

English, translated by EALES, *Life and Works of St. Bernard*, 4 vols., 1889 sqq. The *Sententiae* of PETER LOMBARD are in MIGNE, Vol. CXCII. Older separate editions are very easily procured. The works of ALBERTUS MAGNUS are expensive and rarely found even in large libraries, but there is more chance of getting hold of the far more important works of THOMAS AQUINAS, of which a very fine edition is now being published at Rome under the papal auspices.

DENZINGER, *Enchiridion Symbolorum et Definitionum quae de rebus fidei et morum a Conciliis oecumenicis et summis Pontificibus emanaverunt*, Würzburg, several editions. A very convenient and inexpensive collection of official pronouncements in regard to important matters of faith, fully indexed.

LEA, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences*, 3 vols., 1896. Contains a very full discussion of the teachings of the various theologians in regard to these two important subjects.

For the spirit of the Church and its rôle in the social life of the period, see, above all, MICHAEL, *Culturzustände des deutschen Volkes während des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, Vol. II, 1899; also *Histoire de France*, edited by LAVISSE, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 355 sqq. (by LANGLOIS).

In addition to the writers of the time, many of whom have much to say of the conditions in the Church, especially of the evil, the student will turn for impressions of the religion of the people to the tales and sermon stories of CÆSAR OF HEISTERBACH, of JACQUES DE VITRY, and of STEPHEN OF BOURBON, illustrations of which were given above, pp. 355 sqq. (see list of citations at the opening of this volume, Nos. 136, 137, and 139). He will also consult the few reports of episcopal visitations, especially those of EUDES DE RIGAUD, bishop of Rouen, mentioned below, pp. 378 sqq., and the English Episcopal Registers, a list of which may be found in GROSS, *Sources of English History*,—for example, that of BISHOP GRANDISSON of Exeter (1327-1369), Part I, pp. 570-579. *Le Livre de Guillaume le Maire*, described by LANGLOIS in the new *Histoire de France* (see above), is a most interesting memorial of a bishop under Philip the Fair; it is published in *Mélanges historiques*, Tome II, in the *Documents inédits* (see above, p. 220).

General
conditions
in the
Church.

CHAPTER XVII

HERESY AND THE FRIARS

I. DENUNCIATIONS OF THE EVIL LIVES OF THE CLERGY

The extracts which follow illustrate the outspoken criticism of the conduct and lives of the ecclesiastical officials, from the pope down, which abounds in the popular literary productions of England, France, and Germany in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries.

The first extracts are from a poem, not improbably composed by a very clever churchman, Walter Mape or Mapes, who was a member of the literary circle which Henry II of England gathered about him. It is but one of a great number of Latin poems originating at the same period, "remarkable chiefly for pungency of satire or sprightliness of composition." They were the work of university men, and show us that the Church never succeeded in effectively checking, at least among the educated, the most open and scornful strictures upon the clergy.

The poet is represented as caught up into heaven, where he sees visions suggested by the Apocalypse of St. John. The translation here given is one made under Elizabeth, or a little later.

After a burst of thunder a "goodlie personage" appears and bids the poet "Marke well and understand":

146. *The Revelation of Goliath the Bisshoppe.*

And when he had thus done he did bringe out a booke,
Which booke had titles seven, and seven sealles sealed
well,
And with a stedfast eye badde me therein to looke,
And see therbie what I to all the world should tell.

Of bisshopes' life and trade, this book hathe right good skill,
As by the sealles thereof more plainlie dothe appeare,
For in the inner part is hidd all that is ill,
But to the outward shewe all godlie thinges appeare.

Anon a certaine power there was that opened cleare
The formost chapter's seale, and then I did espie
Foure beasts, whose shape eche one unlike to other were,
But nothinge yet at all in gesture contrarie.

The first of theise four beasts a lion semde to be,
The secund like a caulfe, the third an eagle stout,
The fourthe was like a man; and they had wings to flie,
And full of eyen they were, and turnd like wheeles about.

And when unclosed was the first sealles knotte anon,
And I perused well the chapter thorough cleare,
And aftir that I bent my whole sight thereupon,
Whereof the title was as here it may appeare.

The lion is the Pope, that useth to devoure,
And laieth his bookes to pledge and thirsteth aftir gold,
And dothe regard the marke, but saint Marke dishonor,
And while he sailes alofte on coyne takes anker holde.

And to the Bisshoppe in the caulfe that we did see,
For he dothe runne before in pasture, feild, and fenne,
And gnawes and chews on that where he list best to be,
And thus he filles himselfe with goodes of other men.

Th' Archdeacon is likewise the egell that dothe flie,
A robber rightlie cald, and sees a-farre his praie,
And aftir it with speed dothe follow by and by,
And so by theft and spoile he leades his life awaie.

The Deane is he that hathe the face and shape of man,
Withe fraude, desceipt, and guile fraught full as he may be,
And yet dothe hide and cloke the same as he best can,
Undir pretense and shewe of plaine simplicitie.

And theis have winges to flye, eche one of these said foure,
Because they flye abrode, and lie about affaires,
And they have eyes eche one, because that everye houre,
They looke about for gaine, and all that may be theirs.

Then boisterous wyndes arose, and earthequakes by and by,
And there was harde a voice of thunder from above,
That sounded Ephata, which woorde dothe signifie
An openinge; and anon the fifthe seale did remove.

When I the chapter sawe I reade the preface than,
And there the life and trades of priestes I marked well,
Which doe dishonor God, that all thinges first beganne,
Whiles for one penyes gaine the Trinitie they sell.

Full filthelie the priest dothe service celebrate
Withe voyce, and breathes on God his surfet's belching
cheere;
And hathe twoo Latin names, but not bothe of one rate,
Sacerdos is the one, the other's Presbiter.

He cannot brooke as well Sacerdos name by right,
For by the other name men ought to call him more,
When he gives holie thinges then he Sacerdos hight,
But Presbiter when he hathe drunck well thrise before.

He is more bolde to synne, because he heares in Lent
The people's greivous crymes, and all their synnes at large,
And all the faultes for whiche they ought for to be shent,
And thus he countes his owne to be of smallest charge.

The doings of abbots and monks are next revealed
to the poet :

And when the Abbat dothe amonge his bretheren suppe,
Then tossed are the cuppes with quaffinge to and froe,
And then with bothe his handes the wine he holdeth uppe,
And with a thunderinge voice these wordes he doth out-
blowe :

“O how muche glorious is the lordes lamp so bright,
The cuppe in strong man’s hande, that makes men
druncke I meane.
O Baccus, god of wyne! our convent guyde aright,
With fruit of Daviddes stocke to wash us thoroughlie
cleane.”

And aftir this the cuppe he takethe from the breade,
And cryes alowde, “Ho! sires, can yow as well as I
Drincke this cuppe in his kind that I lift to my heade?”
They answer, “Yea, we can,” then goe to by and by.

Then of a moncke a right demoniacke is made,
And everie moncke dothe chatte and jangle with his
brother,
As popingaye or pie, the which are taught this trade,
By filling of their gorge, to speake one to an other.

Their order to transgresse, thei have but small remorse,
By fraude and perjurie, by missreport and spite,
By gredines of mynde, withholdinge thinges by force,
By filling of their pawnches, and fleshlie fowle delight.

Wurse than a moncke there is no feende nor sprite in hell,
Nothinge as covetuous nor more straunge to be knownen,
For yf yow give him ought, he maie possesse it well,
But if you aske him ought, then nothinge is his owne.

The German minnesinger, Walther von der Vogel-
weide, who lived a little later than Walter Mapes, speaks
in a still more bitter tone of the popes:

St. Peter’s chair is filled to-day as well
As when ’twas fouled by Gerbert’s sorcery;¹

For he consigned himself alone to hell,
While this pope thither drags all Christentie.
Why are the chastisements of Heaven delayed?
How long wilt thou in slumber lie, O Lord?

Thy work is hindered and thy word gainsaid,
Thy treasurer steals the wealth that thou hast stored.
Thy ministers rob here and murder there,
And o’er thy sheep a wolf has shepherd’s care.

A belated troubadour in the early fourteenth century
thus denounces all classes of the clergy:

I see the pope his sacred trust betray,
For while the rich his grace can gain alway,
His favors from the poor are aye withholden.
He strives to gather wealth as best he may,
Forcing Christ’s people blindly to obey,
So that he may repose in garments golden.
The vilest traffickers in souls are all
His chapmen, and for gold a prebend’s stall
He’ll sell them, or an abbacy or miter.
And to us he sends clowns and tramps who crawl
Vending his pardon briefs from cot to hall —
Letters and pardons worthy of the writer,
Which leaves our pokes, if not our souls, the lighter.

No better is each honored cardinal.
From early morning’s dawn to evening’s fall,
Their time is passed in eagerly contriving
To drive some bargain foul with each and all.
So if you feel a want, or great or small,
Or if for some preferment you are striving,

¹ A reference to Pope Sylvester II (see above, p. 220), who was popularly supposed to have practiced magical arts.

147. Walther von der Vogelweide on the practices of the popes.

148. A troubadour’s description of the abuses in the Church. (From a poem by Raimon de Cornet.)

The cardinals.

The more you please to give the more 't will bring,
 Be it a purple cap or bishop's ring.
 And it need ne'er in any way alarm you
 That you are ignorant of everything
 To which a minister of Christ should cling,
 You will have revenue enough to warm you —
 And, bear in mind, the lesser gifts won't harm you.

The bishops.

Our bishops, too, are plunged in similar sin,
 For pitilessly they flay the very skin
 From all their priests who chance to have fat livings.
 For gold their seal official you can win
 To any writ, no matter what 's therein.
 Sure God alone can make them stop their thievings.
 'T were hard, in full, their evil works to tell,
 As when, for a few pence, they greedily sell
 The tonsure to some mountebank or jester,
 Whereby the temporal courts are wronged as well,
 For then these tonsured rogues they cannot quell,
 Howe'er their scampish doings may us pester,
 While round the church still growing evils fester.

The priests
and minor
clerks.

Then as for all the priests and minor clerks,
 There are, God knows, too many of them whose works
 And daily life belie their daily teaching.
 Scarce better are they than so many Turks,
 Though they, no doubt, may be well taught — it irks
 Me not to own the fullness of their teaching —
 For, learned or ignorant, they're ever bent
 To make a traffic of each sacrament,
 The mass's holy sacrifice included;
 And when they shrive an honest penitent,
 Who will not bribe, his penance they augment,
 For honesty should never be obtruded —
 But this, by sinners fair, is easily eluded.

The monks
and friars.

'T is true the monks and friars make ample show
 Of rules austere which they all undergo,
 But this the vainest is of all pretenses.

In sooth, they live full twice as well, we know,
 As e'er they did at home, despite their vow,
 And all their mock parade of abstinences.
 No jollier life than theirs can be, indeed;
 And specially the begging friars exceed,
 Whose frock grants license as abroad they wander.
 These motives 't is which to the Orders lead
 So many worthless men, in sorest need
 Of pelf, which on their vices they may squander,
 And then, the frock protects them in their plunder.

II. AN UNIMPEACHABLE REPORT OF THE HABITS OF THE CLERGY OF NORMANDY IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

It is not unnatural to suspect that the troubadours and popular writers exceeded the bounds of truth in their pungent satires, and were guilty at times of exaggeration in their denunciations; but the cold daily record which the conscientious archbishop of Rouen, Eudes Rigaud, kept of his pastoral visits in the middle of the thirteenth century is open to no such objection. There is no reason to suppose that he did not tell the exact truth; and had we such reports as his for the condition of the clergy in the other archbishoprics of western Europe, it would be easy to determine how far the preachers, reformers, and the troubadours were justified in the dark picture which they give of the lives of the clergy. It must be conceded that, so far as Normandy is concerned, the evidence of the archbishop would show that, in many of the parishes, monasteries, and nunneries matters could hardly have been worse, although occasionally he found dutiful priests, and monks and nuns who observed the rule under which they lived.

149. Ex-
tracts from
record of
the pastoral
visits of the
archbishop
of Rouen,
Eudes
Rigaud
(1248-1269).

On the fourteenth day before the Kalends of April [1248] we visited the chapter of Rouen. We found that they talked in the choir, in violation of their rule. Clerks wandered about the church and chatted with women while the service was going on. They did not observe the rule in regard to entering the choir, and chanted the psalms too fast without making the pauses. . . . In short, they failed to observe many other of the rules, and their temporalities were badly managed.

As for the canons themselves, we found that Master Michael of Berciac was accused of incontinence, likewise Lord Benedict. Likewise Master William of Salmonville of incontinence, theft, and homicide. Likewise Master John of St. Laud of incontinence. Likewise Master Alain of frequenting taverns, drunkenness, and gaming. Likewise Peter of Auleige of carrying on business.

On the *nones* of May [1256] we visited the chapter of St. Firmit. There are fifteen secular canons and a prior there; six canons in residence. Firmin, the vicar of the prior, farms the prebends of the said canons. Morell, the choir clerk, is a rough fellow (*percussor*). Regnaud of Stampis is accused of incontinence, and has a boy with him whom he supports. Bartholomew, the vicar of the cantor, sometimes gets drunk and then does not get up to matins. Roger, one of the canons, occasionally frequents taverns. John, the vicar of the dean, is a tipsy fellow. We accordingly admonished Bartholomew, the cantor's vicar, for his drinking, and likewise John, the dean's vicar, and Roger, the canon, for going to the tavern, and Regnaud of Stampis for his licentiousness, and bade the said Bartholomew, John, Roger, and Regnaud to avoid these offenses. Likewise we ordered that Morell, the choir clerk, who was given to striking and evil speaking, should be corrected as he deserved, and also Firmin, the vicar, for farming the prebends, else we should come down upon them with a heavy hand.

On the Kalends of May [1258] we visited the nunnery of St. Savior. There were sixty-three nuns. They did not have books enough: we ordered that these should be

procured. The rule of silence was not properly observed: we commanded that it should be. We admonished them to go to confession every month. We enjoined that they should not keep dogs, birds, or squirrels, and should send away those that they had. Each nun has a chest of her own. We ordered the abbess to see what these contained, and that she should have them opened, and that the iron fastenings should be removed. When they receive new gowns they do not return the old ones. We ordered that no nun should dare to give away her old gown without the permission of the abbess.

Frequently, however, the nuns were accused of far more grievous sins than keeping squirrels and having each a locked chest, and the reports of the condition of the parish priests are as bad as those which relate to the monks and canons.

One of the functions of the bishop was to determine whether the candidates presented to livings by the feudal patrons were proper persons for the position, — whether they knew Latin enough to read the service, and whether they could chant.

The same day, namely the Tuesday before Pentecost, we examined Godfrey, a clerk who had been presented to the church of St. Richard of Herecourt, on the passage, *Omnia autem aperta et nuda sunt eius oculis* ["All things are naked and open unto the eyes of him"]. Asked what part of speech *aperta* was, he replied "a noun." Asked whether it could be any other part, he replied, "Yes, a participle." Asked from what word it was derived, he answered, "From the verb *aperio, aperis, aperii, aperire, aperior, aperieris,*" etc. . . . Asked what *pateo* meant, he said "to open" or "to suffer." Asked what part of speech *absque* was, he said it was a conjunction; asked of what kind, he said causal. Examined in singing, it proved that he could not sing without notes and even then discordantly. We therefore, both

on account of these deficiencies and on account of the fact that he was accused of incontinence and quarrelsomeness, judged that our examination showed that he was not a suitable person to whom to give the church.

III. THE WALDENSIAN AND ALBIGENSIAN HERETICS

150. Waldo of Lyons, the founder of the Waldensians. (From an anonymous chronicle written about 1218.)

And during the same year, that is the 1173d since the Lord's Incarnation, there was at Lyons in France a certain citizen, Waldo by name, who had made himself much money by wicked usury. One Sunday, when he had joined a crowd which he saw gathered around a troubadour, he was smitten by his words and, taking him to his house, he took care to hear him at length. The passage he was reciting was how the holy Alexis died a blessed death in his father's house. When morning had come the prudent citizen hurried to the schools of theology to seek counsel for his soul, and when he was taught many ways of going to God, he asked the master what way was more certain and more perfect than all others. The master answered him with this text: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell all that thou hast," etc.

Then Waldo went to his wife and gave her the choice of keeping his personal property or his real estate, namely, what he had in ponds, groves and fields, houses, rents, vineyards, mills, and fishing rights. She was much displeased at having to make this choice, but she kept the real estate. From his personal property he made restitution to those whom he had treated unjustly; a great part of it he gave to his two little daughters, who, without their mother's knowledge, he placed in the convent of Font Evrard; but the greatest part of his money he spent for the poor. A very great famine was then oppressing France and Germany. The prudent citizen, Waldo, gave bread, with vegetables and meat, to every one who came to him for three days in every week from Pentecost to the feast of St. Peter's bonds.

At the Assumption of the blessed Virgin, casting some money among the village poor, he cried, "No man can serve

two masters, God and mammon." Then his fellow-citizens ran up, thinking he had lost his mind. But going on to a higher place, he said: "My fellow-citizens and friends, I am not insane, as you think, but I am avenging myself on my enemies, who made me a slave, so that I was always more careful of money than of God, and served the creature rather than the Creator. I know that many will blame me that I act thus openly. But I do it both on my own account and on yours; on my own, so that those who see me henceforth possessing any money may say that I am mad, and on yours, that you may learn to place hope in God and not in riches."

On the next day, coming from the church, he asked a certain citizen, once his comrade, to give him something to eat, for God's sake. His friend, leading him to his house, said, "I will give you whatever you need as long as I live." When this came to the ears of his wife, she was not a little troubled, and as though she had lost her mind, she ran to the archbishop of the city and implored him not to let her husband beg bread from any one but her. This moved all present to tears.

[Waldo was accordingly conducted into the presence of the bishop.] And the woman, seizing her husband by the coat, said, "Is it not better, husband, that I should redeem my sins by giving you alms than that strangers should do so?" And from that time he was not allowed to take food from any one in that city except from his wife.

An experienced inquisitor thus describes the Albigenses:

It would take too long to describe in detail the manner in which these same Manichæan heretics preach and teach their followers, but it must be briefly considered here.

In the first place, they usually say of themselves that they are good Christians, who do not swear, or lie, or speak evil of others; that they do not kill any man or animal, nor anything having the breath of life, and that they hold the faith

151. Description of the Albigenses. (From the *Inquisitor's Guide* of Bernard of Gui, early fourteenth century.)

of the Lord Jesus Christ and his gospel as Christ and his apostles taught. They assert that they occupy the place of the apostles, and that, on account of the above-mentioned things, they of the Roman Church, namely the prelates, clerks, and monks, and especially the inquisitors of heresy, persecute them and call them heretics, although they are good men and good Christians, and that they are persecuted just as Christ and his apostles were by the Pharisees.

Moreover they talk to the laity of the evil lives of the clerks and prelates of the Roman Church, pointing out and setting forth their pride, cupidity, avarice, and uncleanness of life, and such other evils as they know. They invoke, with their own interpretation and according to their abilities, the authority of the Gospels and the Epistles against the condition of the prelates, churchmen, and monks, whom they call Pharisees and false prophets, who say, but do not.

Then they attack and vituperate, in turn, all the sacraments of the Church, especially the sacrament of the eucharist, saying that it cannot contain the body of Christ, for had this been as great as the largest mountain Christians would have entirely consumed it before this. They assert that the host comes from straw, that it passes through the tails of horses, to wit, when the flour is cleaned by a sieve (of horse hair); that, moreover, it passes through the body and comes to a vile end, which, they say, could not happen if God were in it.

Of baptism, they assert that water is material and corruptible, and is therefore the creation of the evil power and cannot sanctify the soul, but that the churchmen sell this water out of avarice, just as they sell earth for the burial of the dead, and oil to the sick when they anoint them, and as they sell the confession of sins as made to the priests.

Hence they claim that confession made to the priests of the Roman Church is useless, and that, since the priests may be sinners, they cannot loose nor bind, and, being unclean themselves, cannot make others clean. They assert, moreover, that the cross of Christ should not be adored or venerated, because, as they urge, no one would venerate or

Albigenses deny the efficacy of the sacraments in polluted hands.

adore the gallows upon which a father, relative, or friend had been hung. They urge, further, that they who adore the cross ought, for similar reasons, to worship all thorns and lances, because as Christ's body was on the cross during the passion, so was the crown of thorns on his head and the soldier's lance in his side. They proclaim many other scandalous things in regard to the sacraments.

Moreover they read from the Gospels and the Epistles in the vulgar tongue, applying and expounding them in their favor and against the condition of the Roman Church in a manner which it would take too long to describe in detail; but all that relates to this subject may be read more fully in the books they have written and infected, and may be learned from the confessions of such of their followers as have been converted.

IV. THE EFFICACY OF THE SACRAMENTS IN POLLUTED HANDS

It was natural that the Church should maintain that even though a priest led an evil private life he could still celebrate the sacraments as efficiently as a righteous person, just as now we do not consider that the bad private character of a government official invalidates in any way his official acts.

Since the sin of adultery does not take from a king the royal dignity, if otherwise he is a good prince who righteously executes justice in the earth, so neither can it take the sacerdotal dignity from the priest, if otherwise he performs the sacraments rightly and preaches the word of God. Who doubts that a licentious king is more noble than a chaste knight, although not more holy? . . . No one can doubt that Nathaniel was more holy than Judas Iscariot; nevertheless Judas was more noble on account of the apostleship of the Lord, to which Judas and not Nathaniel was called.

152. The efficacy of the sacraments in the hands of bad priests. (From Pilichdorfer's *Against the Waldenses*; written about 1444.)