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I.

HOSEA viii. 12 AND ITS TESTIMONY TO THE  
PENTATEUCH.

HOSEA viii. 12 is rendered in the Authorized Version :

“I have written to him the great things of my law, *but* they were counted as a strange thing.”

The Revised Version has :

“Though I write for him my law in ten thousand *precepts*, they are counted as a strange thing.”

And in the margin :

Or, “I wrote for him the ten thousand things of my law, but they,” etc., which last the American Appendix proposes to substitute for the text.

This passage is one of special interest and importance in its bearing upon the present phase of Old Testament criticism. All critics, even those of the most revolutionary class, confess that we have in the book of Hosea the genuine production of the prophet bearing that name, who exercised his ministry in the northern kingdom of the Ten Tribes in the eighth century B.C. The length of his ministry has been contested, but all agree that it began, as stated in the title of his prophecies, in the reigns of Jeroboam II., of Israel, and Uzziah, of Judah. In the writings of Hosea and his contemporaries we have documents of undisputed value and authority for estimating the condition of things in Israel at the period to which they belong. Those who would sweep away the prior books of the Bible, and who concede to them no historical character, admit that here we are upon solid ground. It thus comes to be a question of no small con-

## VI.

### THE CRUSADE AGAINST THE ALBIGENSES.

**I**N the decline of the Carolingian dynasty the imperial organization effected by its great founders fell apart. From the latter years of the ninth century the west of Europe broke into conflicting principalities. Their animosities multiplied into private wars until almost every family had its feud. In Germany the superior authority of the empire could sometimes enforce general submission, but union of the whole as one nation the most gifted emperors failed to secure. Gaul, in the tenth century, consisted of eleven separate States, of which four—Aquitaine, Gascony, Toulouse, and Narbonne—lay south of the Loire and west of the Rhone. France was one of the duchies of the north, having its capital in Paris. The right of its duke to the title of king was questioned until the election of Hugh Capet in 987. Its growth in territory and power by annexations had, in the time of Philip Augustus, given it the feudal superiority north of the Loire. South of that line the States were still independent of the French monarchy.

A similar degeneracy befell the Papacy. Simony in the high places of the church extended its corruption down to the humblest, and the office of highest rank was polluted with the basest practices. Many such causes operating together, with no effective restraint for one hundred and fifty years, brought society to the middle of the eleventh century in a state of lamentable disintegration. Nor, for fifty years longer, was the check applied to stay the precipitate career of more than very limited effect. At first it was only to recover the respectability and power of the Papacy and to organize the clergy in subordination to it, resulting in completeness of the sacerdotal structure. Had the priesthood consisted of men ministering the pure Gospel of Christ, that organization could have been only benign in the healing of social evils. But Christian truth, in the course of diminishing intelligence, had become mingled with unintentional errors, taking their rise in the ignorant piety of uneducated people, tolerated or sympathized in by their priests as evidence of exalted devotion. Figurative language of Scripture and of imagina-

tive preachers had come, in course of frequent repetition, to be taken as plain language, the symbols of the Lord's body as his real body, the veneration due to the mother of Christ exalted into worship of her as an intercessor with God, the reverence due to godly men exaggerated into worship of them as saints, and at a second remove, the worship of their pictures or plastic images. Such mistaken beliefs had multiplied and become more extravagant as Latin, the language of public worship, passed out of common use. The mass of the clergy also, in course of time, came under the same beliefs, and those who considered them to be of questionable propriety found it dangerous to expose their error. Fanatics who, of course, took the lead in the passion of ignorant piety, were by followers of the current admired and adored. Such process had, in the latter part of the eleventh century, been going on for at least seven hundred years, the Roman Church all the time deeming herself the infallible standard, while in some cases actually overruled, and feeling confident in holiness, and that her every acceptance of dogma was of divine inspiration. Thus the clergy organized as a compact phalanx, and elevated by the policy of Gregory VII. to a new position among the powers of earth, with their own laws, and their own courts, and Scripture at their service—seeing it was to be taken in no other meaning than what the church gave it—ruled supreme for the next two hundred years. Within that period the dialectic subtilty of schoolmen labored upon the concrete practice of the church to prove it all equally true, and councils accepting their conclusions stamped them with the authority of doctrines never further to be questioned, under the penalty of anathema. It was a wonderful system, built upon a foundation of gospel truth with a concrete of human ignorance and ingenuity, artfully constructed by combination and compacting of truth and falsehood, history and fiction, held fast together by the earnest Christian faith of some and the slavish credulity of others. Its clergy, actually custodians of the gospel of salvation, suffered it to be covered and confounded with popular myths; and those myths, animated with hopes and terrors the most agitating, they converted into means of enforcing the moral law, but also compliance with their own designs. Such a mine of power and profit was, in the purpose of those who possessed it, never to be surrendered. Punishment accordingly was destined to pursue all dissent from the papal system, all question of the doctrines it sanctioned, or its right to rule supreme in temporal as in spiritual things. And that punishment was meant to be crushing, ruin of moral character, the most terrible means of intimidating into submission, or the most agonizing of deaths.

This grand instauration of the clergy had left the laity, what it had long been esteemed, nothing but a charge, a mere ecclesiastical cure, a flock to be held to strict obedience and duly shorn. For them improvement had to come from another quarter, directly or indirectly from dissent.

Nor was the Catholic career of innovation allowed to proceed without remonstrance. The church had always to listen to solemn warning when departing from gospel truth or apostolic example. Among both clergy and laity some had, at every step of advancing error, been found to remonstrate on scriptural grounds. By the time of Gregory VII. such causes of dissent had multiplied and greatly intensified. Few of the laity could read the Latin Bible; but translations of it, in whole or in part, were accessible in both the German and Provençal languages. With readers of Scripture, including many of high rank, the New Testament was a favorite source of instruction.\* They could not all fail to remark that the ruling church had, on some vital points, turned away from its meaning. And the religion of the New Testament was much more tender and merciful than the enforced dictates of Rome. Learned men of clerical standing were among their leaders, and preached the doctrines they held. Their meetings were not ostensibly opposed to the Catholic service. Caution was known to be expedient. For the hierarchy, who had all ecclesiastical power in their hands, were committed to a system which could not tolerate the general reading of the Bible. A number of dissenters, both lay and ecclesiastical, had already been burned to death in Orleans before the first quarter of the eleventh century had closed.

It was in that belt of country which constitutes the north of Italy, Provence, the south of France, and the Kingdom of Aragon, where intelligence prevailed most extensively, that dissent maintained itself with largest acceptance in the twelfth century. Guided by some of their most esteemed pastors, and latterly by voluntary missionaries from Lyons and from the Vaudois of the Alps, they peacefully sought to learn of the Scriptures, and to shun the artificial defences of error, which scholastics were trying to make credible to themselves and to impose upon others.

In addition to those native dissenters of the west certain immigrants from the east into various parts of Italy and France settled also in Languedoc and Provence. They are mentioned under different names, chiefly Manichæan. And the old monkish historians are fond of marking all dissenters of the south with that offensive brand. Some features of Manichæism are stated of certain victims

\* Reinerius, de Hereticis, c. viii.

of persecution in Languedoc. But it is demonstrable that the heretics of that country were not all Manichæan. In 1176 the bishops of the south held a council at Lombers, not far from Albi, with a view to inquire into the faith of the heretics in that region called the Albigeois. The confession there voluntarily made contained the great points of gospel truth, and whatever of heresy it was Romish, not Manichæan. It had only not enough Romish in it. That defect was the condemnation of those who professed it. But not to put the sentence on that ground alone, advantage was taken of their known doctrine of the oath, which was identical with that of our modern Quaker friends. "Will you swear that you hold and believe that confession?" asked the presiding bishop. They answered that they could not swear on any condition, because in so doing they would violate a command of the gospel and epistles. Moreover, their objection to an oath had been previously stated to the bishop, with the request that it should not be exacted of them. The plea was overruled and the parties on trial condemned as heretics, because of not believing the confession they had made.\* From that judgment it seems the name Albigeois, people of the country of Albi, in English Albigenes, was subsequently applied to all the dissenters of Languedoc, certainly without accuracy. For other heretics of that country are mentioned with features of Manichæanism. The Albigeois, properly so called, were merely dissenters from some of what they deemed the more extreme errors of the dominant church. But using the name for convenience to comprehend all the dissenters of Languedoc and Provence, it must be understood to designate three, if not four, different sects, the Albigenes proper, who followed the doctrine preached by Henry of Lausanne; † the Vaudois, or Waldenses, and the gospel as preached by Peter Waldo and his poor men of Lyons, if they really differed from the Waldenses, and the Manichæans.

Attempts to convert those dissenters made by Peter of St. Chrysogonus in 1178, and by Pope Alexander III. and the Lateran Council of 1179 to suppress them, had little effect. As little did Cardinal Henry of Albano accomplish in 1181, although sustaining his arguments with military force.‡ At the beginning of the thirteenth century they were stronger than ever before. On whatever points they differed among themselves, they all agreed perseveringly in rejecting the superstitious practices then sanctioned in the Catholic Church. Education received much of their care. They aimed to make it general. At that date many daughters of noble

\* Roger Hoveden, *Annals*, in 1176, folio 317-320.

† *Hist. Gen. de Languedoc*, livre xix.

‡ *Ibid.* liv. xxi. i.

families were students in their schools, which were preferred to the narrow course of the convents.

The literature of Languedoc and of Provence was chiefly poetry and in the popular tongue, but cultivated by the best educated, and patronized by the wealthy and the highest nobility in the land. Not often was it occupied with topics of religion, more commonly of gallantry or compliment; but the Troubadours who composed its celebrated lays were, with few exceptions, Albigenses, as, one hundred and fifty years later, the men who opened the history of our English literature partook also in the spirit of our first reformation.

In the first month of the year 1198, one of the greatest and certainly the most successful of all popes came to the papal chair. A cardinal has ordinarily to reach old age before he can aspire to that summit of his ambition. But Innocent III. entered upon it in the prime of life, at the age of thirty-seven, and did not retain it long enough to be burdened with the weakness of age. At his accession the dissenters of Languedoc were in favor with the best-educated people of the province, and almost all the nobility. And some of the bishops, who could not take part with them, avoided taking any part against them. Not yet were they generally spoken of in the province as a sect, but as the "Good Men." The names given them by their enemies were numerous, for the most part designed to vilify, which in some cases may have been just. But the real offence was dissent from the dominant church. On the other hand, the Catholic clergy had in general fallen into habits of very lax morality. Incompetent to debate with leaders of the dissent, their characters utterly failed to secure the respect of the people.\* Most of them, even the Archbishop of Narbonne, for reasons unrevealed, chose not to meddle with the controversy. The new pope took it into his own hand, and resolved to employ monks in the service. Receiving information from the Archbishop of Auch that heresy was making progress in Gascony, he exhorted that prelate, on the 1st of April, 1198, to proceed actively, in concert with his suffragans, to drive heretics out of the land, and for that purpose to resort, if necessary, to the princes and people to sustain him by arms.† On the 21st of the same month he wrote a circular letter ‡ to the Archbishops of Aix, Narbonne, Auch, Vienne, Arles, Embrun, Tarragona, and Lyons, to their suffragans, and to the princes, barons, counts, and people, to notify them that, having learned how the Vaudois, Cathari, Patarins, and other heretics were spreading their venom in those provinces, he had named Friar Raynier, a person of exemplary life, and power in works and words, and Friar Gui, a

\* Innocent III. lib. I. ep. 81.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. ep. 94.

man fearing God, and devoted to works of charity, as commissaries against the heretics.

Raynier and Gui were monks of the order of Citeaux. The Pope soon added to their powers by constituting Raynier Legate *a latere* in the provinces of Embrun, Aix, Arles, and Narbonne, and ordered the Metropolitans to receive him as if he were the Pope himself, and chiefly to assist him in extirpating heresy. Highly favored as it was, the legation of Raynier seems to have proved unsatisfactory, and the Cardinal-priest of St. Priscus had taken his place before July, 1200. In a letter from the Pope about that date, addressed to the new legate, all favorers, concealers, and defenders of heretics are declared infamous, incapable of holding any public office, or of being received in evidence, or of bequeathing property, if they did not set themselves right after the second admonition. All ecclesiastics in the same case were to be deposed from office and benefice, their property in the lands submitted to their temporal jurisdiction to be confiscated, and powerful seculars were to act after these instructions in their domains, and if they proved negligent, they were to be compelled by ecclesiastical censures.

Innocent also recommended his legate to William VIII., lord of Montpellier, and besought him to aid with all his might the Cardinal St. Priscus against the heretics, "in order," said he, "that those whom the fear of God and the sword of the Spirit shall not be able to bring back to the truth may at least be subjected by the material sword, and by the confiscation of their goods, which they seem to be more afraid of." \* The Pope misjudged the motives of those with whom he had to deal in this case. He had yet to learn that there were thousands among them who valued their religious convictions more highly than temporal goods, or even life itself.

Cardinal St. Priscus met with little better success than his predecessors, and by the end of the year 1203 was replaced by Peter of Castelnau and Friar Raoul, both monks professed of the Abbey of Fontfroide in the diocese of Narbonne, and of the order of Citeaux. Commencing their legation with Toulouse, they called together the officers of government with the principal inhabitants, and demanded of all to make oath, in the name of the city, to protect the Roman Catholic faith. Not without difficulty was that obligation imposed, nor without threats and menaces did the two monks succeed in wresting a promise from the Assembly to expel all heretics from their city. It proved a pledge to do more than they were able. The people held nightly meetings in which their preachers addressed them. From the towns of the neighborhood they received encour-

\* Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, liv. xxi., first six chapters.

agement, and almost all the barons of the province favored or concealed the preachers. Peter of Castelnau was imperious in his demands and created more enemies to himself, but not more converts than others had made. Raoul was of a milder nature, but both relied upon the power of the church to compel.

In that state of the controversy Diego de Azebes, Bishop of Osma, on an embassy to Denmark for his monarch, Alphonso, King of Castile, arrived at Toulouse.\* He was attended by Dominic, sub-prior of his cathedral. Lodging at the house of one of the sectaries, whom Dominic, it is said, converted on the evening of his arrival, after a very brief delay they continued their journey under a full conviction that the method pursued by the legates was not the best for conciliating errorists to the church.

Soon afterward, in the month of February, a meeting was held at Carcassonne to obtain information about the heresy of the Vaudois. Peter, King of Aragon, presided.† On one side appeared some of the sectarian preachers, and on the other, the Bishop of Carcassonne with the two legates. There, the king having heard the arguments on both sides, gave his judgment that the sectaries were heretics, both by testimony from Holy Scripture, and by decrees of the Roman Church. This was discriminately of the Vaudois, or Waldenses, as a branch of the heresy of Languedoc. The king also gave a second audience to other heretics, at the solicitation of the provost of the Viscount of Carcassonne. In that case, he took for assessors thirteen upholders of the heretics, and as many of the Catholics. Bernard de Simore, an heretical bishop, and his companions were examined, to know if they believed in one sole God. They replied, to successive questions, that they acknowledged three Gods, and even a greater number, of whom one—the evil one—had created all things visible, and was author of the law of Moses; that Jesus Christ was only a holy man born of a man and a woman; that they denied the sacraments of baptism and of the altar, and the general resurrection. Of course, if correctly reported, they were heretics, which the king declared them to be.‡

Matters did not proceed with the efficiency that the Pope desired. He added to the power of his legates, ordering all the bishops to receive them as they would receive himself, and to obey them absolutely, and to bind themselves by oath to execute faithfully all their decrees in the matter of heresy. In short, he took from those prelates their ordinary jurisdiction in such cases. A power so excessive and uncommon soon embroiled the two legates with the Archbishop

\* Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, liv. xxi., c. 10.

† Ibid. ii.

‡ Benoit, Hist. des Albigeois, tom. I., pr. p. 259.



of Narbonne, and most of the bishops of the province, who bore very impatiently to see themselves plundered by two monks of an authority which they held immediately from Christ. The archbishop distinctly refused to take the oath which they asked of him. The legates declared him suspended. He attached no value to their sentence, and proceeded with his official business as usual. The legates drew up a list of charges against him, showing that he was indulgent to heretics and brigands, and whatever else they could say against him. The Pope sustained them by adding to their number Arnold Amalric, Abbot of Citeaux. The archbishop appealed to the Pope. The Pope replied in a severe letter, reproving him for not expelling the heretics under his jurisdiction, and for not aiding the legates, nor furnishing them comfortable conveyances in their journeys. He commands him to aid them with all his power \* in the execution of their legation. To the King of France he also wrote, exhorting him to go in person, or at least to send his son, Prince Louis, to support the Abbot of Citeaux and his colleagues, and to constrain the counts and barons of the kingdom to proscribe the heretics, and confiscate their goods, and himself to confiscate the domains of the nobility who should refuse to obey that order, or who should favor the sectaries. The Pope's treatment for heresy was violence. Neither clergy nor laymen had he yet found sufficiently severe. His legates issued his mandates, but the bishops were slack, and the nobility were unwilling to obey. The former knew the deep and widely-extended suffering it would inflict, and the latter shrunk from evicting so large a proportion of their most profitable subjects. The Bishop of Beziers, who felt deeply what calamity that obedience would create in his diocese, flatly refused. He was deposed, and a few months later fell by assassination. Raymond VI., of Toulouse, was commanded by the legates to expel all heretics from his domains. For a time he tacitly declined to be guilty of such a sweeping act of injustice, but afterward submitted to the urgency of the papal legates, although never with the severity demanded of him. Berenger, Archbishop of Narbonne, was an old man. The Pope, after reproving him, chose to let him alone that he might have his brief remaining time to repent of his sins. Raymond de Rabastans, Bishop of Toulouse, was deposed from office on the plea of irregular election. His place was filled by Folquet of Marseilles, who had been a Provençal Troubadour in his youth. The death of his patrons, the Viscount and Viscountess of Marseilles, of King Richard I., of England, the good Count Raymond V., of Toulouse, and Alphonso II., of Aragon, so oppressed him with

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\* Innocent III., l. vii., ep. 201.

sorrow that in weariness of the world he sought refuge in the cloisters of Citeaux with two of his sons. His wife became a nun. From the monastery now transferred to the bishopric he was received with distinguished favor by Count Raymond VI., to whom he afterward became a treacherous enemy.

The Abbot of Citeaux, Peter of Castelnau, and Raoul met at Montpellier, where also the Bishop of Osma with his companion, Dominic, arrived from Rome about midsummer, 1206. Diego of Osma, in true missionary spirit, had besought the Pope to allow him to demit his bishopric, and spend his days in preaching the gospel to heretics and unbelievers. But Innocent had his own way of dealing with heretics. The bishop was advised to return to his diocese. At Montpellier he found the three legates resolved to abandon their legation. Because the heretics reproached them continually with the scandalous lives of the Catholic clergy, which could not be denied, they were hindered from effecting any good. The Bishop of Osma suggested an alteration in their own deportment, that instead of riding through the country in lordly style, they should go on foot, not to compel, but to persuade, like the apostles. The legates excused themselves from that as a novelty. Diego offered to set the example, and forthwith dismissing his equipage and attendants, he and Dominic joined Peter and Raoul in a mission, after the manner of the dissenting preachers, to mingle with the people and preach the truth to them kindly. Arnold of Citeaux, the great abbot of abbots, did not relish that method, and left them on business of his monastery.

The missionaries set out from Montpellier on foot to the land of Toulouse. On the way they visited several cities and châteaux where heresy had been embraced, and where some of the Catholics had become its ministers. Everywhere they were treated with respect, in some places with honor. Peter of Castelnau alone was generally disliked. With the consent of his companions he returned to Montpellier, where he took part in public measures which promised to forward the papal scheme.

The Bishop of Osma and Dominic went on with their mission, in the course of which they remained for a time at Montreal, in the diocese of Carcassonne. In that château they held a conference of two weeks with various heretical preachers. The debate turned chiefly upon the holiness of the Roman Church, which the heretics declared to be the Babylon of the Apocalypse, and on the Mass, which they denied to have been instituted by Christ or his apostles. The bishop defended his ground from the New Testament, which, according to his view, proved the Catholic faith. The argument on

both sides was reduced to writing and put into the hands of four laymen chosen for judges. They gave no decision. But the Catholics said that the arguments of their champions converted one hundred and fifty heretics. Dominic wrote the authorities he made use of, and gave them to a heretic to examine and answer. The heretic threw them into the fire three times, but neither would the fire burn the paper on which they were written, nor did the miracle convert the heretic.\*

In June, 1207, Arnold of Citeaux returned, bringing with him thirty-two additional monks. Dividing themselves in bands of twos and threes, they traversed all the different quarters of the province to which heresy had extended, walking and begging their bread, after the example of the Bishop of Osma. That prelate had resolved to devote the remainder of his days to that mission, and now went into Spain to settle the affairs of his diocese and establish a fund for the maintenance of the missionaries. With him went Raoul. They passed through Pamiers, where Vaudois and other heretics were numerous, and there, joined by Folquet of Toulouse, Navarre, Bishop of Conserans, and a number of monks, offered a conference to the heretics, who accepted it. The meetings were held in a palace belonging to Raymond Roger, Count of Foix. Raymond himself, with his wife and two sisters, were present. His wife and one of the sisters were of the Vaudois, the other sister of a sect not named. Raymond Roger himself held a liberal profession of Catholicism, and entertained in his palace equally the missionaries and the Vaudois while the conference lasted. Controversy turned chiefly upon the doctrine of the Vaudois. A secular clergyman, made arbiter, gave decision in favor of the missionaries, making also his own profession of the Catholic faith.

After the conference at Pamiers the Bishop of Osma took leave of his companions, and continued his journey with the intention of soon returning, but died in his diocese in the beginning of the following year. Raoul, upon returning with the view of joining Peter of Castelnau, then in Provence, died by the way. The Abbot of Citeaux once more withdrew, and the greater number of his monks, discouraged by the little fruit they had reaped, abandoned the enterprise at the end of three months, and returned to their monasteries. Dominic was left almost alone.

That zealous missionary associated with himself some new companions on a new plan. That plan was to organize a fraternity solely for preaching, men who, like the preachers of the heretics, should live among the people and upon their free gifts, not to obtain

\* Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, xxi. 28.

lordship over them, nor to triumph in debates over them, but kindly to recommend to them the faith of Rome. That plan, which Diego did not live to execute, and which Dominic was of too severe a temper to carry out with the tenderness it needed, was at the same time working to completeness in the more genial brain of Francis of Assisi. Both men felt that the great defect in the Catholic ministry was the defect of gospel preaching in the parishes, and according to the thinking of those days, what the secular clergy failed in, a new monastic order must be created to perform. But Innocent III. was unfavorable to any more monastic orders. There are too many already, said he. Besides, he had his own plan for putting an end to heresy. He was now busy at work upon it with all the terrible energy of his imperial nature.

A new attack was made upon the Count of Toulouse in a long letter which did not spare the most indignant reproof, enumerating the crimes charged against him, of which the greatest was that he had not persecuted the heretics of his dominions and expelled them, as he had been ordered, denouncing him as an enemy of the church, confirming the excommunication upon him and the interdict upon his people, and threatening to rouse neighboring princes to invade and take possession of his lands.\* With such temptations to his enemies to unite against him, sustained by all the power of the papacy, managed both openly by Innocent himself and underhandedly by the Legate Castelnau, what could Raymond do? An excommunicated man was helpless. He submitted, complied with the legate, and received absolution.

But it was a light thing to humble one tolerant ruler who delayed to expel the heretics or confiscate their property. Innocent would combine all the forces of France to extirpate them, and their property should reward the executioners. In November, 1207,† he wrote to the king, Philip Augustus, exhorting him to make war upon the heretics of the south as the enemies of God and of the church, and declaring it his purpose to confer upon him their confiscated property, whether he should go in person upon the expedition, or merely send troops, and offering to all his vassals who should contribute to it, or serve in it, the same indulgence which those earned who served in the Holy Land against the Saracens. In similar terms he wrote also to the Duke of Burgundy, to the Counts of Bar, of Nevers, and of Dreux, to the Countesses of Troyes, of Vermandois, and of Blois, to William of Dampierre, and to all the counts, barons, chevaliers, and faithful of the kingdom of France.

\* Petr. Val., c. 3. Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, xxi. 35.

† Works of Innocent III., lib. x., ep. 69.

The lack of zeal in persecution evinced by Raymond of Toulouse aroused the indignation of Castelnau, who reproved him for it severely, charged him with perjury, and in an arbitrary way excommunicated him anew. The count invited him, with his colleague, the Abbot of Citeaux, to St. Gilles, with the promise that he would fully satisfy them on all that they required of him. The two legates complied. Raymond seemed to submit to their remonstrances, but sometimes he promised to obey without limitation, and sometimes he suggested difficulties. To a humane mind there must have been serious difficulties in some things demanded by Castelnau. Raymond was commanded to harass, plunder, and banish from their homes a large and orderly class of his own subjects, against whom he had no legal accusation to make. He could not promise without exception all that the legates insisted on. He was treated with rudeness by Peter of Castelnau, and commanded by church authorities to do what he felt to be inhuman cruelty. There seemed to be nothing before him but to take the persecution upon himself, and that must involve his people. He might set the legates at defiance, but that were only to fall into the hands of the Pope. And the reigning Pope, although he could not look upon the wrongs of a child without compassion, yet when vast measures of governmental policy filled his mind was one of those terrible men to whom the sufferings of a nation, the lives of thousands of mankind, are as nothing over against the completing of their design, and who glory in the consciousness of ability to execute it. And a failure had never yet crossed the victorious path of Innocent III.

The people of St. Gilles were not ignorant of the nature of the conference, but many of them escorted the legates respectfully to some distance out of town. That night the two monks spent in a tavern on the banks of the Rhone. Next morning, January 13th, 1208, when proceeding to cross the river, they were approached by two unknown men, who had lodged in the same house with them, one of whom aimed a spear at Peter of Castelnau, which struck him to the ground. Feeling himself fatally wounded, he said to his assassin, "God forgive you as I forgive you." After repeating these words, he set in order the business of his legation, recited several prayers, and died.

Such is the account of his legate's death given by the Pope,\* as he had received it from an informant, who professed to have been on the ground. The blame was laid upon the Count of Toulouse. But why, in an act so openly and deliberately perpetrated, was not the criminal arrested? There is another account written by the historian

\* Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, xxi. 39. Innocent III., lib. xi. 26.

of the Count of Toulouse, according to which, after the legates had been at St. Gilles several days, Peter had entered into an argument on the subject of heresy with a gentleman belonging to the suite of Count Raymond. The argument became heated into an angry quarrel, in the fury of which the gentleman drew his dagger and stabbed Castelnau to death, and then fled to Beaucaire, where he was concealed among his relations and friends. Raymond, it is added, was deeply grieved that such a crime should have been committed by one of his followers. But all search for the criminal proved in vain.

The murder of his legate was used by the Pope to kindle a greater zeal among Catholics for the crusade. To other motives could now be added the passion of revenge. Gui, Abbot of Vaux Cernai, returned into France to press forward the departure of the crusaders. He persuaded, among others, Hugh III., Duke of Burgundy, to take a part in the holy war, and with him Simon de Montfort, the Counts of Nevers, of St. Paul, of Auxerre, of Geneva, and of Forez. The king, Philip Augustus, practically declined. All who entered upon the campaign were consecrated as crusaders, and wore the cross upon the breast, to distinguish them from those who went to the Holy Land, by whom it was worn on the shoulder.

Count Raymond became alarmed and sent delegates to Rome, who were to complain of the harshness with which he had been treated by the legates. Innocent listened to the ambassadors patiently, and granted an answer that if the count would submit to all the ordinances of the church, he would accept his submission and permit him to prove his innocence, with the promise to grant him absolution if he were not found guilty, and that meanwhile he should transfer seven of his principal châteaux to the Romish Church as surety of his truth until his justification.

The muster proceeded slowly—vexatiously slow to the apprehension of the mighty ruler accustomed to command and be obeyed. A year had elapsed since he had called out that armament. On the 9th of October, 1208, he wrote to all the bishops of France informing them that he had appointed Hugh, Bishop of Riez, in place of Peter of Castelnau, and constituted him, with the Bishop of Conserans and the Abbot of Citeaux, the chiefs of the Christian militia called out to exterminate the heretics of Languedoc and Provence. And again he ordered haste and universal participation in the crusade. On the same day, and in succeeding letters, he wrote to Philip Augustus on the same theme, urging him to enlist all his available subjects in so holy an enterprise. To meet the expense he would impose a tax upon all France. And on the 3d of February next, another letter,

in terms of elegant propitiatory compliment, enjoins the king not to delay the appointment of a competent general to command the crusade.\*

Milo, an officer of the papal court, in whom the Pope reposed much confidence, was now added to the number of legates, with instruction to act in all things by advice of the Abbot of Citeaux. The latter was constituted the chief representative of papal authority in the military administration.

At last the great armament from the north and east of France assembled at Lyons in the spring of the year 1209. It was there joined by the legates, who already, in a council at Valence, had accepted the Count of Toulouse in submission to the papal terms, and under his oath to execute faithfully the papal orders addressed to him. He thereupon received absolution, and was added to the leaders of the crusade.

After complete organization at Lyons the march proceeded down the eastern side of the Rhone by Valence, Orange, and Avignon, receiving the compliance of all the municipal authorities on the way. South of Avignon the army crossed the river and marched to Montpellier, where it remained a few days. There Raymond Roger, Viscount of Beziers, sought to make peace with the crusading leaders, but without effect. Their first object of assault was his own city.

Advancing to the frontiers of the diocese of Beziers, the great army inspired such terror that the country nobility either abandoned their châteaux and fled to the mountains, or submitted. On the 22d of July the forces encamped before Beziers. Two other corps were there united with them. One came from the west, and was directed by the Bishop of Bordeaux, the Bishops of Limoges, of Basas, of Cahor, and of Agen, and commanded by Gui, Count of Auvergne, the Viscount of Turenne, and other military leaders. On their way they besieged the château of Casanol, held by a numerous garrison of Gascons well provided. But the commander, Seguin of Bologne, made a capitulation whereby himself, with his baggage, went out safe. The crusaders then entered and burned alive the heretics it contained, both men and women. The second corps came from the more direct north, and was commanded by the Bishop of Puy. Advancing by way of Rouergue, it passed to Caussade, in Quercy, and to St. Antonin, on the frontiers of the Albigeois. These two cities, which might have been taken, were redeemed by a large payment, for which the crusaders were much blamed. They afterward

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\* Innocent III., liv. xi., ep. 158, 159, 229, etc.,

entered the country of Toulouse, and on their way burned the château of Villemur, on the Tarn.

Before Beziers, the Abbot of Citeaux and other chiefs of the army deputed to the Catholic inhabitants of the city Reginald de Montpeyroux, their bishop, to persuade them, under pain of excommunication, to surrender all the heretics among them with their goods, or, if not strong enough for that, to come out themselves, that they might not be involved in the ruin of others. The Catholics of Beziers not only refused to comply with these counsels, but attached themselves more closely to their heretical neighbors, to whom they solemnly promised to shed the last drop of their blood for defence of the city. Upon receiving that answer the legate declared that not one of them should be saved, that he would not leave one stone upon another in Beziers.

By arrival of the two corps from the north and west the army was enlarged beyond all precedent in that country. The contemporaneous historical poem gives the number at twenty thousand men-at-arms, and more than two hundred thousand enlisted from the peasantry, besides many from the towns and cities. When the people of Beziers began to apprehend the greatness of their enemy's force they were alarmed. And it may have been with a view to ascertain its real magnitude and disposal that they ordered the sortie which proved so disastrous. Encountered by a furious onset of the irregular soldiery belonging to the thousands of *arlots*—*i.e.*, vagabonds who had attached themselves to the crusade—shouting with all their might "To arms!" the whole infantry of the army was soon in the battle. After a brave resistance of two or three hours the citizens were forced to retreat, and the crusaders, being close upon them, entered the city with them, and got possession of all. What followed was a promiscuous massacre, without distinction of religion, sex, age, or condition. The inhabitants betook themselves to the churches in hope of finding asylum there. Into the great cathedral of St. Nazaire they crowded to put themselves under protection of its solemn associations, while the canons, in their robes, rang the bells to move the feelings of Catholics to reverence in that place. But nothing stayed the fury of the crusaders, who pursued their victims into the holiest places, and perpetrated a carnage to the amount of seven thousand in the church of the Madeleine alone. Finally those defenders of Catholic orthodoxy, having expended their fury upon the people of Beziers and enriched themselves with the plunder of the city, set fire to it, and consumed all of it that could be burned down. Arnold, Abbot of Citeaux, who, as ecclesiastical commander of the invading army, was present in that terrific crime,



in his report to the Pope evinces the exulting delight with which he viewed it. "We," says he, "sparing neither rank, sex, nor age, have slain with the edge of the sword about twenty thousand human beings; with a vast carnage of the enemy the city has been totally plundered and burned, the divine vengeance raging upon it wonderfully." \* The number of the slain here mentioned as twenty thousand is small for the whole population of a rich and prosperous city. A contemporary historian, followed by Alberic in his chronicle, gives the number as high as sixty thousand. Another mediæval writer, but foreign to Languedoc, states that in the sack of Beziers some of the crusaders asked of the Abbot of Citeaux how they were to distinguish between heretics and Catholics. His reply was, "Kill them all. God will know his own." True or not true in itself, the anecdote expresses the principle on which the crusaders acted in all analogous cases. Having finished the slaughter at Beziers, they collected all the dead bodies in different heaps and set them on fire. †

Without further delay the army presented itself before Narbonne; but a treaty made in good time prevented damage to that city. Its authorities embodied in the treaty action taken by themselves to the effect that if any of their people were convicted of the heresy of the Vaudois, or of any other heresy, of having disputed against the Catholic faith, or of having had anything to do with heretics, he should be delivered to justice for punishment, with many other conditions of more minute stringency.

The crusading army proceeded to Carcassonne, taking châteaux to the number of one hundred by the way, the owners having fled to the mountains. Such was the terror created by the massacre of Beziers, that Catholic and heretic alike sought to escape the presence of the ferocious horde. Carcassonne was one of the strongest cities of Languedoc, both by situation and artificial defence. The Viscount Raymond Roger had laid in large supplies for a strong garrison and a long siege. At first he had planned a sortie to break his enemy before they could establish a regular siege, but from that their now well-known overwhelming numbers and the experience of Beziers deterred. The invaders made their assault, the day after their arrival, upon one of the faubourgs, which they expected to capture at a blow. The clergy of the crusade, with the bishops and abbots at their head, chanted the "Veni Creator," and joined in prayers calling upon God to prosper the enterprise. After an obstinate combat they were forced to retire. Repeated assaults with

\* Innocent III., lib. xii., ep. 108.

† Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, liv. xxi. 57.

similar results and only partial gains constrained them to the regular cautions of a siege.

After the people were thus shut up within their walls, Peter, King of Aragon, the feudal superior and kinsman of Raymond Roger, visited the besieging army, to render what help he could to the Viscount of Carcassonne. His plea with the Abbot of Citeaux was for compassion upon the youth of his friend, that the crusading leaders ought to be satisfied with the penalty they had already inflicted upon so great a part of his domain. Permission was granted him to hold an interview with the viscount. He returned with the assurance that his kinsman was not a heretic, and never had been a heretic, and was willing, for his own part, to submit to the orders of the legate. After consultation the abbot and officers of the army replied that all the favor they could show the viscount was to allow him to escape from the city with twelve attendants, their arms, horses, and baggage, provided that all the rest of the people should be left to the discretion of the crusaders. The king returned to his kinsman and reported the conditions. Raymond Roger listened with disappointment rising into indignation. "Rather," said he, "would I be flayed alive than commit such a dastardly act as to so abandon the humblest citizen of this town." The king could not but respect the young hero, but, grieved that he had failed in his purpose, took leave of both parties, and returned to his own orthodox kingdom.\*

The siege thus interrupted was again pushed forward, but such was the valor of defence that the assailants, encountering serious loss, were compelled to withdraw under great discouragement. What could not be effected by arms was enforced by the season. Hot weather long continued dried up the wells within the city, while the besiegers had access to streams from the mountains. The besieged were constrained to capitulate, on the condition of surrendering the city entirely, with all the property in it, and escape with their lives alone. For this favor they were indebted to the reported wealth of their city, which, had the people been slaughtered as at Beziers, would have fallen into the hands of the soldiers, or perished in the flames, whereas the leaders counted upon it as supply for their campaign. Accordingly the people of Carcassonne were permitted to leave their city with only the clothes they had on, and that hardly enough for decency. On the same day, August 15th, Raymond Roger, who had gone out under a promise of safety to negotiate the capitulation, was seized and retained a prisoner, under the pretext of keeping him a hostage until all the conditions of the capitulation should be

\* Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, liv. xxi. 60.

filled. Immense booty was then collected, and a certain number of the chevaliers of the army were set to guard it. But it was made away with for the value of five thousand livres, a robbery for which the legate and the bishops punished the guilty with excommunication. Such is the report sent to the Pope by his legates, Milo and the Abbot of Citeaux. Another writer maintains that the inhabitants, in going out from the city half dead with fatigue of the siege, declared their wish to embrace the Catholic faith, all but four hundred and fifty, who remained obstinate, and that of them four hundred were burned alive and fifty were hanged.\*

After the capture of Carcassonne, Arnold of Citeaux assembled the principal leaders of the army to elect a ruler of the territory now come into their hands. He first proposed that the domains should be put into possession of the Duke of Burgundy, but that nobleman declined the favor, professing that he had already sufficient amount of territory, and that Raymond Roger had suffered punishment enough in the calamities inflicted upon his cities. He was not in favor of depriving him also of his lands. The abbot turned to the Count of Nevers, who made the same objection. The Count of St. Paul, when tempted with the offer, rejected it as indignantly as the other two. Simon de Montfort, under an appearance of reluctance, eagerly accepted the large addition to his wide domains in both France and England.† Much praise has been lavished upon Simon by Roman Catholic writers, as much for his piety as for his valor and orthodoxy. We have only to record his cruelty and ambition, "a passion," says the Benedictine historian of Languedoc, "which is never so dangerous as when it is covered with the veil of religion."

No sooner had Simon de Montfort taken possession of Carcassonne, and received the oath of fidelity from all who settled in that city and remained in its vicinity, than he had an instrument drawn up in which he represented himself as "Simon, Lord of Montfort, Count of Leicester, Viscount of Beziers and of Carcassonne, the Lord having delivered into my hands all the lands of the heretics, an infidel people—that is to say, what he has seen good to take from them, by the ministry of the crusaders his servants, I have accepted humbly and devoutly that charge and that administration in reliance upon his aid, at the urgency of the barons of the army as of the lord legate and of the prelates who were present." He then declares that, to obtain the favor of God by the prayers of the saints, he gives to the church of Notre Dame de Citeaux, in the hands of

\* Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, liv. xxi. 61. Petr. Val., ed. 1615, p. 322.

† Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, l. xxi. 62.

Arnold, its abbot and legate of the apostolic see, a house in Carcassonne, another at Beziers, and a third at Salelle, in the diocese of Narbonne, which had pertained to certain heretics whom he names, and which God, he says, had given him. He also decreed the first-fruits and tithes to be paid to the Catholic churches over all the country which should submit to the crusade, and proclaimed that whoever should refuse to obey that order should be treated by him as an enemy. Then more directly to make favor with the Pope, he instituted an annual rent of three deniers upon every house for the Church of Rome, with other regulations to the honor and emolument of the papal office.

A disposition appearing among the crusaders to regard what was already done as enough to redeem their pledge, Simon and Arnold of Citeaux applied to the principal leaders to remain with their forces to aid in subduing the whole country infected with heresy. The Duke of Burgundy consented to remain for a short time longer. The Count of Nevers refused to have anything more to do with the concern. It had taken a different turn from what he expected. Territorial conquest to aggrandize Simon de Montfort and Arnold of Citeaux was no part of his design. He thought the cause of Rome had been sufficiently vindicated, and the heretics severely enough punished. With him and his troops most of the other chiefs and their followers withdrew. Raymond of Toulouse, who had taken the side of the crusade only to save his own people, now returned to them, but first came to an agreement with Simon to destroy certain castles on both sides of the border between their domains to prevent occasion for hostilities. The occasion proved to be nearer the heart of the crusader. Raymond had scarcely returned to his city when Simon and the abbot sent an archbishop and a bishop, with two noblemen, to demand of him, under pain of excommunication and interdict, to surrender to the barons of the army all the inhabitants of his city whom their deputies might name, together with their property, and if any of them should declare themselves Catholic, to send them to make their profession of faith before the whole army. In case of his refusal to obey these orders, Simon threatened to carry war into the heart of his estates. Surprised at such a demand, Raymond replied that neither for himself nor for his subjects was he under any responsibility to Montfort or the Abbot of Citeaux; that he had received absolution from Milo, legate *a latere* of the Holy See, and that since a new quarrel was sought with him, he was resolved to go to Rome and plead his cause before the Pope, as much for the outrages which the crusaders had inflicted upon the country, under pretence of persecuting heretics, as for the manner

in which they had treated himself. The legate and his general apprehended trouble from carrying complaints of them to the Pope, and put their wits together to turn the count aside from that course, and sent new deputies to pacify and persuade him that it would better promote his interests to treat with them. Raymond persisted in his own design, and declared that he would go not only to Rome, but also to the court of the King of France, and to that of the emperor, and present to them and to all the barons of the kingdom the sufferings they had inflicted upon the country. That resolution he carried out not long afterward. As to the people of Toulouse, all of them, whom the deputies of the army had denounced as suspected of heresy, declared publicly that they were neither heretics nor favorers of heretics, and offered to appear at once and refer to the judgment of the church. And the consuls of the city answered, for their part, that they had burned all the heretics whom they had discovered, in accordance with the law of the late Raymond V. But all that could not satisfy Arnold of Citeaux. He assembled the prelates in the camp, excommunicated the consuls of Toulouse and all their counsellors, and laid the interdict upon the city.

Meanwhile, terror being spread over all the country, the lords of various castles, or *châteaux*, made their submission to the legate, and the dominions belonging to them were added to those of Montfort. At this point the Duke of Burgundy withdrew from the crusade, and with him the greater part of his troops took the road home. With the remainder of the army, about forty-five hundred men, Simon continued his expeditions from *château* to *château*, reducing the country in detail. Milo, at the same time, was pursuing his agency on the Provence side of the Rhone, not directly by violence, but by effects of the terror and continued atrocities in Languedoc. From Marseilles to Avignon, the cities and castles either professed the Catholic faith, or submitted to it. At Avignon a council was called, in which he and the Bishop of Riez presided. Twenty-one canons were there framed entirely in accordance with the action of the crusade. Imperious domination alone inspires them all. The bishops are ordered to compel by ecclesiastical censures all counts, chevaliers, chatelains, etc., to exterminate heretics. Rouselin, Viscount of Marseilles, was excommunicated, and the interdict laid upon the city. Milo, in his report to the Pope, also charges Raymond of Toulouse with being an enemy of peace and of justice, an accusation made by his persecutors against a man who, to secure peace for his people and save them from injustice, had already sacrificed more than he ought. The compulsion of an oath to obey every order proceeding from Rome was to be the alternative for death, and

in many cases, where a rich plunder was in prospect, did not save from death, which secured confiscation.

The Count of Toulouse, having made his will on the 20th of September, 1209, proceeded on his projected journey. At the court of Philip Augustus he met with cordial welcome and much sympathy from the Duke of Burgundy, the Count of Nevers, and others of high rank. Some of them gave him letters of high commendation to the Pope. Without delay he proceeded to Rome, accompanied by a number of lords, and deputies from Toulouse, who had also their own grievances to complain of against the crusaders. At Rome, by the pressure of papal business, they were for a time detained.

Meanwhile Montfort continued his career of conquest, burning heretics and adding Catholics to his subjects. The city of Pamiers and its château were held in partnership by the Abbey of St. Antonin de Fredelas and the Count of Foix. Vital, the abbot, now informed Simon that if he would come to Pamiers he should have possession of the whole. The count was not satisfied with such a summary disposal of his rights. Ecclesiastics, from the Pope down, were laying violent hands upon property which did not belong to them, and shedding the blood of thousands for difference of belief. Vital, as a pretext for breaking the partnership with the count, alleged many grievances against him. That list, as presented by Peter Vallis, was enough to arouse the monk's disgust, especially that head and front of his offending, in not contenting himself with tolerating heretics in his dominions, he had actually built a house at Pamiers within the bounds of his own château for his wife and sisters, professed heretics, two of them obstinate Waldensians,\* all three of whom he ought to have burned. After that none can be surprised at any other crime laid to his charge. Among the rest could not be omitted the armed defence of his legal right, as he subsequently proved a brave defender also of the rights of his neighbors. For these causes his character was blackened, as far as words could blacken it. He was denounced as a tyrant, a ferocious brute, a dog, cruel, barbarous—in short, a villain, and the most miserable of mankind. Yet there are records of his generosity to the churches,† and of bishops and monks themselves accepting his free-handed hospitality. But charge of protecting heresy was now a sufficient plea for confiscation of whatever property the crusading leaders desired to appropriate. Simon, on his march to Pamiers, seized the castle of Mirepoix, which also belonged to Raymond Roger, because, as was pretended, he sheltered heretics there. Having received from the

\* Petr. Val., c. 24, 45, 46.

† Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, xxi. 71.

abbot Vital the fulfilment of his promise at Pamiers, the crusading general proceeded to Saverdun, another château belonging to the Count of Foix, which the inhabitants surrendered without an attempt at defence. Thence he marched northward to Albi, where the bishop received him with great honor, and surrendered to him the city. Soon after he subdued the whole of the land of Albi except a few châteaux.\* Returning to Carcassonne, he found there the Legate Milo, who, after the council of Avignon, joined his colleague, the Abbot of Cîteaux. A report was now prepared by the two legates conjointly, to be sent to the Pope, in which they recounted the progress of the crusade, and highly commended Montfort as the best qualified to be prince of all the country, and to command the campaign against Toulouse, which still remained to be conquered. They urged that, holding so many cities and castles, he needed renewed enforcements. And to sustain that plea they remind Innocent of the revenue which Simon had secured to the Roman Church by the annual tribute imposed upon the conquered people.†

Simon also wrote to the Pope,‡ and sent messengers to represent him orally on the same points, as regarding himself. He informs his warlike Holiness that the chiefs who had taken part in the beginning of the campaign had now left him almost alone amid enemies of Jesus Christ, who were wandering among the mountains and rocks. Obliged to confess the poverty to which the country had been reduced by the ravages committed in it, he intercedes with the Pope for his aid in carrying on the government. "The heretics," he continues, "have forsaken their châteaux, after having carried away all that was in them, or have fortified the strongest, resolving to defend them. I shall have to pay more expensively than I have ever done in other wars the troops which are with me. Some of my soldiers I can hardly retain by giving them double pay."

While these latter events were going on, Raymond Roger, the Viscount of Beziers and Carcassonne, by right of inheritance, was held by order of Montfort and his monkish superior in close imprisonment and irons in one of the towers of the viscountal palace. Severity of confinement broke his health, of which no consideration was had, unless it may have been to hasten the end. He died on the 10th of November, 1209, at the age of twenty-four years—the only heroic character in that period of the war.

In the lagging current of success Montfort began to apprehend the approach of reaction. He applied to the King of Aragon to be

\* Petr. Val., 24, etc.

† Innocent III., l. 12, ep. 108.

‡ Ibid., ep. 109.

acknowledged as legitimate Viscount of Carcassonne, by accepting his homage for that viscounty. Peter declined to accept his homage, and sent to all the nobles of the viscounties of Carcassonne and Beziers not to acknowledge Simon for their viscount, with the promise that he would sustain them and march without delay to their aid. In various quarters opposition was made to the process of conquering the country. Terror began to give place to indignation, and indignation prompted resolution to repel the unjustifiable invasion. To some extent the rising was successful. Many of the places lost were retrieved by their proper owners.

But the great master of the age, who had called out the crusade and rejoiced in its early success, would not suffer it to fail of completeness.\* He congratulated Simon upon his victories and confirmed his right to the possessions he had won, and set about renewing the crusade. By letters written to the Emperor Otho, to the Kings of Aragon and Castile, the Catholic nobility of Provence, and other dignitaries, both lay and clerical, appealing for aid to Montfort, he aroused in new quarters the crusading fervor. Simon was exhorted to conserve in the faith the people he had subdued, and neighboring princes were ordered to punish severely heretics who should seek refuge in their domains.

Raymond of Toulouse, after some delay in Rome, was in the latter part of January, 1210, admitted to a hearing before the Pope and the College of Cardinals. His complaints were many, but especially against the Abbot of Citeaux and Simon de Montfort, in that they had not ceased to harass him, notwithstanding the absolution he had received from the legate, and the treaty they had made with him. His statements were confirmed by the testimony of a consul from Toulouse. The Pope could not approve that part of the conduct of his representatives, took Raymond by the hand, listened to his confession, and gave him a new absolution in presence of the cardinals. To that act of personal justice he added, a few days afterward, in a letter to the Archbishops of Narbonne and of Arles and the Bishop of Agen, full instructions for the settlement of the case, which, had they been carried out in good faith, must have settled it peacefully.† He also wrote to the Abbot of Citeaux and others to the same purport. But his zeal for the destruction of heretics marred greatly his plans for protection of the Catholic. He had evoked spirits of evil for the execution of his designs which he could not limit to those bounds. They had contracted designs of their own which they used his commission to effect. His most

\* Innocent III., l. 12, ep. 122, 123, 124, 125, 129, 136.

† *Ibid.*, l. xii., ep. 152, 168, 169—153, 154, 155, 156.



trusted legate, who was willing to leave the distinction between Catholic and heretic to God, persecuted the people of the provinces in mass. That his method for exterminating heretics subjected also Catholics to poverty, to exile, or to death never seemed to give him or his ambitious general a twinge of regret. Confiscated property had accumulated in their hands, and there was still more in expectation. They had no intention to allow so rich a victim as the Count of Toulouse to escape their snares. Innocent III. was not a man to be safely disobeyed. But law had its forms, which admitted of respectful delays, in the course of which events might turn up to change the state of the case. Raymond was put under certain conditions, with which he was to evince his compliance, before he could be admitted to canonical purgation. The Pope had mentioned in his letters that he demanded of the count to execute faithfully the orders he had given him about expelling heretics from his dominions. After a few months' probation a report was made that the Pope's wishes were neglected by the unfaithful count, who in that case could not be acquitted of his other sins lately persisted in.

Meanwhile, by the activity of crusading preachers in various countries, the army in Languedoc was numerously recruited from France, from Belgium, from Germany, and from Austria. A new period of the crusade opened, more protracted and not less marked with cruelty than the preceding. Lost ground was now recovered by Montfort, and new conquests effected. Let it suffice to recount the main points of its progress, its trend, and conclusion.

The castle of Minerva in the diocese of Narbonne was defended by a brave and numerous garrison. Besieged by the crusaders in the summer of 1210, famine and drought constrained to capitulation. What should be the conditions? The Abbot of Citeaux was on the ground. Montfort referred the delegates to him, as commander-in-chief. The abbot wished extremely to put all the heretics to death, but to issue an order to that effect did not become his office. He called upon Simon and William, commander of the garrison, each separately to draw up his terms in writing. As he expected, they differed. He had to act as arbiter. By his proposal William's life was to be spared and the lives of all the Catholics in the castle, and of all the heretics who should accept the Catholic faith. That was remarkably lenient. One of the knights standing by objected loudly to the last article. "I have joined the army," said he, "to exterminate heretics, not to show them mercy." "Set your mind at ease," replied the abbot, "you have nothing to fear. Very few will accept conversion." On these terms the crusaders entered Minerva chanting the *Te Deum*, and preceded by the cross. The heretics

were assembled in two houses, in one their men, in another their women. Gui, Abbot of Vaux Cernai, visited both with persuasives to conversion. His arguments failed of converting either. Simon, seeing that they remained obstinate, accepted the Catholic duty of the secular arm, and condemned them all to be burned alive. A vast pile of wood was constructed and set on fire. More than one hundred and forty people perished in the flames. Only three women, by the efforts of an elderly lady, were persuaded to save their lives at the expense of exchanging their religious profession. All the rest rushed from the persuasives to Romanism to find refuge in the funeral pile. Arnold of Citeaux had well learned what to count on when he designed the death of those men and women in a way not to stain his own ecclesiastical robes. He had seen greater holocausts than that of Minerva. He was experienced in slaughter, and of the firmness of faith in the Languedoc heretics.

The Pope had already, by a bull of June 28th, 1210, confirmed Simon de Montfort in possession of the city of Albi. He wrote also, on the same day, to the abbots and other prelates in the dioceses of Narbonne, Beziers, Carcassonne, Toulouse, and Albi, commanding them to deposit in the hands of Simon all the effects which the heretics, who had refused to be converted, had trusted to them, and giving power to the Bishop of Riez and to the Abbot of Citeaux to raise in the provinces of Besançon, Bordeaux, and Vienne, and in the dioceses of Pampeluna, Limoges, Clermont Le Puy, Mende, Cahors, and Rodez, the subsidies destined for maintenance of the crusade. Thus his papal Holiness calls out and keeps in operation that most atrocious of persecutions, and sees to rewarding the perpetrators of it.

Count Raymond, fortifying his ground against increasing enemies by entering into friendly relations with neighboring princes, was held to be defending the cause of heresy. A council called at St. Gilles refused to admit him to purgation from his crimes of protecting heretics and of being accessory to the murder of Peter of Castelnau.\*

From that point persecution became in reality a war for subjugation. Every place in the province which Arnold and Simon had not conquered, or had lost, was an object of their cupidity, but chiefly the still wealthy city of Toulouse, with its dependencies and reported heretics. In 1211 the legates held a council at Arles, to which they cited the Count of Toulouse and the King of Aragon. Both appeared. Upon the former was served a list of fourteen conditions, on compliance with which his peace with the church was to depend.

\* Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, xxi. 92.

He was immediately to disband all his troops, to obey the church, submissive to her demands of him all his life. In all his domains not more than two kinds of meat should be served on any table. He was to drive heretics and all who favored them from his dominions. He was to deliver into the hands of the legate and of Simon de Montfort, within a year, all the people whom the legates should point out. All the people of his estates, noble and common, were forbidden to wear any other than a black garment of cheap material. He was to level with the ground all the fortifications of his city. His nobility were not to live in the city, but solely in their country residences. Every head of a family was annually to pay four Toulousan deniers to the legate or his deputy. The Count of Montfort and his men were to be free to go with entire safety in the country subject to Raymond, and provided for. And when all that, and other terms equally arrogant, should be complied with, Raymond was to go beyond the sea and serve among the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, never to return to his native country until the legate should grant him permission.

Raymond, after reading those conditions of his peace with the church, handed them to Peter of Aragon. "They are resolved to make you pay well for it," remarked the king, and from that day stood as an unshrinking friend by the Count of Toulouse, interceding for him manfully with the Pope, and otherwise. The two princes departed from the council of Arles without the formality of taking leave.\* Certainly the legates who dictated the terms did not expect them to be accepted; but their rejection would answer an equally valuable purpose to the count's enemies. Renewed excommunication was pronounced against him by the Bishop of Usez and the Abbot of Citeaux, and that action, as reported to the Pope, received his confirmation.†

More crusaders arrived, and Folquet, the Bishop of Toulouse, raised a force to co-operate with them in the city. He was expelled, with those who adhered to him. Six thousand crusaders from Germany were encountered and routed by Raymond Roger of Foix. Simon, with his recruited army, undertook the siege of Lavaur, a castle and town reported to be a strong seat of heresy. It was taken on the 3d of May, 1211. A very great number of heretics—about four hundred—were found in it, whom the crusaders burned to death "*with exceeding joy.*" ‡

Simon now declared war against Raymond and Toulouse; but disease among his soldiers compelled him to raise the siege soon

\* Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, xx. 98.

† Innocent III., l. 14, ep. 36, 38.

‡ Petr. Val., c. 52.

after it was begun. King Philip remonstrated with the Pope on the cruelties practised in the south, but without effect. Innocent, however, by some other means, found out that he had been disobeyed by his legates in the case of Raymond of Toulouse, and in April, 1212, wrote a letter commanding them to admit the count to a canonical process of justification\* or condemnation. Arnold was more bent upon his own promotion. He had just obtained election to the Archbishopric of Narbonne, and now applied to the Pope to sanction his taking the rank and title of duke. The Pope refused. Arnold, at the head of a military force, marched into Spain to join in the war against the Moors,† in which the Kings of Castile, Navarre, and Aragon commanded. A great victory was won by the Christian army on the 16th of July, 1212, to which Arnold of Narbonne contributed importantly, and secured his own standing in the papal esteem.‡

After that repulse of the Moors the King of Aragon was in condition to take more part in the affairs of Languedoc and Provence. Raymond, leaving the care of Toulouse to the Count of Foix, made a visit to Aragon. The king had already adopted his cause entirely, and now sent a bishop to Rome to explain to the Pope the true conduct of the legates. A hearing was granted in January, 1213. Innocent was himself dissatisfied. His agents had persecuted Raymond under heavy accusations, and yet never would allow him a trial. The Pope now wrote to Arnold and his colleagues more explicit instructions, and recommended that, as the case of heresy in the province was now in good train, the Christian arms there employed ought to be transferred to Spain, where the Moors were putting forth their utmost in preparations to recover their late loss.§ The King of Aragon came into Toulouse and met a council of bishops; but the fury of persecution prevailed. His proposals for peace were rejected, and the Pope's advice met with no favor. Count Raymond made repeated application to be admitted to clear himself, as the Pope had commanded. It was persistently refused, and the war continued by multiplying hosts of crusaders.

The King of Aragon, in his capacity as lord superior of the provinces on both sides of the lower Rhone, did his best to protect them. The clergy of the crusade opposed him by maligning his moral character, and representing his pacific measures as favoring heretics.|| Uniting his troops with those of Toulouse, of Foix, and of Comminges, he at last entered the war of defence. On the battlefield of Muret two crusading officers heading a band of soldiers, with

\* Petr. Val., l. 15, ep. 102.

† Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, xxii. 20, 25.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid. 55, 56.

|| Ibid. xxii. 55.

whom they singled out the king, surrounded and slew him,\* September 12th, 1213. A great gain to Montfort was his victory of Muret. His conquest was forthwith carried to the Rhone and beyond it into Provence, while the Toulousans began to think of submission.

In the beginning of the year 1214 a new legate from Innocent III. appeared in the person of Peter, Cardinal of Beneventum, who began his administration with a suspension of hostilities (April 12th), and in the same month by reconciling Count Raymond VI. to the Romish Church. He then crossed the Pyrenees to celebrate the coronation of the young King James, of Aragon. Montfort renewed the war with an army of overwhelming numbers. Raymond was within the walls of his capital, but it was captured with the country belonging to it. Raymond was deprived of authority, and lived for a time in a private capacity. The strong château of Foix also passed over to the conqueror. Simon de Montfort was now at the summit of prosperity. Over the whole of Languedoc and Provence he reigned as conqueror. Next spring he visited Paris, did homage to Philip Augustus for his territories, and returned acknowledged lord of the beautiful land which he had desolated. It was a glory not of long endurance.

On the 11th of November of that same year Innocent III. convoked the great Lateran Council, which conferred the stamp of its sanction upon all the policy of his transcendent pontificate. Before that vast assembly appeared the Count Raymond, his son Raymond, and the Counts of Foix and of Comminges.† Montfort deemed his presence needed in the land of his conquest. His interest before the council he trusted to Folquet of Toulouse; he might safely have trusted to the Pope, and in him to the council. It approved his career; but the Pope did entertain some tenderness for the man who had suffered what he had already declared to be wrongs. To the younger Raymond he granted special marks of affection, but regretted that he could not see how his estates were to be restored. Leaving Rome in the latter part of December, 1215, the father and son reached Marseilles in the first days of the following year, and found themselves objects of popular favor. The multitude, with their rulers, professed their allegiance to their former superior, the Count of Toulouse. Raymond the younger accepted the command of a force which spontaneously rallied round him. At its head he crossed the Rhone at Beaucaire, was received by the people with acclamations of joy, and captured the castle in spite of Montfort's utmost efforts to relieve it. Simon retreated to Nimes. He was

\* Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, xxii. 56.

† Ibid. 95, 96.

there in the month of July when the news arrived that Innocent III. was dead. In that event the papacy had turned the summit of its power.

The elder Raymond, then in Aragon with the young King James, had raised an army there and in Catalonia. Not strong enough, as he apprehended, to encounter the forces of Simon in and then approaching Toulouse, he was watchfully waiting. Simon, when he arrived at Toulouse, unnecessarily involved himself in a quarrel with the people, then his subjects, leading to his entering the city with armed violence and setting it on fire, with other acts of reckless cruelty. The people took to arms and repelled him. He retired to the castle called Narbonne, in which he held a number of them imprisoned. Subsequently he proposed a compromise, which the people accepted, surrendered their arms, and were cheated, but felt constrained to submit under the alternative of a severer penalty.

No sooner had the crusading general reduced the capital city than other necessities opened upon him. War had to be repelled from the side of his obstinate enemy, the Count of Foix, and attention had to be given to Raymond the younger on the Rhone. Meanwhile a message from Toulouse reached the Count Raymond on the south of the Pyrenees, assuring him of the unanimous feeling against Montfort. His Aragonese allies were biding his command. Circumstances favored him by the way, and early one misty morning in September he quietly marched his forces into the city unobserved by any hostile eye. Such was one of the benefits from Simon's razeure of the fortifications. Some of the people were afraid of the coming revenge, but all were soon reconciled. The paternal government of Raymond VI. was to be preferred at any risk to the merciless despotism of Montfort. Men of Toulouse forthwith resumed their arms, and all hands, night and day, were employed in reconstructing their defences.

Folquet, Bishop of Toulouse, was in France devoting all his energies to multiply crusaders. Next spring he returned with a large re-enforcement. Simon was again besieging Toulouse, and to testify his indebtedness to Folquet, made him a large donation of land, including a score of villas, with the castle of Verfeil. Other crusade preachers procured additional strength for the besieging army. But the mind upon which all depended for success was soon to disappear from its head. Disheartened by the fluctuating fortunes of the war, the fatigues of the renewed siege, and the vast expenses in which he was involved thereby, Montfort was further harassed by reproaches of the new legate, Cardinal Bertrand, who never ceased to urge forward the works, and to chide him for defec-

tive courage and lack of skill to such a degree that he was sometimes heard to pray God to take him out of the world. On the 25th of June, 1218, being occupied with the adjustment of a mechanical device for battering the fortifications, a stone thrown from an engine on the wall smote him on the head with instant death.

Upon the fall of Simon de Montfort the siege was suspended by his son Amauri, who succeeded to his father's honors and responsibilities. Withdrawing to Carcassonne, he celebrated his father's obsequies in a style consistent with his rank.

Crusaders now returned home in great numbers, and the impatient legate had to submit to lengthen the suspension of hostilities. On the other hand, Pope Honorius III. continued to urge the bishops of France to engage the men of their dioceses, who had not already taken the cross for the Holy Land, to arm and march immediately to the aid of Amauri de Montfort. Most important of the recruits who responded to that call was Louis, oldest son of King Philip Augustus. In the spring of 1219 Louis put himself at the head of an army and marched south to sustain the hands of Amauri, at that time besieging the town of Marmande in Agenois. The prince joined him and gave success to a bold assault. But the promiscuous slaughter which followed of men, women, and children, to the number of five thousand, revolted the feelings of the so-called Lion-hearted. He advanced and laid siege to Toulouse, but soon abandoned the whole affair. It was of an entirely different character from what it had been represented to be. A victory won by the Count of Foix and Raymond the younger over the crusaders at Basiege further encouraged the defence. Amauri never heartily approved of his father's policy, and finally determined on a very different one—a policy sure enough to reduce his enemy, but at the expense of his own independence. He offered all the conquests inherited from his father to King Philip. At that juncture Raymond VI. died, on the 5th of July, 1222, and the sole presidency of Toulousan affairs came into the hands of Raymond VII.

The offer made by Amauri to Philip Augustus had no immediate effect. That illustrious monarch was drawing nigh his end. He died on the 14th of July, 1223. The offer repeated was taken up by his successor, Louis VIII. Between Raymond VII. and Amauri de Montfort the war was still, in the eyes of the Pope and the prelates, a crusade against heretics; and if so, Raymond was the chief heretic, though in reality he was contending for his hereditary estates. Amauri, as a native and subject of the French kingdom, acted with a loyal Frenchman's sagacity. Let these provinces of the south belong to the now powerful kingdom, and the treatment

of their heretics, instead of being a matter of crusade, must be regulated by the laws of the land. But Louis VIII. assumed to take possession by a crusade. With an army he overran the country from Lyons to within a few leagues of Toulouse without opposition, except at Avignon, where in the siege he contracted the camp fever, of which he died November 8th, 1226, at Clermont in Auvergne, on his way home. His son, Louis IX., who succeeded him, was a minor, twelve years of age, under the guardianship of his mother. Happily for France, as well as for him, that mother was Blanche of Castile.

The union of Languedoc with the kingdom was further delayed by the headstrong temper of Pope Gregory IX., who, succeeding Honorius III. in 1227, forthwith ordered the crusade to be pressed forward. That now meant another siege of Toulouse, which, inspired by the fiendish ingenuity of Folquet, whom the Toulousans now dubbed the bishop of devils, ended in deliberate destruction of the grain-fields, the vineyards, the fruit trees, and all other agricultural industries to a great distance around the city on every side.

Finally Raymond VII. accepted terms of peace reconciling him with the church and with the king. The treaty which closed that terrible record of cruelty was negotiated in the name of the king by Blanche of Castile, and solemnly ratified by the young king in Paris on the 12th of April, 1229. By the subsequent repetition of Amauri's cession formerly made to Louis VIII., the whole of Languedoc came under dominion of the French crown, although not for centuries afterward an integral part of France.

Suppression of heresy by crusades was found to be very expensive. Money that might have gone to the church was wasted upon armies, which impoverished the land. No true conversion to Christ could be made by that means. Multitudes were put to death, and many under intimidation professed Romanism; but whether they accepted the gospel, as contained in Romanism, who could tell? Was it faith in Christ, or dread of death by burning? The demand of the crusaders was obedience to the church. The last outstanding opponent of the crusade had now made his peace with both church and king, and the hereditary crusading leader had surrendered the cause. And yet heretics were not exterminated. Whatever may have happened to the Manichæan branch of the so-called Albigenses, the Vaudois certainly weathered the storm and maintained their church, which is living in the same faith to the present day. The crusade had failed in the completeness designed for it, and now could no longer be continued. Some other method for encountering heresy must be adopted—a violent method, of course. No other



entered the heads concerned in the question. The newly-instituted preaching orders were practising the better way, but the authorities had no certainty that these orders might not become heretical themselves.

In November of the year 1229 the papal legate held a council at Toulouse, which was attended by the Archbishops of Narbonne, of Bordeaux, and of Auch, with a number of bishops, other prelates, and some laymen. It was there decreed \* that every bishop should appoint in each of his parishes a priest and two or three laymen of good reputation, who, under oath, were to search with scrupulous care for heretics and those who favored them. For that purpose they were to search all houses from garret to cellar, and all subterranean places where persons might hide, and report all whom they might discover to their ordinaries, to the lords of the places where they resided, and their officers, to punish them severely. The goods of heretics were to be confiscated. Other penalties were enacted against all who should thereafter allow heretics to reside on their lands. But none was to be punished as a heretic who had not been so judged by the bishop, or by some ecclesiastic of competent authority. All classes of people were authorized to search for heretics everywhere, and order was given to bailiffs to lend the aid in their power to all such inquisition. It was resolved that heretics who were converted should not dwell in places suspected of heresy, where they had dwelt before, but in Catholic cities. To prove that they detested their former errors, they were ordered to wear two crosses upon the breast, one on the right side and the other on the left, and of a different color from that of their dress, and they were not to be admitted to any public office without special dispensation from the Pope or his legate. It was further decreed that those who were not converted by their own conviction, but merely by fear of penalty, should be imprisoned, and provided for at the expense of those who possessed their goods, or by order of the bishop, if there was nothing of their own former ownership. Men from fourteen years of age and upward, and women from the age of twelve, were ordered to renounce under oath all kinds of error, to promise to abide by the Catholic faith, and to denounce and persecute heretics; and to renew the oath every two years. All who did not confess and commune at least three times a year were to be held suspected of heresy. The laity were forbidden to have in their houses the books of the Old or New Testaments, or any portions of them except those contained in the Psalter, the Breviary, or the hours for divine

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\* Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, xxiv. 63.

office ; and even these they were not allowed to have translated into the vulgar tongue.

Into such a form of inquisition did the crusade against the Albigenses, after running its career of twenty years, subside. It was soon found to be scattered among too many people, and trusted to too many who took no interest in persecuting. Four years later, 1233, it was, by authority of Gregory IX., taken out of the hands of the bishops and consigned to selected monks of the Dominican order, and reconstructed into that form in which it became so terrifically notorious in the next four centuries.

If God could not pardon a mistake, who could be saved ?

JAMES C. MOFFAT.

*Princeton.*