ARTICLES

Eckbert of Schönau and Catharism: A Reevaluation[1]

During the past forty years, scholars of medieval heresy have reconstructed the rise of Catharism in twelfth-century France and Italy with ever greater clarity, aided by the discovery of valuable primary sources and an appreciation for the links between Catharism and Bogomilism.[2] The notion that ancient Manichaeism and twelfth-century Catharism were connected by the transmission of dualism via various heretical groups, set forth most powerfully by Steven Runciman, has been abandoned.[3] The growth of Catharism in twelfth-century Germany, however, has not attracted the kind of scrutiny directed toward the Languedoc and Lombardy, mainly because the sources for such a study are scarce by comparison and also because German Catharism, faced with persecution from church and emperor during the early thirteenth century, never achieved the permanency of the French and Italian heretics.

It is clear that Catharism in the Rhineland was formed by the uneasy fusion of dualism from the Byzantine Empire and an already existing expectation for church reform in western Europe. Most scholars now agree, furthermore, that the first indisputable sign of this Eastern dualism in the medieval West appeared in 1143 near Cologne.[4] In that year, Everinus, head of the Praemonstratensian canonry of Steinfeld (near Cologne), wrote to Bernard of Clairvaux about a group of heretics claiming distant origins in the East and professing doctrines that, I suggest, identify them as Cathars, though Everinus did not call them such.[5] From 1143 to 1163, however, these Rhineland heretics disappear from the historical sources; then, in 1163, a group of dissidents was condemned and

burned at Cologne.[6] Shortly thereafter, probably late that same year, Eckbert, a monk at the Benedictine monastery of Schönau,[7] in the diocese of Trier, wrote fourteen sermons directed against them, the *Sermones contra Kataros*. While Eckbert had much to report about the beliefs and rites of these Cathars, his testimony has been largely dismissed by historians of medieval heresy. Scholars have praised the sermons as forerunners of the thirteenth-century inquisitorial treatises in their organization and completeness, yet have rejected much of their content, claiming that Eckbert relied too heavily on Augustine's anti-Manichean writings in his work.[8]

Eckbert's sermons have thus been placed in the tradition of medieval chroniclers who identified any heretics whose views in some way smacked of Manichaeism as Manichaeans, or neo-Manichaeans. Examples include the statement of Adhemar of Chabannes that "Manichaeans appeared throughout Aquitaine, leading the people astray"[9]; about 1043, Bishop Wazo of Liège replied to a letter from Bishop Roger of Châlons about certain heretics in the latter region, who, Wazo declared, were "eagerly following the perverse dogmas of the Manichaeans."[10] In the twelfth century, this identification of contemporary heretics with Manichaeans continued; an example is the description by Guibert of Nogent of heretics near Soissons in 1114. After a description of their doctrines, Guibert noted, "If you review the heresies laid out by Augustine, you will find they resemble none more than that of the Manichaeans."[11] Even in the thirteenth century, this belief in the revival of Manichaeism persisted; an example is the *Tractus de diversis materiis praedicabilis* of the French inquisitor Étienne de Bourbon, written between 1249 and 1260.[12]

I disagree with the belief that Eckbert's work is vitiated because of its ties to Augustine. Instead, I consider his polemic an indispensable source for the study of Catharism's rise in medieval Europe. Part of its importance lies in the fact that Eckbert wrote his sermons in 1163, several decades before any histories of Catharism in southern France or Italy were composed.[13] Thus the *Sermones contra Kataros* represent the first attempt by a Western writer at a thorough description and refutation of Cathar doctrine. Moreover, Eckbert's accounts of Cathar teaching and organization are remarkably detailed and offer a good look at Catharism in its early stages of development in western Europe. When used together with the more complete sources for Italian and French Catharism in the thirteenth century, the *Sermones* indicate how certain doctrines and the scriptural exegesis on which they rested developed between the mid-twelfth and the mid-thirteenth centuries in the West. For example, Eckbert provided a detailed description of the central ritual act in Catharism, the

consolamentum, or spiritual baptism by the laying on of hands; a comparison of his account with those from the thirteenth century reveals how this rite evolved from certain basic features into a much more complicated form.

Before we can fully appreciate Eckbert's contribution to our study of Catharism, we must overcome the obstacle that has turned back a good number of highly respected scholars: his alleged reliance on Augustine of Hippo for much of his information. I will demonstrate that Eckbert's dependence on Augustine has been exaggerated, in part because of a misunderstanding of the function of his first sermon. While it is true that Eckbert was the first medieval heresiologist to posit an explicit connection between the Cathars and Manichaeans, he did not regard them as identical.[14] Moreover, although Eckbert did place passages taken from Augustine's *De haeresibus* in his first sermon, this was not to supplement his description of the Cathars in the Rhineland but to describe their distant origins. He intended to demonstrate to the educated reader that the Cathars' origins were to be found among the Manichaeans, so that they could be more easily detected and refuted. This purpose was facilitated not only by describing the similarities between Cathars and Manichaeans, but also by documenting their differences and thus illustrating how the Cathars had evolved into a heresy quite different from that of their progenitors. In fact, the relationship that Eckbert fashioned between these two heresies represented a considerably more sophisticated attempt than that displayed by earlier writers. His attempt to prove (rather than simply assume) the link between Mani and the Cathars, based on the writings of Augustine and his own knowledge, was an important step in the direction of the later inquisitorial accounts of heresy.

First, it must be admitted that Eckbert posited a direct link between the Cathars and the Manichaeans. In the section of the first sermon entitled "Whence the Origin of the Sect Derives,"[15] Eckbert wrote,

> It is known and is not concealed from the ears of the people that the sect about which we write has its origin from the Manichaean heresiarch, whose doctrine was cursed and completely poisonous and is rooted in that perverse people.[16]

More specifically, Eckbert considered the Cathars the offshoot of the Manichaean sect called the *catharistae* by Augustine.[17] "The doctrine and life of these [catharistae]," Eckbert wrote, "these [the Cathars] undoubtedly follow, about whom we speak now."[18] Instead of enumerating all of the errors of this Manichaean sect in the sermon, Eckbert added to the end

of the *Sermones* a collection of relevant texts from three works of Augustine: *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum, Contra epistolam manichaei quam vocant fundamenti* (called *Contra manicheos* by Eckbert); and *De haeresibus.*[19] His purpose was to provide further background to the origins of the Cathar sect, so that "those who should read might be able to recognize this entire heresy more completely, as though from the beginning, and should understand why this heresy is considered to be the foundation of all heresies."[20] He regarded such information as useful in protecting those "vacillating spirits of naive men, who, having been deceived by their [the Cathars'] tricky speech, judge them to walk according to the truth."[21] Despite the close relationship posited by Eckbert between Manichaeans and Cathars, a closer look at the first sermon will show that he did distinguish between them and that he did not apply passages from Augustine to the contemporary Cathars.

While proclaiming that the Cathar heresy derived from Mani, Eckbert noted the differences between the two and stated that over time changes in Manichaean teaching had occurred. He explained that the Cathars "have mixed many things with the teachings of their masters, which are not found among the heresies of that man [Mani]. For they are divided against themselves, since some things which are said by some are denied by others."[22] Earlier medieval chroniclers, as we have seen, tended to label contemporary heretics "Manichaeans." That Manichaeans were actually present in eleventh-century Europe has been dismissed by modern scholarship.[23] Clearly, most chroniclers before Eckbert utilized the familiar heretical tradition of Manichaeism, known to the Middle Ages through Augustine, to describe contemporary forms of dissent for which they could not otherwise account.

Moreover, it appears that Eckbert's view of the Manichaeans as the progenitors of the Cathars derived, in part, from the Cathars themselves, not just from his reading of Augustine. In the first sermon, he reported that the Cathars "betray the fact that they themselves are of the error of Manichaeus, in that they are accustomed to say that the blessed Augustine revealed their secrets."[24] No doubt, the Cathars were steadily confronted with texts from Augustine during disputations with Catholics like Eckbert and were forced to explain why so many of their own beliefs appeared among the Manichaeans. Eckbert's statement suggests that their response was similar to that of church polemicists—they assumed a connection between themselves and the Manichaeans. Indeed, if Eckbert correctly reported what the Cathars said about Augustine, it appears that some of them even identified themselves as Manichaeans. It is most likely that

the Cathar leadership, those whom Eckbert referred to as *doctores* and *perfecti*, developed this notion based on their arguments with Christian opponents and perhaps their own reading of Augustine. Thus, when Eckbert wrote that the Cathars followed the doctrine and life of that sect of Manichaeans called the *catharistae*, he may have been reporting what the Cathars themselves claimed. In fact, the question of how much the Cathars knew about Augustine, and how they responded to the arguments drawn from his work, merits much more attention.

It was to these "doctors" and "perfect" that Eckbert addressed his arguments throughout the sermons. For example, he wrote at the beginning of the fifth sermon, in defense of marriage, "I speak to your doctors and perfect, indeed not perfect in holiness but in error and perversity."[25] Moreover, it seems clear that only after some years in the sect could one advance to the level of doctors and perfect. Eckbert wrote that the Cathar leadership concealed certain secret teachings of the sect from those who joined for as long as fifteen years, "until you have tested them for a long time, so that you can be sure they will not betray you."[26] This period of what amounted to probation was to become characteristic of the Cathars during the thirteenth century, when a period of instruction, or *abstentia*, was required before the reception of the *consolamentum*.[27]

The rite of passage to the level of the *perfecti* and *doctores* was almost certainly the spiritual baptism of the Cathars, conferred by the laying on of hands, an early form of what later was called the *consolamentum*, the central rite of Catharism in both France and Lombardy.

Further, while Eckbert did incorporate passages from Augustine into his first sermon, it was for the purpose of describing what he considered their origins, as is clear from the subtitle of this section: "Whence this sect takes its origin." For the same reason Eckbert compiled an addendum of Augustine's anti-Manichaean works. He believed that becoming familiar with the early history of the contemporary Cathars could help his readers recognize them in their current form. For this task, Eckbert naturally turned to Augustine, probably his only available source.

An example of the confusion that can arise from reading Eckbert's first sermon is the following passage, concerning the origin of the Manichaean sect and its organization. In it, Eckbert was drawing from Augustine's *De haeresibus*, but he was not referring to the Cathars of his own time.

> Moreover, this Manicheus, about whom I should now speak a little, was born in Persia, and indeed was called "Manes" at first, while afterward he was called "Manicheus" by his disciples, so that he would not appear to be in-

> sane. From these disciples, moreover, he chose twelve, whom he considered apostles, so that he might conform to the model of Christ, who chose for Himself twelve of His disciples to be apostles. And his imitators choose the same number to this day, since from their elect they choose twelve whom they call masters, and a thirteenth is chosen as their leader; moreover, they have 72 bishops who are ordained by the masters, and presbyters and deacons, who are ordained by the bishops, and these are called the elect among them.[28]

At first glance, it might seem that Eckbert has lifted an entire section from the *De haeresibus* to describe the contemporary Cathar hierarchy;[29] indeed, that is what one scholar of Catharism, Milan Loos, assumed.[30] Such an assumption is wrong, however; Eckbert believed he was outlining the Cathars' origins, *not* the sect as it existed in his time.

Another passage that could easily lead one to conclude that Eckbert was applying to the Cathars what Augustine had written of the Manichaeans is Eckbert's statement that Mani chose twelve disciples, to conform to the model of Christ, and that "his imitators choose the same number to this day." Although here Eckbert appeared to be referring to contemporary Cathars, he was quoting Augustine's statement that "Manichaeus also had twelve disciples in imitation of the twelve Apostles, which number the Manichaeans keep even today."[31] It might be argued that Eckbert wrote *imitatores* instead of following Augustine's *Manichaei* because he was referring to the hierarchy of contemporary Cathars, but we should be cautious. First, perhaps Eckbert's text of the *De haeresibus* read *imitatores*, or perhaps he simply wished to designate the "followers" or "imitators" of Mani in general; this meaning would fit his stated purpose of describing the Cathars' origins rather than the sect as he knew it.

Furthermore, if Eckbert had been describing the Cathar hierarchy in the passages cited above, we should expect to find some mention of it elsewhere in the *Sermones*. In fact, nowhere in the fourteen sermons did Eckbert refer to Cathar masters, bishops, presbyters, or deacons, nor did he mention groups of twelve disciples. He did not divide the Cathars into *electi* and *auditores*, the names by which Augustine regularly designated the Manichaeans.[32] In fact, the Cathar organization that emerges from the sermons is very different from that of the Manichaeans as described in Augustine's work. As we have seen, Eckbert referred to the Cathar leadership as the "perfect" (*perfecti*) and "doctors" (*doctores*), who were the possessors and guardians of secret doctrines made accessible only to those who had undergone a baptism with fire and the Holy Spirit. Eckbert also used the term "arch-Cathar" to designate the presiding official at this

baptism, but this may well be a term of opprobrium and not a title actually used by the Cathars.[33] The "arch-Cathar" may well have served as the equivalent of a Catholic bishop, guiding a group of Cathar congregations, but this is not clear. How these perfect, doctors, and arch-Cathars fit into the hierarchy of each community is uncertain; perhaps one person could hold all three titles. In any case, Eckbert provided no further information about these positions, and while his description of Cathar baptism reflects the presence of an ecclesiastical organization, it was very loosely structured.

Although most of the evidence for Eckbert's supposed identification of Cathars with Manichaeans comes from his first sermon, he did attribute certain Cathar teachings to Mani in other sermons. For example, in the thirteenth sermon, Eckbert described how the Cathars denied the humanity of Christ, a belief he attributed to Mani:

> For they who know you well say that you deny the humanity of the saviour. . . . But it is not surprising to me that you are the mad disciples of a mad master. For the prince of your error, Mani, taught that our saviour appeared in human form in such a way that, indeed, he seemed to be a man but was not truly a man and that he was not truly born from a virgin, nor truly suffered, nor truly died, nor truly was raised from the dead.[34]

While Eckbert's belief that Mani was the source of Cathar docetism was surely wrong, this should not cause us to dismiss his report summarily as plagiarism from Augustine. There are, in fact, good reasons for believing that some Cathars *were* docetists.

First, Eckbert claimed a firsthand source for this information. He wrote that he had learned of this belief "from a certain faithful man, who, having recognized their [the Cathars'] falsehood and disgraceful secrets, left their society."[35]

Moreover, there is evidence that docetism was present among some Cathars of Lombardy and southern France during the last quarter of the twelfth century. For example, between 1176 and 1190, a former Cathar named Bonacursus told the clergy of Milan that "concerning Christ they [the Cathars] say that he did not have a living body, that He did not eat, drink, or do anything else as men do, but that it only seemed that he did."[36] Likewise, docetism is attributed to one sect of the Lombard Cathars by the anonymous author of *De heresi de Catharorum*, written in the early thirteenth century but regarded as a useful source for twelfth-century Catharism in Italy.[37] And in his *Historia Albigensis* (writ-

ten ca. 1218), the French Cistercian and crusader Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay reported that the Cathars of southern France also denied Christ's humanity.[38]

Moreover, there is no evidence from the sermons that Eckbert relied on Augustine for his refutation of Cathar docetism.[39] Although Eckbert did cite some of the same scriptures as Augustine, he did not produce anything similar to Augustine's exposition of these scriptures. For example, Eckbert asserted that the risen Christ's invitation to Thomas to touch his wound (Luke 24:39) clearly proved that Christ physically rose from the dead in the same flesh in which he had died.[40] Augustine cited the same verse in his attack on Manichaean docetism in *Contra Faustum*, but his purpose was to refute Faustus's rejection of Jesus's descent from David. Augustine quoted Luke 24:39 to help explain to Faustus what Paul meant by the word "flesh" in writing to the Corinthians.[41] In fact, whereas Eckbert's rebuttal of Cathar docetism featured a literal reading of certain New Testament passages, Augustine's strategy was much more complicated.

Although this article's focus has been confined mainly to Eckbert's first sermon,[42] I believe it reveals the need for a reevaluation of Eckbert of Schönau as a primary source for Catharism. Moreoever, my own extensive study of the remaining thirteen has provided additional support for this revisionist approach. It is no longer permissible to dismiss the sermons as a compendium of Augustine's anti-Manichaean writings. Rather, they should be carefully consulted by those addressing the basic question of when and where Catharism first appeared in the medieval West, how it was influenced by Bogomil dualism, and how these dualists interacted with the movements for reform already in place in western Europe.

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Notes

1. This article consists largely of material taken from two of the introductory chapters of my doctoral dissertation, "Eckbert of Schönau's *Sermones contra Kataros*" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1990). The dissertation is a critical edition and study of the sermons; passages from the sermons in this article are from my edition, though I have included corresponding citations from the edition in *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina* (hereafter abbreviated *PL*) 195, (Paris: Migne, 1855), cols. 11–102.

2. Most important in this regard has been the work of Antoine Dondaine. In 1939, Dondaine published the *Liber de duobus principiis*, a description of the radical dualism of the sect of Lombard Cathars called the "Albanenses" by Jean de Lugio of Bergamo, Cathar bishop of Desenzano. In the same volume, Dondaine published three other original sources on Catharism: Rainer Sacconi's *De catharis et pauperibus lugduno*, the *Fragmentum ritualis*, and an account of the Cathar *consolamentum*. In 1949 and 1950, Dondaine edited two important accounts of the early history of Catharism in Lombardy, *De heresi catharorum* and *Tractatus de hereticis*, in "La Hiérarchie cathare en Italie, [1:] Le 'De heresi catharorum in Lombardia,' " *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 19 (1949): 280–312, and "Le 'Tractatus de hereticis' d'Anselm d'Alexandrie O.P.," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 20 (1950): 234–277. Other significant publications include two by Christine Thouzellier: *Un Traité cathare inédit du début du XIIIe siècle d'après le "Liber contra Manichaeos" de Durand de Huesca* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain, 1961), and *Une Somme anti-cathare: Le "Liber contra Manicheos" de Durand de Huesca* (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1964).

3. Steven Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947). Before the appearance of Runciman's study, this thesis had been set forth by such scholars of medieval heresy as Henry Charles Lea, *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* (New York: 1887–1888; repr. and abr. by Margaret Nicholson, New York, 1961), 41–42; and Paul Alphandéry, "Le Gnosticisme dans les sectes médiévales latines," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 7 (1927): 395–411. By contrast, the notion of a heretical tradition linking the Manichaeans and Cathars was denied by Charles Schmidt in *Histoire et doctrine de la Secte des Cathares ou Albigeois*, vol. 1 (Paris: J. Cherbuliez, 1849), iv–v.

4. Among these scholars are Arno Borst, *Die Katharer* (Stuttgart: Schriften der Monumenta Germanie Historica 12, 1953), 93–94; Raoul Manselli, "Amicizi spirituali ed azione pastorale nella Germania del secolo XII: Ildegarde di Bingen, Elisabetta ed Ecberto di Schönau contro l'eresia catara," in *Studi in onore di Alberto Pincherle,* Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni 38 (Rome: Ateneo, 1967), 302–312; Jeffrey Russell, *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), 220; and R. I. Moore, "The Origins of Medieval Heresy," *History* 65 (1970): 223.

5. *Ad S. Bernardi epistolas* no. 432, *PL* 182.676–680.

6. Although Eckbert mentioned this episode in the *Sermones* 1.15–16, (*PL* 195.16B), the best account is in *Chronica regia coloniensis*, Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores 18 (Hannover: Hahn, 1880), 114. A slightly different account is presented in *Caesarii Heisterbacensis dialogus miraculorum* 5.xix, ed. Joseph Strange, 2 vols. (Cologne: 1851), 1.298–299.

7. Schönau, founded in 1127 at Nastätten, some twenty to twenty-five miles southwest of Cologne and Bonn, was a double monastery dedicated to the martyr St. Florianus. It now lies in the diocese of Limburg. On the foundation of Schönau, see F.W. E. Roth, *Die Visionen der Heilige Elisabeth und die Schriften der Abte Ekbert und Emecho von Schönau* (Brunn: Verlag der Studien auf dem Benedictiner und Cistercienser Orden, 1884), vii–xxi; and Magnus Backes, "Bau- und Kunstgeschichte von Kloster Schönau," in *Schönauer Elisabeth-Jubiläum: Festschrift anlässlich des achthundertjährigen Todestages der Elisabeth von Schönau* (Schönau: Prämonstratenser-Shorherrenstift, 1965), 101–133.

8. Scholars who have taken this ambivalent view of Eckbert's work include Herbert Grundmann, *Religiose Bewegungen im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Historische Studien, 1935; repr. Vaduz: Kraus, 1965), 24; Arno Borst, *Die Katharer* (n. 4 above), 209, 251–252; Raoul Manselli, "Eckberto di Schönau e l'eresia catara in Germania all meta del secolo XII," in *Arte e storia: studi in onore di Leonello Vincenti* (Torino: Giappechelli, 1965), 332–333; Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1976), 63; and R. I. Moore, *Origins of European Dissent* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), 176–179. Among those few scholars who have largely accepted the testimony of the sermons, despite some reservations, are Jeffrey Russell (n. 4 above), who described them as "judicious and thorough, so that the book represents the earliest reliable source on the Catharists" (220). See also Jean Duvernoy, who considered the sermons a "source of the first order, intelligent and direct." (*Le Catharisme: La religion des Cathares* [Toulouse: Privat, 1976], 14).

9. "Paulo post exorti sunt per Aquitaniam Manichei, seducentes plebam." Adhemar's chronicle is edited by Jules Chavanon: *Chronique* 3.49, Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et l'enseignement de l'histoire 20 (Paris: Picard, 1897), 173.

10. "Aiebat enim in quadam parte diocesis suae quosdam rusticos esse, qui perversum Manicheorum dochma sectantes," *Herigeri et Anselmi gesta episcoporum Leodiensium*, 2.62–64, ed. Rudolf Koepke, Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores 8 (Hannover: Hahn, 1846), 226.

11. "Si relegas haereses ab Augustino digestas, nulli magis quam manicheorum reperies convenire," *Guibert de Nogent: Autobiographie*, ed. Edmond-René Labande (Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1981), 430.

12. See the edition by Albert Lecoy de la Marche, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues, tirées du recueil inédit d'Étienne de Bourbon, Dominicain du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Librairie de la Société de l'Histoire de France, 1878), 300.

13. For a discussion and English translation of the most important sources for French and Italian Catharism, see Walter Wakefield and Austin P. Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 447–630; also helpful is Malcolm Lambert's chapter on the Cathars in his *Medieval Heresy, Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1976), 108–150. For an extensive and more recent discussion of these sources, see Gerald Rottenwöhrer, *Der Katharismus*, 2 vols. (Bad Honnef: Bock Herchen, 1982).

14. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the identification of heretics in general with Manichaeans was common, but I have found no evidence that any writer before Eckbert specifically linked Cathars and Manichaeans. The report that comes closest to such an association was probably that of the Council of Reims in 1157, which condemned a sect it labeled "Piphilis" or "weavers." See the edition by James Fearns, *Ketzer und Ketzerbekämpfung im Hochmittelalter* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1968), 59. There is no evidence, however, that these "Manichaeans" around Reims were identified as Cathars; see the discussion in H. Maisonneuve, *Études sur les origines de l'inquisition*, 2d ed. (Paris: Vrin, 1960), 108–118.

15. *Sermones* 1.17: "Unde secta hoc originem ducat" (*PL* 195: *De origine sectae Catharorum*).

16. Ibid., 1.17 (*PL* 195.16D): "Sciendum uero et non celandum ab auribus uulgi quoniam indubitanter secta eorum de quibus agimus originem accept a Manicheo heresiarcha, cuius doctrina maledicta erat et tota uenenosa et radicata est in populo isto peruerso."

17. *De haeresibus* 46, *The De Haeresibus of Saint Augustine*, ed. and trans., Liguori Müller, The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies 90 (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1956), 90. The "Catharists" were one of the three groups of Manichaeans described by Augustine, the other two being the "Mattarians" and the "Manichaeans." Augustine explained the origin of the "catharistae" as another word for "purifiers" (*purgatores*), stemming from the need of the Manichaean Perfect to purge or cleanse from their bodies the part of the divine power imprisoned within them.

18. *Sermones* 1.23 (*PL* 195.18B): "Quorum doctrinam et uitam indubitanter sectantur isti, de quibus nunc sermo nobis est."

19. *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum* was written in the year or two after Augustine's baptism in A.D. 388, the second book of which refuted Manichaean dualism and immorality. It is edited in *PL* 32.1309–1378. Written in A.D. 397, the *Contra epistolam Manichaei quam vocant fundamenti* contained excerpts of a letter attributed to Mani, an important part of the Manichaean canon of writings, upon which Augustine commented (edited by J. Zycha, Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum 25 [Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1891], 195–234. *De haeresibus*, written in A.D. 428 or 429, at the request of Quodvultdeus, a deacon at Carthage, comprised descriptions of eighty-four heresies, for which Augustine relied on both earlier works of church history and the writings

of heretics of his own day (edited by Liguori Müller, with English trans. by R. Vander Plaetses and C. Beukers, *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* 46 [Turnhout: Brepols, 1969], 283–345).

20. *Sermones* 1.24 (*PL* 195.18C): "ut qui legerint possint quasi a fundamento totam hanc heresim plenius agnoscere et intelligant quoniam hec heresis omnium heresum sentina est."

21. Ibid., 1.5 (*PL* 195.13–14): "ad confirmandos uacillantes animos seductibilium hominum qui, dolosis sermonibus illorum decepti, ambulare eos secundum ueritatem existimant."

22. Ibid., 1.17–18 (*PL* 195.16D): "Multa tamen permixta habent doctrine magistri sui que inter hereses illius non inueniuntur. Diuisi sunt etiam contra semetipsos quia nonnulla que ab aliquibus eorum dicuntur ab aliis negantur."

23. Among the earliest and most formidable challengers to Steven Runciman's thesis were Raffaello Morghen, *L'Eresia nel Medioevo* (Bari: Bibloteca di cultura moderna, 1951), 228–229; idem, "Problèmes sur l'origine de l'hérésie au moyen-âge," in *Hérésies et sociétés*, ed. Jacques Le Goff (Paris: Mouton, 1968), 122–123; and Borst (n. 4 above), 72 n. 2, 173–202; and idem, "La Transmission de l'hérésie au moyen âge," in *Hérésies et sociétés*, 273. Since the 1960s, the view that contacts between Eastern dualism and Western heresy only began in the first half of the twelfth century has gained wide acceptance. See, for example, Grundmann (n. 8 above), 24–27; and Russell (n. 4 above), as well as his "Interpretations of the Origins of Medieval Heresy," *Mediaeval Studies* 15 (1963): 26–53. Still, there are scholars who would place the entrance of Bogomil dualism into western Europe during the eleventh century, such as Lambert (n. 8 above), 33, 51–54.

24. *Sermones* 1.24 (*PL* 195.18C): "Produnt autem semetipsos quod sint de errore Manichei in eo quod dicere solent quod beatus Augustinus prodiderit secreta eorum."

25. Ibid., 5.62 (*PL* 195.26D): "Uobis loquor doctoribus et perfectis, non in sanctitate quidem, sed in errore et peruersitate."

26. Ibid., 2.29 (*PL* 195.19D): "donec diu eos probaueritis, ita ut sperare possitis de eis quod non prodant uos."

27. See the discussion by Lambert (n. 8 above), 121–122.

28. *Sermones* 1.19–20 (*PL* 195.16D–17B): "Manicheus autem iste, ut nunc pauca de illo loquar, a persia oriundus erat et primo quidem manes dicebatur; postea uero a discipulis suis manicheus appellatus est, ne insanus uideretur et dictus manes a mania, quod est insanie nomen. Ex numero discipulorum suorum duodecim elegit quos quasi apostolos suos habebat, ut in hoc haberet formam christi, qui ex discipulis suis duodecim sibi elegit apostolos. Quem numerum imitatores eius et hodierna die obseruant, qui ex electis suis habent duodecim quos appellant magistros et tercium decimum principem ipsorum, episcopos autem septuagintaduos qui ordinantur a magistris, et presbyteros ac diaconos qui ab episcopis ordinantur et hi electi inter eos uocantur."

29. Eckbert drew from the following two passages; see Müller (n. 17 above,

whose translation I follow): "Manichei a quodam Persa exstiterunt qui vocabatur Manes; quamvis et ipsum, com eius insana doctrina coepisset in Graecia praedicari, Manichaeum discipuli eius appellare maluerunt devitantes nomen insaniae" ("The Manichaeans sprang from a certain Persian called Manes, but when they began to publish his mad doctrine in Greece, his disciples chose to call him Manichaeus to avoid the word for 'madness,' " 84); and "ipse Manichaeus duodecim discipulos habuit ad instar apostolici numeri, quem numerum [*sic*] Manichaei hodieque custodiunt. Nam ex Electis suis habent duodecim quos appellant magistros, et tertium decimum principem ipsorum; episcopos autem septuaginta duos, qui ordinantur a magistris, et presbyteros, qui ordinantur ab episcopis. Habent etiam episcopi diaconos" ("Manichaeus also had twelve disciples in imitation of the twelve Apostles. The Manichaeans keep this number even today. For they have twelve of their Elect whom they call Masters, and a thirteenth who is their chief, seventy-two bishops who receive their orders from the Masters, and priests who are ordained by the bishops. The bishops also have deacons," 94).

30. *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages* (Prague: Academia, for the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 1974), 116.

31. "Propter quod etiam ipse Manichaeus duodecim discipulos habuit ad instar apostolici numeri, quem numerum [*sic*] Manichaei hodieque custodiunt."

32. According to Augustine, the Manichaeans contained the two "orders" of *electi* and *auditores*; the latter were responsible for helping the elect maintain a life that would bring no harm to the particles of Light trapped within nature. The hearers were not required to live as austerely as the elect. See *De haeresibus* 46, Müller (n. 17 above), 86; *Contra Faustum* 30.5–6, Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum 25.1 (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1891), 752–755; and *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* 35.80, *PL* 32.1344C.

33. *Sermones* 9.161–162 (*PL* 195.51D): "Locantur luminaria copiose in parietibus cunctis, statur per ordinem in circuitu cum reuerencia magna quoniam sancta res agitur que tamen magis complaceat diabolo quam deo. Statuitur in medio infelix ille qui baptizandus, siue katharizandus est, et assistit ei archicatharus, tenens in manu libellum deputatum ad hoc officium. Dicitur autem hic baptismus fieri in igne propter ignem luminum que in circuitu ardent." ("Lights are placed abundantly on all the walls; it is done according to custom in a circle with great reverence, since a holy act is performed, which is actually more pleasing to the Devil than to God. The unfortunate one who is to be baptized, or catharized, is placed in the middle and the Archcathar assists him, holding in his hand a little book designated for this ceremony. Moreover, this baptism is said to be performed in fire because of the fire of the lights which burn in a circle").

34. Ibid., 13.337 (*PL* 195.94C–D): "Nam qui bene uos noscunt saluatoris humanitatem negare uos dicunt. . . . Non est autem incredibile mihi insani magistri insanos esse discipulos. Nam princeps erroris uestri, Manes, saluatorem nostrum ita in humanitate apparuisse docebat ut uideretur quidem esse homo et non esset uere homo et quod nec passus nec uere mortuus nec uere a morte suscitatus."

35. Ibid., 1.14 (*PL* 195.15D): "Nec intactum preteribo quod audiui a quodam uiro fideli qui, agnita eorum perfidia et secretis quibusdam turpitudinibus eorum, de societate ipsorum exiuit." In the *PL* edition, this passage is made to refer to the Cathars' form of communion; it is placed under the heading "Concerning the body and blood of the Lord" (*de corpore et sanguine Domini*). In the earliest manuscript of the *Sermones*, however, this passage clearly refers to Cathar docetism and is placed under the heading *de humanitate saluatoris* (concerning the humanity of the Savior).

36. Fearns ed. (n. 14 above), 31: "de Christo dicunt, quod non habuit animatum corpus, non manducavit, neque bibit, sed nec aliqua secundum hominem fecit, sed videbatur ita."

37. See the edition of Dondaine in "La Hiérarchie cathare en Italie" (n. 2 above), 311.

38. *Petri Vallium Sarnaii Monachi hystoria Albigensis*, ed. P. Guébin and E. Lyon, 3 vols. (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1939), 1.7.

39. For Manichaean docetism, see C. H. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 126–127; and H. Polotsky, "Manichaismus," *Realencyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* Supplementband 6, 268–270; for Augustine's description of Manichaean docetism, see his *Contra Faustum* 20.2 and 32.7, ed. Zycha (n. 32 above), 536, 766; and *De natura boni* 44, Corpus scriptorium ecclesiasticorum latinorum 25.1 (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1891), 881.

40. *Sermones* 13.344 (*PL* 195.95B).

41. *Contra Faustum* 11.7 (n. 32 above), 232. See 2 Corinthians 5:16 in the Vulgate: "Itaque nos ex hoc neminem novimus secundum carnem [flesh]."

42. Another Cathar doctrine attributed by Eckbert to the Manichaeans was the belief that the devil created the visible world; see *Sermones* 7.117–121 (*PL* 195.40D–41D).