. This unjust and insolent measure was regarded with such veneration, and looked upon as so weighty by the German princes, seduced and blinded by the superstition of the times, that they proceeded instantly to a new election, and raised first, HENRY, landgrave of *Thuringia*, and after his death, WILLIAM, count of *Holland*, to the head of the empire. FREDERIC, whose firm and heroic spirit supported without dejection these cruel vicissitudes, continued to carry on the war in *Italy*, until a violent dysentery ended his days in *Apulia*, the 13th of December, 1250. Upon the death of his formidable and magnanimous adversary, INNOCENT returned into

[1] See MATTHEW PARIS, *Historia Major*, ad A. 1254. p. 771.

☞ [m] These preliminary conditions were: 1<sup>st</sup>, That the emperor should give up entirely to the church the inheritance which was left to it by MATHILDA; and, 2<sup>dly</sup>, That he would oblige himself to submit to whatever terms the pope should think fit to propose, as conditions of peace.

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

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

Alexander  
IV.

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

Urban IV.

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

[o] Besides the writers already mentioned, see NICOL. DE CURRIO, *Vita Innocentii IV.*, in BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 353.

[p] See MURATORII *Dissertat. de Guelphis et Guibellinis*, in his *Antiqq. Ital. medi ævi*, tom. iv. p. 606.

reign

reign of three years. His successor GUI FULCIDI, CENT. XIII. PART II. 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 pontif, are well known to such as have the smallest acquaintance with the history of these unhappy times.

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

[g] Which happened in the year 1268.

[r] The records of this election are published by LUC. WADDINGUS, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 330.

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

☞ [s] ALPHONSUS, king of *Castile*, had been elected emperor in the year 1256, by the archbishop of *Tiers*, the duke of *Saxony*, the margrave of *Brandenburg*, and the king of *Bohemia*, in opposition to RICHARD, duke of *Cornwall*, brother of HENRY III. king of *England*, who was at the same time raised to the same dignity by the archbishops of *Mentz* and *Bologn*, the count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and the duke of *Bavaria*.

XIV. GREGORY X. was succeeded, in the year 1276, by PETER of *Tarantaise*, of the Dominican order, and bishop of *Ostia*, who assumed the name of INNOCENT V., and died about five months after his election. OTTOBONI, a native of *Genoa*, and cardinal of *St. Adrian*, was chosen in his place, took the title of ADRIAN V. [1], and, after having ruled the church during five weeks, was succeeded by PETER JULIAN, bishop of *Tusculum*, who enjoyed that high dignity about eight months, and is distinguished in the papal list by the name of JOHN XXI. [2]. The see of *Rome* continued vacant for above six months after the death of the last-mentioned pontif, but was at length filled, in the month of November 1277, by JOHN CAJETAN, of the family of *Uffins*, cardinal of *St. Nicolas*, whose name he adopted for his papal title. This famous pontif, 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.

C E N T.  
XIII.  
P A R T II.  
Innocent V.  
Adrian V.  
John XXI.  
Nicolas III.

XV. He was succeeded in the year 1281, about six months after his departure from this life, by SIMON DE BRIE, who adopted the name of MARTIN IV., and was not inferior to NICOLAS III., in ambition, arrogance, and constancy of mind, of which he gave several proofs during his pontificate. MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS, the Grecian emperor, was one of the first princes, who was so-

Martin IV.  
Nicolas IV.

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

[2] In the original Dr. MOSHEIM observes, that these three successors of GREGORY were elected and carried off by death in the year 1276; but here he has fallen into a slight mistake; for JOHN XXI. died the 16th of May 1277.

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lemnly 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 *Arragon*, whom MARTIN not only excluded from the bosom of the church, but also deposed from his throne, on account of his attempt upon *Sicily*, and made a grant of his kingdom, fiefs, and possessions to CHARLES, son of PHILIP the Bold [*x*], king of *France*. It was during the execution of such daring enterprizes 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 stopt short, in the midst of his career, in the year 1287, having ruled the church only two years. JEROME D'ASCOLI, bishop of *Palasfrma*, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 1288, and is known by the name of NICOLAS IV., distinguished himself, during the four years that he remained at the head of the church, by his assiduous application both to ecclesiastical and political affairs. Sometimes we see the disputes of sovereign powers left to his arbitration, and terminated by his decision; at other times, we find him maintaining the pretensions and privileges of the church with the most resolute zeal and the most obstinate perseverance; at other times, again, we see him employing, with the utmost assiduity, every probable method of propagating the gospel among the

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

[*x*] PHILIPPE LE HARDI, as he is called by the French.

Tartars and other eastern nations. But the object which, of all others, occupied most the thoughts of this vigilant and zealous pontif, 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.

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XVI. The death of this pontif 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

Celestine V.

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

Boniface  
VIII.

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

[y] HEIYOT, *Histoire des Ordres*, tom. vi. p. 180.

[z] The reasons they alleged for disputing the title of BONIFACE to the pontificate were, that the resignation of CELESTINE was not *canonical*, and, moreover, that it was brought about by fraudulent means.

church,



church, and to *Europe*, a lively image of the tyrannical administration of GREGORY VII., whom he perhaps surpassed in arrogance [*a*]. It was this pontif 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*].

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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 pontif or his successors, since several religious orders, hitherto unknown in the Christian world, were not only tolerated, but were moreover distinguished by peculiar marks of approbation and favour, and enriched with various privileges and prerogatives. Nor will this tacit abrogation of the decree of INNOCENT appear at all surprising to such as consider the state of the church in this century. For, not to mention many enormities that contributed to the suspension of this decree, we shall only observe, that the enemies of Christianity, and the *heretical* sects, increased daily every where; and, on the other hand, the *secular*

New monastic orders.

[*a*] There is a history of this pontif written by JO. RUBEUS, a Benedictine monk, whose work, which is entitled *BONIFACIUS VIII., e familia Cajetanorum principum Romanus pontifex*, was published at Rome in the year 1651, in 4to.

[*b*] In this account of the popes, I have chiefly followed DANIEL PAPEBROCH, FRANCIS PAGI, and MURATORI, in his *Annales Italix*, consulting at the same time the original sources collected by the last-mentioned author, in his *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*.

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

Several of  
the monastic  
institutions  
suppressed.

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

[c] HELYOT, *Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vi. p. 152.

erected

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 *Vallischolares*, or *scholars of the valley*, so called from their being instituted by the *scholares*, 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. Genievieve*. To the same class belong the *order of the blessed Virgin Mary the Mother of Christ*, which had its commencement in the year 1266, and was suppressed in 1274 [f]; the *Knights of faith and charity*, who undertook to disperse the bands of robbers that infested the public roads in *France*, and who were favoured with the peculiar protection and approbation of GREGORY IX. [g]; the *Hermits of St. William duke of Aquitaine* [h]; not to mention the *Brethren of the sack*, the *Bethlehemites*, and other orders of inferior note, that started up in this century, which, of all others, was the most remarkable for the number and variety of monastic establishments, that date their origin from it [i].

[d] MATTH. PARIS, *Hist. Major*, p. 161.

[e] BOULAY, *Hystor. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 15.—*Acta Sanct. Mens. Februar.* tom. ii. p. 482.

[f] DION. SAMMARIHANI *Gallia Christiana*, tom. i. p. 653.

[g] *Gallia Christi.* tom. i. *Append.* p. 165.—MARTEN, *Voyage Liter. de deux Benedictins*, tom. ii. p. 23.

[h] JO. BOLLANDI *De ordine Eremitar. S. Guilielmi Comm. in actis SS. Februar.* tom. ii. p. 472.

[i] MATTH. PARIS, *Hist. Major*, p. 815. edit. Watts. Where, speaking of the prodigious number of convents that were founded in *England* during this century, he expresseth himself thus: *Tot jam apparuerunt ordines in Anglia, ut ordinum confusio videretur inordinata.*

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The convents that  
still subsist.

XX. Among the convents that were founded in this century, and still subsist, the principal place is due to that of the *servites*, i. e. the *servants of the blessed Virgin*, whose order was first instituted, A. D. 1223, in *Tusany*, by seven Florentine merchants, and afterwards made a great progress under the government of PHILIP BENIZI its chief. This order, though subjected to the rule of St. AUGUSTIN, was, nevertheless, erected in commemoration of the most holy widowhood of the blessed Virgin; for which reason its monks wear a black habit [k], and observe several rules unknown to other monasteries. The prodigious numbers of Christians, that were made prisoners by the Mahometans in *Palestine*, gave rise, towards the conclusion of the XIIIth 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 ELLIX DE VALOIS, two pious men, who led an austere and solitary life at *Cerfroy*, in the diocese of *Meaux*, which is still the seat of the principal convent of the order. The monks of this society are called the *Brethren of the Holy Trinity*, because all their churches are solemnly dedicated to that profound mystery; they are also styled MATHURINS, from their having a monastery at *Paris* erected in a place where there is a chapel consecrated to St. MATHURIN, and *Brethren of the redemption of captives* [l], because the grand design of their institution

[k] Besides the ordinary writers of the Monastic History, see PAULI FLORENTINI *Dialog. de origine Ordinis Servitorum*, in LAMII *Delicis 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

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

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P A R T II.

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

The mendicant order.

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

[m] Beside HELYOT and the other writers of the Monastic History, see TOUSSAINT DE PLESSIS, *Hist. de l'Eglise de Meaux*, tom. i. p. 172. and 566.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*. tom. ii. p. 523. ANT. WOOD, *Antiq. Oxoniens.* tom. i. p. 133. In the ancient records, this society is frequently styled the *Order of Asses*, on account of the prohibition of the use of horses, which made a part of their rule, and which obliged the mendicant monks to ride upon asses. See CAR. DU FRÉSNE'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.

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

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

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XXII. The great inconveniency that arose from the excessive multiplication of the mendicant orders, was remedied by GREGORY X., in a general council which he assembled at *Lyons* in the year 1272. For here all the religious orders, that had sprung up after the council held at *Rome*, in the year 1215, under the pontificate of INNOCENT III., were suppressed, and the *extravagant multitude of mendicants*, as GREGORY called them, were reduced to a smaller number, and confined to the four following societies, or denominations, viz. the *Dominicans*, the *Franciscans*, the *Carmelites*, and the *Hermits of St. Augustin* [n]. The *Carmelite* order, which had been instituted in *Pal-estine* 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

Its history;

[n] *Concil. Lugd. II. A. 1274. Can. xxiii. in Jo. HARDUINI Conciliis, tom. vii. p. 715. Importuna potentium inbiatio Religionum (so were the religious orders entitled) multiplicationem extorsit, verum etiam aliquorum presumptuosa temeritas diversorum ordinum, præcipue Mendicantium . . . . effrenatam multitudinem adinvenit . . . . Hinc ordines Mendicantes post dictum concilium (i. e. the council of Lateran held in 1215) adinventos . . . . perpetuæ prohibitioni subijcimus.*

C E N T. ALEXANDER IV. [o], who, observing that the  
 XIII  
 P A R T II. *Hermits* were divided into several societies, some  
 of which followed the maxims of the famous  
 WILLIAM, others the rule of St. AUGUSTIN,  
 while others again were distinguished by different  
 denominations, formed the wise project of uniting  
 them all into one religious order, and subjecting  
 them to the same rule of discipline, even that  
 which bears the name of St. AUGUSTIN. This  
 project was put in execution in the year 1256.

Attracts the  
 veneration  
 and esteem  
 of the pub-  
 lic.

XXIII. As the pontifs allowed these four Men-  
 dicant orders the liberty of travelling wherever  
 they thought proper, of conversing with persons  
 of all ranks, of instructing the youth and the mul-  
 titude wherever they went; and, as these monks  
 exhibited, in their outward appearance and man-  
 ner of life, more striking marks of gravity and  
 holiness, than were observable in the other mo-  
 nastic 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 sacra-  
 ments 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 re-  
 mains after death; all which occasioned griev-  
 ous complaints among the ordinary priests, to

[o] This edict of pope ALEXANDER IV. is to be found in  
 the new edition of the *Bullarium Romanum*, tom. i. p. 110.—  
 See also *Acta Sanctor. Mens. Februar.* tom. ii. p. 472.



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

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

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The Domi-  
nicans.

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*man*, 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 Albigenes 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 priett. Passing from thence into *Italy*, he was honoured by the Roman pontifs INNOCENT III. and HONORIUS III. with the most distinguished marks of their protection and favour; and, after many labours in the cause of the church, obtained from them the privilege of erecting this new fraternity, whose principal design was the extirpation of error, and the destruction of heretics. The first rule which he adopted for the new society was that of the *Canons of St. Augustin*, to which he added several austere precepts and observances. But he afterwards changed the discipline of the canons for that of the monks; and, holding a chapter of the order at *Bologna* in the year 1220, he obliged the brethren to take a vow of absolute poverty, and to abandon entirely all their revenues and all their possessions. He did not live long enough to see the consequences of this reformation, for he died the year following at *Bologna* [q]. His monks were, at

[q] See JAC. ECHARD. and QUETIF in *Scriptoribus Ord. Dominic.* tom. i. p. 84.—*Acta Sanctor. April*, tom. iii. p. 872.—NICOL. JANSENII *Vita S. Domini*, Antwerp, 1622, in 8vo. Add to these the long list of writers mentioned by FABRICIUS, in his *Bibliotheca Lat. med. ævi*, tom. ii. p. 137. and also ANTONII BREMONDI *Bullarium Ordinis Dominicani*, published some years ago at *Rome*.

first,

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

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

The Franciscans.

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

[s] In the year 1208.

C E N T. scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither  
 XIII. shoes, nor yet staves, for the workman is worthy of  
 PART II. his meat [1].

This produced a powerful effect upon his mind, made him consider a voluntary and absolute poverty as the essence of the gospel and the soul of religion, and prescribe this poverty as a sacred rule both to himself and to the few that followed him. Such was the commencement of the famous Franciscan order, whose founder and chief was, undoubtedly, a pious and well-meaning man, though grossly ignorant, and manifestly weakened in his intellect by the disorder from which he had but lately recovered. Nevertheless the new society, which appeared to INNOCENT III. extremely adapted to the present state of the church, and proper to restore its declining credit, was solemnly approved and confirmed by HONORIUS III., in the year 1223, and had already made a considerable progress when its devout founder was called from this life in the year 1226. FRANCIS, through an excessive humility, would not suffer the monks of his order to be called *Fratres*, i. e. *brethren*, or *friars*, but *Fraterculi*, i. e. *little brethren*, or *friars-minors* [u], by which denomination they still continue to be distinguished [w]. The Franciscans came into Eng-  
 land

[1] *Matthew*, x. 9, 10.

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

[w] BONAVENTURE wrote a life of St. FRANCIS, which has passed through several editions. But the most ample and circumstantial accounts of this extraordinary man are given by LUKE WADDING, in the first volume of his *Annal. Minorum*, which contains a complete history of the Franciscan order, confirmed by a great number of authentic records, and the best edition of which is that published at Rome in 1731, and the following years, in eighteen volumes in folio, by JOSEPH MARIA FONSECA AB EBORA. It is to the same WADDING that we are obliged for the *Opuscula Sti. Francisci*, and the *Bibliotheca Ordinis Minorum*, the former of which was published in 4to at Antwerp, in the year 1623, and the latter at Rome, in 4to likewise,

land in the reign of HENRY III., and their first establishment was at *Canterbury*.

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

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

wife, in 1650. The other writers, who have given accounts of the Franciscan order, are mentioned by JO. ALB. FABRICIUS, in his *Bibliotheca Lat. medii ævi*, tom. ii. p. 573.

[x] The popes were so infatuated with the Franciscans, that those whom they could not employ more honourably in their civil negotiations or domestic affairs, they made their publicans, beadles, &c. See for a confirmation of this, the following passages in the *Histor. Major* of MATTHEW PARIS: *Fratres minores et prædicatores* (says he) *invitos, ut credimus, jam suos fecit dominus papa, non sine ordinis eorum læsione et scandalo, telonarios et bedellos*, p. 634.—*Non cessavit papa pecuniam aggregare, faciens de Fratribus prædicatoribus et minoribus, etiam invitatis, non jam piscatoribus hominum, sed nummorum*, p. 639. Conf. p. 602. 664.—*Erant Minores et Prædicatores magnatum consiliarios et nuntii, etiam doctores papæ secretarii: nimis in hoc gratiam sibi secularem comparantes; ad An. 1236. p. 354.*—*Facti sunt eo tempore Prædicatoribus et Minoribus regum consiliarii et nuntii speciales, ut sicut quondam mollibus induti in domibus regum erant, ita tunc qui vilibus vestiebantur, in domibus, cameris, et palatibus essent principum; ad An. 1239, p. 465.*

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they received from the pontifs, 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 [y]. . These acts of liberality and marks of protection, lavished upon the Dominican and Franciscan *friars* with such an ill-judged profusion, as they overturned the ancient discipline of the church, and were a manifest encroachment upon the rights of the first and second orders of the ecclesiastical rulers, produced the most unhappy and bitter dissensions between the Mendicant orders and the bishops. And these dissensions, extending their contagious influence beyond the limits of the church, excited throughout all the European provinces, and even in the city of *Rome* [z], under the very eye of the pontifs, the most dreadful disturbances and tumults. The measures taken by the popes to appease these tumults were various, but ineffectual; because their principal view was to support the cause of their faithful servants and creatures, the Mendicant friars, and to maintain them in the possession of their honours and advantages [a].

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[y] See BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. iv. p. 490. tom. vii. p. 392.—It is well known that no religious order had the distribution of so many and such ample *indulgences* as the Franciscans. Nor could these 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.

[z] BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. vii. p. 441.

[a] See Jo. LAUNOII *Explicata Ecclesiæ Traditio circa Canonem: Omnis utriusque Sexus*, tom. i. part I. opp. p. 247.—RICH. SIMON, *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*,

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 pontif 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

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The dispute  
betw. en the  
Dom cans  
and the uni-  
versity of  
*Paris*.

*tiques, par M. DU PIN, tom. i. p. 326.—LENFANT, Histoire du Concile de Pise, tom. i. p. 310. tom. ii. p. 8.—ECHARDI Scriptores Dominicans, tom. i. p. 404.* The circumstances of these flaming contests are mentioned by all the writers both of this and the following centuries,

and

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

The Demi- XXVIII. In this famous debate none pleaded  
nicians meet the cause of the university with greater spirit, and  
with a for- asserted its rights with greater zeal and activity,  
midable ad- than GUILLAUME DE ST. AMOUR, doctor of the  
versary. Sorbonne, a man of true genius, worthy to have  
lived in better times, and capable of adorning a  
more enlightened age. This vigorous and able  
champion attacked the whole Mendicant tribe in  
various treatises with the greatest vehemence, and  
more especially in a book *Concerning the perils of  
the latter times*. He maintained publicly, that  
their discipline was in direct opposition to the  
precepts of the gospel; and that, in confirming  
and approving it, the popes had been guilty of  
temerity, and the church was become chargeable with  
error [c]. What gave occasion to the remarkable  
title of this famous book, was the author's being  
entirely persuaded that the prophecy of ST. PAUL,  
relating to the *perilous times that were to come in  
the last days* [d], was fulfilled in the establishment

[b] See CÆS. EGASS. DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris*.  
tom. iii. p. 138. 240. 244. 248. 266, &c.—JO. CORDESI, or  
(to mention him by the name he assumes) JO. ALITOPHILI  
*Præf. Hist. et Apologetica ad Opera Guilielmi de S. Amore*.—  
ANTOINE TOURON, *Vie de S. Thomas*, p. 134.—WADDINGI  
*Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 247. 366. tom. iv. p. 14. 52. 106.  
263.—MATTH. PARIS, *Hist. Major, ad An.* 1228, & NANGI  
*Chronicon.* apud DACHERIUM; *Spicilegi*, tom. iii. p. 38.

[c] 2 Timothy, iii. 1.

[d] 2 Timothy, iii. 1.



of the Mendicant friars. This notion St. AMOUR C E N T. maintained in the warmest manner, and proved XIII. it, principally, from the book called the *Ever-* PART II. *lasting Gospel*, which was explained publicly by the Dominicans and Franciscans, and of which we shall have occasion to speak more fully hereafter. The fury and resentment of the Mendicants were therefore kindled, in a peculiar manner, against this formidable adversary, whom they persecuted without interruption, until, in the year 1256, ALEXANDER VI. ordered his book to be publicly burnt, and banished its author out of *France*, lest he should excite the Sorbonne to renew their opposition to these ghostly beggars. St. AMOUR submitted to the papal edict, and retired into the *Franche 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*].

[*d*] The doctors of the university of *Paris* profess still a high respect for the memory of St. AMOUR, esteem his book, and deny obstinately that he was ever placed in the list of *heretics*. The Dominicans, on the contrary, consider him as a heretic of the first magnitude, if we may use that expression. Such of his works as could be found were published in 4to. in the year 1632, at *Paris* (though the title bears *Constantin*), 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. ALIOPHILUS. 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.—BOYLAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 266.—NAT. ALEX. *Hist. Eccles.* Sæc. xiii. cap. iii. Art. vii. p. 95.—RICH. SIMON. *Critique de la Biblioth. Eccles. de M. Du Pin*, tom. i. p. 345.

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The pride  
and arro-  
gance of the  
Mendicants.

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

[e] See MATTH. PARIS, *ad A.* 1246, *Histor. Major.*, p. 607. 630, &c. \*

ation [f]. 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 [g].

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

Contests between the Dominicans and Franciscans.

[f] See JO. LAUNOII *Lib. de Viso Stockii Oper.* tom. ii. part II. p. 379.—*Acta Sanctor.* tom. iii. *Menfis Maii ad diem xvi.*—THEOPH. RAINAUDI *Scapulare Marianum*, tom. vii. opp. p. 614.

[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 Festis B. Mariæ Virg.* lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 472. tom. x. opp. edit. *Rom.*

[h] See the *Alcoran des Cordeliers*, tom. i. p. 256. 266. 278. &c. LUC. WADDINGII *Annales Minor.* tom. iii. p. 380.

and

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

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

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

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

1231, published an interpretation of this rule, which mitigated considerably its excessive rigour [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 *Spiritual* [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 INNOCENT IV. decided, in the year 1245, in favour of those who were for mitigating the severity of the rule in question. By this decree of the pontif 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 *property* of all these things should reside in St. PETER, or the Roman church; so that without the consent of the Roman pontif they might neither be sold, changed, nor transferred, under any pretext whatsoever. This edict was considered by the gloomy part of the order as a most pernicious depravation of their holy rule, and was, consequently, opposed and rejected by them with indignation. Hence many of these *spiritual* mal-contents retired into the woods and deserts, while others were apprehended, by CRESCENTIUS, the general of the society, and sent into exile [m].

XXXII. The face of affairs was, however, soon changed in their favour, when, in the year 1247, JOHN of *Parma* was chosen general of the

[k] This bull was published by EMMANUEL RODERIC, in his *Collectio privilegiorum regularium Mendicantium, et non Mendicantium*, tom. i. p. 8.

[l] LUC. WADDINGII *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 99. they were also called *Zelatores*, and *Cæsariani*, from their chief, CÆSARIUS.

[m] LUC. WADDINGII *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 128. & tom. iii. p. 171.

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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 pontif, 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 the other hand, the faction that adhered to the sentiments of JOHN of Parma maintained their cause with such success, that, in an assembly of the order, held in the year 1260, the explication of INNOCENT was abrogated and annulled, especially in those points wherein it

[n] LUC. WADDINGII *Annal. Minor.* tom. iii. p. 171.

[o] *Id* *ibid.* tom. iv. p. 4.

[p] This edict of ALEXANDER IV. is published by WADDINGIUS, *Annal. Min.* tom. iv. p. 446. among the *Records*.

differe

differed from that which had been formerly given by GREGORY IX. [q].

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

Another  
contest arises  
among the  
Franciscans,  
concerning  
the *Ever-  
lasting Gospel*  
of the abbot  
Joachim.

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

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

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

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a real or fictitious person we shall not pretend to determine, among many other future events, foretold the destruction of the church of *Rome*, whose corruptions he censured with the greatest severity, and the promulgation of a new and *more perfect gospel in the age of the Holy Ghost*, by a set of poor and austere ministers, whom God was to raise up and employ for that purpose. For he divided the world into *three ages*, relative to the three dispensations of religion that were to succeed each other in it. The two *imperfect ages*, to wit, the age of the Old Testament, which was that of the *Father*, and the age of the New, which was under the administration of the *Son*, were, according to the predictions of this fanatic, now past, and the third age, even that of the *Holy Ghost*, was at hand. The *Spiritual*, i. e. the austere Franciscans, who were, for the most part, well-meaning, but wrong-headed enthusiasts, not only swallowed down, with the most voracious and implicit credulity, the prophecies and doctrines that were attributed to JOACHIM, but applied these predictions to themselves, and to the rule of discipline established by their holy founder St. FRANCIS [1]; for they maintained, that he

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 Concordiæ veritatis*, i. e. *The Book of the Harmony of Truth*; the second, *Apocalypsis Nova*, or *New Revelations*; and the third, *Psalterium decem Chordarum*, i. e. *The Ten-stringed Harp*. This account was taken from a manuscript of that work, in the library of the Sorbonne, by JAC. ECHARD, who has published it in his *Scriptores Dominic.* tom. i. p. 202.

[1] This is acknowledged even by WADDING, notwithstanding his partiality in favour of the *spiritual* or austere Franciscans. See his *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 3—6.

delivered



delivered to mankind the *true gospel*, and that he was the angel whom St. JOHN saw flying in the midst of heaven [u].

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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].

Gerhard's  
book con-  
demned.

In

[u] *Revel.* xiv. 6. *And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, &c.*—See on this subject BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 221. 228. 235. 246.—ECHARDI *Scriptor. Dominic.* tom. i. p. 202.—*Codex Inquisit. Tholosanæ* a LIMBORCHIO edit. p. 301. 302. 305, &c.

[w] As the accounts given of this book, by ancient and modern writers, are not sufficiently accurate, it may not be improper to offer here some observations that may correct their mistakes. 1. They almost all confound the *Everlasting Gospel*, or *The Gospel of the Holy Ghost*, (for so was it also called, as we are told by GUILI. 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 pontif, ALEXANDER IV.; but the *Introduction* was complained of, condemned, and burnt, as appears evidently from the letters of the abovementioned pontif, which are to be seen in BOULAY'S *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 292. The former consisted, as productions of that nature generally do, in ambiguous predictions and intricate riddles, and was consequently despised or neglected; but the latter was dangerous in many respects. 2. It is farther to be observed, that the ancient writers are not agreed concerning the author of this *Introduction*. They are unanimous in attributing it to one of the Mendicant friars; but the votaries of St. FRANCIS maintain, that the author was a Dominican; while the Dominican party affirm as obstinately, that he was a Franciscan. It is however certain, that the greatest part of the learned are of opinion, that the author of the infa-

mous

CENT. In this book, the fanatical monk, among other  
 XIII.  
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 following

mous 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. Dominicana.* 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. *wigilant*, from their professing a more rigid observance of the rule of their founder than was practised by the rest of their order, place GERHARD among the saints of the first rank, and impudently affirm, that he was not only endowed with the gift of prophecy, but also with the power of working miracles. See WADDINGII *Annales Min.* tom. iii. p. 213, 214. It is to be observed 3dly, That whoever may have been the writer of this detestable book, the whole Mendicant order, in the judgment of the greatest part of the historians of this age, shared the guilt of its composition and publication, more especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, who are supposed to have fallen upon this impious method of deluding the multitude into a high notion of their sanctity, in order thus to establish their dominion, and to extend their authority beyond all bounds. This opinion however is ill-founded, notwithstanding the numbers by which it has been adopted. The Franciscans alone are chargeable with the guilt of this horrid production, as appears most evidently from the fragments of the book itself, which yet remain; but we are obliged in justice to observe farther, that this guilt does not even lie upon all the Franciscans, but only on that faction of the order, which is known under the title of the *Spiritual*. Perhaps we might go still farther, and allege, that the charge ought not to be extended even to all the members of this faction, but to such alone

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

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alone as placed an idle and enthusiastic confidence in the abbot JOACHIM, and gave credit to all his pretended prophecies. These observations are necessary to the true understanding of what has been said concerning the *Everlasting Gospel* by the following learned men; JO. ANDR. SCHMIDIUS, *Singular Dissertat. Helmst.* 1700, in 4to.—USSERIUS, *De Successione Ecclesiar. Occident.* c. ix. § 20. p. 337.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 292.—NATAL. ALEXANDER, *Hist. Eccl.* sæc. xiii. Artic. iv. p. 78.—LUC. WADDING, *Annal. Minor.* tom. iv. p. 9.—Upon the whole it may be affirmed, that the book under consideration is not, as the greatest part of the learned have imagined, a monument of the arrogance of the Mendicant orders, but rather a proof of the impious fanaticism and extravagance of an handful of Franciscans.

[x] See GUIL. DE ST. AMORE, *De Periculis noviss. Tempor.* p. 38, 39. who observes, that the book under consideration was not indeed published before the year 1254, but that the opinions contained in it had an earlier origin, and were propagated even in the year 1200. Several of the ancient writers have given large extracts from this infamous book, see HERM. CORNERI *Chronicon*, in ECCARDI *Corpor. Hist. mediæ ævi*, tom. ii. p. 850.—*Chronicon Egmondanum*, in ANT. MATHÆI *Analectis veteris ævi*, 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.

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

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

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

[y] See **BOULAY**, *Hist. A. ad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 299.—**JORDANI Chronicon**, in **MURATORII Antiqq. Ital.** tom. iv. p. 998.

[z] Some affirm, that this famous *Constitution* was issued out by **NICOLAS IV.**; but their opinion is refuted by **WADDING**, in his *Annal. Min.* tom. v. p. 73.

By this edict, the pontif renewed 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 pontif stop here; but prohibited, under the severest penalties, all private explications of this new law, lest they should excite disputes and furnish new matter of contention; and reserved the power of interpreting it to himself alone, and to his successors in the pontificate [a].

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

Excites new  
troubles and  
exasperates  
the *Spiritual*.

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

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

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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, *Postilla*, or *A Commentary on the Revelations*, affirming boldly, that that church was represented by the *whore of Babylon*, the *mother of harlots*, whom St. JOHN beheld sitting upon a *scarlet-coloured beast*, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads, and ten horns [c]. It is, however, to be observed, that this severe censor of a corrupt church was, himself, a most superstitious fanatic in several respects, having imbibed the greatest part of those monstrous opinions, which the *Spiritual* pretended to have received from the abbot JOACHIM; to which he added an impious and extravagant veneration for St. FRANCIS, whom he considered as wholly and *entirely transformed into the person of Christ* [d]. In the debate concerning the sense of the rule of this famous chief, he seemed to adhere to neither of the contending parties; for he allowed his followers the *bare use of the necessities of life*; and being called upon, at different times, by the authority of his superiors, to declare his sentiments upon this head, he professed

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

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

[d] *Totum Christo configuratum*. See the *Litera Magistrum de Postilla Fratris P. Job. Olivi*, in BALUZII *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 213.—WADDINGI *Annales Minor.* tom. v. p. 51.

his

his assent to the interpretation that had been given of the rule in question by NICOLAS III. He leaned, nevertheless, to the side of those austere and *Spiritual* Franciscans, who not only opposed the introduction of property among the individuals of the order, but also maintained that the whole community, considered collectively, was likewise to be excluded from possessions of every kind. His zeal for these gloomy Franciscans was great, and he defended their cause with warmth [*e*], hence he is looked upon as the chief of that faction, which, disputed so often, and so vehemently, with the Roman pontiffs, in favour of the *renunciation of property*, in consequence of the institution of St. FRANCIS [*f*].

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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 imperious

Continuation of these debates.

[*e*] The real sentiments of PIERRE D'OLIVE will be best discovered in the last discourse he pronounced, which is yet extant in BOULAY's *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 535. and in WADDING's *Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 378.

[*f*] For an account of this famous friar, see not only the common monastic historians, such as RAYNALDUS, ALEXANDER, and OUDINUS, but also the following: BALUZII *Miscell.* tom. i. p. 213. and in *Vitis Pontif. Armon.* tom. ii. p. 752.—CAR. PLESSIS D'ARGENTRE, *Collectio judiciorum de novis Ecclesiæ Erroribus*, tom. i. p. 226.—WADDING. *Annal. Minor.* tom. v. p. 52. 108. 121. 140. 236. and more especially p. 378. where he makes an unsuccessful attempt to justify this enthusiast.—BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 535.—SCHELHORNII *Amœnitates Literariæ*, 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.

motions

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motions of this enthusiastic faction, that a sort of equality was preserved between the contending parties. But the promotion of MATTHEW of *Aqua Sparta*, who was elected general of the order in the year 1287, put an end to these prudential measures, and changed entirely the face of affairs. This new chief suffered the ancient discipline of the Franciscans to dwindle away to nothing, indulged his monks in abandoning even the very appearance of poverty, and thus drew upon him, not only the indignation and rage of the austurer part of the *Spiritual* Franciscans, but also the disapprobation of the more moderate members of that party. Hence arose various tumults and seditions, first in the marquisate of *Ancona*, and afterwards in *France*, which the new general endeavoured to suppress by imprisonment, exile, and corporal punishments; but, finding all these means ineffectual, resigned his place in the year 1289 [g]. His successor RAYMOND GOFFREDI employed his utmost efforts to appease these troubles. For this purpose he recalled the banished friars, set at liberty those that had been cast into prison, and put out of the way several of the austurer 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

[g] WADDINGI *Annales Min.* tom. v. p. 210, 211. 235.



rigid part of the *Spiritual* faction renounced all fellowship, even with such of their own party as discovered a pacific and reconciling spirit; and, forming themselves into a separate body, protested publicly against the interpretation which NICOLAS III. had given of the rule of St. FRANCIS. Thus, from the year 1290, the affairs of the Franciscans carried a dismal aspect, and portended nothing else than seditions and schisms in an order, that had been so famous for its pretended disinterestedness and humility [b].

XXXVIII. In the year 1294, a certain number of Italian Franciscans, of the *Spiritual* party, addressed themselves to CELESTIN V., for a permission to form a separate order, in which they might not only profess, but also observe, in the strictest manner, that austere rule of absolute poverty, which St. FRANCIS had prescribed to his followers. The good pontif, who, before his elevation to the head of the church, had led a solitary and austere life [i], and was fond of every thing that looked like mortification and self-denial, granted, with the utmost facility, the request of these friars, and placed at the head of the new order, a monk, whose name was LIBERATUS, and who was one of the greatest *self-tormentors*.

[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 CELESTIN V., his order, which must not be confounded with the new *Franciscan Celestin Hermits*, took the title of *Celestius*.

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tors of all the monastic tribe [k]. Soon after this, CELESTIN, finding himself unfit for the duties of his high and important office, resigned the pontificate, in which he was succeeded by BONIFACE VIII., who annulled every act that had been passed during the short reign of his predecessor, and suppressed, among other institutions, the new order, which had assumed the title of the *Celestin Hermits of St. Francis* [l]. This disgrace was, as it were, the signal which drew upon them the most furious attacks of their enemies. The worldly-minded Franciscans persecuted them with the most unrelenting bitterness, accused them of various crimes, and even cast upon them the odious reproach of Manicheism. Hence many of these unhappy fanatics retired into *Achaia*, from whence they passed into a small island, where they imagined themselves secure from the rage of their adversaries, and at liberty to indulge themselves in all the austerities of that miserable life, which they looked upon as the perfection of holiness here below. But no retreat was sufficient to screen them from the vigilance and fury of their cruel persecutors, who left no means un-employed 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

[k] WADDINGI *Annales*, tom. v. p. 324. 338.

[l] Id. *ibid.* tom. vi. p. 1. *Bullarium Magnum Contin.* III., IV., p. 108, 109.

was changed by the Reformation. In these conflicts they underwent trials and sufferings of every kind, and multitudes of them perished in the flames, as miserable victims to the infernal fury of the *Inquisition* [m].

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## XXXIX.

[m] The writers that serve generally as guides in this part of the history of the church, and whom I have been obliged to consult upon the divisions of the Franciscans, whose history, as will soon appear, is peculiarly interesting and important, are far from meriting the encomiums that are due to perspicuity and exactness. This part of the Ecclesiastical History of, what is called, the *Middle Age*, has not hitherto been accurately illustrated by any writer, though it be, every way, worthy of the labours of the learned, and of the attention of Christians. Its principal merit consists herein, that it exhibits striking examples of piety and learning struggling against the power of superstition and ignorance, and against that spiritual tyranny of which they were the principal supports. Nay, these very rebellious Franciscans, though fanatical and superstitious in several respects, deserve, nevertheless, an eminent rank among those who prepared the way for the Reformation in *Europe*, and who excited in the minds of the people, a just aversion to the church of *Rome*. RAYNALDUS, BZOVIVS, SPONDANUS, in their Annals, EYMERICUS, in his *Directorium Inquisitorum*, and NATALIS ALEXANDER, in his Ecclesiastical History, relate the revolutions that happened in the Franciscan order, and in the church in general during this period: but their accounts are neither so accurate, nor so ample, as the importance of the events deserved. And as it is from these authors that the protestant historians have drawn their materials, we need not be surpris'd 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, dissembles, excuses, acknowledges, and denies, with such a timorous prudence and caution, that the truth could not but suffer considerably under his pen. He appears to have been attached to the rigid Franciscans, and yet had not the courage to declare openly, that they had been injured by the pontifs. 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 pontifs: but he has taken all imaginable pains to throw such a shade upon this part of their conduct, as

conceals

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The Fratricelli and Beguards.

XXXIX. Towards the conclusion of this century, arose in *Italy* the enthusiastic sect of the *Fratricelli* and *Bizochi*, which, in *Germany* and *France*, received the denomination of *Beguards*. They were condemned by BONIFACE VIII. [n], and by several of his successors; and the *inquisitors* were charged by these despotic pontiffs to persecute them until they were entirely extirpated, which commission they executed with their usual barbarity. The *Fratricelli*, or *Little Brethren*, were Franciscan monks, who separated themselves from the grand community of St. FRANCIS, with a design to observe the laws of their parent and founder in a more strict and rigorous manner than they were observed by the other Franciscans; and who, accordingly, renounced every kind of possession and property both common and personal, and begged from door to door their

conceals its violence from the view of his readers. Such then being the characters of the writers, who have handed down to us the history of the church in this important period, I could follow none of them as a sure or constant guide in all the events they relate, the judgments they form, or the characters they describe. I have not, however, been destitute of a clue to conduct me through the various windings of this intricate labyrinth. The testimonies of ancient authors, with several manuscripts that have never yet been published, such as the *Diplomas* of the Pontiffs and Emperors, the *Acts of the Inquisition*, and other records of that kind, are the authentic sources from whence I have drawn my accounts of many things that have been very imperfectly represented by other historians.

[n] See TRITHEMIUS *Annal. Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 74. though this author is defective in several respects, and more especially in his accounts of the origin and sentiments of the *Fratricelli*. It is also to be observed, that he confounds, through the whole of his history, the sects and orders of this century one with another, in the most ignorant and unskilful manner. See rather DU BOULAY, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. iii. p. 541. where the edict published in the year 1297, by BONIFACE VIII., against the *Bizochi*, or *Beguards*, is inserted; as also JORDANI *Chronicon*, in MURATORII *Antiqq. Italiae*, tom. iv. p. 1020.

daily subsistence[*o*]. They alleged that neither CHRIST nor his apostles had any possessions, either *personal*, or *in common*; and that *they* were the models, whom St. FRANCIS commanded his followers to imitate. After the example also of their austere founder, they went about clothed with fordid garments, or rather with loathsome rags, declaimed against the corruption of the church of *Rome*, and the vices of the pontifs 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

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[*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 *Spirituals*, for instance, continued to hold communion with the rest of the Franciscans, from whom they differed in points of considerable moment, nor did they ever pretend to erect themselves into a particular and distinct order; the *Fratricelli*, on the contrary, renounced all communion with the Franciscans, and, withdrawing their obedience from the superiors of that society, chose for themselves a new chief, under whom they formed a new and separate order. The *Spiritual* did not absolutely oppose their order's possessing certain goods jointly, and in common, provided they renounced all property in these goods, and confined their pretensions to the mere *use* of them; whereas the *Fratricelli* rejected every kind of possession, whether personal or in common, and embraced that absolute poverty and want, which St. FRANCIS had prescribed in his *Rule* and in his last *Testament*. We omit the mention of other less important differences that might be alleged here.

pontifs

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pontiffs after him, who opposed the *Fratricelli*, and persecuted their order [p].

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[p] The accounts of the *Fratricelli*, that are given by ancient and modern writers, even by those that pretend to the greatest exactness, are extremely confused and uncertain. TRITHEMIUS, in his *Annal. Hirsaug.* tom. ii. p. 74. affirms, that they derived their origin from TANCHLINUS, 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

XL. As the Franciscan order acknowledged, as its companions and associates, a set of men who

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Bosconi,  
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PONGILUP had been suspected of heresy by the *Inquisitors* \*, on account of the peculiar austerity of his life, which resembled that of the *Catharists*, they made, even after his death, such an exact and scrupulous inquiry into his maxims and morals, that, many years after he was laid low in the grave, his impiety was detected and published to the world. Hence it was, that, in the year 1300, his tomb was destroyed, his bones dug up, and burned by the order of BONIFACE VIII. and the multitude effectually cured of the enthusiastic veneration they had for his memory. The judicial acts of this remarkable event are recorded by MURATORI, in his *Antiquit. Italic. medi ævi*, tom. v. p. 93—147. and it appears evidently from them, that those learned men, who consider PONGILUP as the founder of the order of the *Fratricelli*, are entirely mistaken. So far was he from being the founder of this sect, that he was dead before it was in being. The truth of the matter is, that this famous enthusiast was a *Catharist*, infected with *Paulician* or *Manichean* principles, and that he was a member of the sect entitled *Bagnolists*, from a town of that name in *Provence*, where they resided. Some modern writers, indeed, have seen so far into the truth, as to perceive that the *Fratricelli* were a separate branch of the rigid and austere Franciscans; but they err in this, that they consider them as the same sect with the *Beguards* or *Beguins*, under a different denomination. Such is the opinion adopted by LIMBORCH, in his *Hist. Inquisit.* lib. i. cap. xix. p. 69. who appears to have been very little acquainted with the matters now under consideration; by BALUZIUS, in his *Miscellan.* tom. i. p. 195. & *Vit. Pontif. Avinionens.* tom. i. p. 509. by BEAUSOBRE, in his *Dissertation concerning the Adamites*, subjoined to the *History of the Wars of the Hæsitæ*, p. 380. and by WADBING, in his *Annal. 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 *Fraterculus*, 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

These formidable censors were entitled, *Inquisitors of Heretical Pravity*.

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called

their cloathing, their carriage, and their manner of living, and assumed a sanctimonious aspect of piety and devotion. See VILLANI *Istorie Florentine*, lib. viii. c. 84. p. 423.—IMOLA in *Dantem*, p. 1121. in MURATORI *Antiq. Ital.* tom. i. And as there were many vagabonds of this kind, that wandered about from place to place during this century, it happened, that this general term of *Fratricelli* was applied to them all, though they differed much from one another in their opinions and in their methods of living. Thus the *Catharists*, the *Waldenses*, the *Apostles*, and many other sects, who had invented new opinions in religion, were marked with this denomination by the multitude; while the writers of foreign nations, unacquainted with this ludicrous application of the word, were puzzled in their inquiries after the sect of the *Fratricelli*, who had given so much trouble to the Roman pontiff, nay, were led into the grossest mistakes, and imagined, at one time, that this order was that of the *Catharists*, at another, that it was the sect of the *Waldenses*, &c. But, in order to have distinct ideas of this matter, it must be considered, that the word *Fraterculus*, or *Little Brother*, bore a quite different sense from the ludicrous one now mentioned, when it was applied to the austere part of the Franciscans, who maintained the necessity of observing, in the strictest manner, the rule of their founder. Instead of being a 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 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 GUILIELMUS DE THOCO in *Actis Sanctior. Martii*, tom. i. cap. ii. § xxi. *Destruxit* (says that biographer) *et tertium pestiferum pravitatis errorem S. Thomas . . . cujus sectatores simul et inventores se nominant FRATERCULOS DE VITA PAUPERE, ut etiam sub hoc humilitatis sophistico nomine simplicium corda seducant . . . . Contra quem errorem pestiferum Johannes Papa XXII. mirandam edidit Decretalem.*

Now this very Decretal of JOHN XXII. against the *Fratricelli*, which THOCO calls *Admirable*, is, to mention no other testimonies,



called *Tertiaries* [q]; so likewise the order of the *Fratricelli*, who were desirous of being considered

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monies, a sufficient and satisfactory proof of what I have affirmed in relation to that sect. In this Decretal, which is to be seen in the *Extravagantia Joh. XXII. Corporis Juris Canon.* tom. ii. p. 1112. edit. *Bæmerianæ*, the pontif expresses himself thus: *Nonnulli profana multitudinis viri, qui vulgariter Fratricelli seu Fratres de paupere vita, Bizochi, sive Beguni, nuncupantur in partibus Italiæ, in insula Siciliæ . . . publicè mendicare solent.* The pontif 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 *Beguni*. With respect to the *Fratricelli*, properly so called, he expresses himself thus: *Plurimi regulam seu ordinem Fratrum Minorum . . . Se profiteri ad litteram conservare confingunt, prætendentes se a sanctæ memoriæ Cælestino Papa Quinto, prædecessore nostro, hujus status, seu vitæ privilegium habuisse. Quod tamen, et sit ostenderent, non vellet, cum Bonifacius Papa Octavus ex certis causis rationabilibus omnia ab ipso Cælestino concessa . . . viribus penitus evacuaverit.* Here the pontif 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 *Bizochi* or *Beguni*, who entitled themselves of *The third order of the penitents of St. Francis*: *Nonnulli ex ipsis asserentes se esse de tertio ordine beati Francisci pœnitentium vocato, prædictum statum et ritum eorum sub velamine talis nominis satagunt palliare.*

[q] Besides two very austere rules drawn up by *St. Francis*, the one for the *Friars-minors*, and the other for the *Poor Sisters*, called *Clarisses*, from *St. CLARA* their founder, this famous chief drew up a *third*, whose demands were less rigorous, for such, as, without abandoning their worldly affairs, or resigning their possessions, were, nevertheless, disposed to enter, with certain restrictions, into the *Franciscan* order, and desirous of enjoying the privileges that were annexed to it. This rule prescribed fasting, continence, hours of devotion and prayer, mean and dirty apparel, gravity of manners, and things of that nature; but neither prohibited contracting marriage, accumulating wealth, filling civil employments, nor attending to worldly affairs. All the *Franciscan* historians have given accounts of this *third rule*, more especially *WADDING. Annal. Min.* tom. ii. p. 7.—*HELLOT, Hist. des Ordres*, tom. vii. p. 214. They, that professed this *third rule*, were called *Friars of the penance of Christ*, and sometimes also, on account of the meanness of their garments, *Brethren of the sack*, but they were more generally known by the denomination of *Tertiaries*. The greatest

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as the only genuine followers of St. FRANCIS, had a great number of *Tertiaries* attached to their cause. These *Tertiaries*, or half-monks, were called, in *Italy*, *Bizochi* and *Bocasoti*; in *France*, *Beguins*; and in *Germany*, *Beguards*, or *Beghards*, which last was the denomination by which they were commonly known in almost all places [r].

They

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 *Fraternelli*, arose about the year 1296, in the marquisate of *Ancona* and the neighbouring countries, and were called; *Bizochi*, as we learn from the edict issued out against them, in the year 1297, by BONIFACE VIII., and published by DU BOULAY, in his *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. mediæ*, tom. i. p. 1188. observes, that this denomination is derived from *Bizochus*, which signifies in French *une Bejace*, i. e. a sack or wallet, such as beggars in general, and these holy beggars in particular, were used to carry about with them. The term *Bocasotus*, or *Vocasotus*, as DU BOULAY writes it (in his *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 of *Beghards* and *Beguins*, that were given to the *Tertiaries* in *France* and in *Italy*, are very frequently to be met with in the Ecclesiastical History of the Middle Age. The accounts, however, which both ancient and modern writers generally give of these famous names, are so uncertain, and so different from each other, that we need not be surprised to find the history of the *Beghards* and *Beguins* involved in greater perplexity and darkness, than any other part of the Ecclesiastical Annals of the Age now mentioned. It is therefore my present design to remove this perplexity, and to dispel this darkness, as far as that can be done in the short space to which I am confined, and to disclose the true origin of these famous denominations.

The words *Beghard* or *Beggehard*, *Begutte*, *Begbinus*, and *Begbina*, which only differ in their termination, have all one and the same sense. The German and Belgic nations wrote *Beghard* and *Begutte*, which terminations are extremely common in the language of the ancient Germans. But the French substituted the Latin termination in the place of the German, and changed

They differed from the *Fratricelli*, not in their opinions and doctrine, but only in their manner of

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changed *Beghard* into *Beghinus* and *Beghina*; so that those who in *Holland* and *Germany* were called *Beghard* and *Begutte*, were denominated in *France*, *Beghini* and *Beghinae*. 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*, *beggin*, which signifies to *sick any thing with importunity, zeal, and earnestness*. In joining to this word the syllable *hard*, which is the termination of many German words, we have the term *Beggehard*, which is applicable to a person who asks any thing with ardour and importunity. And as none are so remarkable for asking in this manner as common beggars, who subsist upon the liberality of the public, therefore, in the ancient German language, they were called *Beghard*, from which the English word *beggar* is manifestly derived. *Begutta* signifies a female beggar.—When Christianity was introduced into *Germany*, the word *beggen*, or *beggeren*, was used in a religious sense, and expressed the act of devout and fervent prayer to the Supreme Being. Accordingly we find in the Gothick translation of the Four Gospels attributed to *UPHILAS*, 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

\* 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.

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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 *Beghards*, 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 *Beguine* has been involved. They will also enable him to account for the prodigious multitudes of *Beghards* and *Beguines* that sprung up in Europe in the thirteenth century; and will 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 *Beggert*, as it was pronounced by the common people) was *importunate beggar*. Therefore, when the people saw certain persons, not only embracing with resignation, but also with the most voluntary choice, and under a pretext of devotion, the horrors of absolute poverty, begging their daily bread from door to door, and renouncing all their worldly possessions and occupations, they called all such persons *Beghards*, or, if they were women, *Begbarts*, without ever once considering the variety of opinions and maxims by which they were distinguished. The sect called *Apostles*, the rigid Franciscans, the *Brethren of the free spirit* (of whom hereafter), all embraced this sordid state of beggary; and though among these orders there was not only the widest difference, but even the greatest opposition, the Germans called them indiscriminately *Beghards*, from the miserable state which they had all embraced. Nor is this to be wondered at; the character, which they possessed in common, was striking; while the sentiments and maxims that divided them escaped the observation of the multitude.

But the word *Beghard* acquired a second and a new signification in this century, being employed, as we have already observed, to signify a person who *prayed* with uncommon frequency, and who *distinguished himself from those about him by an extraordinary appearance of piety*. The force of this term, in its new signification, is the same with that of the word *Methodist*, which is at present the denomination of a certain 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 *Beguines* and *Beguttes* in France.

*Bizochi*, or *Beguins*, if we except their sordid habit, and certain observances and maxims, which they followed in consequence of the injunctions of the famous saint now mentioned, lived after the manner of other men, and were therefore considered

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*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, Franciscan, and, in general, of all the religious orders, were called *Beghards*; for though, as *lay-citizens*, they belonged to the body politic, yet they distinguished themselves by their monkish dispositions, and their profession of extraordinary piety and sanctity of manners. The *Fraternity of weavers*, the *Brethren of St. ALEXIUS*, the *Followers of GERHARD the Great*, in a word, all who pretended to an uncommon degree of sanctity and devotion, were called *Beghards*, although they procured themselves the necessaries of life by honest industry, without having recourse to the sordid trade of begging.

The denominations, therefore, of *Beghards*, *Beguttes*, *Beguins*, and *Beguines*, are rather honourable than otherwise, when we consider their origin; and they are mentioned as such, in several records and deeds of this century, whose authority is most respectable, particularly in the Testament of St. LEWIS, king of France. But, in process of time, these terms lost gradually, as the case often happens, their primitive signification, and became marks of infamy and derision. For, among these religious beggars and these sanctimonious pretenders to extraordinary piety, there were many, whose piety was nothing more than the most senseless superstition; many, also, whose austere devotion was accompanied with the opinions of a corrupt nature, and entirely opposite to the doctrine of the church, and (what was still more horrible) many artful hypocrites, who, under the mask of religion, concealed the most abominable principles, and committed the most enormous crimes. These were the fools and knaves who brought the denomination of *Beghards* into disrepute, and rendered it both ridiculous and infamous, so that it was only employed to signify idiots, heretics, or hypocrites. The denomination of *Lolbards*, 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.

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A great difference between the Franciscan Beguines and those of Germany and the Netherlands.

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 *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].

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[s] See the *Acta Inquis. Thebol.* published by LAMBORCH, p. 298. 302. 310. 313. and particularly 307. 329. 382. 385, &c. Among the various passages of ancient writers, which tend to illustrate the history of the *Fratrulli* and *Beguins*, I shall quote only one, which is to be found in JORDAN's *Chronicon*, published by MURATORI, in his *Antiqq. Ital. medæ ævi*, tom. iv. p. 1020. and confirms almost every thing we have said upon that head; Anno 1294. *Petrus de Macerata et Petrus de Forompromio Apostatæ fuerint ordinis Minorum et heretici. His penitentibus cunctis vivere, ut Regulam B. Francisci ad litteram servare possent. Quibus plures Apostatæ adhaeserunt, qui statim communitatis damnavant et declarationes Regis, et recabant se Fratres S. Francisci* (he ought to have said *Fratrullus*) *Seculares*; (i. e. the *Tertians*, who were the friends and associates of the *Fratrulli*, without quitting, however, their secular state, or entering into the monastic order), *Sed hinc autem vocarunt Bizochi aut Fratrullus vel Doctos* (here JORDAN is mistaken) in affirming, that the *Sauchois* were called *fratrulli*; for this latter name belonged only to the true monks of St. FRANCIS, and not to the *Tertians*. The other circumstances of this account are exact, and shew that the more austere professors of the Franciscan rule were divided into two classes, viz. into *fratres* and *seculars*, and that the latter were called *Bizochi*. *Si dogmatizabant, quod nullus summus Pontifex Regulam B. Francisci declarare potuit. Item, quod Angelus abstulit a Nicolao tertio Papatus auctoritatem . . . Et quod ipsi soli sunt in via Dei et vera ecclesia, &c.*

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

branch

branch of the Franciscan order, with the German and Belgic *Beguines*, who crept out of their obscurity in this century, and multiplied prodigiously in a very short space of time [u]. Their origin was of earlier date than this century, but it was only now that they acquired a name, and made a noise in the world. Their primitive establishment was, undoubtedly, the effect of virtuous dispositions and upright intentions. A certain number of pious women, both virgins and widows, in order to maintain their integrity, and preserve their principles from the contagion of a vicious and corrupt age, formed themselves into societies, each of which had a fixed place of residence, and was under the inspection and government of a female head. Here they divided their time between exercises of devotion, and works of

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[u] In the last century, there was a great debate carried on in the Netherlands concerning the origin of the *Beghards* and *Beguines*, of which I have given an ample account in a work not yet published. In the course of this controversy, the *Beguines* produced the most authentic and unexceptionable records and diplomas, from which it appeared, that, so early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there had been several societies of *Beguines* established in *Hollana* and *Flanders*. It is true, they had no more than three of these authentic acts to offer as a proof of their antiquity; the first was drawn up in the year 1065, the second in the year 1129, the third in 1151; and they were all three drawn up, at *Vilvorden*, by the *Beguines*, who, at that time, were settled there. See AUB. MIRÆI *Opera Diplomatico-historica*, tom. ii. c. xxvi. p. 948. and tom. iii. p. 628. edit. nov.—ERYCIUS PUTEANUS, *De Beghinarum apud Belgas instituto et nomine suffragio*. This treatise of PUTEANUS is to be found with another of the same author, and upon the same subject, in a work entitled, JOSEPHI GELDOLPHI RYCKEL *Vita S. Veggæ cum Adnotationibus*, p. 65—227. *Duaci*, 1631, in 4to. Now, though we grant that those writers are mistaken, who place the first rise of the *Beguines* in the twelfth or thirteenth century, yet the small number of authentic records, which they have to produce in favour of their antiquity, is an incontestable proof of the obscurity in which they lay concealed before the time in which these writers place their origin, and may render it almost probable, that the only convent of *Beguines*, that existed before the thirteenth century, was that of *Vilvorden* in *Brabant*.

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