Analysis of the *Directorium Inquisitorum* (1587), *Secunda Pars*
Compiled by Lucas W. Kriner
School of History, University of St Andrews

Illus 1: Title page of the Directorium Inquisitorum

DIRECTORIVM
INQVISITORVM
F· NICOLAI EYMERICI
ORDINIS PRAED.
CVM COMMENTARIIS FRANCISCI PEGNÆ
Sacræ Theologiæ ac Juris vtriusque Doctoris.
IN HAC POSTREMA EDITIONE ITERVM EMENDATVM
& auctum, & multis litteris Apostolicis locupletatum.
AD S. D. N. GREGORIVM XIII. PONT. MAX.
ACCESSIT HAERESVM, RERVM ET VERBORVM
Multiplex, & copiosissimus Index.
CVM PRIVILEGIO, ET SVPERIORVM APPROBATIONE.
S·P·Q·R
ROMAE, IN AEDIBVS POPVLI ROMANI
Apud Georgium Ferrarium M D LXXXVII.

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The Second Part of the *Directorium* is primarily concerned with the identity of heretics. The ideological basis for the *Directorium* is found in this section. The bulk of the identification process and historical interpretation takes place in a portion of 58 Questions (*Quaestiones Quinquaginta-Octo de haeretica pravitate ad officium Inquisitionis perinentes*) that focus on improper belief through the ages. Eymeric begins by discussing the benefits of naming heresies in the first question and continues by naming heresies. This method was important to Eymeric's approach to identify heresies in subsequent *quaestiones*.

Eymeric then moves on to identify the errors of ancient philosophers and pagans (*de erroribus philosophorum priscorum*) such as Maimonides, Avicenna, Plato and Aristotle. He also discussed errors that Christ condemned (*de erroribus ab ipso Christo damnatis)*. Heresies the Church has condemned and heresies of Eymeric's own time receive further attention. Among those named as heretics around Eymeric's time were notable groups and individuals. Franciscans like John of Parma, Michael of Cesena and William of Ockham were condemned for advocating schism and extreme poverty. Also, works by Raymond Lull and Arnold Villanova were condemned. Groups that were deemed heretical included the Cathars, Waldensians, Begards and Beguines, and the Fraticelli. Questions 18 to 22 deal with pagan ethnic groups that are condemned for their disbelief: Turks, Greeks and Jews are examples of some of those identified.

This line of argument represented a sophisticated way to denominate heresies and to certify that they believed improperly. Heresies can be divided into two principle groups: historical and contemporary.

Table 1: Historical and contemporary heresy in Quaestiones I – XXXVII

Subject	***Quae.***
The name "heresy" 1	I
Errors of Philosophers	IIII
Errors Christ condemned	V
Heresies the Church condemned	VI
Contemporary Heresies	*VII-XVII*
Errors of Pagans	*XVIII-XXII*
Condemned books (apocryphal)	XXIII
Condemned books (OFMs et al.)	*XXIV-XXIX*
The name "heresy" 2	XXX
Heresies in Canon Law	XXXVI

The heart of the historical foundation of defining heresies is found in Question 6. This question includes the largest list of heresies condemned by the Church in which the historical process of identification can most clearly be seen. Eymeric employs a denomination process as he uses words like *vocati*, *appellati, nuncupati,* and *nominati* and expressions like *exorti* and *orti* to assign origin. As the Latin shows, each heresy is defined as an ideological group in the plural, but also refers to a particular original heretic. For example, Eymeric says, *Cerdoniani a[b] Cerdone quodam nominati* about the Cerdonians. About famous heresies, he states, "the Arians are derived from Arius of Alexandria" and "the Manichees arose from a certain Persia who was called Mani." About the Sabellians and Noetians, Eymeric identifies a connection between comparable heresies: "The Noetiani are named from Noetus" and "The Sabellians have grown from the same Noetus." These comparisons usually included a side-by-side entry. The same can be found for the Photians and Ebionites who Eymeric chastizes for their "poor intelligence" and that they "hold the gospel so they might carnally keep the law against what the Apostle [Paul] has written to the Galatians." This marks a rare explicit comment in this section about the Poor Friars of his own day. The inclusion of the Ebionites is therefore no surprise as they were regular targets of the Church Fathers and provided ample argument against what Eymeric saw as contestable in his own time.

Illus 2: List of Heresies found in Question 6

hæresi 14.15.& sequent. hi fuerunt: Sadducæi, Scribæ, Pharisæi, Hemerobaptistæ, Nazarei, Essæi, & Herodiani. Horum hæreses recenset etiam breuiter more suo Philastrius episcopus Brixiensis in catalogo hæresum in principio, & Isidorus lib.8. Etymolog.cap.4.& sanctus Antoninus in sum.par. 4.tit. 11.cap.6.& alij. Eymericus hoc loco tres tantum sectas recensuit, scilicet Pharisæorum, Sadducæorum & Herodianorum: Ceterum cum dixit tres esse in genere, aperte indicauit plures fuisse sectas; omnes tamen ad has tres referri possunt, vt constat ex sancto Epiphanio. Christus autem Dominus in Euangelio sæpe acriter hos reprehendit, eorumque doctrinã & mores reprobauit, & ideo vere ait auctor hic istorum errores personaliter fuisse à Iesu Christo condemnatos.

Singulorum vero errores, mores, & studia propterea hic referre omisi, quoniam satis esse existimo indicasse lectori auctores, vnde ista petere possit. Perfectior autem sanctum Epiphanium, qui ceteris est in hac re copiosior.

Quæstio VI. de Hæresibus damnatis relatis in Decreto.

A
66 Acephali.
14 Adamiani.
38 Aeriani.
59 Aeriani, sive Eunomiani.
68 Agnoitæ.
26 Alogij.
18 Angelici.
46 Antidicomaritæ.
52 Antropomorphitæ.
19 Apostolici.
12 Apellitæ.
45 Apollinaristæ.
23 Aquarij.
59 Arabici.
13 Archontici.
43 Ariani.
22 Artotyritæ.

B
4 Basilidiani.
52 Bonosiani.

C
15 Cainani.
7 Carpocratiani.
27 Cataphryges.
28 Cathari.
20 Cerdoniani.
8 Cerinthiani, vel Millenarij.
53 Circumcelliones, seu Scototopitæ.
49 Colluthiani.

D
51 Donatistæ.

E
36 Ebionitæ.
65 Eutychiani.

F
50 Floriani.

G
6 Gnostici.

H
57 Helvidiani.
30 Hermogeniani.
33 Hierachitæ.
80 Hæreses varijs sine nomine auctorum.

I
56 Iouinianistæ.

L
55 Luciferiani.

M
44 Macedoniani.
31 Manichæi.
21 Marcionistæ.
17 Melchisedechiani.
3 Menandriani.
47 Metangismonitæ.
35 Montani.

N
9 Nazarei.
64 Nestoriani.
5 Nicolaitæ.
41 Noetiani, sive Patripassiani.
34 Novatiani.
62 Nyllages.

O
10 Ophytæ.
40 Origeniani.

P
38 Pateriani.
48 Patriciani.
29 Paulianí.
63 Pelagiani.

37 Photiniani.
54 Priscillianistæ.

S
42 Sabelliani.
16 Serbiani.
24 Seuerianí.
2 Simoniani.

T
25 Tatiani, sive Encratitæ.
60 Tertullianistæ.
61 Tessarescadecatitæ.
67 Theodosiani, sive Gazanitæ.
69 Tricheitæ.

V
12 Valentiniani.

SEXTA quæstio est: Hæreses et errores per Christi Vicariũ, et ecclesiã condemnati, de quibus agitur in Decretis qui sunt? Ad hæc dicimus, q̃ hæreses & errores quamplures condẽsantur, colliguntur, & ponunt expresse 24.q.3.c.Quidã. vbi dicitur sic: ¶ *Sectæ vero hæreticorum quot sint, & unde nomina acceperint, Isidorus 8.lib.etymologiarum. ca.5. determinat, dicens,*

1. Quidam autem hæretici, qui de ecclesia recesserint, ex nomine suorum auctorum nuncupantur: quidam vero ex causis, quas eligentes instituerunt. *Iuxta emendationem factam Romæ Decreti nuper editi.*

2. Simoniani a dicti à Simone magicę artis perito: cui Petrus in actibus Apostolorũ, maledixit pro eo, q̃ ab Apostolis Spiritus sancti gratiã pecunia emere voluisset. hi dicunt, creaturam non à Deo, sed à virtute quadam superna creatam. *Acto.8.*

3. Menandrini, à Menandro mago discipulo Simonis nuncupati: qui mundum non à Deo, sed ab angelis factum asserũt.

4. Basilidiani, à Basilide appellati, qui inter reliquas blasphemias, Iesum passum abnegauit.

5. Nicolaitæ dicti à Nicolao Diacono ecclesię Hierosolymorũ, qui cum Stephano, & ceteris constitutus est à Petro: qui pp pulchritudinẽ reliquęs vxorẽ, dixerat, vt qui vellet, ea vteretur, versa est in stuprum talis consuetudo, vt inuicem coniugia commutarentur: quos Iounes in Apocalypsi improbat, dicens: Sed hoc habes, q̃ odisti facta Nicolaitarum. *Acto.6.* *Apoc.2.*

6. Gnostici propter excellentiam scientię se ita appellare voluerunt. Animam, naturam Dei et se dicunt: bonum & malum Deum suis dogmatibus fingunt.

7 Carpocratiani, à Carpocrate quodam vocantur, qui dixit Christum hominem fuisse tantum, & de vtroque sexu progenitum.

8. Cerinthiani, à Cerintho quodam nuncupati. hi inter cetera circumcisionem obseruant: mille annos post resurrectionem in voluptate carnis futuros prædicant. vnde & Græce χιλιάδες, latine millenarii sunt appellati.

9. Nazarei dicti, qui dum Christum (qui à vico Nazarẽus est appellatus) filium Dei confitentur, omnia tamen veteris legis custodiunt.

10. Ophitę, à coluhro nominati sunt. coluber enim græce ὄφις dicitur: colunt enim serpentem, dicentes ipsum in paradisum induxisse virtutis cognitionem.

11. Valentiniani, à Valentino quodam Platonico sectatore vocati, qui ἀιῶνας, idest sæcula

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Table 2 : Discrepancies between published editions of the Directorium *to 1607*

Place	**E. Van Der Vekene 1**[1]	**E. Van Der Vekene 2**[2]	**E. Peters**[3]
Seville	1500	1500	—
Barcelona	1503	1503	1503
Barcelona	—	—	1536
?	1570?	—	—
?	1575?	1575?	—
Rome	1578	1578	1578
Rome	1585	1585	1585
Rome	1587	1587	1587
Venice	—	—	1591
Venice	1595	1595	—
Venice	1595	1595	—
Venice	1607	1607	1607

[1] Emile Van der Vekene , *Bibliographie de Inquisition: ein Versuch* (Hildesheim:Olms, 1963)
[2] Van der Vekene, *Bibliotheca Bibliographica Historiae Sanctae Inquisitionis* (Vaduz:Topos, 1982-83) and *idem*, *Zur Bibliographie des Directorium Inquisitorum des Nicholaus Eymerich* (Luxemburg, 1961)
[3] Peters, "Editing Inquisitors' Manuals in the Sixteenth Century: Francisco Peña and the *Directorium Inquisitorum* of Nicholas Eymeric" in *The Library Chronicle* 40 (1974), p. 96 and *idem*, *Inquisition* (Berkeley:University of California Press, 1989), p. 68.

Selections from the *Directorium Inquisitorum*
Translated by Lucas W. Kriner
School of History, University of St Andrews

[Examples of *Eymeric and Pegna identifying heretics, using historical argument, and making contemporary application for examination heretics*.]

† Eymeric: The arrangement of the Second Part
(*Directorium* IIa, p. 80)

[*Eymeric sets out direction of the Second Part*...]
The second part of this Directory of the Office of the Inquisition is on heretics and their beliefs, perpetrators, followers, defenders, and on the faith of observers, notorious heresies, the Waldensians, mendicants from Lugduno, false apostles, Beregard, the Fraticelli, and also about the third order of Blessed Francis, penitentials, heretical blasphemers, and excommunicants during the year. And, even more, on apostates who decline the faith, on Jews, Sarcarens, all the other infidels against faith, and delinquents of the Office of the Inquisition.

† Eymeric: "On the name 'heresy'"
(*Directorium* IIa/Quae.I, p. 231 c.1)

[*Eymeric begins by highlighting the importance of identifying and naming heretics*...]

The first question is: from whence is the name 'heresy' traced? For this we respond according to the reason of Isidore [of Seville] and other words of exposition that this name is derived or explained in three ways... By consequence it is always proven from the aforementioned that the name of heresy causes three things: selection, adherence and division. It is well known heresy brings division.

† Pegna:
(*Directorium* IIa/Comm.XXVI, p. 232 c.2 – 233 c.1)

I say once again by heresies against God descend: blasphemies, sacrilege, subversion of the pious in the Church. The violation of the law of the holy judges: heretics exert against Catholics and the faithful unjust accusations toward the ease of belief that is in Catholics... The true and catholic faith and religion are torn out and destroyed by heresies in the souls of men...Whether they comply or not, they will be eliminated.

† Eymeric: "These are the heresies against the Catholic Faith"
(*Directorium* IIa/Quae.VI, p. 246 c.1)

[*Eymeric's conclusion regarding the identification and naming of heretics*]
Although they may not withdraw from the Church, nonetheless, they can be called heretics.

† Pegna: "On the heresies of the Manichees begun in Italy"
(*Directorium* IIa/Quae.XIII, p. 274 c.2)

[*Pegna comments on Eymeric's use of the past and the similarity of two specific strands of heretical thought*...]
That which Eymeric remembers by the question concerning the new Manichees begun in Italy can seem false to some because, at the time of Innocent III, certainly no heretics called Manichees infested Italy around the year 1200. But, Cathars and Leonists, &c. other imitators of this sect existed. Eymeric has truly followed an ancient appeal... Here the author remembers the role of the well-known ancient Manichees just as they will be set aside by us [today].

† Pegna: "How the precepts of Eymeric ought to be recalled to use"
(*Directorium* IIIa/Comm.XXI, p. 429 c.2)

[*Pegna highlights the imperative to examine heretics and makes some contemporary observations*...]
Although the following precepts that are prescribed by Eymeric for the errors of heretics needing to be exposed, the majority from the part will have disappeared into disuse, in fact, they are being suited for the heretics of this age needing to be examined. Likewise, they are able to be recalled for [the purpose of] other heretics needing to be examined and easily found guilty by prudent inquisitors so that in our time for Lutherans and Calvinists and all the remainder of whichever sects...are obliged to understand diligently the judges of faith. Also, as it was around the time of Eymeric concerning the errors of Christ, mendicants and also the blessed vision and several others that were frequently being spread around. Thus, today those are being buried and destroyed. These same precepts will be of service for the divine powers of the Roman Pontiff, the merits of the holy, the treasure of indulgences, the power of the Sacraments, the merit of good works, the principles of holy religion and 600 others of that kind [that] are denied, for which needing to be exposed and investigated, transforming a few.

Notes on Editions of Inquisition Manuals –
Authors, dates and places of print
Compiled by Lucas W. Kriner

I. Editions of the *Directorium Inquisitorum*

1. 1500 Seville
2. 1503 Barcelona

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3. 1578 Rome
4. 1585
5. 1587
6. 1595 Venice (x2)
7. 1607
8. 1762 Lisbon
9. 1819 Avignon

Source I: Emile van der Veneke, *Bibliotheca Bibliographica historiae Sanctae Inquisitionis: bibliographisches Verzeichnis des gedruckten Schrifttums zur Geschichte und Litteratur der Inquisition* (3 vols.,Vaduz : Tropos 1983-84) and idem, *Zur Bibliographie des Directorium Inquisitorum des Nicolaus Eymerich* (Luxembourg, 1961).

II. Editions of Simanca's major inquisitorial works: *De Catholicis Institutionibus Liber* (CI)*, Theorice et Praxis Haerescos* (PH)*,* and *Enchiridion Iudicum violate religionis* (EI).

1. 1552 Valladolid (CI)
2. 1568 Venice (PH)
3. 1569 Alcala (CI)
4. 1569 Venice (EI)
5. 1573 Antwerp (EI)
6. 1573 Venice (EI)
7. 1575 Rome (CI)
8. 1692 Ferrara (CI)

III. Editions of Masini's major inquisitorial work: *Sacro Arsenale*

1. 1621 Geneva
2. 1625
3. 1639 Rome
4. 1653 Geneva – Perugia
5. 1665 Bologna
6. 1679

7. 1693
8. 1705
9. 1716
10. 1730

IV. Editions of Carena's major inquisitorial work: *Tractatus de Officio Sacntissimae Inquisitionis*

1. 1631 Cremona
2. 1636
3. 1641
4. 1642
5. 1649 Lugduni [?]
6. 1655 Cremona
7. 1668 Bononiae [Barcelona?]
8. 1669 Lugduni [?]

V. Other Pegna editions:

1. 1579 *Litterae Apostolicae*
2. Bernard Comensis
3. Juan de Rojas
4. Luigi Bariola

Source II-V: Emile van der Veneke, *Bibliotheca Bibliographica historiae Sanctae Inquisitionis: bibliographisches Verzeichnis des gedruckten Schrifttums zur Geschichte und Litteratur der Inquisition* (3 vols.,Vaduz : Tropos 1983-84)