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## ART. IV.—THE ALBIGENSES.

## PART IV.

THE murdered legate's work was taken up by Milo,<sup>1</sup> with whom was associated Thedesius. The Count of Toulouse saw what was impending, and resolved to bend before the storm. Cited before a Council at Montélimart, he promised to perform whatever the legate might enjoin, and to give as security seven castles. Standing naked before the door of St. Giles's Church, where his alleged victim lay buried, the Count solemnly swore, in the presence of the legate and more than twenty prelates, upon the body of Christ and the relics of the Saints, "which were exposed before the door with great veneration," to perform all those things,<sup>2</sup> for the transgression of which he had been and remained at that time excommunicated. He also promised to grant full liberty to all churches and religious houses in Vienne, Arles, Narbonne, Auch, Bordeaux, and Bourges; to give up or destroy the incastellated churches; and to do his utmost to exterminate heresy. Upon his accepting these conditions "sine fraude et ingenio malo," he was absolved, but only provisionally, for some of the conditions would take time to fulfil. Then, vested in a long robe, Milo led him into the church "cum verberibus." The crowd prevented the penitent from retiring by the same door, but compelled him to pass the tomb of the murdered legate.<sup>3</sup> The corpse was as fresh as when buried, and gave out a wonderful fragrance!

Meanwhile the Crusaders were assembling at Vallence, the chief of whom were the Archbishop of Sens, the Bishops of Edune, Clairmont and Niverne, Odo, Duke of Burgundy, and Simon, Count de Montfort, with Arnaud of Citeaux, and Raymond of Toulouse. As if to test the sincerity of the last-named, the Crusaders marched first to Beziers, of which his nephew and namesake was Count. The city was soon captured and burnt. Seven thousand were put to the sword,

<sup>1</sup> His relation to Abbot Arnaud is thus stated: "Abbas totum faciet, et tu organum ejus eris."

<sup>2</sup> These were: (a) Refusing to make peace when others were willing; (b) not expelling the heretics; (c) being suspected of heresy; (d) keeping highwaymen and brigands; (e) converting churches into castles; (f) appointing Jews to public offices; (g) detaining unlawfully the revenues of certain churches and monasteries; (h) compelling payment of illegal tolls; (i) deposing the Bishop of Carpentoracte; (j) suspected complicity in the murder of Peter of Castelnau; (k) various acts of violence and robbery.

<sup>3</sup> Peter de V. S. exclaims: "O justum Dei inauditum! . . . quem contempserat vivum, ei reverentiam compulsus est exhibere et defuncto."

neither age nor sex being spared.<sup>1</sup> From Beziers the Crusaders advanced to Carcassonne, whither Raymond, the nephew, had fled, the clergy singing with the greatest fervour, "Veni, Creator Spiritus." The outposts were quickly driven in, but not before the defenders had burnt the positions, to prevent them affording cover to the enemy. And so stubborn was the defence, that it was agreed that the citizens should be allowed to leave the city "naked"<sup>2</sup> except Raymond, who was to remain prisoner. Thus was nearly fulfilled that which was spoken by the Bishop of Carcassonne when the citizens drove him from his see: "You will not hear me now; but, believe me, I will roar so loudly against you, that from the utmost parts of the earth shall come those who shall destroy your town."

Simon de Montfort, whose zeal and courage were most conspicuous in these conquests, was appointed Count of Beziers and Carcassonne. It was this step which was fraught with so much trouble, and which accordingly demands more than passing notice. Upon the deposition of Raymond, Count of Beziers, the fief should have reverted to the suzerain, Pedro, King of Aragon, of whose orthodoxy there was no question. All parties, except the clergy, felt uneasy at this breach of the feudal laws. The post was offered to several,<sup>3</sup> but they all refused. Simon himself declined twice, and only yielded when the Abbot forced<sup>4</sup> the office upon him. This high-handed proceeding disgusted several of the leaders, and some, like the Duke of Burgundy, renounced the Crusade, and went home. From this time Simon became the central military figure, and Peter de V. S. seizes the opportunity of his elevation to indulge in a rhapsody of his virtues, finishing up with the pun that he was "De Monte, immo de Mente oriundus."

The army now numbered about 50,000—an ample force for bringing the war to a speedy conclusion. "But God ruled it otherwise, so as to prolong the time for pardon and repentance to the sinners." Victory continued to smile upon Simon, Fanjeaux (Fons-Jovis), Albi and Lombers falling before him, while Foix, Comminges and Béarn were granted him by the

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<sup>1</sup> It was on this occasion that Arnaud is reported to have exclaimed: "Kill all! God will know His own"; but it is unsupported by contemporary evidence. Peter de Vaux-Sarnai observes that the victory took place fitly on the Feast of St. Mary Magdalene, because the heretics had grossly libelled her. The alleged libel is too coarse to reproduce.

<sup>2</sup> "Carrying nothing but their sins" (Peter de Vaux-Sarnai).

<sup>3</sup> Viz., Duke of Burgundy, Count of Nevers, and Count of Saint-Pol. They declared that Raymond was already punished sufficiently without being disinherited, and they had enough land without taking more.

<sup>4</sup> "Auctoritate suæ legationis utens."

legates.<sup>1</sup> But success creates rivalry and jealousy. The King of France viewed with disfavour the encroachments of Simon under the cloak of religion. The King of Aragon resented the eviction of his vassals. Raymond, Count of Toulouse, went to Rome and complained of the harsh treatment he had received, and was so far successful that Innocent instructed the legates within three months to assemble a Council, and consider the question of granting Raymond of Toulouse full absolution. But during the Count's absence the legates had held a Council on their own account at Avignon, and there renewed the excommunication on the ground that he had not fulfilled his promises. To the Pope they replied that Raymond had attempted to force his hand by soliciting help from Otto, the Emperor, and that if the Pope yielded to the present pressure, "the last error would be worse than the first."<sup>2</sup>

These attempts at peace failing, the war was renewed. Simon besieged Minerba, and captured it after a spirited defence. The terms of peace were left to Arnaud and Thedesius. The Abbot inclined towards killing *all* the heretics, but "he dared not to condemn them to death, being a monk and a priest." He offered them their lives if they would accept the "Catholic" faith. A certain Robert, however, "sound in the Catholic faith," protested against this leniency, alleging that the Crusaders had come to *destroy* the heretics. "Never fear," answered Arnaud; "very few will turn."<sup>3</sup> Another attempt at pacification was made at Narbonne in January, 1211, but was equally fruitless. Then Pedro of Aragon tried matrimony, his eldest son marrying Simon's daughter, and Raymond's son Aimer marrying his (Pedro's) sister. Weddings, however, cannot harmonize principles, and the gulf was too wide to be so bridged. Aimer threw himself into Vaur,<sup>4</sup> and held it against the Crusaders.

<sup>1</sup> Miracles also attend him. Two heretics, a "perfect" and a "credens," were brought before him; he ("mitissimus hominum!") ordered them to be burnt. The "credens" recanting, it was suggested that some difference should be made in his punishment. But the Count was firm, arguing that, if truly converted, the fire would be an expiation of his past sins; and if he had spoken falsely, he would receive a just reward for his perjury. The sentence was accordingly carried out; but lo! while the "perfect" was consumed at once, the "credens" came forth from the fire with only the tips of his fingers slightly scorched.

<sup>2</sup> Acting on the Pontiff's order, a Council was held at St. Giles's Church in September of this year (1210), but with no practical result.

<sup>3</sup> One hundred and forty refused the offer, and were burnt together, some leaping into the flames of their own accord.

<sup>4</sup> The people there were "impudentissimi canes, qui emiserunt ululatum et cachinnum." The city was "fons et origo totius hæreseos," although it did not belong to the Count of Toulouse (Peter de Vaux-Sarnai).

The Bishop of Toulouse had formed a guild or confraternity, whose *raison d'être* was the suppression of heresy. He gave the members the cross, and despatched them to Vaur. Raymond made a counter-move. He prohibited the Tolosans from sending the Crusaders victuals or machines, and conversely aided his son with reinforcements under the command of his seneschal. The Count of Foix rendered Aimer good service by routing a body of 1,000 men on their way to join Simon; but in spite of this success, Vaur fell on the night of May 3.<sup>1</sup>

Simon now thought himself strong enough to attack Toulouse itself, but he was repulsed, and compelled to fall back upon Castelnaud, where he was in turn besieged by Foix. This reverse had serious and immediate results. The Count of Borro, who had lately joined De Montfort, wavered; the neighbouring castles opened their gates to Raymond; William of Carcassonne, godfather to Simon's daughter and his bosom friend, perfidiously transferred to Foix supplies intended for Simon. This sudden revulsion of feeling shows what slender hold the cause of the Church had upon the people, and that it could be maintained only by external support. Soon, however, reinforcements were sent to his relief, and on Foix attempting to intercept them, a battle was fought at St. Martin's, in which Foix was defeated. This victory put the star of Simon again in the ascendant. He held a Council at Pamiers, fixed the limits of the territories conquered for the Roman See, arranged for the collection of revenues, and, in short, acted as if he were the rightful lord of the country. But "where the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together," and others claimed to have interests at stake. The King of France desired a pretext on which to annex these provinces to his kingdom. Raymond and his son (also called Raymond) had voluntarily promised on oath to transfer the possession of the *whole* of their territories, with all rights and privileges of the same, to Pedro, as a security that they would obey the Pope in all things whatsoever he might lay upon them. This oath (dated January 5, 1212) Pedro sent on to Innocent, together with a letter from himself, asking that as Mother Church had "*ubera*" as well as "*verbera*," the prayer of the Raymonds might be granted, the Count making restitution for any excesses he had committed, or that he<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The heretics were condemned to be hanged; but the gallows breaking with the weight of Aimer, Simon ordered them to be killed in cold blood. This carnage the foreigners ("*peregrini*") carried out with the greatest eagerness. "*Innumerabiles etiam hereticos peregrini nostri cum ingenti gaudio combusserunt.*" The châtelaine, sister to Aimer, and "the worst heretic," was thrown into a pit and stoned to death.

<sup>2</sup> Var. lect. "*pater*" or "*puer.*"

might make satisfaction by serving against the Saracens or in other transmarine parts.<sup>1</sup> The Pope, moved by these promises, wrote to Arnaud (now Archbishop of Narbonne), pointing out that, although Raymond had been rightly excommunicated and his land ravaged, he had not been condemned for actual heresy or murder, but only suspected of the same, and he did not see upon what grounds he could grant his lands to another.<sup>2</sup>

The Church party became greatly alarmed, for it seemed as if Innocent were veering round to the side of Raymond. The Bishops replied vigorously, likening Toulouse to Sodom and Gomorrah. Another Council was held at Vaux (1213), at which the offers of Raymond and Pedro were rejected and the excommunication of the former retained.<sup>3</sup> This decision made Innocent once more the friend of the Crusaders. He wrote to Pedro (June 1, 1213), expressing astonishment that a Catholic prince should have shown so much favour to the heretics, and warned him against opposing the will of the Church. But Pedro had his own views of the duty of a "Catholic" prince. He saw that the object of the Crusaders was not so much the establishment of the faith as the expulsion of Raymond and the appropriation of his land. Rome was playing into the hands of France. This view was confirmed by the fact that about this time Louis, the eldest son of Philip, appeared as a Crusader at the head of an "infinite" number of French knights. Pedro's answer to Pope and Council and King was to lead a large army across the Pyrenees, encountering the Crusaders at Muret, on the Garonne. Simon, having confessed and heard Mass, advanced at the head of a body of French knights, while the infantry remained in camp with the Bishop of Toulouse and Dominic, who helped their comrades at the front by their prayers. At the first shock Pedro was cut down and Simon unhorsed, but the Aragonese were quickly thrown into confusion and fled. Simon did not pursue them, but returned to the camp. This he found engaged with another division of the enemy. The victorious knights threw themselves into the fray with like success. Pedro's body was found at the close of day stripped and bruised.<sup>4</sup> By this victory the whole country lay at the

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<sup>1</sup> Pedro was also willing to accept the homage of Simon for Carcassonne, keep in his own power Toulouse, hold the son of Raymond as a hostage, and instruct him in the "Catholic" faith.

<sup>2</sup> A similar letter was sent to Simon de Montfort.

<sup>3</sup> An account of this Council was sent to the Pope by Hugo the legate (successor to Milo).

<sup>4</sup> The sight deeply moved the knightly heart of Simon. He mourned over him as David over Saul.

mercy of the Crusaders. With the legate's consent, Louis ordered the "walls of Jericho"<sup>1</sup> to be razed to the ground. Foix and Convenæ submitted, and Causia<sup>2</sup> became an easy prey.

The heretics seemed now utterly crushed.<sup>3</sup> A general desire for peace sprang up. A Council met at Montpellier, but its consultations were cut short and superseded by the great Lateran Council (1215), at which the Albigensian heresy was considered. Many were in favour of Raymond being restored to his country, "but the counsel of Ahitophel did not prevail." It was decided that (i.) Toulouse and certain other places conquered by the Crusaders should be given to De Montfort; (ii.) Provence the Pope should keep for the younger Raymond, provided he showed himself worthy; (iii.) Raymond of Toulouse should receive 400 silver marks per annum, his wife, however, to retain her dowry; (iv.) the King of France was declared suzerain.<sup>4</sup> Simon subsequently did homage to him in Paris, the people shouting as he entered the city, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

But he did not long enjoy the sweets of conquest. Raymond, indeed, retired to Aragon, but the hearts of the people were with the exile. Like another Napoleon, relying upon this attachment, he collected a large force and suddenly appeared before Bellicor. Simon hastened to the rescue, but want of supplies compelled him to retire to Toulouse. Here the citizens shut the gates against him, and in the battle that ensued Simon was killed by a stone shot from the walls of his capital (1217). Amauri, his son, succeeded him, while Raymond, who was getting old, entrusted the conduct of the war to his son. Amauri, however, was lacking in that strategic skill and indomitable perseverance which distinguished his father. In spite of the "persuasion" of the Dominicans, now formed into a separate Order, and the "force" of a guild of

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<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, of Narbonne, Toulouse, and other castles. They were, however, only partly demolished.

<sup>2</sup> According to Peter de Vaux-Sarnai, its lord, Bernard, was "homo crudelissimus, et omnium pessimus." His wife is "another Jezebel—nay, far more cruel than Jezebel, the worst of all wicked women. Both utterly vicious, they spoiled and destroyed churches, calumniated widows and the poor, and cut off the limbs of all who were obnoxious to them. In a single monastery of Black Monks our men found 150 men and women with feet and other limbs amputated, eyes gouged out, or otherwise mutilated by this tyrant and his wife."

<sup>3</sup> King John of England advanced as far as Agen, 100 miles from Toulouse, to the succour of his nephew, but "usus saniori consilio," he retired without striking a blow.

<sup>4</sup> The claims of James I., King of Aragon, who had succeeded Pedro, were disregarded.

knights who were to fight against the heretics as the Templars against Saracens, the cause of the Church lost ground, until in 1223 Amauri handed over the country to Louis, who now occupied the throne of France. He had promised Philip on his death-bed that he would support the Church against the Albigenses, but three years elapsed before he took any active measures. Meanwhile, things were moving in a direction favourable to his own supremacy in the disturbed district, for while by the Treaty of Carcassonne (January, 1224), Raymond and Amauri agreed to accept the King of France as arbiter in the dispute, things were going from bad to worse for the Church.

Honorius considered that the country had returned to its former confusion.<sup>1</sup> Louis coveted these provinces in order to annex them to the kingdom of France, and desired to see neither the restoration of Raymond to his ancestral estates, nor the installation of Amauri as the protégé of the Church. Many prelates, fishing in troubled waters, were loath to surrender their ill-gotten gains. In short, an *impasse* had been reached from which there seemed no escape.<sup>2</sup> More than one Council was held with a view to pacification, but as the legate said at the Council of Bourges: "There could be no concord between Raymond and Amauri which would not violate the honour of the Church." In 1226 Louis, having been granted a tenth of the revenues of the Church for five years, marched southwards with a well-appointed army. After three months' siege Avignon fell, and Carcassonne gave up its keys; but winter drove him back to Paris, and he died the same year. Their formidable opponents thus removed, the heretics took courage, and many places, either by force or free will, came over to the side of Raymond. But both parties were getting very weary of this see-saw. After another three years of skirmishing, a Council was held at Paris (1229), and the following important compromise effected:

1. Raymond to retain Toulouse, with right to appoint to its bishopric.
2. On his death to pass to the Count of Poitiers (brother of Louis), who was to marry Joanna, daughter of Raymond, and after him to his heirs.
3. The walls of Toulouse to be dismantled to the satisfaction of the legate.

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<sup>1</sup> Confirmed by a joint letter of legates and Bishops to Louis, complaining of the above treaty, and pointing out that "the serpents of Pharaoh had swallowed the serpent of Moses." Louis replied that he had nothing to do with articles of doctrine, but that he heartily wished the Church would come to some agreement with Raymond "*salve jure nostro et salvis feodis nostris.*"

<sup>2</sup> Even the spirit of Dominic quailed or despaired; for, fearing lest his Order should be swept away with the returning flood of heresy, he very early removed all his brothers, except one or two, sending detachments to Paris, Bologna, Spain, and Rome. He himself went to Rome.



4. Raymond to pay 20,000 marks in all, of which 10,000 were to go to the Church for the expenses of the war, and 4,000 for the academy at Toulouse.

5. Raymond to retain Agen, and the land covered by the diocese of Albi, but the land on the west side of the Rhone to be forfeited to the King of France.

6. Raymond to cease to be Duke of Narbonne.<sup>1</sup>

7. Raymond to go beyond the sea for five years.

The following are the more important statutes of the Council dealing with heresy :

1. Archbishops and Bishops to exact an oath of one priest and two or three laymen of good report in every parish to make diligent, faithful and frequent search for heretics in their respective parishes, by scouring every suspected house, subterranean vault, outbuilding, or other possible hiding-place, and if they found any heretic, "credentes, fautores et receptores seu defensores," to notify the fact with all speed to the Archbishop or Bishop, to the lord of the place or his bailiff.

2. Any owner allowing heretics on his property to lose it for ever, and his person to be dealt with by his lord as the latter should think fit.

3. Houses where heretics were found to be destroyed.

4. Bailiffs protecting heretics to forfeit their goods, and to be deprived of the office and right to exercise the same.

5. Heretics to be punished only by the Bishop or other authorized ecclesiastic.

6. The Inquisition, by whomsoever conducted, need not respect territorial rights.<sup>2</sup>

7. If a heretic of his own free will revert to the "Catholic" faith, he must leave the town where he lived before his conversion, if such town be suspected of heresy, and reside in some town free from such suspicion. To mark his detestation of his former errors, he must wear two crosses of a colour different to that of his clothes, one on the right and the other on the left. The wearing of such crosses was not to be regarded as sufficient proof of reconciliation apart from letters testimonial from the Bishop. No public offices to be committed to such converts, nor could they take part in any action at law unless they had been restored to full communion by Pope or legate.

8. A heretic returning to Catholic unity, not of his free will, but through fear of death, or for other causes, to be placed in confinement by the Bishop, due precautions being taken against his corrupting others. He was to be maintained by the holders of his forfeited goods, or, if he had none, by the Bishop himself.

9. All males from fourteen and females from twelve years of age to swear to keep the "Catholic" faith. A list of names to be kept in each parish, and all to take the oath before the Bishop or other "good men" twice a year. If anyone was absent on the day appointed, and did not present himself within fifteen days, he was to be held suspected of heresy.

10. All males and females having reached years of discretion to confess and communicate at least three times a year, viz., at Easter, Whitsun, and Christmas.

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<sup>1</sup> By this he was reduced from the first to the fourth rank among the six lay peers of the realm.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, any official could search for heretics in the country of Toulouse without first obtaining the Count's permission ; and the Count could act in a similar way with regard to the territory possessed by the King. The Church was "Regnum in regno."

11. Laity forbidden to have the books of the Old or New Testament. They might have, however, the Psalter, a Breviary of the Divine offices, and the Hours of the Blessed Mary, but were strictly prohibited from having the said books translated into the vulgar tongue.

12. No heretic, when sick, to receive medical attendance. If anyone, being rich, had received the Holy Communion from the hand of his priest (*presbyteri sui*), the greatest care to be taken that he had no communication whatever with a heretic, because from such intercourse had often arisen most horrible and disastrous consequences.

13. All of fourteen years of age and upwards to swear to keep the peace.

14. Widows and heiresses possessed of castles and fortresses not to marry a heretic. Disobedience to be punished with confiscation of their property, which, however, was to be restored to their heirs.

Here, then, was peace, but not peace with honour. The Albigenian leaders, in order to secure something out of the wreck for themselves, threw over the cause of the people and of religious freedom, the original point at issue. The *compromise* touched temporal matters only; in the main event, that of religion, Rome scored all along the line. But princes and prelates were not the people, and the struggle was by no means at an end. Compulsion is not conviction, and Romanus, the legate, soon realized that neither his nor the other Inquisitors' lives were safe,<sup>1</sup> and after two years the former was glad to leave the district. He was succeeded by Gautier, Bishop of Tournay. Fulx, the Bishop of Toulouse, died at this time, and Raymond, Prior of the Preaching Brothers (Dominicans), was appointed to the vacancy. The Inquisition also at Toulouse was entrusted to two members of the same Order, Peter Cellani and William Arnaud. These changes put new strength into the persecuting machine. But every effort on the one side provoked a corresponding resistance on the other. The Tolosans put every imaginable obstacle in their way, until Bishops and Inquisitors were driven out of the city. The people broke open the prison and rescued a man committed there for the faith. The consuls forbade anyone to provide the Preachers with food, and set guards at the college-gates. At Albi three Preachers were killed because one of them had attempted to exhume the body of a man suspected of heresy. In short, the resistance was universal, and if this stone of stumbling was to be removed it would have to be done "*non vi sed sæpe cadendo.*" John, Archbishop of Vienne, the new legate, saw this, and arranged that some of the Minor Brothers (Franciscans) should be associated with some of the Preaching Brothers

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<sup>1</sup> Several of the Inquisitors were killed by "those ministers of the devil," the heretics. For these deaths the Bishops blamed the Count of Toulouse, and the latter the Bishops, alleging that they were displeased at his reconciliation.

(Dominicans), that "the rigours of the one might be softened by the gentleness of the other." Under this more subtle policy the cause of the Church flourished. Space forbids us to follow the struggle further. We can only note the chief events. In 1249 Raymond died, the last of the Counts of Toulouse. At his death all his possessions, according to the terms of the Council of Paris, fell to the Count of Poitiers. By that time the preaching of the Dominicans and the poverty of the Franciscans had undermined the stronghold of heresy, and persecutions became much more frequent and bloody. The nobility separated themselves from the people, and attached themselves more closely to the side of the Church. The Albigensian teachers fled to Lombardy, and the people, deserted by their leaders, secular and spiritual, succumbed to superior force, intellectual and brute. It can be proved by the Doat Collection that by the end of the thirteenth century "heresy" was confined to the lower classes, and in less than half a century later was practically extinct.

The above is an attempt to set forth the doctrines of the Albigensian "heresy," with a brief history of its rise and suppression. It was inevitable that opinions upon this extraordinary struggle have been and will continue to be most diverse. To us it appears that it must not be judged from the surface. Beneath may be detected the birth-throes of that Protestantism which witnesses *for* (pro) that "simplicity that is in Christ," and *against* that hierarchical dogmatism which would suppress all individual inquiry, all religious liberty. Here, indeed, are ignorance, superstition, mixed motives. But, "Watchman! what of the night? The morning cometh and also the night." A night of three centuries followed that brief morning light. But that brief morning light men did not forget, for it was the harbinger of "that light which shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

H. J. WARNER.



#### ART. V.—IN TIME OF WAR.

OUR Lord showed His profound knowledge of human nature, and the course of future events, by refusing to allow His hearers to indulge in any dreams of universal and perpetual peace to be realized in the present system of things. True, He was to be the Prince of Peace, and His Gospel was to be a message of peace to all who received it; but He knew well enough that it would be many long centuries before the Divine