

DYING FOR THE GREAT COMMISSION:
A CONTEMPORARY 13th CENTURY FRENCH HISTORIOGRAPHY

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August 2007

Item when my uncle Raymond of Grimoard went to Corbarieu to be heretiqued there, me myself, William Faure of Pêche-Hernier, Bertrand of Saint-Andrew, Hugo and John of Cavalsaut and Peter Béraut accompanied this Raymond up to Corbarieu in order that he might be heretiqued there. But I did not attend the heretication. It was about twenty years ago.¹

Hence reads the testimony of Pons Grimoard of Castelsarrasin before his inquisitors in the infamous inquisition papers of Bernard of Caux, *Cahiers de Bernard de Caux*, written from 1243-1248. Herein we find Southern France in a precarious social situation. The inquisitors were burning people at the stake, interring them within walls as in a prison, confiscating all their goods, and condemning anyone who had any association with them.

What led to such a surge of animosity by the Roman Church? Who were these inquisitors who so ruthlessly interrogated and condemned to the secular sword, both old and young, men and women? And more importantly for this paper, why did the inquisitors view their primary mission to be the extirpating of heretics? In order to evaluate these questions, we will look at numerous sources, primarily in French. The use of contemporary French resources is for several reasons. First, the disagreement over the Great Commission in the 13th Century largely took place in Southern France: “The South

¹*Cahiers de Bernard de Caux: Bas-Quercy, Toulousain*. Text and trans Jean Duvernoy (Ms Doat XXII, bibliothèque nationale de Paris, 1243; 1988); (online) accessed 8 Sept 2004; from <http://jean.duvernoy.free.fr/text/pdf/bdecaux.pdf> (p 59); Internet. Translation mine.

of France is *par excellence* the territory of the heretics.”² Second, there is emerging a new historiography of the time period based on the scientific research of historians largely due to the annual papers published as the “Cahiers de Fanjeaux.” Through this paper, I hope to introduce this new historiography. Third, because the books are published in French, those unfamiliar with the language may not be cognizant of the discussions taking place. Therefore, I will make significant use of French resources throughout this paper.

The paper will be divided into three main sections. In the first section I will introduce the *Sitz im Leben* of 13th Century Southern France, primarily through use of the recently published inquisition records from the French National Library in Paris, the Municipal Library of Toulouse, and other libraries. The original Latin text, and in some cases a French translation of these texts, have been made available online by Jean Duvernoy, professor at the University of Toulouse, France.³ After a look at the religious context of Southern France, we will consider the shift of focus from theology to ecclesiology as regards heresy. Lastly we will analyze issues related to conversion and the Great Commission of various major groups in the bloody disagreement over mission. These groups or individuals are the Waldenses, the Albigenses, Bernard of Clairvaux (and the Cistercians), Peter the Venerable (of Cluny), Francis of Assisi (and the Franciscans), and Dominic (and the Dominicans).

According to Anne Brenon, there has been a seismic shift in the French historiography of the Cathars in Southern France in the past fifty years. “Catharism,”

²In French, the phrase reads, “Le Midi est par excellence la terre des hérétiques” (Michel Lauwers, “*Sub Evangelica Regula*”—Jacques de Vitry, temoins de l’évangélisme de son temps,” in *Évangile et évangélisme (XIIe-XIIIe siècle)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 34 (Toulouse, France: Éditions Privat, 1999), 173.

³Perhaps Jean Duvernoy’s most famous translation is not currently available online; it entails his French translation of the Latin *Registre d’Inquisition de Jacques Fournier*, 3 vols (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1965, 1966; Paris: Mouton, 1977, 1978; Paris: Bibliothèque des introuvables, 2004). Following his career as inquisitor, Bishop Jacques Fournier went on to become Pope Benedict XII (1334-1342).

wrote Brenon, “appeared in the 1950s as a solved problem.”⁴ She explained that the historians of that time were unanimous in their affirmation that the Cathars were heretical, because the historians received their information from one source, that of their victors:⁵

Founding themselves upon this one-sided Medieval documentation, the modern theologians (from Döllinger to Father Dondaine, O.P.), the historians of religion (from Söderberg to Runciman), and the historians (from Arno Post to Christine Thouzellier) who studied and wrote on the subject up to the middle of the 20th Century, ended quite naturally to one consensual opinion, leaving the phenomena of the Cathars as a well-ordered question: catharism was a foreign body in Western Christianity and, as such, it was given over to failure. Heirs of Persian Manichaeism and of the intervening *Mazdéism* of the Paulicians and Bogomils, it was characterized by a dualist doctrine of Oriental origin which it taught. Unrealistic, pessimistic, fundamentally anti-social, it had no chance of surviving in Western Christianity and very understandable repression of which it was the object—crusade and Inquisition—had only but accelerated the process of internal degeneration which would have without a doubt led to its disappearing.

Paradoxically, it was in the publication and study of the inquisition archives that opened the first flaw of this wall of certainty.⁶

Brenon continued with a timeline of events which led to the complete reversal of the opinion that the Cathars (including Waldenses and Albigenses) were heretics:

- 1959, the publication of texts that are original with the Cathars, *Écritures Cathares* (Cathar Writings), by René Nelli.
- 1965, Jean Duvernoy’s publishing of the “Register of Inquisition of Jacques Fournier.”⁷
- 1976-1978, and the publication of Jean Duvernoy’s *Le Catharisme: la religion des Cathares*⁸ (Catharism: Religion of the Cathars) and *Le Catharisme: l’histoire des Cathares*⁹ (Catharism: History of the Cathars).

⁴Anne Brenon, *Les Archipels Cathares* (Cahors, France: Dire, 2000), 13. Translation mine.

⁵Listen for example to this explanation of the issues: “Something, then, of this love of exact science drove the heretics always to perfect honesty of judgement, so that they never shirked any consequences of their beliefs. The Catholics were equally logical and, believing in prayer, respected contemplative life as the highest activity of the soul; and, believing in God’s omnipotence, saw no difficulty in miracles; and, believing God had become man, could not feel any objection to the possibility of his coming as bread. The heretics equally had courage of their convictions; they were that to us unknown thing, a logical and organised theosophy, and consequently taught an exaggerated and compulsory monasticism” (Bede Jarrett, O.P., *Life of Saint Dominic* [London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1934], 21).

⁶Anne Brenon, *Les Archipels Cathares*, 13. Translation mine.

⁷Jean Duvernoy, *Registre d’Inquisition de Jacques Fournier, évêque de Pamiers (1318-1325)* (Toulouse: Privat, 1965).

In these last two works of Duvernoy, according to Brenon, a whole new field of inquiry opened to scholars as they allowed the Cathars to speak for themselves. Based on the research of Nelli, Brenon wrote that the dualism of the Cathars was nothing more than what is taught in the Scriptures (“notably in the Gospel and the first book of John”).¹⁰

- 1991, the French translation of Robert Ian Moore’s *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* as *La persécution: Sa formation en Europe (Xe-XIIIe siècle)*.¹¹

Moore’s book seemed to shock the scholarly minds of the French as to the role of the Catholic church in the persecution of the Cathars. Rather than suppression, crusade, and inquisition being regrettable but necessary,¹² the Cathars heresy was invented by the church that could not accept a rival church which was growing and expanding. Hence...

- 1998, Monique Zerner’s book, *Inventer l’hérésie? (Inventing Heresy?)*.¹³

In this book, Zerner and associates discussed the new data that seemed to point to the fact that the Catholic church “invented” the heresy of the Albigenses in order to regain that land for the Catholic church, and the “Very Christian King of France.” It is helpful to remember chronologically that 1208-1209, 1224-1225 are about 100 years

⁸Jean Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme: la religion des Cathares* (Toulouse, France: Privat, 1976).

⁹Jean Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme: l’histoire des Cathares* (Toulouse, France: Privat, 1979).

¹⁰Brenon, 15. Duvernoy himself affirmed that in 1956 those who wrote on the Cathars wrote whatever they wanted, which led him to see the need for further research in this area: “Quinze ans après [1956], je me suis trouvé à Toulouse et j’ai entendu parler des cathares, qui commençaient à être à la mode et sur lesquels on disait et écrivait n’importe quoi. Je me suis rendu compte qu’un très important *corpus*, dont l’existence était pourtant bien connue, était à peine déchiffré” (“Entretien avec Jean Duvernoy,” accessed 20 April 2006; from <http://www.theo-makarios.info/article-355617.html>; Internet).

¹¹Robert Ian Moore, *La persécution: Sa formation en Europe (Xe-XIIIe siècle)* (Paris, 1991). This edition was a translation of his *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987, 1990, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000).

¹²For example, Harold O.J. Brown mimicks the view of Catholic scholars toward the Albigenses: “No matter how dreadful the use of violence against the dualistic Albigenses was, it must be acknowledged that their heresy is incompatible with Christianity, indeed with biblical religion as such. If they had prevailed, Christianity would have ceased to exist” (Harold O.J. Brown, *Heresies: Heresy and Orthodoxy in the History of the Church* [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1984], 261). The real issue was that the Roman Catholic brand of Christianity was being threatened, much like it was in the 20th Century by the ecumenical movement, until Rome changed their position in 1938.

¹³Monique Zerner, ed., *Inventer l’hérésie? Discours polémiques et pouvoirs avant l’inquisition*, Collection du centre d’études médiévales de Nice, vol. 2 (Paris: C.I.D., 1998).

prior to the Avignon papacy (1305-1375), and about 200 years prior to the Pisan papacy (1409-1415).

How can it be that the scholarly world was duped for so long? What are the ramifications for the current time? Because evangelism was the focal issue in the 13th Century dividing the Cathars from the Cistercians, Franciscans, and Dominicans, are there lessons to be learned from the perspective of a theology of evangelism and a definition of the Great Commission? To answer some of these questions, let us once again enter into the inquisition room of Pons Grimoard, and experience the 13th Century *Sitz im Leben*.

CONTEXT

Following the aforementioned testimony of Pons Grimoard of Castelsarrasin, the inquisitors were listed as follows: “Witnesses Brothers Pons, superior *prieur* [or “prayer”] for the Preaching Brothers of Cahors [Order of Preachers, or Dominican] and Peter Sellan of the same order, and Bernard of Ladinhac.”¹⁴ Although denied and revised out of history by some,¹⁵ it is a well-known fact that the ruthless inquisitors in the 13th Century

¹⁴*Cahiers de Bernard de Caux* (p, 59). Translation; translation mine.

¹⁵Even this fact was dismissed or mellowed by the future sons or relatives of the Dominicans. For example, a Jesuit discounts accounts of the Inquisition as exaggerated: “Long did old-fashioned English Protestants and other anti-Catholics put their attention upon words like ‘jesuitical,’ ‘popish,’ ‘jansenistic,’ and ‘inquisitorial’ in their polemics. But possibly the most odious, and the most successfully promoted, is the idea of the hated Inquisition as the cruel tool of the Catholic Church to crush its enemies. ... Most often with no elucidating context, the Inquisition is assumed to be the weapon of the Catholic Church against all heretics, in whatever age, even though its somewhat mild ecclesiastical form was originally set up after 1232 to deal with the Cathars or Albigensians in later medieval France” (Brian van Hove, S.J., “Beyond the Myth of the Inquisition: Ours Is ‘The Golden Age’” [online]; accessed 10 Nov 2005; from <http://www.catholiceducation.org/articles/history/world/wh0027.html>; Internet). Van Hove may need to be reminded of the burning of six Lutherans in six city squares of Paris during six Masses said by the Archbishop of Paris and taken by King Francis I of France (21 Jan 1535), the complete massacre of the Waldensians living in Gabrières and Merindol (April 1545), the Cardinal Charles de Guise and the Duke Francois de Guise and the massacres (called *Les Dragonnades*) which began the wars of religion (1562-1570), the St. Bartholomew Day Massacre the night of the marriage of Catherine de Medici’s sister-in-law to the Huguenot Henry de Navarre in Paris (23-24 Aug 1572) which resulted in the slaying of most of the Protestant nobility and between 30,000 to 100,000 Huguenots in three days, the Revocation of the Edict of

were Dominicans,¹⁶ a newly founded order headed by Dominic under the tutelage of the Vicar of Christ, Innocent III. According to Anne Brenon, the Cistercians (founded by Bernard of Clairvaux) were the promoters of the crusade against the Albigenses, whereas the Dominicans took up where they left off and became their chief inquisitors.¹⁷

In a few circumstances in the inquisition records of Bernard de Caux the witness or inquisitor was Franciscan. For example, the “Letter of Penitence and Absolution of the same Pons Grimoard” began as follows:

To all the faithful of Christ who will see the present letter, Brother Stephen of the Order of Minor Brothers, and Brother William Arnaud of the Order of Preaching Brothers, judges constituted by the venerable Father John, by the grace of God archbishop of the holy Church of Vienna, Legate of the Apostolic Seat for inquisition of the entire diocese of Toulouse, greetings in Him who is the true salvation of all the true faithful.¹⁸

In this quote the “Order of Minor Brothers” (O.F.M., *Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*) delineated a Franciscan, whereas “Order of Preaching Brothers” (O.F.P., *Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, or O.P., *Ordo Praedicatorum*) referred to a Dominican. While virtually every deposition included a Dominican as a witness, only certain ones clearly identified a Franciscan witness. For example, it was unusual to find a deposition of a

Nantes (1685) with the terrors that preceded and followed it, the fathers sent to row on boats for the king of France for the rest of their lives, and the wives in the tower who scratched “RÉSISTER” in the rock. The bloodshed in France is almost incalculable. From the Crusade against Albi, the Inquisition, the Massacres of the Huguenots, easily 300,000 could be counted as killed, tortured, and imprisoned by the Roman Catholic church in France beginning from the 3rd Lateran Council of 1179. This number is far greater than the 300 of “Bloody Mary” (daughter of Catherine of Aragon) in England (sources: Jules-Marcel Nicole, *Précis d’histoire de l’Église* [Nogent-sur-Marne, France: Éditions de l’Institut Bibliques, 1982], Reuben Saillens, *The Soul of France* [London: Morgan & Scott, 1917], and Franck Puaux, *Histoire de la Réformation Française* [Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1859], vol 1 of 6).

¹⁶“By an official document, which is still extant, Bishop Foulques constituted Brother Dominic and his companions preachers in the diocese of Toulouse. They were to [1] extirpate heresy, [2] combat vice, [3] teach the faith, and [4] train men in good morals” (Pierre Mandonnet, O.P., *St. Dominic and His Work*, trans by Mary Benedicta Larkin, O.P. [St. Louis: B. Herder, 1948], 27).

¹⁷Brenon, 232.

¹⁸*Ibid. Cahiers de Bernard de Caux*, 61.

Franciscan against another Franciscan suspect of heresy. Such was the case with William Gougot testifying against Peter Gracias of Bourget-Nau of Toulouse:

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ the crucified Amen. The year of our Lord 1247, the 11th of the *kalentes* of September (22 August 1247) Brother William Gougot of the order of Minors required to tell the truth pure and simple on the crime of heresy, witness having sworn by oath said.¹⁹

This deposition was followed by the depositions of three other Franciscans: Deodat of Rodez, William Garcias, Peter Raymond of Saint Bart, and then by a deposition of Raymond of Ferrières parish priest of Holy Mary of the Daurade. The short testimony of William of Montouty was as follows:

In the year and day hitherto, William of Montouty, requisitioned... said:
I think Peter Garcias of Bourget-Nau suspect of heresy, because he has that reputation, that he made penitence for heresy, after what I have heard said, that his father was a heretic believer, and that his mother was a Waldensian believer, because he has had association with suspects and with believers from among the heretics, and it has been two years since he has treated his wife as a husband, after what I have heard.

He deposed these things at Toulouse before the Brothers Bernard and John, inquisitors. Witnesses Raymond, parish priest of the Daurade, and Peter Aribert.²⁰

So here we learn of who was deposed, and against whom, and how. Notice that the mother was Waldensian and the father heretical (probably denoting Albigensian). Therefore, although their order is not listed in this final quote, the primary inquisitors during this period were the Preaching Brothers (Dominicans), the Minor Brothers (Franciscans), with parish priests assisting at times. Yet the main people they were inquisiting was not their own, but heretical movements outside the Catholic church.

As to how people were inquisited, several sentences will have to suffice. The sentence comes from a 1285 letter written by the town counsel of Bourg, France, to the Pope, the head of the Dominicans of Paris, and to the King of France. It explained the

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 153.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 162. Notice that this deposition included little more than hearsay.

unseemly arrests and coercive measures that were used by Jean Galand, inquisitor of Carcassonne, France from 1279-1286. The counsel explained:

You hold them as prisoners in a rigorous and terrifying cell until they admit, as much in fear of torture and of the cell, as is inflicted by the grace that is promised to them upon penitence... These admissions, once they are liberated from the cell and the torture, almost all of them proclaim and say that they made them only for fear of torture. From this torture and this cell a number are dead who were not guilty.²¹

Therefore as the Dominicans inquisited individuals in the 13th and 14th Centuries, terror and coercion combined to turn the whole social fabric into unrest.²² There was no freedom of speech, no due process, and no protection from self-incrimination and the seizure of property—which the U.S. Constitution gives as rights to all Americans.²³

²¹The complete quotation reads as follows: “You are arresting persons of good reputation and from Catholic families of longstanding, without a prior summons. You hold them as prisoners in a rigorous and terrifying cell until they admit, as much in fear of torture and of the cell, as is inflicted by the grace that is promised to them upon penitence... These admissions, once they are liberated from the cell and the torture, almost all of them proclaim and say that they made them only for fear of torture. From this torture and this cell a number are dead who were not guilty.

“Against the method and the usual habits of your predecessors, you have made a prison, which is called the Wall, and which it would be better to call hell. You have constructed tiny rooms to torture and abuse people. There are some [rooms] that are so obscure and without ventilation, that those that find themselves cannot discern if it is nighttime or day: there they completely lack fresh air and light. In other cells the sorry folks remain in chains, and cannot move. They do and urinate under themselves, and they cannot lay except on their backs on the cold earth, and they remain long in this torture, night and day. In the other areas of the prison, not only does one lack air and light, but also food, except ‘the bread and water of suffering’ which is given to them only rarely.

“Certain ones are placed on the rack; many of them lose the use of their limbs because of the harshness of the torture and are rendered completely disabled. There are those who, unable to handle the pain, put an end to their days...” (Jean Duvernoy, Preface, in Bernard Hauréau, *Bernard Délicieux et l'inquisition Albigeoise [1300-1320]*, reprint [1877; Portet-sur-Garonne, France: Loubatieres, 1992], ii-iii); translation mine.

²²Note the tortures were used for interrogation by the Tormentor of Paris: “The ropes: Soon they brought an old man with white hair, but strong and vigorous. During the first degree of tension [being hung by the hands with his hands tied behind his back and his feet tied to the ground] the judge questioned him, and exhorted him to confess his crime. The old man responded with curses and blasphemies. Additional tension, greater curses, greater blasphemes, but he persisted in his answers; he was acquitted. A *barbier* [a professional who ties with ropes] who is always there in one turn of the arm relocates the dislocations, and the old man leaves the prison menacing a law suit in order to repay him for his tortures” (F. Puaux, “Note: Le tourmenteur de Paris [16th Century],” *Histoire de la Réformation Française*, 1:430; from Alexis Monteil, *Histoire des Français de divers états aux cinq derniers siècles*, vol 6, station 68, p 320); translation mine.

²³Note some of the early Amendments of the U.S. Constitution: “1st: Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. 4th: The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and

The main targets of the inquisition were described by Innocent III in the Fourth Lateran Council (1215):

We excommunicate and anathematize every heresy raising itself up against this holy, orthodox and catholic faith which we have expounded above. We condemn all heretics, whatever names they may go under. They have different faces indeed but their tails are tied together inasmuch as they are alike in their pride. Let those condemned be handed over to the secular authorities present, or to their bailiffs, for due punishment. Clerics are first to be degraded from their orders. The goods of the condemned are to be confiscated, if they are lay persons, and if clerics they are to be applied to the churches from which they received their stipends. Those who are only found suspect of heresy are to be struck with the sword of anathema, unless they prove their innocence by an appropriate purgation, having regard to the reasons for suspicion and the character of the person. Let such persons be avoided by all until they have made adequate satisfaction. If they persist in the excommunication for a year, they are to be condemned as heretics.²⁴

And who were they inquisiting? Innocent stated, “every heresy raising itself up against this holy, orthodox and catholic faith.” Not only were heretics subject to the secular authorities, but their properties were to be confiscated. Even the suspicion of heresy was enough for the death penalty, unless they proved their innocence, “Those who are only found suspect of heresy are to be struck with the sword of anathema” (i.e. “Guilty until proven innocent”). In fact, if Catholics lived in a land controlled by a ruler who did not

effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized. 5th: No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation. 6th: In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence. 7th: In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law. 8th: Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted” (“Amendments to the Constitution” (online); accessed 11 Nov 2005; from <http://www.house.gov/Constitution/Amend.html>; Internet).

²⁴“Fourth Lateran Council (1215),” part 3; (online) accessed 28 June 2003; available from <http://www.dailycatholic.org/history/12ecume1.htm>; Internet.

work with the inquisitors—to expel all heretics from their land, they were to rebel against that insubordinate ruler. Therefore, according to Jacques Dalarun, former director of Medieval Studies at the French School of Rome and director of the Institute for Research and History of Texts (I.R.H.T.), rulers would accuse one another of heresy for political reasons beginning in the 12th Century. Those that wanted to listen to these accusations listened.²⁵ He explained a political motive was the desire to gain territory, as was the case of the territory of the Albigenses. Dalarun explained further:

It had to be that the country tempting the appetite of the *Capétien* become heretical in order to be conquered. “Albigensian” became synonymous to heretical and a crusade followed, legitimizing the conquest. Today the preferred nomenclature for this country is “Country of the Cathars,” which is nothing more than the latent but zealous echo of the propaganda for crusade. Thus the identity constructs itself by looking at the other.²⁶

Because the Count of Toulouse and the surrounding region did not submit to Rome, their territory became a target of the King of France.

The litmus test for heresy moved from theological issues to lack of submission to Rome. Insubordination to the Pope became the cardinal heresy for 13th Century inquisitors, which same litmus test was used against the 16th Century Protestants. For example, note the words of Reinerius Sacho, inquisitor of the Waldensians:

The Waldenses lead *a righteous life* before men, and believe as regards God all that there is to believe. They accept *all the articles and symbols of the apostles*, only they blaspheme against the Roman Church and the clergy.²⁷

²⁵“Les prince locaux avaient commencé à jouer avec le feu dès le XIIe siècle, en s’accusant réciproquement d’hérésie comme on se passe le mistigri: le Trencavel l’eurent plus souvent en main que les autres” (Jacques Dalarun, “Conclusion,” in *Évangile et évangélisme (XIIe-XIIIe siècle)*, 335).

²⁶“Il fallait que ce pays tenant les appétits du Capétien soit hérétique pour être conquis. « Albigeois » devint synonyme d’hérétique et la Croisade s’ensuivit, légitimant la conquête. On préfère dire aujourd’hui ce pays « Pays cathares », ce qui n’est jamais que l’écho tardif mais zélé d’une propagande de croisade. Ainsi l’identité se construit-elle au regard de l’autre” (*ibid.*, 336).

²⁷The entire text of Puaux on Sacho reveals the beliefs of the Waldensians at that time (which did not differ much from Henry of Lausanne): “The inquisitor, Reinerius Sacho, after having spent his early youth in the midst of the Waldenses, abandoned them and became their persecutor; the force of the truth constrained this man of blood to bear to his victims a most beautiful testimony. ‘The primary [or first] error

Sacho was incensed with the Waldenses because they blasphemed against the Roman church—Blasphemy against the church, its seven Sacraments, and/or its belief in purgatory, the saints, etc. was tantamount to the unpardonable sin, blasphemy against the

of the heretics,' says he in his *Summâ de hæreticis*, 'is their contempt for the power of clerics (*ecclésiastique*)... They affirm that they alone are the Church of Christ, the successors of the apostles; they have the apostolic authority, and the keys to bind and to unbind. They view Rome as the prostitute in Revelation, chapter 17... They completely reject feasts, the orders, fasts, blessings, the offices of the Church and other similar things. They speak against the consecrated churches, cemeteries, and other things of the same nature, signaling these are the inventions of greedy priests who want to increase their revenues, and swindle people out of offerings and money.

'Some from among them hold that baptism is without any advantage for children, because they cannot believe... They say that the bishops, the clergy, and other religious orders, amount to nothing more than the scribes, the Pharisees, and other persecutors of the apostles. They think that the body and the blood of Christ are the real sacrament, and pretend that it is figurative that the bread is called the body of Christ, in the same way as it is said: *The rock was Christ*... They celebrate the Eucharist in their assemblies, repeating the words of the Gospel, and participating together in this ordinance, imitating the Last Supper [lit holy scene] of the Lord... They reject extreme unction.

'Even though they praise continence, they satisfy nevertheless their carnal lusts by the most dirty means, explaining in this way the words of the Apostle: '*It is better to be married than to burn*. Better to satisfy one lust by a shameful act than to conserve temptation in one's heart.'* But they hide these things as much as they can, for fear of incurring blame.

'There is no purgatory, say they, and all those who die pass immediately to heaven or hell; hence, the prayers in the Church for the dead are without use; those who are in heaven have no need for them, and those who are in hell cannot be relieved. If we believe them, the saints in the heaven do not hear the prayers of the faithful, their bodies rest lying in the earth, and their spirits are so far from us that they would not be able either to listen to our prayers, nor to see the honors that we accord them... Since then the Waldenses mock all of our feasts that we celebrate in honor of the saints, and all the acts by which we testify to them our veneration.

'The force of the truth extracted a testimony no less honorable for them, when it caused Reinerius to say: 'Of all the sects that have been or that are still, there has never been one more pernicious for the church as that of the Waldenses, and this for three reasons. First she is the oldest of all, some find her to go back to the pope Sylvester [contemporary of Augustin of Hippo], and others back to the time of the Apostles. Next, she is more extended than any other, for there is barely a place on earth that she has not penetrated. Finally, quite different from the other sects, who inspire at first horror among those who hear their pernicious doctrines, by the horrible blasphemes that they vomit, this one seduces the world *by the appearance of great piety*. The Waldenses lead *a righteous life* before men, and believe as regards God all that there is to believe. They accept *all the articles and symbols of the apostles*, only they blaspheme against the Roman Church and the clergy.'"

The author added a note of clarification on sexual relations among the heretics, as it is often discussed: "Reinerius slanders the Waldenses and seems to strong in his feelings. One passage in their apology relative to this accusation of being libertines, will suffice to refute him. It is this odious vice, say the Waldenses, that enticed David to kill his faithful servant, that pushed Amnon to corrupt his sister Tamar, and that consumed the inheritance of the prodigal son. Balaam chose it to make the children of Israel sin, which occasioned the death of twenty-four thousand persons. It is the same sin which occasioned the blinding of Samson and the fall of Solomon. The beauty of the woman have made a number perish. Fasting, prayer, and distance, such are the only remedy to oppose this evil. We can win over other vices by battling, but this one we can only surmount through fleeing... Joseph provides us an example" (Reinerius Sacho, "Témoignage rendu aux vaudois par un inquisiteur" [testimony given of the Waldenses by an inquisitor], in Franck Puaux, *Histoire de la Réformation Française* [Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1859], 1:424-25; taken from Bossuet, *Histoire des variations*, 11:55-54 [sic]; translation into English mine).

Holy Spirit!²⁸ Similarly today, the only persons who will lose their salvation according to the 1993 *Catechism of the Catholic Church* are those who leave the Church once inside, “Even though incorporated into the Church, one who does not however persevere in charity is not saved.”²⁹

In Southern France the objects of inquisition were the Albigenses (whose sympathizers controlled territories) and the Waldenses (who controlled no region), both of whom evangelized and were growing. In the 1273-1280 *Registre de l’Inquisition de Toulouse*, inquisition record of Pons de Parnac, the standard first question asked was as follows: “Have you seen any heretics, the Waldenses, heard them or eaten with them?”³⁰ Herein we have the word Waldenses used in parallel with the word heretic.³¹ Another deposition exemplified the use of the word Waldensize (as a verb) rather than Waldenses (as a noun):

In the year of our Lord 1246, the fourth of the *kalendes* of July (28 June 1246) the horseman William-Raymond of Castlar, requisitioned to tell the truth on himself and on others dead or alive on the crime of heresy and Waldensizing [*vaudoisie*] testifying under oath said.³²

Therefore it is clear from these texts and many others, that the early 13th Century inquisitors were extirpating both Albigenses and Waldenses.

Herein lies the irony of contemporary French historiography. French scholars have shown that the Waldenses *were not heretics*. Jean Duvernoy, stated the same in a

²⁸Cf. Matt 12:31-32; Luke 12:10.

²⁹Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, Prefect of the Doctrine of the Faith, ed., *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, *Church* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1994), ¶837, 222.

³⁰Complete sentence is as follows: “L’an du Seigneur 1273, veille des kalendes de juin Guillaume de Molières, prêtre, témoin ayant prêté serment, interrogé s’il avait vu des hérétiques, des vaudois, en avait entendus ou avait mangé avec eux, dit” (“Registre de Pons de Parnac et autres inquisiteurs de Toulouse” [Lauragais 1273-1282] [Doat XXV et XXVI ff 1-79]; ed and partial trans Jean Duvernoy; [online] accessed 8 Sept 2004; from <http://jean.duvernoy.free.fr/text/pdf/Parnactrad.pdf> [p 2]; internet/ Translation mine.

³¹I am translating the French *Vaudois* as Waldenses. Heretic is a translation of the Latin *hereticos*, which Duvernoy was fond to translate *parfait*, which in English could be rendered “perfect” (or Puritan or Pietist).

³²*Ibid.*, 121.

round table discussion printed in the book *Évangile et évangélisme (XIIIe-XIIIe siècle)*

[trans “The Gospel and Evangelism (12th-13th Centuries)”]:

The Waldenses of the high period were not heretics, but they were schismatics, and not even that: they were simply disobedient. They wanted to stay in the Church but did not want to obey the prohibition against preaching without authorization.³³

Michel Rubellin, professor at the University of Lyon II, France, followed suit:

3. Finally, the history of Waldo in Lyons appears exemplary as regards the invention of the heresy and the establishment of the “Society of Persecution” that Robert Ian Moore described. Waldensianism as a heresy is not born in Lyon with Waldo, as the same, if my hypothesis is correct, collaborates with the Archbishop. It is outside of Lyon that it is born from the moment where this collaboration is rejected, and that Waldo and his followers have become not only useless but more so dangerous, and as a consequence they are condemned and chased out of Lyon.³⁴

Also Jean-Louis Biget, professor emeritus, École Normale Supérieure, Fontenay/St.

Cloud, France, used even stronger language:

He [Michel Rubellin] showed that at their origin they [the Waldenses] were not-at-all heretical [*nullement hérétiques*]. During the six years, between 1173 and 1179, Waldo and his own were utilized by the Archbishop, Guichard of Pontigny, a Cistercian, to wrestle against the Cathedral Chapter of Lyons. After John of Bellesmains ascended to the Episcopal seat, the Waldenses were defined as heretical because they refused to obey the rule that prohibited preaching by the laity.³⁵

Hence it is clear from recent French scholarship (1999, 1998, and 1999 respectively) that the Waldenses were *not* heretical. They were therefore not inquisited for theological

³³Jean Duvernoy, “Table Ronde,” in *Évangile et évangélisme (XIIIe-XIIIe siècle)*, 235. Translation mine.

³⁴“3. Enfin, l’histoire lyonnaise de Valdès apparaît exemplaire quant à l’invention de l’hérésie et à la mise en place de la “société de persécution” que décrit Robert Ian Moore [*La persécution: Sa formation en Europe (Xe-XIIIe siècle)*] (Paris, 1991)]. Le valdéisme en tant qu’hérésie ne naît pas à Lyon avec Valdès, puisque celui-ci, si mon hypothèse est la bonne, collabore alors avec l’archevêque. Il naît hors de Lyon à partir du moment où cette collaboration est rejetée, et que Valdès et ses partisans sont devenus non seulement inutiles mais encore dangereux, et qu’en conséquence on les condamne et on les chasse de Lyon” (Michel Rubellin, “Au temps où Valdès n’était pas hérétique: hypothèses sur le rôle de Valdès à Lyon,” in Monique Zerner, ed., *Inventer l’hérésie? Discours polémiques et pouvoirs avant l’inquisition*, Collection du centre d’études médiévales de Nice, vol. 2 [Paris: C.I.D., 1998], 217).

³⁵“Il [Michel Rubellin] a montré qu’à l’origine ils [les vaudois] ne sont nullement hérétiques. Durant six ans, entre 1173 et 1179, Valdo et les siens sont utilisés par l’archevêque, Guichard de Pontigny, un cistercien, pour lutter contre le chapitre cathédral de Lyon. Après que Jean de Bellesmains a succédé au siège épiscopal, les vaudois sont définis hérétiques parce qu’ils refusent d’obéir à la règle faisant aux laïcs interdiction de prêcher” (Jean-Louis Biget, Round Table Discussion, *Évangile et évangélisme*, 246).

reasons, but rather because they did not submit to the absolute ecclesial authority of Rome. Similarly on 7 May 1318, four Franciscan friars were burned in Marseille for not obeying the orders of Pope John XXII.³⁶ By the way, lack of submission to Rome continues as an important issue to Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger (now Benedict XVI) as exemplified in 2000.³⁷

So there was a time that the Waldenses were not heretical. But how did they suddenly become Gnostic or Manichaean? Biget in a nutshell explained that Waldo and his followers became heretics when they were kicked out of Lyon by the new Archbishop of Lyon, John of Bellesmains. Their reason for becoming heretical was that they practiced lay preaching, or what we call today lay evangelism.

That the Albigenses were heretics for the same reason is likely the case. Their inquisitors were wise to the need for valid accusations to condemn people. Therefore Augustine's *Contra Manichaeum* provided the theoretical model from which they could frame the questions to and the answers of the Albigenses in order to deem them heretical. Hinnebusch in his *The History of the Dominican Order* explained that Innocent III had attempted to send preachers into the Albigenses area (Montpelier, France), and their

³⁶John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order: From Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald, 1968), 311.

³⁷17§2. "On the other hand, the ecclesial communities which have not preserved the valid Episcopate and the genuine and integral substance of the Eucharistic mystery, are not Churches in the proper sense; however, those who are baptized in these communities are, by Baptism, incorporated in Christ and thus are in a certain communion, albeit imperfect, with the Church. Baptism in fact tends per se toward the full development of life in Christ, through the integral profession of faith, the Eucharist, and full communion in the Church" (Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, *Dominus Iesus* [6 Aug 2000] [online]; accessed 21 Mar 2001; available at http://search.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_20000806_dominus-iesus_en.html; Internet).

efforts had failed: “The primary objective of Innocent III was pastoral—he aimed to eradicate the Catharism by converting its converts.”³⁸ Their orders were:

First they should expound the faith, then should admonish. If these proved fruitless, the legates might resort to excommunication, and ultimately call upon the assistance of the civil powers.³⁹

In the county of Toulouse, however, there was a problem. The nobility had been exposed to and favored the Cathar teaching. Therefore the Catholic church had no civil powers upon whom to rely. The use of the civil powers to Christianize (Catholicize) and dehereticize their populace was demanded by the 3rd Lateran council of 1179. The next citation provides the content and tenor of the document as regards heretics:

27. As St. Leo says, though the discipline of the church should be satisfied with the judgment of the priest and should not cause the shedding of blood, yet it is helped by the laws of catholic princes so that people often seek a salutary remedy when they fear that a corporal punishment will overtake them. For this reason, since in Gascony and the regions of Albi and Toulouse and in other places the loathsome heresy of those whom some call the Cathars, others the Patarenes, others the Publicani, and others by different names, has grown so strong that they no longer practise their wickedness in secret, as others do, but proclaim their error publicly and draw the simple and weak to join them, we declare that they and their defenders and those who receive them are under anathema, and we forbid under pain of anathema that anyone should keep or support them in their houses or lands or should trade with them. [see footnote] they should not be received into the communion of the church, unless they abjure their pernicious society and heresy. As long as such people persist in their wickedness, let all who are bound to them by any pact know that they are free from all obligations of loyalty, homage or any obedience. On these [princes] and on all the faithful we enjoin, for the remission of sins, that they oppose this scourge with all their might and by arms protect the christian people against them. Their goods are to be confiscated and princes free to subject them to *slavery*.⁴⁰

³⁸William A. Hinnebusch, O.P., *The History of the Dominican Order: Origins and Growth to 1500* (Staten Island, NY: Alba House, 1965), 1:22.

³⁹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰Portion omitted in text: “If anyone dies in this sin, then neither under cover of our privileges granted to anyone, nor for any other reason, is mass to be offered for them or are they to receive burial among Christians. With regard to the Brabanters, Aragonese, Navarrese, Basques, Coterelli and Triaverdini, who practise such cruelty upon Christians that they respect neither churches nor monasteries, and spare neither widows, orphans, old or young nor any age or sex, but like pagans destroy and lay everything waste, we likewise decree that those who hire, keep or support them, in the districts where they rage around, should be denounced publicly on Sundays and other solemn days in the churches, that they should be subject in every way to the same sentence and penalty as the above-mentioned heretics and that”

It must be noted that Gascony, Albi, and Toulouse (all in Southern France) were cited as problematic areas by this the 11th Ecumenical Council of the Catholic Church (1179). Therefore when Bishop Diego and Dominic stopped in Toulouse in 1206, twenty-seven years later, they knew what they were engaging the ecclesial problem of their day. Dominic's first converted Albigensian gave him hope, while it also showed him his apologetic challenge.⁴¹ Emboldened by his first spiritual victory, empowered by the 3rd Lateran Council, and encouraged by Innocent III, Dominic led the charge of extirpating this heresy from Southern France. His official mandate was as follows:

By an official document, which is still extant, Bishop Foulques constituted Brother Dominic and his companions preachers in the diocese of Toulouse. They were to [1] extirpate heresy, [2] combat vice, [3] teach the faith, and [4] train men in good morals.⁴²

To complete his mission meant that the non-Catholic rule of the Count of Toulouse needed to be taken from him and given to a Catholic prince. Hence Innocent III devised the crusade against the Albigenses with the full cooperation and approbation of Dominic, founder of the Order of Preaching Brothers—even the name of this order is rather odd as they do not believe in the necessity of preaching for salvation, but rather rightly receiving the grace-giving sacraments of the Roman Catholic church. Dominic preached not the Gospel, but “apostolic poverty”⁴³—more on this below.

(“Third Lateran Council” [1179], part 27 [online]; accessed 28 June 2003; from: <http://www.dailycatholic.org/history/11ecume1.htm>; Internet).

⁴¹“But in reality the question is of little moment, for the embassy was important rather for what happened on the way than for the matter negotiated, since it led the Bishop and his Prior [Dominic] through the district of Toulouse, then the seat of a powerful gnostic heresy. The very evening of their arrival at the first house in Toulouse at which they put up they came in contact with it, for their host had himself lapsed from the faith. Dominic and he discussed religion at once and vehemently. The arguments on both sides were prolonged into the night, and it was only when the morning light streamed through the windows that the penitent innkeeper found himself on his knees, reconciled to the teaching of the Church” (Bede Jarrett, *Life of Saint Dominic*, 17-18).

⁴²Pierre Mandonnet, O.P., *St. Dominic and His Work*, trans by Mary Benedicta Larkin, O.P. (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1948), 27.

⁴³Hinnebusch, 1:23.

As noted above, French scholars in a book titled *Inventing Heresy* discussed the problem of historiography and posited that Rome and Paris appeared to team together to invent the Albigensian heresy (which name never existed until a crusade was called against them in 1209 by inquisition preacher Jacques de Vitry)⁴⁴ in order to regain control of those lands (for the Church of Rome) and to seize control of those lands for a Catholic King (hence the French crown). In this case, Innocent III teamed up with Philip II August of France to extirpate Albigensian control of the Albi region. However, the extreme to which the Catholic church went to regain control was the result of a long development of persecution within Catholicism.

ORTHODOXY MOVES FROM THEOLOGY TO INSTITUTIONALISM

This *Sitz im Leben*, which Robert Ian Moore calls “A Persecuting Society,” leads us to our next question: what were the reasons for such harsh measures taken against groups that upheld the “Three Symbols” of orthodox theology—the Apostles Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Creed of Athanasius?⁴⁵

In order to understand the theological basis for persecution, a brief history of persecution is in order. Moore began his analysis with the spiritual repression under Emperor Constantine of Rome:

After his conversion the Emperor Constantine made it clear that the privilege which he conferred on Christians “must benefit only adherents of the Catholic faith”—that is, adherents of the Nicaean creed and of the bishop of Rome—while

⁴⁴“Jacques de Vitry ... from 1210 to 1213 he was one of the most noted preachers of the crusade against the Albigenses” (“Jacques de Vitry,” in *Catholic Encyclopedia*; accessed: 17 May 2006; from: http://www.catholicity.com/encyclopedia/j/jacques_de_vitry.html; Internet).

⁴⁵“They accept *all the articles and symbols of the apostles*, only they blaspheme against the Roman Church and the clergy” (Sacho, “Testimony of Inquisitor,” in Puaux, *Histoire de la Réformation Française*, 1:425; from Bossuet, *Histoire des variations*, 11:55-54 [sic]).

“heretics and schismatics shall not only be alien from these privileges but shall be bound and subjugated to various compulsory public services.”⁴⁶

The persecution by Roman Emperors increased to prohibiting meetings and confiscating churches. Under Theodosius I heretics were prohibited from holding public office, “purges to exclude them were conducted in 395 and again in 408.”⁴⁷ It would seem that Augustine of Hippo provided Rome with its theological justification for the persecution of heretics with his *Contra Donatisten* and *Contra Manichaeum*. Moore continued:

These measures were invoked from time to time against other sects, notably in the years after 405 against the Donatists in North Africa, as a part of the great drive to force their reconversion to Catholicism in defence of which Augustine composed the first substantial Christian justification of religious coercion and of the forced persecution it implied.⁴⁸

Probably the most often quoted portion of Augustine’s *Contra Donatisten* is that there is no salvation outside the Catholic church.⁴⁹ Gregory I reorganized the Roman Catholic church according to the secular model of the monastery—which gave to the Abbott complete autocratic authority⁵⁰—and used various administrative ploys to bring “heresy” under control. For example, his letter “To All the Bishops of Numibia” suppressed the opportunity of Donatists to rise to the rank of Bishop:

⁴⁶Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, 12.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

⁴⁸*Ibid.*

⁴⁹Here are some quotes of Augustine found online (accessed 15 Nov 2005; available from: http://www.catholic.com/library/Salvation_Outside_the_Church.asp; Internet): “[J]ust as baptism is of no profit to the man who renounces the world in words and not in deeds, so it is of no profit to him who is baptized in heresy or schism; but each of them, when he amends his ways, begins to receive profit from that which before was not profitable, but was yet already in him” (*On Baptism, Against the Donatists* 4:4[6] [A.D. 400]). “Whoever is separated from this Catholic Church, by this single sin of being separated from the unity of Christ, no matter how estimable a life he may imagine he is living, shall not have life, but the wrath of God rests upon him” (*Letters*, 141:5).

⁵⁰For example: “The Friars Minor are not linked primarily to a definite locale or house; rather they are bound into a community with their ministers in a relationship of strict obedience. Acceptance into the Order is therefore very fittingly described in both Rules as ‘to receive into obedience’ (*recipere ad obedientiam*), or conversely, as ‘to promise obedience’ (*promittere obedientiam*)” (Cajetan Esser, *Origins of the Franciscan Order* [Chicago: Franciscan Herald, 1970], 70).

With respect to those who attain to the episcopate from among the Donatists, we by all means forbid them to be advanced to the dignity of primacy, even though their standing should denote them for that position.⁵¹

Gregory I's efforts led to his sending bishops to deal with the Visigoth King Leogivild's successor Reccared to assure that the latter remained in the Catholic faith (he abjured his Arianism after coming to the throne, "and induced many bishops to do the same"⁵²).

Gregory also sent a bishop to negotiate with the princess of Lombardy: "With the assistance of the Princess Theodelinda and by the zeal of the Italian bishops they [the Lombards] were presently converted from Arianism to orthodoxy."⁵³ Hence Gregory established the precedent for the combination of political means to convert heretics, as well as administrative suppression if they would not convert.

⁵¹The context is also revealing: "Gregory to all the Bishops of Numidia.

"If ever, most dear brethren in Christ, a troublesome mixture of tares intrudes itself among green corn, it is necessary for the hand of the husbandman to root it up entirely, lest the future fruit of the fertile corn should be obstructed. Wherefore let us too, who, however unworthy, have undertaken the cultivation of the field of the Lord, hasten to render the corn pure from all offence of tares, that the field of the Lord may fructify with more abundant increase. Now you requested through Hilarus our chartulary (2) from our predecessor of blessed memory that you might retain all the customs of past time, which, from the beginnings of the ordinances of the blessed Peter, Prince of the apostles, long antiquity has so far retained. And we, indeed, according to the tenour of your representation, allow your custom (so long as it clearly makes no claim to the prejudice of the catholic faith) to remain undisturbed, whether as to constituting primates or as to other points; save that with respect to those who attain to the episcopate from among the Donatists, we by all means forbid them to be advanced to the dignity of primacy, even though their standing should denote them for that position(3). But let it suffice them to take care of the people committed to them, without aiming at the topmost place of the primacy in preference to those prelates whom the Catholic faith hath both taught and engendered in the bosom of the Church. Do you, therefore, most dear brethren, anticipate our admonitions in the zeal of the charity of the Lord, knowing that the strict Judge will bring into examination all we do, and will approve every one of us with regard not to the prerogative of a higher rank, but to the merits of our works. I beseech you, therefore, love ye one another mutually, having peace among yourselves in Christ, and with one purpose of heart oppose ye heretics and enemies of the Church. Be ye solicitous for the souls of your neighbours: persuade all ye can to faith by the preaching of charity, holding before them also the terror of the future judgment; inasmuch as ye are appointed to be shepherds, and the Lord of the docks expects from the shepherds to whom He has committed them the fruit of a multiplied flock.

"And if He should foresee an augmentation of His own flock through your bestowal of more diligent care upon it, He will assuredly adorn you with manifold gifts of the heavenly kingdom. Furthermore, addressing to you the greeting of fraternal love, I pray the Lord that He would make you, whom He has chosen to be shepherds of souls, worthy in His sight, and Himself so order our deeds here that He may accept them as they deserve in the future life" (Gregory I, Pope, *Epistle LXXVII*, "To All the Bishops of Numidia"; accessed: 8 September 1997; from: www.ccel.wheaton.edu/Gregory/Register/E24.htm).

⁵²Sir Henry H. Howorth, *Gregory the Great* (London, England: John Murray, 1912), 134.

⁵³*Ibid.*, 110.

The first known case of burning Manichaeans at the stake is by the King Robert the Pious in Orleans, France in 1022.⁵⁴ It would seem that the practice of burning at the stake was borrowed from Frankish Kings. In 1157, according to a provincial council in Rheims, France, heretics who converted were to be branded on the face. In 1167 in Vezelai, seven were condemned and burned at the stake, and the practice picked up fervor during the inquisition of the 13th Century.⁵⁵

By the time of the Great Schism (1054), theology had less to do with anathematizing churches or movements as did control. Rome and Constantinople had so evolved in their desire for primacy, that they mutually excommunicated one another. Although the Council of Chalcedon and the iconoclastic controversy provided theological cloaks for the split, the main issue was that of primacy, whose church constituted the “Kingdom of God.” Here was the primary problem, the Albigenses: (1) did not feel that popes had authority to forgive sins; (2) did not agree with the Mass; and (3) preached against the Roman church.⁵⁶ On top of this they were aggressive in their evangelism and they were spreading throughout Southern France. When Bernard of Clairvaux first learned of the heretics in Southern France in 1143, he responded with a series of sermons on the little foxes that spoil the vine—the one true Church. In 1145 he led a preaching crusade through the Albi and Toulouse area described as a “raid of anti-heretical counter-preaching”⁵⁷ directed particularly against the preaching of the said-heretic Henry of Lausanne. When Innocent III became pope, Catharism was his primary domestic

⁵⁴Jean Duvernoy, *Cathares, Vaudois et Beguins: Dissidents du Pays d’Oc* (Toulouse, France: Privat, 1994), 243.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 244-45.

⁵⁶Jean Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme: La Religion des Cathares*, 227-33.

⁵⁷Brenon, 238.

problem. He took care of this problem by use of the secular powers to crush the heresy, using a Cistercian-led crusade and a Dominican-led inquisition.

Paradoxically, however, by the time that Rome accepted the sacramental system of salvation, following the “Sentences” of Peter the Lombard, they no longer truly held to the Athanasian Creed. The 8th Century Athanasian Creed began as follows:

1. Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic [true Christian] faith,
2. Which Faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.
3. And the Catholic [true Christian] faith is this: that we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity;
4. Neither confounding the Persons; nor dividing the Substance.⁵⁸

By the 13th Century the Catholic church had added more to the faith-alone in the “Three Symbols” as a prerequisite for orthodoxy. They had added submission to papal authority to the list. Hence the Athanasian Creed should have been amended to include several sentences on submission to Peter and his successors, promotion of his right alone to provide absolution of sins, the efficacy of the seven sacraments as approved by Rome (and defined by Peter the Lombard and later by Thomas Aquinas), and all the other Medieval encrustations placed on faith alone.

Nevertheless, the unorthodox Roman church was wise enough to accuse the Cathars of Manichaeism—which provided them the theological stature of Augustine as they began to develop their “Society of Persecution.” But let’s think for a minute. If they accepted all the symbols of the apostles, as Sacho confirmed,⁵⁹ then how could they be at the same time Manichaean? There is a lot of smoke somewhere! Then it only follows to

⁵⁸“The Creed of Athanasius” (online); accessed September 28 2004; available from <http://www.rca.org/aboutus/beliefs/athanasian.php>; Internet.

⁵⁹Sacho, “Testimony of Inquisitor,” in Piaux, *Histoire de la Réformation Française*, 1:425; from Bossuet, *Histoire des variations*, 11:55-54 [sic], quoted above.

ask: can that much of a theological distinction be made between the so-called Albigenses and the Waldenses (who became heretical when they were kicked out of Lyons)? Or was it a bogus accusation, somewhat similar to Mark Noll's 1994 accusation that U.S. Evangelicals have a Manichaean tendency in his *Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*.⁶⁰

Outside of the theology of the Three Symbols, the sacramental system provided Rome system of salvation that was not taught in the New Testament. Thus as the Bible was translated and read in the language of the people, they would quickly and readily see the difference. Hence in these centuries lay reading of the Bible was also repressed.⁶¹ But more important for this paper was the fact that a different system of conversion meant a different approach to evangelism. Are persons saved merely by believing? If so, the mission is to go, tell, and urge belief in the Gospel. If persons are saved through the sacraments, then the mission changes to sending duly appointed priests who can offer the proper sacraments of the Church to bring them salvation. Method and message are inextricably intertwined. In fact, the accusation of heresy due to Manicheanism seems to have its root in the fact that the Albigenses and Waldenses rejected that the host (or bread) in the Eucharist actually became holy, as bread cannot become holy (a reverse Manicheanism). Thus, because of their unbelief in the sacramental system of the Roman church, the Albigenses and Waldenses were hereticized.⁶² And as the preaching of the

⁶⁰“To make room for Christian thought, evangelicals must also abandon the false dysjunctions that their distinctives have historically encouraged. ... Modifying the evangelical tendency toward Manichaeism may cost some of the single-minded enthusiasm of activism [evangelism and conversionism], but it would be worth it in order to be able to worship God with the mind” (Mark A. Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994], 245).

⁶¹See Daniel Lortsch, *Histoire de la Bible en France* (1910) (online); accessed 4 March 2005; available from: http://www.bibliquest.org/Lortsch/Lortsch-Histoire_Bible_France-1.htm.

⁶²“L’Eglise Catholique n’est pas l’Eglise dépeinte par les textes néo-testamentaires. Il lui en manque, et l’héritage, et le caractère” (Jean Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme: La Religion des Cathares*, 225). The next nine pages elucidates this statement.

Gospel was concomitant with their view of salvation—their view of mission was divergent from that of the Roman church.

MISSION

It would seem that meditating on Peter the Lombard's "Sentences" (d 1164) framed the sacramental system of salvation into the fabric of the Catholic church. This led to two very divergent methods of salvation: (1) the sacraments (or if you will, works); and (2) through hearing and believing (thus, faith alone), outside of the sacraments of the church. With a differing view of salvation ensues a different view of mission. If the sacraments are salvific, then the church must focus on getting the masses to participate in these. However, if salvation comes through faith in the Gospel, then Christians must go out and proclaim the same. By the 13th Century the Catholic church had become so sacramental that: (1) those who did not accept the sacraments spoke out against them; and (2) Rome did not tolerate those who believed in New Testament evangelism. Thus it became a persecutor of the same.

This section will begin to look into the divergent views of mission that existed in the 13th Century. On a grand scale this shift was noted to be a move from *vita apostolica* to *vita evangelica*. However, Jacques Dalarun described it in even greater detail as follows:

With much care, we can therefore herein more clearly indicate these inflections: from *vita apostolica* to *vita evangelica*, from *sequela Christi* to *imitatio Christi*, being from *identificatio Christi*, of the *Christus triumphans* to the *Christus patiens*. Evolutions that are decisive in their totality, but often very difficult to focalize with precision, where the role of the stigmatized of the Alverne was not narrow. But where the will to respond to the heresy was not narrow either.⁶³

⁶³“Avec beaucoup de prudence, on peut donc ici plus clairement indiquer des inflexions: de la *vita apostolica* à la *vita evangelica*, de la *sequela Christi* à l’*imitatio Christi*, voire à l’*identificatio Christi*, du

Seeking to initiate renewal among the monastic orders (not through theology, but through practice) and preaching for the Second Crusade, Bernard of Clairvaux had traveled to Toulouse, France, and found the heresy too well established to be dislodged (i.e. they did not support Rome or Bernard's crusading efforts).⁶⁴ "He cursed the cities that refused him a hearing."⁶⁵ Hence, it was Bernard, as well as Peter the Venerable [both Frenchmen], who marked the South of France as heretical, "In the middle of the 12th Century, it was under the fire of the cross of Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter the Venerable that the South [of France] was assigned its heresy."⁶⁶ Peter the Venerable of Cluny wrote a treatise against Henry of Lausanne, in which he refuted Henry's five points of heresy. Dominique Iogna-Prat, professor at the University of Bourgogne, France, translated the summary of Peter the Venerable's treatise (from 1135-1140) as to the five heretical propositions of Henry of Lausanne (a.k.a. *Henri le Moine*):

1. Refusal to baptize infants, under the pretext that it is faith that saves and that a young infant could not have sufficient conscience to believe.
2. Rejection of holy places; the Church of God does not consist of an assemblage of stones but of a spiritual reality, the communion of the faithful.
3. The cross is not an object of adoration; it is on the contrary a detestable object, as the instrument of the torture and suffering of Christ.
4. Priests and bishops dispense a lying teaching as to the matter of the Eucharist. The body of Christ was consumed only one time and only by the disciples, during the communion that preceded the Passion. All other later consumption is only vain fiction.

Christus triumphans au *Christus patiens*. Évolutions décisives au total, mais souvent difficiles à fixer avec précision, où le rôle du stigmatisé de l'Alverne n'a certainement pas été mince. Mais où la volonté de répliquer à l'hérésie ne l'était pas moins" (Jacques Dalarun, "Conclusion," *Évangile et évangélisme [XIIe-XIIIe siècle]*, 333); translation in text mine.

⁶⁴"Bernard soon discovered that although he could inspire kings and knights to 'take the cross' and embark on a Crusade, he could not persuade the dualistic heretics to return to the church" (Harold O.J. Brown, *Heresies: Heresy and Orthodoxy in the History of the Church*, 256.

⁶⁵From Bede Jarrett, *Life of Saint Dominic*, 23-24; from O'Leary, *Life and Times of St Dominic* (London 1912), 45

⁶⁶Dalarun, "Conclusion," 336.

5. The funeral liturgy in its whole (offerings, prayers, Masses, and alms) is useless; the dead can hope in nothing more than what they received when they were alive.⁶⁷

Bernard's preaching for the Second Crusade and his hereticizing of the Albigenses, among other things, tarnished his reputation for such scholars as the Huguenot Pierre Bayle in his *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1802). Bayle wrote that Bernard blamed the failure of the Second Crusade upon the sin of the crusaders.⁶⁸

As to conversion, Bernard seemed obsessed with and enslaved to following Benedict's *Regula*.⁶⁹ Obedience of these rules seemed to become his passion *and* his salvation. Was Bernard jealous of the freedom of the Albigenses [and the later Waldensians] who were married and worked with their hands? We shall see that Bernard had a philosophical view of sin and salvation. Because of the fall of man, man has lost his freedom of counsel and pleasure:

By participating in the sin of Adam, humans have lost their freedom of counsel and pleasure; humans have lost their likeness to God; without freedom of choice they would cease to be human.

The primary effect of sin, then, is the will misdirected...⁷⁰

Thus since the freedom of choice remains untainted, man must choose to follow the example of Christ and apply the proper effort to attain salvation or perfection:

Thanks to the help of him who called me, I have built a ladder to take me to it [perfection]. This is my road to God's salvation (Psa 49:23). Already I see God resting on the top of the ladder (Gen 28:12-13); already I have the joy of hearing the

⁶⁷Dominique Iogna-Prat, "L'argumentation défensive: de la Polémique grégorienne au 'Contra Petrobrusianos' de Pierre le Vénérable" *Inventer l'hérésie*, 88); translation mine. Other similar lists from that era described the teaching of Peter de Bruis and Henry the Monk [of Lausanne] (see Jean Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme: l'histoire des cathares*, 201, 203, 210-11).

⁶⁸M. Basil Pennington, O.S.C.O., *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux: Studies Commemorating the Eighth Centenary of His Canonization* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian, 1977).

⁶⁹His Bernard's interpretation of the Benedictine vows led to significant disagreement between he and Peter the Venerable of the Cluny (*Bernard of Clairvaux* [Washington: Consortium, 1973], 49).

⁷⁰John R. Sommerfeldt, *The Spiritual Teaching of St. Bernard* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian), 21-22.

voice of Truth. He calls to me, and I reply to him: “stretch out your right hand to the work of your hands” (Job 14:15). You have number my steps, O Lord (Job 14:15).⁷¹

With a generous view of his own efforts, it is not surprising to find that Bernard believed that humans were capable of sinless perfection: “Humans are thus capable of perfection, ‘...capable of ascending from strength right up the summit.’”⁷²

Similarly, Francis of Assisi came along almost a century later continuing in a similar vein as regards conversion theology, mission, and the heretics. Francis’ view of salvation was the imitation of Christ (*imitatio Christi*), “Christian discipleship,” or in our own day, “Personal Spiritual Disciplines”:

The most holy father was unwilling that his friars should be desirous of knowledge or books, but he willed and preached to them that they should desire to be founded on holy *Humility*, and to imitate pure *Simplicity*, holy *Prayer*, and our Lady *Poverty*, on which the saints and friars did build. And this, he used to say, was the only safe way to one’s salvation and the edification of others, since Christ, to whose imitation we are called, showed and taught us this alone by word and example alike.⁷³

Salvation for Francis of Assisi was, therefore, an issue of lifestyle. From which can be derived lifestyle evangelism—not only salvation through one’s life, but witness through one’s life. In fact, according to Francois Lambert d’Avignon, each new order outdid the austerities of the prior orders to show their increased piety.⁷⁴ Their theology and

⁷¹*Ibid.*, 50. It is also interesting to note that the Book of Job was the fascination of Pope Gregory I, as he spent his lifetime writing a commentary on Job titled *Moralia*.

⁷²*Ibid.*, 30.

⁷³*Speculum Perfectionis*, ed. P. Sabatier in “Collections d’études et de documents sur l’histoire religieuse et littéraire du moyen âge (Paris, 1898), 1:72; quoted in John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 3.

⁷⁴“Such are the men who proudly call themselves observant, when Jesus Christ, in the seventeenth chapter of Saint Luke [17:10, verse numbers came later], says: ‘When you have done all the things that are commanded you say, “We are your useless servants!”’ But these men, dear reader, in order that you might know it, despise the Holy Word even in the name that they carry [observants]. They have placed in their rules all the statutes of the other monks, in order to be able to, better than their brothers, call themselves observants,—but none do better than they wrong to the Church.—For how can men, who do not know their own rules or that do not want to understand them, can they sincerely follow them?” (François Lambert d’Avignon, “Histoire du moine racontée par lui-même, traduite du latin,” from Gerdesius, *Historia christianismi renovati*, vol IV; quoted from Puaux, *Histoire de la Réformation Française*, 1:417); Translation from the French mine.

methodology directly countered the Evangelical methods of the Waldensians. The vanity and arrogance of Francis' approach to salvation was explained by Lambert d'Avignon in 1523 one year after he left the Franciscans to join up with Luther in Wittenberg:

I tell you only, dear reader, a few of the reasons that constrained me to leave the *minorites*... but it must suffice that I told you only summarily. In a few days, you will receive a commentary concerning the rule of their order, that will help you understand the totality. In the meantime, in order that all the world may know what to wait for as far as my resolutions and convictions, I will say these three things:

1st Hitherto fore seduced and ignorant of what I was doing, I pronounced vows contrary to the Christian profession of faith. Oh well! I renounce to all these inventions of the *minorites* and recognize that the holy Gospel is my rule and should be that of all Christians;

2nd I retract what I have preached that does not conform to Christian truth. I pray all those who have heard me preach or who read my writings to reject all that is contrary to the Holy Books. I have confidence in Him who removed me from a captivity more difficult than that of Egypt, that I will repair with His divine help by my words and by my books my numerous errors;

3rd As no one can come to the knowledge of the truth without being in disagreement with the Pope, I renounce him and all his decrees, and I no longer want to be a part of his reign of apostasy. I desire rather to be excommunicated by him, knowing that his reign is excommunicated and accursed of God...

In another book, we will speak of these things in greater detail; we will do so for the name of Jesus Christ to whom be honor and glory.⁷⁵

Without going into lengthy detail, it must be clear to the reader that we are discussing two completely opposed views of salvation, one by lifestyle and the other by faith. This distinction was crystallizing as Pope Innocent III called the minor orders into existence. In order to persecute those who held to the Three Symbols of the Faith (and therefore could not have been heretics as they were accused), an attractive alternative had to replace faith. In the *imitatio Christi* of Francis of Assisi that alternative was found.⁷⁶ The ultimate imitation of Christ (hence complete incarnational theology) was confirmed when

⁷⁵*Ibid.*

⁷⁶“As Francis knotted this rope round his waist he probably realized that he was girding himself for a very formidable task, for it was nothing less than an ‘imitation of Christ’, conscious, literal, and uncompromising” (John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 9).

Francis received the *Stigmata*, whereby he miraculously received the actual wounds that Christ had on his hands and feet.⁷⁷

How about the Dominicans? According to their histories, they had four purposes, which we have cited before: “to [1] extirpate heresy, [2] combat vice, [3] teach the faith, and [4] train men in good morals.”⁷⁸ The first purpose included searching out heretics and gaining confessions from them. Combating vice was to be accomplished through intense stoicism. Teaching the faith in this context meant inoculating Catholics against heretical teaching. And training in good morals included founding schools which the Dominicans faithfully accomplished.⁷⁹

In order to accomplish this strategy, the Dominicans had to use the methods of their “enemy.” Hinnebusch explained:

Bishop Diego, borrowing from the enemy, recommended to the legates a new type of apostolate. They should give up their other business and devote themselves zealously to preaching. They should send away their followers, travel on foot without money and beg their bread from door to door, imitating the way of life and preaching of the apostles. This was a startling suggestion and the legates were unwilling to accept it. But if someone in authority, a bishop, would go before them, they would gladly follow. Diego was as good as his word. He dismissed his servants, sending them with his horses and baggage back to Osma. He kept at his side only Dominic, his subprior.

...Catholic itinerant missionaries, beginning with Robert of Arbissel at the opening of the twelfth century and ending with Fulk of Neuilly at its close, preached

⁷⁷“When at last the light waned and the vision faded, Francis discovered, in his hands and his side, wounds like those of the crucified Christ whom he loved so dearly and whose passion he had longed to share” (Moorman, 60); “He [brother Elias] forthwith set himself to compose a letter which would make known that the Poverello was now dead. A copy of this letter, addressed to Gregory of Naples and the friars in France, has survived. It begins by announcing the death of the saint, and then goes on to describe in detail the *Stigmata* which, for two years, had been kept as a secret. ... he lays great emphasis on the *Stigmata*, which he describes in detail. He himself had long regarded Francis as a saint, and he intended the world to do the same. Elias was hoping for an early canonization, and the majestic miracle of the *Stigmata* would incite a popular demand” (*ibid.*, 83); see also Cajetan Esser, *Origins of the Franciscan Order*, 232.

⁷⁸Pierre Mandonnet, O.P., *St. Dominic and His Work*, trans by Mary Benedicta Larkin, O.P. (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1948), 27.

⁷⁹William A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order: Intellectual and Cultural Life to 1500* (New York: Alba House, 1973), 2:11.

Fig 1. 13th Century Medieval Mission

	Waldensian	Albigensian	Franciscan/ Cistercian	Dominican
Latin Terms	<i>Vita apostolica</i> <i>Sequela Christi</i>		<i>Vita evangelica</i> <i>Imitatio Christi</i> <i>Identificatio Christi</i>	
View of Rome's Supremacy and Sacraments	Against Rome		For Rome	
Interpretation of Bible	Literal	Literal	Figurative	Allegorical
Interpretation of Councils	Ignored	Ignored	Literal	Literalistic
Mission	Preaching the Gospel	Preaching the Gospel	Combating heresy and teaching the proper way	Extirpating heresy from Southern France
Lifestyle	Obedience to the rules of Christ	Obedience to the rules of Christ	Establishing homes for the friars to live their lifestyle	Door-to-door begging and "preaching"
Method	Preaching the Gospel, door-to- door and in the marketplace	Preaching the Gospel, door-to- door and in the marketplace	Preaching love and good works	Inquisiting persons; Eliciting recantations and conversions

apostolic poverty. Diego's merit lies in seizing upon it now as a method in the Catholic campaign against the Albigenses.⁸⁰

Hence we have a combination of methods used by the Dominicans: door-to-door begging, preaching poverty, tracking down Albigensian evangelists and sympathizers,

⁸⁰Hinnebusch, 1:23.

running prison houses, and inquisiting whomever they suspected.

Figure 1, “13th Century Medieval Mission,” seeks to place in chart form the three Catholic methods of mission: Cistercian, Franciscan, and Dominican, as well as compare this with the two Dissenting methods of the Waldensians. It is more difficult to construct the method or message of the Albigenses. The message is almost completely blurred by the sources,⁸¹ although Duvernoy has reconstructed a detailed account of many aspects of the teaching and history of the Cathars. In the past, the main source for the evangelism methods of the Albigenses were provided to us by the Dominican imitation noted above,⁸² with the exception to begging for bread, as the Albigenses believed in hard work and were not allowed to beg individually, as Duvernoy has made clear.⁸³ Again Duvernoy has written a series of articles rebuilding the lifestyle of the Cathars preachers in the middle of the 13th Century—or in the middle of the inquisition period.⁸⁴ So far this author has not seen these articles, though they are of great interest to him.

On the other hand, the Waldensian method and message is more clear. They did believe the apostolic symbols of the faith. Their great heresy was not obeying Rome’s prohibition against preaching the Gospel without proper authorization. For this reason, according to Duvernoy, many were hunted and killed. The main problem of the

⁸¹This author is convinced that the majority of those groups in the Middle Ages that were called “dualistic” and “Manichaeian” were nothing more than Evangelicals who believed “You must be born again!” This view of conversion alone, along with the correlating total depravity, poured through the rubric of Augustine’s *Contra Manichaeian* and *Contra Donatisten*, was enough to prove their dualistic views.

⁸²Interestingly, it was reported that Pope John Paul II encouraged the Catholic faithful to go “door to door” to regain lost sheep for the Catholic church: “On his visit to Mexico in May [1990], the Pope spoke out against groups he termed ‘sects,’ and encouraged the faithful to use the door-to-door method to bring the wanderers back to the fold” (*Rio Grande Intercessor* of the Rio Grande Bible Institute, Edinburg, TX [Sep-Oct 1990], 1).

⁸³Duvernoy, *La Religion des Cathares*, 248-49.

⁸⁴Jean Duvernoy, “La vie des prédicateurs cathares en Laurageais et dans l’Albigeois vers le milieu du XIII^e siècle, d’après un registre d’Inquisition consacré aux aveux des parfaits convertis” (Ms 124 and 202 of the departmental archives of the Haute-Garonne), *Revue du Tarn* (1986): 121:25-54; 122:256-77; 123:454-506.

Waldenses, according to Duvernoy, was their literal interpretation of Scripture. They took the regulations of Christ as their rule.⁸⁵

In this paper I have shown that current French scholarship is developing as historiography that delineates that the Catholic church likely invented the heretical nature of some groups for political, territorial, or ecclesial gain. In so doing, they persecuted some orthodox Christians, termed Evangelical movements by the French scholars, while they themselves moved further away from orthodoxy. Of special concern today is current Evangelical fascination with Bernard of Clairvaux and Francis of Assisi,⁸⁶ two men who were thoroughly involved in the crusades and/or inquisition of these same Evangelical Christians, and a parallel emphasis on personal spiritual disciplines that may or may not include the need for the verbal proclamation of the Gospel.

⁸⁵Notice that the main problem with the “Fundamentalist” interpretation was literal interpretation of the Bible according to the 1993 Pontifical Commission on Biblical Interpretation (Commission biblique pontificale, Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger [now Benedict XVI], president, président, *L’interprétation de la Bible dans l’Église* [QuebecQuébec: Éditions Fides, 1994]). All the scientific methods of higher criticism of the Bible have had their place (*ibid.*, 9, 12, 16, 25, 27). No one method has had unique value apart from the others. This theme is repeated after every analysis of each method in chapter one, with the exception of the “fundamentalist” style of interpretation that is deemed “dangerous” and leads leading to “intellectual suicide.” (*ibid.*, 48-50).

⁸⁶For example, Lewis Drummond affirmed Francis of Assisi as a historical precedent for Graham’s “holistic evangelism” (Lewis A. Drummond, *The Canvas Cathedral: Billy Graham’s Ministry Seen through the History of Evangelism* [Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2003], 211).