

Dualist heresy in
Aquitaine and the Agenais,
c.1000 - c.1249

by Claire Taylor, BA (Hons), MA



Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy, July 1999.

Contents

Abstract	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Abbreviations	vii
Genealogies	xii
The dukes of Aquitaine (simplified genealogy)	xii
The Gascon ducal family (simplified genealogy stressing secular titles).....	xiii
The counts of Toulouse/Agen and Toulouse (simplified genealogy).....	xiv
Maps.....	xv
Aquitaine and the Languedoc within France in c.1154	xv
The Agenais, Quercy and Périgord 11th-13th centuries	xvi
The Agenais by c.1249	xvii
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
PART I: The duchy and dualism, c.1000 to the mid-twelfth century	10
Chapter 2: Aquitaine and the Agenais, c.1000-c.1152.....	11
i. The counts of Poitou and Aquitanian society, to c.1060	11
Ducal authority over the Aquitanian nobility	11
Aquitanian religious institutions and the laity.....	15
Castellans and the rural poor: <i>Mutation ou ajustement?</i>	19
The Millennium and popular religiosity	28
The Peace of God: Church and lay authority in alliance	32
ii. Gascony under the Basques to c.1060	36
The Basque dukes and bishops of Gascony	36
The structure of lay authority.....	42
Religious enthusiasm in the Gascon population	44
iii. The duchy of Aquitaine c.1060 to c.1152	45
The assimilation of Gascony into Aquitaine and the power of the dukes within lay society	45
Major religious movements in Aquitaine: Church reform and the powerful, the Truce of God, the early crusades, and monastic revival	50
iv. The Agenais, to c.1152	55
The ancient and early-medieval Agenais.....	55
Gascon rule	58
Toulousain and Poitevin influences in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.	60
The religious life of the Agenais.....	61
Conclusion: The Agenais and the Languedoc.....	64
Chapter 3: Heresy in Aquitaine, c.1000-c.1152.....	66
i. The Millennial Years to c.1050	66
Aquitanian heretics and the historians.....	66
Dualist heresy in the Balkans	67
Possible problems with the western evidence.....	70
Evidence for heresy in Aquitaine.....	73
The major sources for heresy in Aquitaine	73
Incidents of heresy in Aquitaine	76
Dualism elsewhere in France, the Low Countries and Germany.....	85

The view of accusers that the heresy was eastern, transmitted via Italy, and was dualist.....	89
Communication between eastern and western Europe	92
Conclusion: Bogomils in Aquitaine	99
ii. Heresy in Aquitaine c.1050-c.1150.....	102
The context of eastern and western European movements.....	102
The context of heresy in the east.....	103
Dualism in the west before the foundation of the Cathar churches, to the 1140s.....	105
Conclusion: non-dualist heretics and their activity in Aquitaine as a background to Catharism.....	108
PART II: Aquitaine and the Agenais in the period of Catharism, the Albigensian Wars and the Inquisition, the mid-twelfth century to c.1249	112
Chapter 4: Aquitaine and its Cathars, 1152-1207.....	113
i. The duchy of Aquitaine.....	113
Catharism and Aquitaine.....	113
The duchy of Aquitaine in Europe.....	117
Angevin power over Aquitaine	117
The dukes of Aquitaine and their southern neighbours: Toulouse, Aragon and Castile.....	121
Aquitainian society ' <i>hors du Catharisme</i> '.....	124
The Languedoc and Aquitaine as Occitan neighbours.....	124
The Aquitainian laity: a more conservative body of opinion.....	130
Aquitainian Catholicism: meeting the challenge of dissent and reform	135
ii. The Agenais and its Cathars	138
The Agenais	138
The highest authorities in the Agenais.....	138
Identity and diversity in the Agenais	139
The urbanised right bank of the Garonne	142
The towns and nobles of the Lot and the Lot-Garonne confluence.....	143
South of the Garonne	146
The orthodox religious life and the allies of the bishop.....	147
The Cathar diocese of Agen.....	149
The origins of the Cathar diocese.....	149
The Cathars of the Agenais and those of Bas-Quercy.....	152
The Agenais: a heresy of castellans.....	154
Bas-Quercy - a heresy of towns and abbeys	156
iii. Conclusion.....	160
Chapter 5: The Agenais and Aquitaine in the Albigensian Wars, 1207-1229.....	163
i. The crusaders and their targets in Aquitaine and in the Cathar diocese of the Agenais, 1209-1215.....	163
The Crusade in the Languedoc, 1209-15, and the involvement of Aquitainians.....	163
Aquitaine and the Agenais at war.....	166
The Agenais in 1209, 1211-12 and 1213-4.....	166
Quercy and Périgord in 1212 and 1214.....	172
The crusaders in Gascony in 1212-15	180
ii. An Anglo-French context for the crusade, to 1214	184
King John's involvement	184

King John and Philip Augustus, 1209-14	189
John's enemies take the Cross.	191
John and Pope Innocent III	193
iii. Occitan and English interests at the Fourth Lateran Council of November 1215	196
iv. Rebellion and a return to war, 1216-1229	199
1216-1225: The defeat of the crusade	200
1226-1229: The victory of the Capetians	206
v. Conclusion.....	208
Chapter 6: The Cathar Diocese of the Agenais, 1207-1249.....	212
i. The Cathar diocese during the crusade	212
The Cathar bishop Vigouroux de la Bacone	212
The changing geography of the Cathar diocese of the Agenais	219
The Agenais	219
Villemur	222
Bas-Quercy	224
The start of the revival.....	228
The new heretical population of Montcuq	228
The seigneurial family of Gourdon in Quercy	229
Bernard de Lamothe, a frequent visitor to the region	231
Conclusion: The heretical societies of the Agenais and Bas-Quercy by c.1229 ..	232
ii. The Agenais after the Peace of Paris	234
The secular society	234
The Inquisitorial period, the 1230s and 1240s	240
The Inquisition in the Agenais and Quercy	240
Raymond VII and the fight against heresy in the 1240s	241
iii. The heretical diocese from 1229	243
The new geography of the heresy in the Agenais and Quercy	243
Heretical families and the spread of the heresy	243
The Agenais	243
Bas-Quercy	246
Gourdon.....	249
Central Quercy	250
iv. Conclusion.....	251
v. Postscript - the Agenais from 1249 to 1279.....	254
Chapter 7: Conclusion.....	258
Bibliography	263
i. Manuscript sources	263
ii. Works of reference	264
iii. Primary sources in print.....	265
iv. Secondary works	274

Abstract

This thesis offers an account of dualist heresy in medieval Aquitaine. The first part asserts that the heresy referred to in early eleventh-century sources was dualist and originated in Balkan Bogomilism. It does this by combining two established methodologies. Through the first, reading the sources in their social context, it finds the poor experiencing increased poverty and oppression, and that some amongst the laity and clergy were observing signs prefiguring The End of historical time. Not unexpectedly, some responded through dissent and demanded reform and justice: a new system of values, in other words. Then the thesis adopts a comparative methodology in a 'global' context. It finds that the accounts of dissent do more than identify Apocalypticism or primitive communism. They make reference to dualist cosmology and practice. Dualists in the Balkans were intent on spreading their teaching world-wide, and this period saw increased contacts with the west. The spread of Bogomilism to Aquitaine was thus both likely and possible, and appears to have had some success.

The second part of this thesis makes three contributions to the history of Catharism. First it suggests why twelfth-century Aquitaine was almost entirely untouched by the heresy except in the county of Agen. It points to actively Catholic lay authority and a relatively dynamic monasticism in Aquitaine, and finds these largely absent in the heretical Agenais. Second, it examines the Cathar diocese of Agen and the impact upon it of the Albigensian Crusade and the Medieval Inquisition. In this it argues that Agenais lay society was very diverse and divided, but notes close collaboration between its heretics and those of neighbouring Quercy. Third, it argues that a better understanding of aspects of the crusade can be gained through its examination in the context of relations between the dukes of Aquitaine - who were also kings of England - and the counts of Toulouse, the kings of France and the Papacy.

Acknowledgements

I owe a huge debt of gratitude to the many people who have made researching this thesis possible, manageable and enjoyable.

Gratitude for financial support goes to the British Academy, the Royal Historical Society, and the Department of History at the University of Nottingham. Thank you also to the librarians and archivists at the Hallward Library Nottingham, the British Library, the Institute of Historical Research, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the departmental and municipal archives at Agen, Bordeaux and Cahors.

Grateful thanks for their support in tough times and their interest in my work go to: my parents Christine and Victor Taylor; to two real treasures, my sister-in-law and brother, Andrea and Joe 'Joe-fish' Taylor; to my husband's family Enid, Roger, Christine and Paul Craven; and to my friends especially Keith Duncombe, George and Luke Hewitt, Sarah and Kevin Pacey, John Mason, Alan Schofield, Debbs Smithson and Jeff Stevenson, Dave Batchelor, Carole Mallia, Jackie Kilpatrick and especially Izzie Allen and David Green. Thanks also to Jay Rossi for the Yoga, a vital study-aid in stressful times. Above all I am indebted to the wonderful Jane Ellis for her excellent wit and friendship.

Sincere gratitude is due to the following for their scholarly interest and advice and practical help, not least for proof-reading: Izzie Allen, Katie Attwood, Ross Balzaretti, Brenda Bolton, Simon Constantine, Mike Craven, Ástís Egilsdóttir, Mike Evans, Elaine Graham-Leigh, Carole Mallia, Robert Marcus, Lawrence Marvin, Alison McHardy, Clare Pilsworth, Jon Porter, Andrew Roach, Richard Stevens, Howard Taylor, and to my examiners Malcolm Barber and Julia Barrow. Special gratitude goes to my supervisors Bernard Hamilton and Michael Jones for their patience, encouragement and everything they have taught me about the Middle Ages and how to study them. I should also especially like to thank Michael for the considerable time he spent in helping me prepare this thesis in the hectic weeks before its submission, and Bernard likewise and also for helping me stay in a sound frame of mind throughout. Mike Craven and David Green 'drew' the genealogies for me when time was getting

short!

I should like to thank Mrs Susan Roberts for allowing me to use xeroxes of sources and the bibliographical index of materials on French eleventh- and twelfth-century history compiled by her late brother, Geoffrey Scholefield.

Amongst the past and present postgraduates in the Department of History at Nottingham are some of the most excellent people I've ever met. Thank you for your support and friendship Jeannie Alderdice, Paul Bracken, Simon Constantine, David Green, Mike Evans, Paul Evans, Chan-Young Park, Dave Pomfret, Jon Porter and Kevin Sorrentino.

This thesis is dedicated to the children of my friends and family - born and yet to be born - especially to Cécile Green and her expected sibling and to Isabel Lee-Craven. May the next Millennium be better than this, in which 'violence was unleashed, but it was the work of the very ones who fully intended to be rewarded for supposedly fighting against it...Disorder came from on high, and repression fell on those who were its victims'.* And not only in its first two hundred and fifty years. On that note, the deepest admiration and gratitude go to Mike Craven, for changing the future.

* P. Bonnassie, 'Banal seigneurie and the 'reconditioning' of the free peasantry', trans in eds. Little and Rosenwein, *Debating the Middle Ages*, at 132.

Abbreviations

- Adémar: Adémar of Chabarnes, *Chronicon*, ed. J. Chavanon, Paris, 1897.
- AFP: *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*.
- Agen...Chartes: *Archives municipales d'Agen, chartes première série (1189-1328)*, eds. A. Magen and G. Tholin, Villeneuve-sur-Lot, 1876.
- AHGa: *Archives historiques de la Gascogne*.
- AHGi: *Archives historiques de la Gironde*.
- AHP: *Archives historiques de Poitou*.
- AHSA: *Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*.
- AM: *Annales du Midi*.
- Anselm of Alessandria: Anselm of Alessandria, *Tractatus de hereticis*, in ed. A. Dondaine, *La hiérarchie Cathare*, AFP 20 (1950), 308-24.
- AS: *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. J. Bolland *et al.*, 61 vols. -, Brussels/Antwerp/Paris, 1965- (reprint of 1643- original).
- Benedict of Peterborough: Benedict of Peterborough, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, 2 vols., ed. W. Stubbs, RS, 1867.
- BN: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
- Book of Saint Foy: *Book of Saint Foy*, trans. P. Sheingorn, Philadelphia, 1995.
- BPH: *Bulletin philologique et historique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques* (which does not carry volume numbers but is cited by date).
- BSAB: *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Borda*.
- BSAHCh: *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique de la Charente*
- BSHACo: *Bulletin de la Société Historique et Archéologique de la Corrèze*.
- BSAHL: *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin*.
- BSHAP: *Bulletin de la Société Historique et Archéologique du Périgord*.
- BSAO: *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*.
- CAB: *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Berdoues*, ed. l'abbé J.-J. Cazauran, The Hague, 1905.
- CACf: *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Cellefrouin*, ed. E. Brayer, BPH, 1940-41.
- CACm: *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Condom, Spicilegium*, II.
- CACTV: *Le Cartulaire de l'abbaye cardinale de la Trinité de Vendôme*, 5 vols., ed. Ch. Métais, Vannes, 1893-1904.
- CACx: *Chartes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Charroux*, ed. P. de Monsabert, AHP, 39 (1910).
- CAG: *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Gimont*, ed. l'abbé Clergeac, Paris/Auch, 1905.
- CAN: *Chartes de l'abbaye de Nouaillé de 678 à 1200*, ed. P. Monsabert, AHP 49 (1936).

- CANDS: Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Saintes de l'ordre de Saint Benoît*, ed. Th. Grasilier, Niort, 1871.
- CASCB: Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Croix de Bordeaux*, ed. P. Ducaunnès-Duval, *AHGi* 27 (1892).
- CASJS: Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Jean de Sorde*, ed. P. Raymond, Pau, 1873.
- CAU: Cartulaire de l'abbaye d'Uzerche (de Xe au XIVe siècles)*, ed. J.-B. Champéval, Tulle, 1901.
- CAV: Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Vigeois (954 -1167)*, ed. M. de Montégut, Limoges, 1907.
- CCL: Corpus Christianorum: series Latina*, New York/London, 1962.
- CCM: Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*
- CESSB: Cartulaire de l'église collégiale de Saint-Seurin de Bordeaux*, ed. A. Brutaills, Bordeaux, 1897.
- CF: Cahiers de Fanjeaux*
- CFAR: Chartes de Fontevraud concernant l'Aunis et La Rochelle*, ed. P. Marchegay, Paris, 1858.
- Chanson: William of Tudela et al., La Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise*, 3 vols., ed. and French trans. E. Martin-Chabot, Paris, 1960-72.
- Chartes...Saint-Maixent: Chartes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Maixent*, ed. A. Richard, 2 vols., *AHP* 16 and 18 (both 1886).
- Christian Dualist Heresies: Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World, c.650-1405*, eds., trans. and annotation B. and J. Hamilton, Manchester/New York, 1998.
- Chron...églises d'Anjou: Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, eds. P. Marchegay and E. Mabile, Paris, 1899.
- Chron...Saint-Maixent: La Chronique de Saint-Maixent, 751-1140*, ed. and trans. J. Verdon, Paris, 1979.
- CPSPLR: Cartulaire du prieuré de Saint-Pierre de La Réole*, ed. C. Grellet-Balguerie, *AHGi* 5 (1864).
- Concilia: Concilia*, introduction and 53 volumes, ed. J. D. Mansi, Graz, 1960-61 (a reprint of *ibid.*, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 53 vols., Venice, 1759-98).
- Cosmas: Cosmas the Priest, Traité contre les Bogomiles*, eds. and trans. H. C. Peuch and A. Vaillant, Paris, 1945.
- Chrons...SHR: Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, 4 vols., RS, 1884-9.
- CSJA: Cartulaire de Saint-Jean-d'Angély*, ed. G. Musset, 2 vols., *AHSA* 30 (1901) and 33 (1903).
- CSM: Cartulaires du Chapitre de l'Eglise Métropolitaine Sainte-Marie d'Auch (Cartulaires Noir et Blanc)*, ed. C. La Cave La Plagne-Barris, *AHGi* 2:3 and 2:4 (both 1899, cited as i and ii).

Doat: Mss. Lat. Fonds Doat at the BN.

DSHP: Documents pour l'histoire de l'église de Saint-Hilaire de Poitiers (768-1300), ed. L. Rédet, *MSAO* 14 (1847) and 15 (1852) (cited as i and ii).

Ducom: Ducom, A, 'Essai sur l'histoire et l'organisation de la commune d'Agen jusqu'au traité de Brétigny (1360)', *RSASAA* 2:11 (1889), 161-322 (cited as part i) and 2:12 (1891-3), 133-234 (cited as part ii).

Ebersolt: Ebersolt, J., *Orient et Occident: Recherches sur les influences Byzantines et Orientales en France avant et pendant les Croisades*, 2nd edn., Paris, 1954.

Enquêtes: Enquêtes administratives d'Alphonse de Poitiers...1249-71, eds. P. F. Fournier and P. Guébin, Paris, 1959.

EHR: English Historical Review

L'épopée: Roquebert, M., *L'épopée Cathare*, 4 vols., Toulouse, 1970-89.

Euthymius: Euthymius of the Periblepton, in *Christian Dualist Heresies*, 142 -64.

Fulbert of Chartres: Fulbert of Chartres, *The Letters and Poems*, ed. F. Behrends, Oxford, 1976.

Gams: *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae*, ed. P. B. Gams, 3rd edn., Leipzig, 1931 (there is a later edition to which I did not have access [Graz, 1957]).

GC: Gallia christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa, ed. D. Sainte-Marthe et al, 16 vols, Paris, 1744-1877.

Geoffrey of Vigeois: Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Chronica*, in Labbé, II, 279-342.

Gervais of Canterbury: Gervais of Canterbury, *Opera historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., RS, 1879-80.

Glaber: Ralph Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*, eds. and trans. J. France and N. Bulst, Oxford, 1989.

JMH: Journal of Medieval History.

Hamilton and McNulty: Hamilton, B. and Mc Nulty, P.A., '*Orientalis lumen et magistra latinitis: Greek influences of western monasticism (900-1100)*', in Hamilton, *Monastic Reform, Catharism and Crusades (900-1300)*, London, 1979, 181-216.

Héribert: Latin text of the letter of Héribert as contained in *Peace of God*, 347-8.

HGL: Histoire Générale de Languedoc, 16 vols., eds. C. de Vic and J. Vaissète, (revised by A. Molinier), Toulouse, 1872-1904.

Labbé: *Nova bibliothecae manuscriptorum...collectio*, ed. P. Labbé, 2 vols., Paris, 1657.

Layettes: Layettes du trésor des chartes, eds. A. Teulet et. al., 5 vols., Paris, 1863-1909.

Letters...Innocent III: Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) Concerning England and Wales, eds. C. R. and M. G. Cheney, Oxford, 1967.

MA: Le Moyen Age

Martindale, Aquitaine: Martindale, J., *The Origins of the Duchy of Aquitaine and the Government of the Counts of Poitou, 902- 1137*, unpublished D.Phil thesis, Oxford, 1965.

MGH: Monumenta Germania historica.

MGH SS: Monumenta Germania historica scriptores.

MGH Schriften: Monumenta Germania historica schriften.

Molinier, *Actes: Catalogue des actes de Simon et Amaury de Montfort*, ed. A Molinier, Paris, 1874.

Molinier, *Correspondance: Correspondance administrative d'Alphonse de Poitiers*, ed. A. Molinier, 2 vols., Paris, 1894-1900.

MSAO: Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest.

Peace of God: Head, T. and Landes, R., (eds.), *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, Ithaca/London, 1992.

PG : Patrologia cursus completus, series Graeco-Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols., Paris, 1857-66.

PL: Patrologia cursus completus, series Latina, eds. J. P. Migne (and continuators), 217 vols., Paris: 1852-1904 (and 4 vols. index and 5 vols. supplementum 1958-74).

PP: Past and Present.

Potthast, *Regesta: Regesta pontificum Romanorum inde ab a. post Christum natum 1198 ad a. 1304*, ed. Potthast, A. 2 vols., Berlin, 1957.

PVC: Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Histoire Albigeoise*, eds. and French trans. P. Guebin and H. Maisonneuve, 1951.

PVC *Hystoria*: Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Hystoria Albigensis*, ed. P. Guebin and E. Lyon, 2 vols., Paris, 1926-30.

PVC *History*: Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, eds. and English trans. W. A. and M. D. Sibly, Oxford, 1998.

RA: Revue de l'Agenais

Rainerius Sacconi: Rainerius Sacconi, *Summa de Catharis et Pauberibus de Lugduno*, in ed. A. Dondaine, *Un Traité néo-Manichéen du XIIIe siècle: Le Liber du Duobus Principiis*, Suivi d'un fragment de rituel Cathare, *AFP* Rome, 1939, 64-78.

RG: Revue de Gascogne (which does not usually carry volume numbers but is most often cited by date).

RHC Occ: Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens Occidentaux, Paris, 5 vols., 1844-95.

RHF: Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, ed. M. Bouquet (revised L. Delisle), 24 vols., Paris, 1738-1904.

RM: Revue Mabillon

Robert of Torigny: Robert of Torigny in *Chron...SHR*, IV.

Roger of Hoveden: Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols., RS, 1868-71.

Roger of Wendover: Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, 3 vols., ed. R. G. Hewlett, RS, 1886-9.

Rot. chart.: *Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi*, I:1 (1199-1216), ed. T. D. Hardy, London, 1837.

RS: Rolls Series, London.

RSASAA: *Recueil des travaux de la Société d'Agriculture, Sciences et Arts d'Agen*

Rymer's *Foedera. Foedera, conventiones, litterae...publica.*, eds. T. Rymer *et. al.*, 22 vols., London, 1704-34 (there is a 1816-69 edn. but I have not had access to the most relevant volume to this thesis, vol. I: i).

Selected Letters ... Innocent III: Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III, concerning England (1198-1216), ed. and trans. C. R. Cheney and W. H. Semple, London, 1953.

SCH: Studies in Church History (Journal of the Ecclesiastical History Society).

Spicilegium: Spicilegium, ed. L. d'Achery, 2 vols., Paris, 1723.

TNA: Thesaurus novus anecdotorum, ed. E. Martène and U. Durand, 5 vols., Paris: 1717 (reprint New York, 1968).

VA: Vetera analecta, ed. J. Mabillon, Paris, 1723.

Wakefield and Evans: *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, ed. trans. and annotation W. L. Wakefield and A. P. Evans, New York, 1991.

William of Malmesbury, *DGRA*: William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., RS, 1887-89.

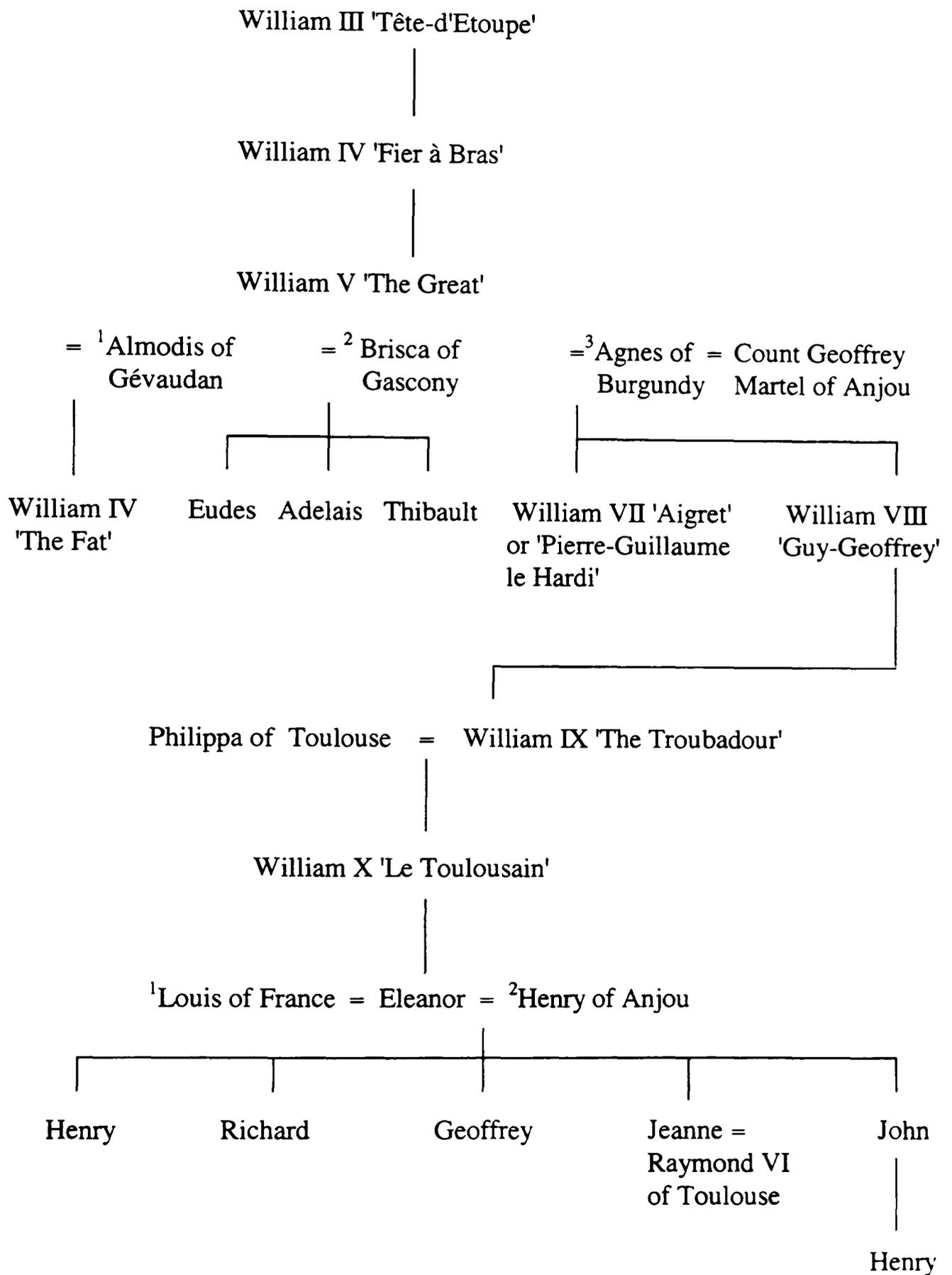
William of Malmesbury, *DGP* : William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum* ed. N.E.S.A Hamilton, 2vols., RS, 1870.

William of Newburgh: William of Newburgh in *Chrons...SHR*, I and II.

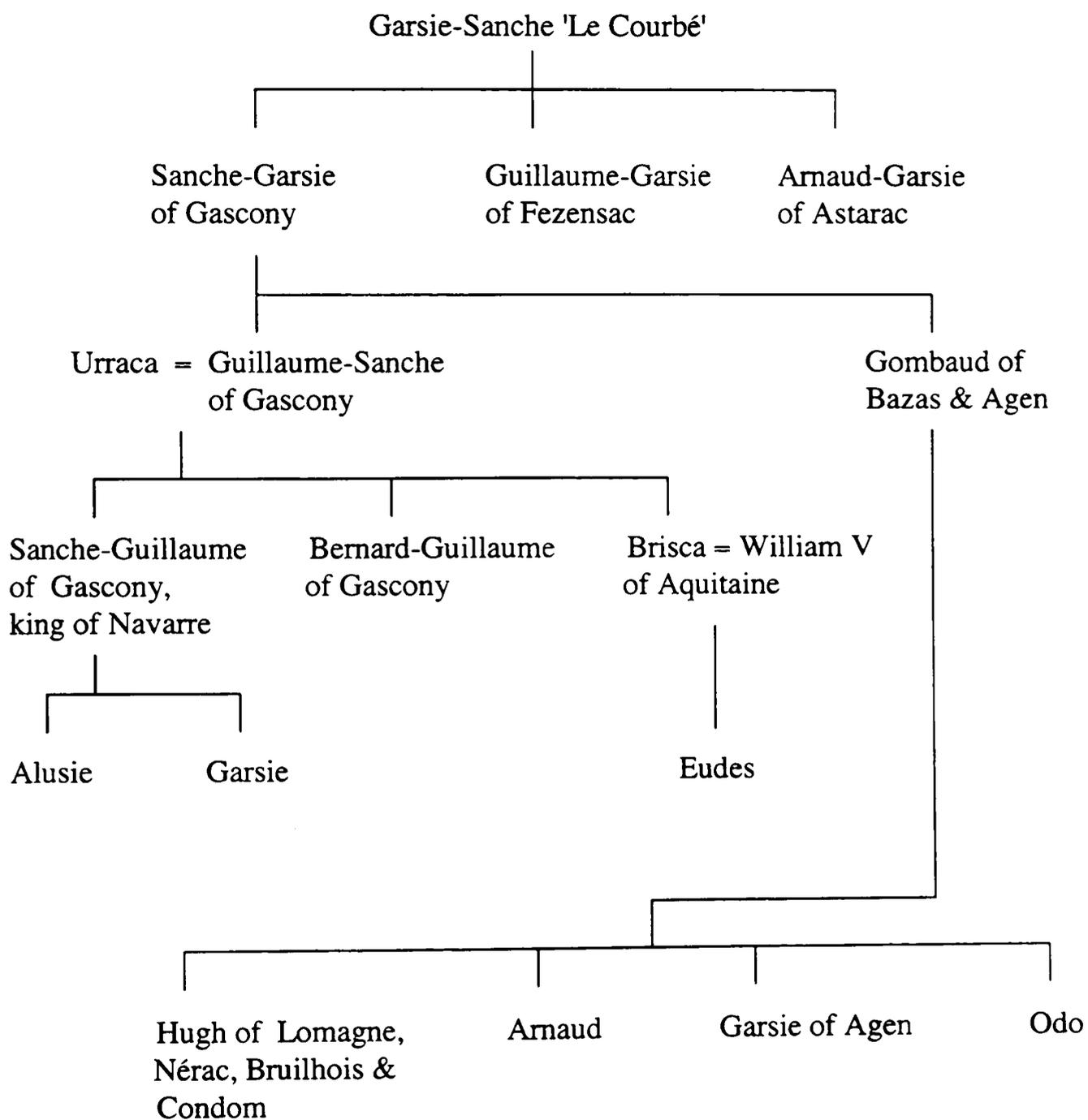
William of Puylaurens: William of Puylaurens, *Chronique*, 2nd edn., ed. J. Duvernoy, Toulouse, 1997.

Genealogies

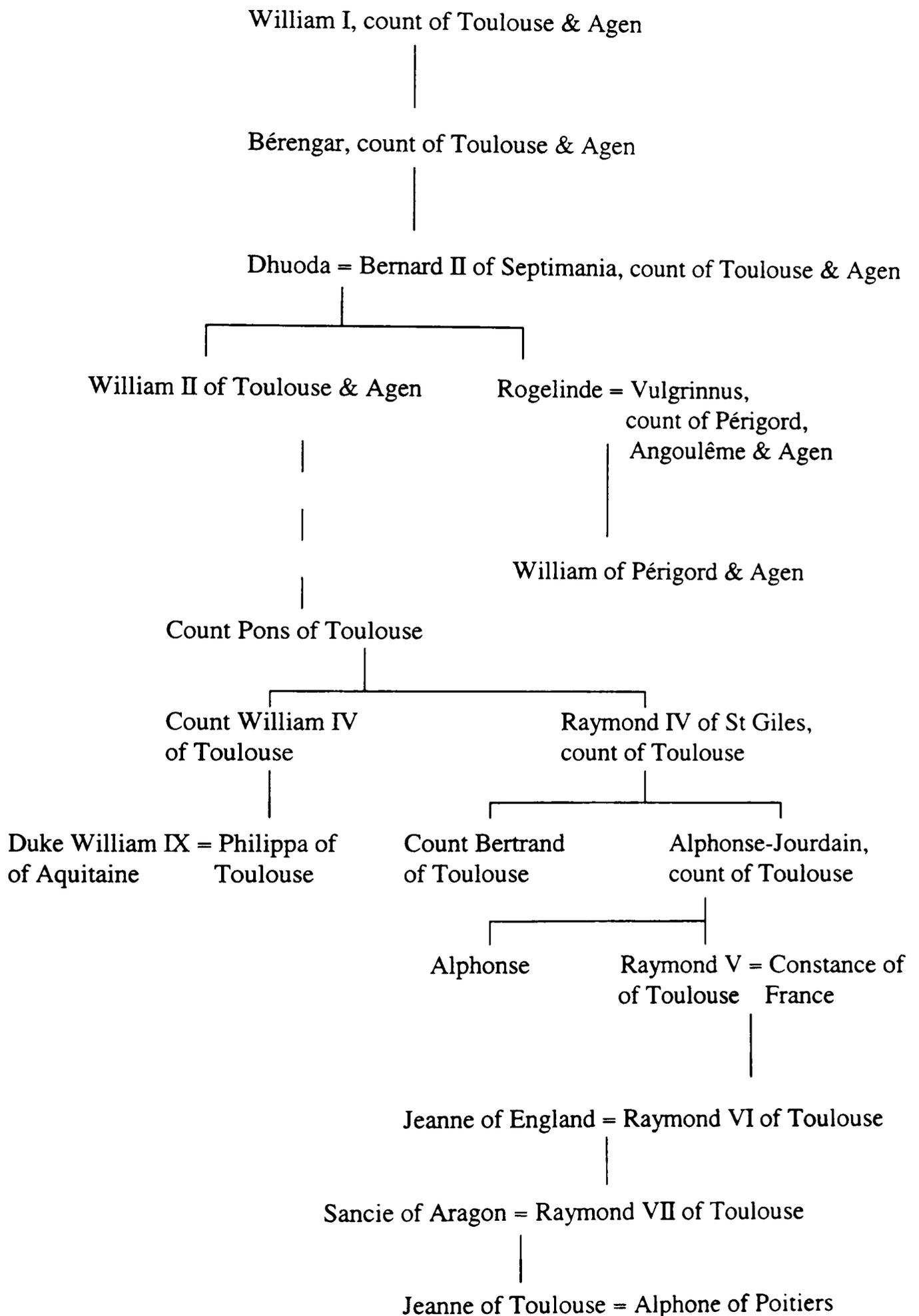
The dukes of Aquitaine (simplified genealogy)



The Gascon ducal family
(simplified genealogy stressing secular titles)

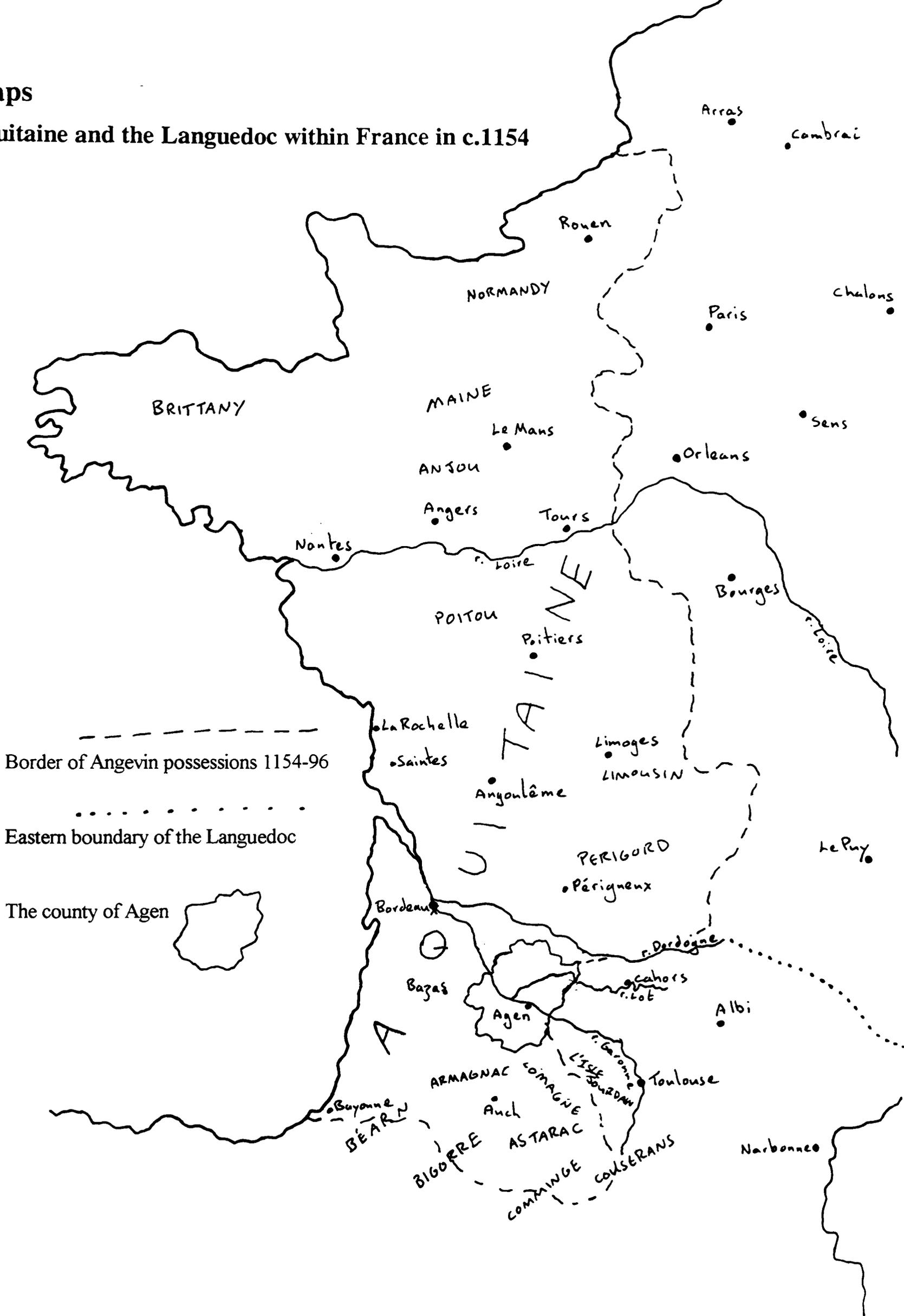


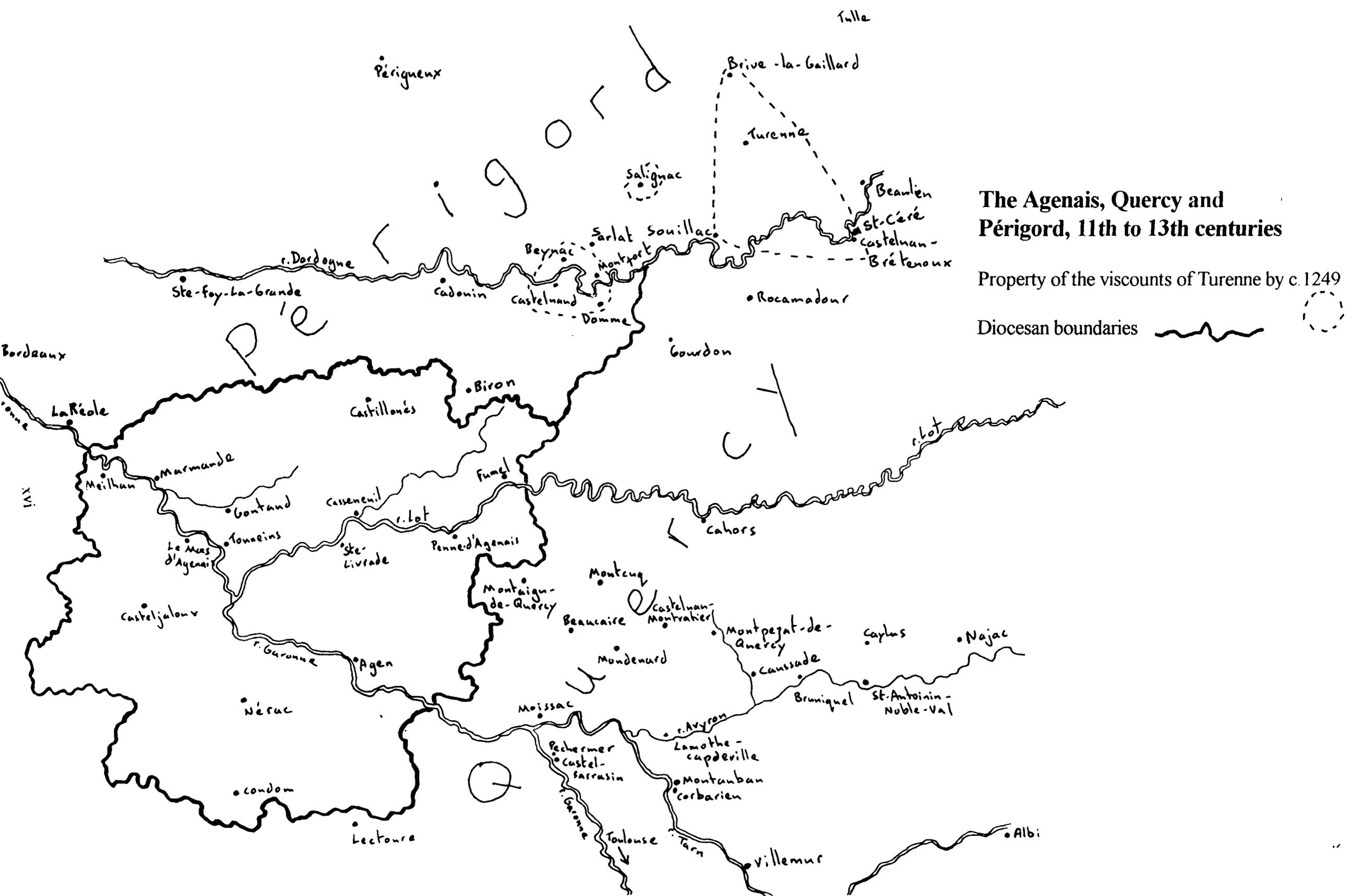
The counts of Toulouse/Agen and Toulouse (simplified genealogy)



Maps

Aquitaine and the Languedoc within France in c.1154





The Agenais, Quercy and Périgord, 11th to 13th centuries

Property of the viscounts of Turenne by c. 1249

Diocesan boundaries 



Chapter 1: Introduction

My interest in the subject matter of this thesis began whilst writing an MA dissertation on the Cathars supervised by Professor Bernard Hamilton. It explored the observation of Y. Dossat that the heresy, so prevalent within the French Languedoc from the second half of the twelfth century, never took root in the duchy of Aquitaine, except in the Agenais, which formed part of the duchy until 1196.¹ This was puzzling because Medieval Aquitaine, and especially Gascony, were closely identified in cultural terms with the rest of Occitania. In that dissertation I identified some of the problems which the heretics would have faced in attempting to transmit their heresy into Aquitaine, but I became aware of a much larger body of primary evidence and secondary literature relating to the subject than I was able to employ at that time. I began this thesis as an attempt to explore the subject area more fully, and it has developed in many ways which I had not foreseen at the start.

Y. Dossat observed that the Cathar heresy did not cross the river Garonne. This could not be a simple matter of geography because the heresy had already travelled to western Europe from the Balkans. In spite of the difficulties encountered by the early bridge builders on the Garonne, which bisects the Agenais and divides the Languedoc from Aquitaine, the river was frequently crossed by boats and barges with ease.² Thus there was no obvious physical impediment to the transmission of the heresy. In addition, Aquitaine had arguably already experienced dualist heresy. The eleventh-century monastic sources informing us of this have received little detailed attention in comparison with contemporary accounts of heresy elsewhere in the west. This is because they are relatively brief and seem marginal in importance. However, I suspected that the Aquitainian sources, read in the context of other incidents of heresy reported throughout both eastern and western Europe in the same period, could shed a good deal of light on current perceptions of the nature of that heresy.

This thesis will examine whether the heresy in eleventh-century Aquitaine was dualist

¹ Dossat, Y., 'Catharisme en Gascogne', in *idem.*, *Eglise et hérésie en France au XIIIe siècle*, London, 1982, 149-68, and see 'Catharisme et Comminges', in *ibid.*, 117-28. B. Guillemain has also addressed the matter ('Le duché d'Aquitaine hors du Catharisme', *CF* 20 (1985), 57-71).

² Delvit, P. *et al.*, *Garonne, de la rivière à l'homme*, Toulouse, 1998, 31-2.

and will then discuss twelfth- and thirteenth-century Catharism in an Aquitanian context. Structurally, the thesis is therefore in two parts.

Part I deals primarily with the Millennial era. Chapter two describes the society of Aquitaine as a context for the discussion of heresy in chapter three. Chapter two will be outlined further below. Chapter three examines accounts of heresy which the sources both label and describe as Manichean. Manichees were dualists of the Classical world opposed by the Church Fathers, notably Augustine, himself a convert from the heresy. It is in part as a result of Augustine's literary legacy that Manichees were the best known dualists in the west at the end of the Early Middle Ages. Dualist beliefs, most significantly Bogomilism, also existed in the eleventh-century Balkans, and it was of this heresy that twelfth-century Catharism was a variant. I have considered whether there is also a connection between the Bogomils and the eleventh-century dualists of Aquitaine.

When historians of religious heresy first noted dualist features in these accounts it was indeed believed that the eleventh-century heretics in the west were dualist and that their heresy was a form of Bogomilism. Recently, however, historians have discussed the sources in more of a socio-political context and argue that not only is the previous orthodoxy wrong but that in some cases sources which claim to describe religious heresy are not describing heresy at all. These monastic sources were written by learned men whom historians trust well enough to convey the history of the secular world beyond the cloister, a world which many of their authors experienced primarily at second hand. Yet these same sources are considered unreliable when they warn us of incorrect doctrine, sometimes even within the abbeys, which their monastic training, not least their knowledge of Augustine's *De haeresibus*, had prepared them to be able to identify.³

One of the most important of these sources, a letter by a monk who identifies himself as 'Héribert', claims to be Aquitanian in origin. Until recently his letter was thought to have been composed in the twelfth century and, as it seems clearly to be describing

³ CCL XLVI, 290-345 (Manichees are discussed at 312-15).

dualist belief and practice, it was assumed by some scholars to be early evidence of the presence of Cathars in Aquitaine. The re-dating of the composition of this letter to the early-eleventh century has led to a revised view of its content by G. Lobrichon: the source is eleventh-century, therefore it cannot be describing dualism. This revisionism is my starting point for analysing the eleventh-century accounts, and I do so by also testing the original assertion that the heresy was in origin Balkan. This is done in chapter three, in which the above sources are cited.

If we should test the Aquitainian accounts against those from other parts of Europe, we should also read them in the context of the society in which they originated. In chapter two, therefore, I explore what the society of eleventh-century Aquitaine was like and whether it seems likely that it could have been receptive to dualism. Historians have established that religious dissent and heresy, not least Catharism, occurred most obviously in societies in which some people experienced insecurity and oppression and in which the orthodox Church was found wanting.⁴ Therefore I examine the nature and structure of lay and clerical authority in Aquitaine and its influences within a population of potential heretical recruits. As part of this I address a modern debate about the extent to which France was undergoing what has become known as social '*mutation*', with specific reference to the society of Aquitaine. I also attempt to establish the extent to which 'Millennial anxiety' informed the actions of the laity. Some discussion is also necessary of Gascony in the same period, as well as of pre-Angevin Aquitaine (which incorporated Gascony from c.1060) and of the Agenais to c.1152. These latter sections, as well as a brief account of non-dualist heresy in chapter three, serve essentially as a background to the themes addressed in part II.

Since J. Martindale's unpublished thesis of 1965 - *The Origins of the Duchy of Aquitaine and the Government of the Counts of Poitou, 902-1137* - the political history of the region in the period covered in part I has received little attention in English. I will attempt this in less detail and in a less institutionally-orientated fashion than Martindale, and also refer to more recent scholarship. Authorities on this period of Aquitainian history agree that there is a dearth of source material, particularly for

⁴ See chapter 2 and, with reference to French Catharism specifically, chapter 4.

eleventh-century Aquitaine and for Gascony well into the twelfth. This is not exclusively the case. For the political life of Aquitaine we have charters relating to important families and an unusual supporting document, a *conventum* recording the relationship of Hugh of Lusignan and Duke William V. We are also well provided with monastic cartularies for Aquitaine and thus have considerable knowledge of its economic and religious life. However, we do lack reliable chronicle evidence. Adémar of Chabannes is our best source for the first few decades of the eleventh century in Aquitaine, and he refers occasionally to Gascony. Although his evidence is far from uniformly trustworthy, as a commentator on contemporary events he is a good deal better than the later chronicle composed in the abbey of Saint-Maixent. Even so Geoffrey of Vigeois, writing in the twelfth century, can be better informed than both of them, even for events before his birth. The real poverty comes with Gascon sources. They are lacking in economic information into the twelfth century, and there are few political sources or sources for the religious life before c.1060. The handful of charters associated with religious foundations in Gascony by its ducal family in the late-tenth and early-eleventh centuries contain almost all the information we have both about this family and the religious life of Gascony in this period. These sources are cited in full and discussed further in chapter two.⁵

Part II of the thesis concerns the Cathar heresy in Aquitaine and the Agenais. My account of the operations of the heretics in this region will make better sense if I say a little about the heresy. Cathars were dualists, that is to say they believed in the existence of two principles; a good god who created human souls and an evil god who created and imprisoned these souls in the physical universe, over which the good god had no influence. They believed that these souls were imprisoned so carefully that there was little hope of release from the world at death, because at this point the soul was reincarnated in another human or animal body. The only way to escape this endless cycle was to die in a 'perfected' state. This meant that between initiation into the heresy - through a ceremonial *consolamentum* - and death, the adherent had to have lived a

⁵ For a detailed survey of the Gascon sources in the pre-Poitevin period see Cursente. B., *Des maisons et des hommes, la Gascogne médiévale (XIe-XVe siècle)*, Toulouse, 1998, 16-17, 25-34 and 111 and de Marca, P., *Histoire de Béarn*, 2nd edn., Pau, 1894, 272-6.

life of extreme abstinence; to have owned nothing, renounced sexual pleasure and even family life, to have not killed any living thing and to have followed strict dietary restrictions. The Cathar *perfecti*, who lived such lives, spread their beliefs through preaching and through example. Male and female *perfecti* were technically equal in the movement. The *credentes*, believers in the heresy, led more ordinary lives, except that they might flout the 'irrelevant' rules and prescriptions of the Catholic church and run the risk of prosecution for belief in or protection of the heresy. *Credentes* hoped to be hereticated shortly before death and so to die in the perfected state.

Chapter four aims primarily to account for why the society of Aquitaine proved unwelcoming to the Cathars, and chapter five to describe the impact of the Albigensian crusade, launched in 1209 against the heretics and their supporters in the Languedoc, on Aquitaine. Part II also attempts to extract information about the heretics in the Agenais from the wealth of sources relating to the heresy in southern France more generally, to find out who they were and how their church operated in the thirteenth century. This information will be discussed in detail in chapter six. As a background to it I describe the Agenais as a socio-political entity, addressing in chapter four how and why it received the heresy initially, in chapter five how it reacted to the crusade, and in chapter six how it fared in the period of French occupation and Inquisition. Chapters five and six will also discuss both the Agenais and the crusade in the context of a theme introduced in chapters two and four: relations between Aquitaine, now governed by the kings of England, and Toulouse. I also make reference to the influence of the French crown and papacy over these events, both of which gained more authority in the region in this period. I also note the response of other Aquitainian parties to the crusade and attempt to explain which of them took sides in the above religious and military conflicts, and why.

When studying documentation for the Inquisition I noticed that the heretics and their supporters in the Agenais appeared to be very closely involved with those in neighbouring Quercy, and also that the geographical spread of the heresy in Quercy changed significantly in the period from c.1200 to c.1249. I attempt to account for this process and examine the role of the Agenais lords and heretics in it, and I outline the status of the heresy in Quercy in the pre-crusade period as a background to this.

When examining the politics and society of Aquitaine in general, to account for the absence of heresy in this period, I found a wealth of thematic secondary sources for the subject. I have investigated and cited the primary sources they introduced me to which seemed to throw most light on the subject. With regard to the Agenais, even in the second half of the twelfth century, there is a comparative lack of sources relating to the laity and the structure of authority is difficult to discern.⁶ I suspect that this was in part because the region was not very immediately governed by the dukes of Aquitaine, a point which will be discussed further. When looking for episcopal sources, I learnt that the diocesan archives of Agen were destroyed in the Revolution.⁷ The departmental archives of Lot-et-Garonne do not contain many manuscripts from our period for the Agenais in general. However, those documents which do exist, both for the diocese and the county of the Agenais, are all published and well evaluated in both local histories of the region and also in collections relating to southern France more widely, notably *HGL*. In addition, there are several revealing charters relating to Agen itself contained in *Agen...Chartes*.

The major sources for the crusade in the Agenais are three literary works; the *Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise* of William of Tudela and his continuators, the *Hystoria* of Peter des-Vaux-de-Cernay, and the *Chronique* of William of Puylaurens. For the heretical families of the Agenais I have used secular documents from the period of French invasion and occupation relating to the transfer of property from heretics to the northern French crusaders and their allies and, in some cases later in the thirteenth century, to Catholic relatives of the heretics. The most important single source for the heretics of the Languedoc are the Inquisitorial records transcribed from October 1669 onwards from the archives of the Dominican convent at Toulouse into BN mss Lat.

⁶ Noted in Richard, A., *Histoire des comtes de Poitou, 779-1204*, 2 vols., Paris, 1903, I, 270-1 and Boussard, J., *Le Gouvernement d'Henri II Plantagenet*, Paris, 1956, 228.

⁷ *Inventaire sommaire des archives communales d'Agen*, eds. G. Bosvieux and G. Tholin, Paris, 1884 (cited in Dossat, Y., 'Les résistances des dîmes dans le diocèse d'Agen pendant l'épiscopat de Guillaume II (1247-63)', in *idem*, *Eglise et Hérésie*, 549 note 1). I have been unable to locate the *inventaire* in question. A later version is listed in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale (*Inventaire sommaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790: ville d'Agen*, eds. G. Bosvieux and G. Tholin, Paris, 1890) but the librarians there tell me that they no longer have a copy. Presumably the manuscripts it lists are the ones contained in AD Lot-et-Garonne série AA (acts relating to the commune of Agen, 1197-1789). These are contained in *Agen...Chartes*.

Fonds Doat XXI-XXIV. These do not feature the Agenais very centrally, for although the inquisitors Bernard de Caux and Jean de Saint-Pierre spent eighteen months in the Agenais and Quercy during 1243-5, not much of what survives even from the trials at Agen itself actually relates to the Agenais. What evidence we do have pertaining to heretics of the Agenais and their contacts in Quercy is mainly contained in Doat XXI 185r-312v (penances given by Pierre Seilan in Quercy in 1241-42) and Doat XXII 1r-69v (inquiry by Bernard de Caux and Jean de Saint-Pierre in the Agenais, Quercy and the northern Toulousain in 1243-5).

In discussing the development of the political and social structures in Aquitaine it became necessary to decide whether or not to discuss the subject using the terms 'feudal' and 'feudalism'. E. A. R. Brown's criticism of the terminology has proved challenging in that historians can no longer use it as a form of shorthand, for apparently there is no accepted definition of content.⁸ When investigating the families of the Agenais it was noticeable that all but a few recent accounts of the structure of authority in the region, very scholarly though they are, use terminology which can no longer be duplicated without incurring criticism.

It may be the case, and I suspect that it is, that the terminology, if it is to continue in use, needs to have its meaning clarified by further debate and the achievement of a consensus. However, we are currently left with few descriptive terms by which to distinguish the Middle Ages from the ancient and modern worlds. Such terms are needed because the 'Middle Ages' contained institutions, not least in terms of land-holding and its related socio-political and economic context, which were specific to the period, though evolving within it and varying regionally. In addition, the debate has not as yet enabled teachers to teach 'the truth' to students where, according to Brown, they were once taught jargon. Indeed, a more common complaint from students is surely not that they are presented with an 'abstraction' or 'ideal type' which informs too rigidly their understanding of the society it describes, but that they are not provided with an 'an overview', that is to say, a generalised picture of what made medieval societies

⁸ See Brown, 'The tyranny of a construct: feudalism and historians of Medieval Europe', *American Historical Review*, 79 (1974), 1063-88 (reprinted in eds. L. K Little and B. H. Rosenwein, *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings*, Oxford, 1998, 148-69). See also editors' introduction at 107-13.

different from other societies. I am therefore unconvinced that the terms 'feudal' and 'feudalism' are entirely bankrupt.

However, Aquitaine and the Agenais are certainly examples of societies in which elite social relationships cannot be easily defined by shorthand, let alone by the same shorthand applied over the 250 year period from c. 1000. In fact it is the rather fluid forms of social relations and their apparently uninstitutionalised nature which are most relevant in this study. Indeed, I find the use of 'feudal' terminology anachronistic in this context. When used by T. Bisson in relation to the structure of authority in the Agenais it seems to frame the debate in artificial terms, for the lordships of the Agenais did not consider themselves feudatories.⁹ Neither can I accept that 'the duchy of Aquitaine consisted of a number of feudal regions recognizing the suzerainty of Duke William V'.¹⁰ S. Painter was sure that there must have been a hierarchy of homages at work in Poitou in the period, but failed to identify it from the available sources.¹¹ Because royal power was absent and other, local and aristocratic institutions evolved, the Agenais and Aquitaine had to be 'feudal', these historians suppose. But persistence of the allod and the reluctance of the aristocracy to enter formal relationships which undermined their free inheritance of property and titles undermine the picture of a society based around the fief. Therefore I have not used 'feudalism' or 'feudal' but attempt instead to describe what obligations and liberties were apparent and in what contexts. This seems to be the approach most comfortably taken in recent scholarship.¹² However, I suspect that scholars able to take a more fully informed overview of medieval institutions will refine rather than abandon the traditional terms. In short, I approve of B. Cursente's attitude to the subject. He defends the use of the terminology of *la féodalité* as useful in many situations, but declares Gascony not 'feudal' but more accurately 'casal', after the specific form of land-management prevalent there.¹³

The sources discussed above are cited in the text and discussed more fully where necessary. Finally, a brief note about the way in which they are cited. Except where

⁹ See references to Bisson's work on the Agenais in chapters 4 and 6.

¹⁰ Callahan, D. F., 'William the Great and the monasteries of Aquitaine', *Studia Monastica*, 19 (1977), 322.

¹¹ Painter, S., 'The lords of Lusignan in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Speculum*, 32 (1937), 45-7.

¹² Editors introduction to the debate in *Debating the Middle Ages*, esp. 111.

described as 'cited in...', sources have been consulted directly. Secondary works through which I have learnt of them are cited in the same footnote or an associated one. All printed sources are cited by page or column number except where it was more useful to refer to a specific item, letter, chapter, *enquête*, verse or line, in which case the nature of the reference is indicated (along with the page number if necessary). However, in collections specifically of acts and charters items are cited by number, unless in *HGL* or otherwise stated. Manuscript sources are cited by folio. Sources appearing in the abbreviations list, abbreviated to one or two words or significant capitals, do not feature commas between title, volume and page or item number in citation. Thus footnotes are less 'crowded' and easier to read, e.g. *PL* CCIX 2334-5; *Mansi* XIX 536; *BSAHL* 24 (1885), 55-8; Geoffrey of Vigeois 47. This also helps to identify which sources are not cited in full previously in the text but only abbreviated.

¹³ Cursente. *Des maisons*. 48-50 and 157. For the *casal* see chapter 2.

PART I: The duchy and dualism, c.1000 to the mid-twelfth century

Chapter 2: Aquitaine and the Agenais, c.1000-c.1152

i. The counts of Poitou and Aquitanian society, to c.1060

Ducal authority over the Aquitanian nobility

Much good work has been done on the general history of Aquitaine, and I only aim to summarise it. However some detailed attention will be given to certain features of the early eleventh century, in which we find accounts of heresy in the sources, in order to establish what it might have been about this society which encouraged religious dissent. Important features to note are the structure of lay authority, the relationship between the laity - from its highest levels downwards - and ecclesiastical and monastic authorities, the nature of 'devolved' authority at a rural level, the impact of the year 1000 on religious and social expectations and - a phenomenon which sheds light on all of the above - the Peace of God movement.

As a generalisation, the second half of the tenth century saw the loss of royal power in the old Carolingian kingdom of Aquitaine no less than throughout the rest of western Francia. As this power declined, Aquitaine saw the emergence of an independent nobility. In their turn the counts of Poitou, inheritors of the authority of the old Empire over what they came to style their 'duchy', sought to contain the ambitions of other noble families, themselves typically also descended from Frankish officials. Untypically for France in this period, the dukes were to have considerable success in reviving a sense of political hierarchy with regard to many leading nobles and castellans, especially within Poitou itself, in the first half of the eleventh century. The duke's presence was felt very little in the villages, towns and castles of Aquitaine, especially those beyond Poitou, but his court was attended by counts, viscounts and bishops, and much of the prestige of the royal rulers of Aquitaine was to be recovered.¹⁴

¹⁴ The rise of the counts of Poitou in relation to the rest of the Aquitanian nobility is generally accepted. See the following sources for a discussion of this process: Duby, G., *France in the Middle Ages, 987-1460*, trans. J. Vale, Oxford, 1991, esp. 28-9 (original French *Le Moyen Age*, 1987); Dunbabin, J., *France in the Making: 843-1180*, Oxford, 1985, 133-40, 164 and 173-7; Richard, *Histoire*, I, esp. 139-233; Poly, J.-P., and Bournazel, E., *The Feudal Transformation, 900-1200*, trans. C. Higgitt, New York and London, 1991, esp. 9-18, 65, 69-70, and 76-8 (original French 1980). The most thorough study of this process in English is still J. Martindale's unpublished D. Phil. thesis (Martindale, *Aquitaine*, esp. iv-v, 28-61, 78, 89-98). The information in this section is drawn from these sources and also from monographs concerning specific themes, regions and families as cited. The picture of a rise in Poitevin power in this period does not go wholly unchallenged, however. From a strictly *mutationniste* viewpoint, B. S. Bachrach sees ducal authority as weaker in 1030 than at the very end of the tenth century ('Towards a reappraisal of William the Great, duke of Aquitaine (995-

William III 'Tête-d'Etoupe' (d.963) was the first count of Poitou to assume the title 'Duke of Aquitaine'. His sphere of somewhat nominal authority consisted of the Carolingian counties of Limoges, Angoulême, Saintonge, Périgord, the newly created province of La Marche, and Poitou itself. The duke also claimed authority over upper Berry, containing the metropolitan city of Bourges, and the Auvergne.¹⁵ The first real advances were made by William IV 'Fier à Bras' (963- 95/6). However his son William V 'the Great' (995/6-1030) became one of the most successful magnates in eleventh-century France, far more so than his cousin and king, Robert I (996-1031). He made three very important marriages to improve both his position within the duchy and in relation to other European powers. They were to Almodis of Gévaudan, widow of Count Boso of La Marche-Périgord and probably a daughter of the count of Limoges, to Brisca, daughter of the duke of Gascony, in 1010, and to Agnes, daughter of the duke of Burgundy, in 1016.¹⁶

The assertion of ducal authority was an arduous process. Great families had come to

1030)', *JMH* 5 (1979), 11-21). I do not find his argument convincing (see discussion of *mutationnisme* below). Lemarignier, J.-F., *Le gouvernement royal aux premiers temps capétien (987-1108)*, Paris, 1965, 25-65 and tables. For this chapter see also attached genealogical tables and maps.

¹⁵ Over Bourges and the Auvergne the Capetian kings exercised more power than the duke of Aquitaine throughout our period, and even so its nobility were virtually autonomous (*ibid.* and Dunbabin, *France*, 98-100, 219-220 and 355). Because of this, limitations of space, and not least because the accounts of heresy which I will be discussing only originate within the counties of Aquitaine in which ducal authority was making an impact, I shall discuss the Auvergne and Berry very little (but see Devailly, G., *Le Berry du Xe siècle au milieu du XIIIe*, Paris/The Hague, 1973, esp. 77-84, 117-122 and 239).

¹⁶ Almodis apparently poisoned Boso, and Agnes produced a daughter, also called Agnes, who married the Emperor Henry III (Escande, J. J., *Histoire de Périgord*, 2nd edn., Sarlat, 1955, 63; Martindale, J., 'Succession and politics in the romance speaking world, c.1000-1140'. in eds. M. C. E. Jones and M. Vale, *England and her Neighbours 1066-1453, Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais*, London and Ronceverte, 1989, 29). For the marriage to Brisca see *Chron...Saint-Maixent*, 108-9. This is one of the few annalistic sources for the period, ending in the year 1137, and not always reliable (Martindale, *Aquitaine*, 114). For the duke's connections beyond Aquitaine see also Callahan, D.F., 'William the Great', 322-3, although I suspect he takes the adulation of Adémar of Chabannes too much at face value. Adémar (989-1034) is amongst the most important sources for eleventh-century Aquitaine. He was born into a minor noble family of the Limousin and was a monk of St. Cybard, Angoulême, and Saint-Martial, Limoges. His chronicle is a history of Aquitaine, 814-1030, including selected events from the wider world. His third book deals with events in his lifetime and was written between 1025 and 1028. Adémar, it has been shown, is unreliable for events before his time (Gillingham, J., 'Adémar of Chabannes and the history of Aquitaine in the reign of Charles the Bald', in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, eds. M. Gibson and J. Nelson, Oxford, 1981, esp. 3-14) and also to have fabricated an apostolic *vita* of Saint-Martial and evidence supporting it (Landes, R., *Relics, Apocalypse and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989-1034*, Cambridge Mass./London, 1995, esp. 4-9 and 277). He is most useful for matters in his lifetime with which he was less personally involved and as an insight into monastic attitudes. A modern edition of his chronicle is awaited.

view rights to offices or property which they held of the duke as hereditary. When they submitted themselves to judicial process this did not involve his court but judgement by the peers of the two parties or, very commonly, private warfare. These factors allowed the balance of power to alter in ways which the duke could not control. Even by the time William V retired to the abbey of Maillezais, in 1029, he exercised real authority only in Poitou and La Marche, less in Périgord and Limoges, and next to none within Angoulême, upper Berry and the Auvergne, and never gained control of some of the most important offices such as the Limousin viscounty of Turenne-Combarn, although by 1027 he subdued the rebellious viscounts of Limoges themselves. Even if Adémar of Chabannes is exaggerating that 'he subjected all of Aquitaine to his rule', the fairly nominal nature of the title he inherited was to be dramatically transformed.¹⁷

Within Poitou itself the castle of Lusignan dominated a forest bordering the comital demesne. From 1022-28 the duke undermined the political freedom of its castellan Hugh IV and imposed terms which thwarted the family's hereditary claims. G. Beech has argued that the *conventum* which records these events should be viewed as a form of *chanson de geste* and that this negates the specific political inferences made from it by historians. I am inclined towards S. White's more moderate position, that the *conventum* uses a literary device to make complaints about a very real struggle amongst the lords and castellans of Poitou.¹⁸ That this process, if not the document itself, formed part of a deliberate policy of binding the great families to William V is indicated by his correspondence with Bishop Fulbert of Chartres, defining exactly what a lord could legally demand of his man.¹⁹ By the time William V retired, the Poitevin lords of Thouars and Parthenay were also his vassals, and the major castles ringing Poitiers had been built by and were controlled by him.

¹⁷ Adémar 163; Geoffrey of Vigeois 279-342, esp. 281. Geoffrey wrote in the twelfth-century, but recorded much concerning events, especially the vicecomital wars, about which Adémar is uninformative (Aubrun, M., 'Le Prieur Geoffrey de Vigeois et sa chronique', *RM* 58 (1974), 313).

¹⁸ *Le Conventum (vers 1030): Un précurseur aquitain des premières épopées*, eds., trans. and intro. G. Beech, et al., Geneva, 1995, esp. 21-8, 39-41, and 91-111; White, S., review of *Le conventum*, *Speculum*, 72 (1997), 430.

¹⁹ Fulbert of Chartres, 51; *Conventum inter Guillelmum Aquitanorum comes et Hugonem Chiliarchum*, ed. J. Martindale, *EHR* 84 (1969), 528-36; Painter, 'Lords of Lusignan', 30-2.

The family which controlled La Marche-Périgord tended to ally with the counts of Anjou, the dukes' major rivals beyond Aquitaine, who were capable of exerting great influence in Saintonge and Angoulême. In part due to a rare intervention of King Robert in western France, this alliance was forcibly dissolved in 1003. As a result, William V was able to separate Périgord and La Marche into two weaker units, even though he was not able to dominate them directly. One of the most independent-minded Aquitainians, Count William IV of Angoulême, likewise allied with the Angevins, a collaboration the duke sabotaged by binding the count to him with grants of important estates. The count was William V's voluntary *fidelis*, and he had no actual coercive powers over him, but the coming years saw Angoulême supporting ducal attempts to impose authority on other troublesome Aquitainians, not least Boson II of La Marche. A similar strategy was employed in dealing with the Angevins themselves: Count Fulk Nerra was enfeoffed with the keep at Saintes when the alliance with La Marche-Périgord was ended, and with the castle of Loudun for ending the plots with Angoulême.²⁰

But this accord with Anjou was to prove hazardous after William V died. His widow Agnes married Count Geoffrey Martel of Anjou in 1032 and the couple dominated the duchy, Saintonge especially, whilst William VI 'the Fat' (1030-38) was duke, and in this context some minor lords increased their own power by supporting the Angevin intervention. Until 1044 Martel became regent for William VII 'Aigret', also known as Pierre-Guillaume and 'le Hardi'. Even after the couple divorced in the early 1050s the Angevins still sought to dominate Aigret's affairs and he was at war with them for several years and there resulted a severe decline in ducal authority, for he was unable to rule effectively outside of Poitou. It was only under Duke Guy-Geoffrey (1058-1086), that a Poitevin re-assertion began and the dynasty was secure. In 1061 he captured Angevin-held parts of Saintonge and the Angevin threat, with its potential plots within Aquitaine, were so effectively neutralised that his attention turned to the

²⁰ Adémar 157, 162-5 and 167, and see 163 note 1; Debord, A., *La société laïque dans les pays de la Charente: Xe - XIIe siècles*, Paris, 1984, esp. 104-15; Bachrach, B. S., 'A study in feudal politics: relations between Fulk Nerra and William the Great, 995-1030', *Viator*, 7 (1976), 111-22.

south, towards the acquisition of Gascony.²¹

Aquitainian religious institutions and the laity

In the process of the assimilation of Gascony into the duchy, the office of archbishop of Bordeaux, technically an independent royal nominee, was in practice to be disputed between Poitevin and Gascon families. This process will be further discussed below. His neighbour the archbishop of Bourges, more independent, still had to fight off Poitevin influence in the diocese of Limoges, contained within his province, in the same period as the Limousin viscounts were resisting the duke in secular affairs. In this the archbishop co-operated with the Capetian kings, the counts of the Auvergne and the viscounts themselves. Elections to the see of Limoges were not 'free', however, but contested between important local families and, along with the abbacy of St. Martial's, were in the hands of the viscounts until civil unrest in 1019-21 allowed William V and the archbishop of Bordeaux to force reform. This had actually begun independently of the dukes: in 989 archbishop Gombaud of Bordeaux summoned the bishop of Limoges to the council of Charroux, and in 990 he consecrated Limoges' new bishop Aldouin. In 1012 another bishop was consecrated by Gombaud's Poitevin successor, Séguin, with ducal support. Duke William finally convened a council in 1021 at Saint-Junien-de-Nouaillé at which, Adémar tells us, God elected as bishop Jordan, the duke's candidate. The Bourges/Limousin faction were furious and the election was disputed, but Jordan successfully rode out the storm and held the see until 1051. In fact, wherever possible William the Great made it his business to increase his control over diocesan affairs. When he expelled the Angevins from Saintes, he quickly established his own, loyal bishop there. Other leading families also influenced the allocation of episcopal and abbatial offices, not least the families of the Angoumois who dominated its bishops and the abbacy of Saint-Cybard.²²

²¹ *Chron...Saint-Maixent* 116-7 and 130; Beech, G.T., *A Rural Society in Medieval France: The Gâtine of Poitou in the 11th and 12th Centuries*, Baltimore, 1964, 45-8; Bachrach, 'Reappraisal', 16-17; Martindale, 'Succession', 29.

²² Adémar 159, 182-3 and 185. In assessing the structure and nature of episcopal authority from archiepiscopal to parish level I have used Lemarignier, J-F. *et al.* 'Les institutions ecclésiastiques en France de la fin du Xe au milieu du XIIe siècle', Paris, 1962, 7-62; Dunbabin, *France*, 98-100, 219-220 and 355; Higounet, Ch., Renouard, Y. *et al.* *Histoire de Bordeaux*, Bordeaux, 1962-5, II, 270-80 and III, 9; Martindale, *Aquitaine*, 56, 65 and 122; Bull, M., *Knighthly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: the Limousin and Gascony c.970-1130*, Oxford, 1993, 37-8; Imbart de la Tour, P., *Les paroisses rurales du IVe au XIe siècles*, 2nd edn., Paris, 1979, 108-9, 117-118, 148-53, 234-99 esp. 238 and 248, and 300-45.

At the other end of the social scale, we might speculate that the increase in influence of the wealthy laity over the church was to the benefit of lay piety generally, for the former group took actively to church building from the late tenth century in many areas, in and around the Gâtine of Poitou for example. Indeed, Aquitaine was not unlike Ralph Glaber's Burgundy: covered by a white mantle of churches. However, at least before the reforms of the mid-eleventh century there is little evidence that religious life for the majority of the population was at all improved through the activity of the aristocracy (notwithstanding the comparative lack of ecclesiastical evidence about the rural laity of the duchy generally, as noted by P. Imbart de la Tour). It was probably the church builders themselves who benefited most from their new enthusiasm: like others in France at this time they were increasingly able to control the allocation of benefices and collect tithes into their own coffers. Neither were the Aquitainian peasantry well served by the more 'independent' churches for which the bishops were responsible. Although in parts of western France such churches and their parishes were organised and supported as part of networks of sub-deaneries within a diocesan framework, there is little evidence for this in Aquitaine. In addition, the number of people comprising an Aquitainian parish was very large. The very term *parrochia*, far from implying a sense of spiritual kinship within a geographical area, merely denoted the lands associated with the *villa* on which the parish was based. It would seem that the rural laity felt very distant from spiritual leadership originating in the secular sphere. Indeed, in Aquitaine and in other parts of the Midi, lay pastoral needs were more commonly met by the abbeys. The *villae* upon which the Aquitainian parishes were based were typically those associated with abbeys and on which there were monastic-run churches. The Poitevin abbey of Charroux, for example, had dozens of such dependent churches throughout the dioceses of Aquitaine and beyond. The powerful abbeys were able to resist incursions into their parishes by the lay elite to a greater extent than many diocesan-orientated churches. Many, and Saint-Jean d'Angély is a good example, insisted on appointing their own priests, perhaps in the face of opposition from important local families.²³

There is more evidence that the peasantry and townspeople of the duchy were increasingly drawn to the abbeys from the late tenth century, and this will be discussed further below. But if the monks were able to play the greatest part in influencing the lowly laity, they were not entirely able to escape forming relationships with the more important on the latter's terms. Aristocratic and knightly families were hugely generous to the abbeys, and not only those associated with their families but to those like Sainte-Foy at Conques, beyond their obvious spheres of political or territorial influence. This extensively studied theme reveals donations ranging from prestigious foundations like that dedicated in 1010 by the duke to the Apostles Peter and Paul at Maillezais, through impressive local works such as those by the lords of Parthenay, Lusignan and La Marche, to numerous humbler donations by knightly families. Indeed, the latter, to be discussed in the context of violent disorder below, perhaps gave to the religious beyond their means and were amongst the leading champions of saints' cults.²⁴ But the influence which accompanied such generosity was not always welcome. Those who effectively owned an abbey might distribute vicarial rights over its lands and tenants to their *fideles*. Castellans had been responsible for the protection of monasteries in earlier centuries when their office was an expression of public authority, but now sources indicate that they sometimes plundered abbey lands and many monastic immunities were effectively eroded. The Lusignans, for example, had been installed on the lands of Saint-Maixent by the Carolingians, a very mixed blessing for the monks because of the family's subsequent coveting of the monastery's resources.²⁵

As a consequence, the support and intervention of bishops, far from being imposed on the abbeys, was regularly sought by the monks. Bishop Grimoald of Angoulême entered into conflict with viscount Guy of Limoges because of the latter's influence over the monastery of Brantôme. The matter was eventually taken to Rome, resulting in heavy sanctions against Guy. Bishop Alduin of Limoges and Count William of

²³ Glaber 126-7; *CACx* esp. p.i and no.4. For Saint-Jean d'Angély see Imbart de la Tour. *Les paroisses*. 248.

²⁴ For illustrative examples of donations in the period see *Chron...Saint-Maixent* 106-7 and 122-3; *CANDS* 1-8; *CACf* no. 4 and pp. i and 91-5; *CAN* 173-4. For discussion of lay generosity indicated in these and other sources, see esp. Bull, *Piety*, 115-203, 204-49; Venarde, B. L., *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890-1215*, Ithaca/London, 1997, 34-40.

²⁵ *Chartes...Saint-Maixent* I 104, 155-6, and II 482; *Chron...Saint-Maixent* 402; Painter, 'Lords of Lusignan', 27-35.

Angoulême built a castle in Haut-Vienne to protect the abbey of Saint-Junien from the castellan Jordan de Chabanais.²⁶

The dependence of the monasteries on the support of the bishops appears to account for the very different pattern of reform in Aquitaine to that taking place in Cluniac Burgundy. Indeed, by the 1030s probably only one Aquitainian house, Saint-Sauveur at Sarlat in Périgord, was part of the Cluniac network. This seems surprising in light of the fact that it was Duke William III who, in 909, had donated the land in Burgundy on which Cluny stood. This is still not the whole picture, however, and here we must return to the growing power of the dukes in religious affairs, for it was in fact under their influence that many of the most notable reforms took place, both in the abbeys and cathedrals. William V worked between 1010 and 1020 to remove the corrupt Abbot Peter I from Charroux. He replaced him with the reformer Gombaud II, and between 1032 and 1064 a ducal charter of reform was issued for the abbey. It was also as a ducal initiative that Abbot Odilo of Cluny (994-1049), an Aquitainian himself, attempted, with limited success, to reform Saint-Jean d'Angély. It was Odilo's nominee whom the duke supported in 1012 at Limoges. By 1016 Pope Benedict VIII saw William V as a man capable like his predecessor of promoting and protecting the Cluniac ideal.²⁷

William V's religious strategy was thus apparently as coherent as that with which he asserted political control over the elite amongst the laity. Indeed, it will be argued that it was part of the same strategy: to impose peace, order and, not least, religious orthodoxy. However, as suggested above, ducal influence over the laity was minimal at a very local level, almost certainly less than that of the abbeys. The question of religious orthodoxy, I believe, relates very closely to this absence of credible government in the countryside, and also the ultimate failure of the abbeys to impose peace themselves.

²⁶ Adémar 158-60 and 165-6; Callahan, 'William the Great', 328; Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal*, 33-4 and 69.

²⁷ Ademar 172, 181 and 184; *C4Cx* 3; *PL CXXXIX* 1601-4; Martindale, *Aquitaine*, 62-3 and 164; Richard, *Histoire*, I, 196, note 1 and 220, note 1; Escande, *Histoire de Sarlat*, Sarlat, 1903, 23-4 and 30-1. Callahan perhaps over-states the case for Cluniac success in the duchy before the abbacy of Hugh (1049-1109) (Callahan, 'William the Great', 337-42).

Castellans and the rural poor: *Mutation ou ajustement?*

Until the 1960s the transition from the Carolingian world to that of the High Middle Ages was seen as an essentially gradual process.²⁸ Following G. Duby's pioneering study of the Mâconnais, first published in 1953, another model emerged which emphasised a break-down of public authority in western Francia specifically under the last Carolingians and first Capetians, in the period c.970-c.1030. In this context castellans began independently to exert authority originally delegated to them by higher ranking royal officials, counts and viscounts. This authority included rights to exercise justice and to fortify their property. The inability of the higher-ranking aristocracy to call these men to account meant that castellans began to make their titles hereditary and to exercise their offices for personal gain, for example in the collection of fees and fines resulting from court cases. The authority of the castellan was enforced, psychologically and in real terms, by the use and threat of violence, for they gathered in their castles retinues of *milites*, or knights. The social status of this latter group was not originally linked to lineage, for unlike the nobility they did not claim descent from Carolingian officials, but to the right to bear arms, invested in them by their adopted lords. They rose from the very lowest ranks of the nobility and allodial land-holders, and in western France some were recruited from the peasantry (for, as will be shown, there was less distinction there between these groups than in other parts of western Europe). This newly assertive caste of warriors, rising in status, could not be allowed to acquire too much independent power of their own however. Thus the nobility began to draw them into voluntary relationships of personal dependence, symbolised by a set of socially exclusive rituals. Thus the emergence from the late tenth century of the private castellan and the *milites* in his castle transformed society dramatically over the period of a few decades.²⁹

²⁸ Amongst the most influential, M. Bloch's seminal work discusses the disintegration of public authority, the transfer of power to the principalities and to castellanies, and the loss of freedom by the peasantry as features of his 'first feudal age', that is to say c.850 to c.1050, and does not assume the need to locate them within a more specific timeframe (*Feudal Society*, trans. L. A. Manyon, 3rd English edn., 2 vols., London/New York, 1989, esp. I, 255-66 and II, 359-74 and 394-401).

²⁹ Duby, G., *La société au XIe et XIIe siècle dans la région mâconnaise*, 2nd edn., Paris, 1971, esp. 150-8; *idem.*, *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. C. Postan, London, 1977, esp. 59-80, 158-70; *idem.*, *France...Middle Ages*, esp. 55-90; *idem.*, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. A. Goldhammer, Chicago, 1981, esp. 147-66; *idem.*, *The Early Growth of the European Economy*, trans. H. B. Clarke, Ithaca, New York, 1974, esp. 162-77. The above, more recent view of the social origin of the *miles* diverges from Duby's model for the Mâconnais in which the eleventh-century nobility and *milites* originated from the same families. The rest of his portrayal of change is more-or-less adhered

In applying this model to Aquitaine specifically, it has been demonstrated that land management practice amongst the elite, that is to say frequent sub-divisions of estates through partible inheritance, coupled with probably over-generous donations to monasteries in the tenth century, reduced the economic viability of the property held by individual castellans. In truth, many probably had trouble supporting themselves peacefully off the traditional dues that their status afforded them, and in Carolingian Poitou in particular they were not traditionally accorded many such rights. Castellans, even when they were still part of comital and ducal entourages, as many were, became accustomed to abusing their licence for private ends. Thus they exercised for personal gain the *bannum*, the levying of fines, called the *manament* or *mandamentum* in Aquitaine, typically held in conjunction with the right of *destreit*, to apprehend and arrest, delegated to those holding castles. Thus the castle became the most immediately recognisable symbol of the new order and such structures, usually wooden but nonetheless formidable, both theoretically public and overtly private, increased in numbers dramatically in this period, as did private wars between those holding them and controlling the retinues within them.³⁰

to in the following regional studies: Bois, G., *La mutation de l'an mil. Lournand, village mâconnais de l'Antiquité au féodalisme*, Paris, 1989, esp. 177-262 (English trans. Manchester 1992); Bonnassie, P., *La Catalogne au tournant de l'an mil: croissance et mutations d'une société*, Paris, 1990; Bournazel, E., 'Mémoire et parenté: le problème de la continuité dans la noblesse de l'an Mil', in eds. Parisse and Barral I Altet, *Le Roi de France*, Paris, 1992, 111-16; Devailly, *Le Berry*, esp. 109-35 and 161-235; Poly, J. -P., *La Provence et la société féodale (879-1166)*, Paris, 1976, esp. 112-181; Bourin-Derruau, M., *Villages et communautés villageoises en Languedoc: l'exemple du Biterrois (Xe-XIVe siècle)*, 2 vols., Paris, 1987, esp. vol. I; Cursente, *Des maisons*, as cited below (and on pages 68-9 he cites charters in the cartulary of Madiran which indicate the distinction between noble castellans and *milites* in Gascony: Doat CLII 146-225). Duby's general principles also appear in the following thematic works: Boutruche, R., *Seigneurie et féodalité*, Paris, 1959, 105-26; Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal*, 9-140, esp. 25-39, 98-102 and 120-33; Bisson, T. N., 'The feudal revolution', *PP* 142 (1994), 6-42. J. F. Lemarignier came to very similar conclusions independently of Duby (see 'La dislocation du 'pagus' et le problème des 'consuetudines', *Mélanges...Louis Halphen*, Paris, 1951, 401-10, and also *Le gouvernement royal*, esp. 25-65).

³⁰ For illustrative examples see Adémar. 78, 136-40, 159, 185-6. Around the same time as Duby was researching the Mâconnais, S. Painter arrived independently at almost the same model for the rise of the castellans of Poitou ('Castellans of the plain of Poitou in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Speculum*, 31 (1956), esp. 246-8, 251, 253 and 256-7, and 'Lords of Lusignan', esp. 27-33). More recently see Beech, *Gâtine*, 82 and 92-5; Debord, *La Société...Charente*, esp. 122-62; *idem.*, 'The castellan revolution and the Peace of God in Aquitaine', in *Peace of God*, 165 -183; *idem.*, 'Castrum et castellum chez Ademar de Chabannes', *Archéologie Médiévale*, 9 (1979) 97-113; Lewis, A.R., *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society, 718-1050*, Austin Texas, 1965, esp. 312-14 and 179-314; Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal*, 64-5; Callahan, 'William the Great', 321-2 and 327; Higounet, C., 'En Bordelais: principes castella tenentes', in ed. P. Contamine, *La Noblesse au Moyen Age, 11e-15e siècles*, Paris, 1976, 97-104; Boutruche, R., *Une société provinciale en lutte contre le régime*

The break-down in public order according to this model had terrible implications for the Aquitainian peasantry. Not least, unprecedented *usaticos* and *consuetudines* were imposed by castellans, described as new and evil in monastic sources claiming to speak for the poor. These implied not only economic hardship but also loss of status, the progression of which has been described by P. Bonnassie. Slavery had disappeared by c.1000 in Aquitaine and the poor were briefly free. Whatever their material circumstances, legally they were on a par with the knights and nobles, able, for example, to carry arms for defence, take cases to court, give evidence and undertake trial by combat. This process was a threat to the castellans and knights. The former needed what the peasant produced in order to maintain an economic as well as social superiority and to support their retinues, and the latter were legally no better than the peasant and had only recently risen socially above those toiling in the fields. Those who exercised justice, and thus effectively defined it, forced free peasants into relationships of legal obligation and dependency: serfdom, in other words. The process was complete in Aquitaine within only a few decades of the eleventh century and was encouraged by endemic private warfare, forcing the vulnerable to give up their freedom and property to whoever would physically protect them. Not least, freedom was stolen in a very literal sense, for sources tell us that peasants were kidnapped by those with the right to arrest and ransomed for their property and even their legal status.³¹ Parts of western Frankia saw violent uprisings by this increasingly oppressed group in defence of its freedom. Few accounts indicate this trend in Aquitaine, but it will be argued later that some alternative outlets for dissent were found.

The above model, applied to other regions of France as well, has been termed *la mutation*. The concept is employed both by those who still find the terminology of feudalism useful, and who call this process a 'feudal revolution', and also those who

féodale: l'alleu en Bordelais et en Bazadais du XIe au XVIIIe Siècle. Rodez, 1943, 1-4, 26 and 53-71; Higounet, C. et al., *Histoire de l'Aquitaine*, Toulouse, 1971, 160-4.

³¹ Bonnassie, P., *From Slavery to Feudalism in South-Western Europe*, Cambridge, 1991, 1-59, 146, 300-2, 305-6 and 309-12; *idem.*, 'Survie et extinction du régime esclavagiste dans l'Occident du haut Moyen Age (IVe-XIe siècle)', *CCM* 28 (1985), esp. 342; *idem.*, 'Les paysans du royaume franc au temps d'Hughes Capet et Robert le Pieux (987-1031)', in Parisse and Barral I Altet, *Le Roi de France*, esp. 126 (citing Sanfaçon, R., *Défrichements, peuplement et institutions seigneuriales en Haut Poitou du XIe au XIIIe siècle*, Québec, 1967, 17). Stories of the oppression of peasants in contemporary books of miracles such as those of Saint-Foy and Saint-Léonard of Noblat, will be discussed below.

have some criticisms of it and are seeking to provide the Millennial period with its own more accurate shorthand. The conclusions of the *mutationnistes* are also adopted by many who do not use the terminology itself. However the *mutationniste* school in turn has acquired many critics. Just as some historians have rejected 'feudalism' as an accurate or useful description of medieval society, so some also challenge *la mutation* for the homogeneity, chronologically and geographically, which it appears, to its critics, to assume. Most vehement amongst them, D. Barthélemy prefers a theory of *ajustements successifs* to replace *la mutation brutale*, levelling at advocates of the latter the view of H. I. Marrou that 'les historiens ont trop souvent pris leurs idéaltypes pour des réalités vraies'.³² Not least, Barthélemy disputes that there were significant numbers of free peasants who began to lose their status as a result of the rise of the castellans.³³ His own study of the Vendômois indicates that there such changes were more subtle than allowed for by *la mutation*, and that the years around the year 1200 were more significant than those around the year 1000.³⁴

Barthélemy is able to cite work by other historians which he feels support his view. J. Nelson has modified the picture of the knight as distinct from the aristocracy or as a phenomenon specific to the late tenth century onwards.³⁵ Whilst the accountable officials of the ninth-century Carolingian *pagi* contrast with the autonomous counts of the tenth, for most people, in terms of the experience of local justice, very little changed.³⁶ There is evidence that, far from being juxtaposed to public order, private agreements complemented it and feuding, the pursuit of justice through violence, was

³² Barthélemy, D., *La mutation de l'an mil a-t-elle eu lieu: servage et chevalerie dans la France des Xe et XIe siècles*, Paris, 1997, esp. 8 (citing Marrou, H. I., *De la connaissance historique*, 2nd. ed., Paris, 1975, 157-8) 15 and 28 (crediting the concept of *ajustement* to Duhamel-Amado, C., 'Les pouvoirs et les parents autour de Béziers [980-1100]', in *Cadres de vie et société dans le Midi médiéval. Homage à Charles Higounet*, *AM* 102 [1990], 309-17). Barthélemy in fact originally coined the term *mutationniste* (Barthélemy, D., *La société dans le comté de Vendôme de l'an mil au XIVe siècle*, Paris, 1993, 13, and see review of this work by S. White in *Speculum*, 71 (1996), 116-20, at 116). Barthélemy does not take issue with the model proposed by Duby, but with those who 'push it to the extreme' (*ibid.*, 15-18 and, for the quote, review of *La mutation* by M. C. E. Jones in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 6 March 1998, 26). The failures of *mutationniste* scholarship are also discussed in Barthélemy, *Vendôme*, 9, 11, 83 and 275, and, most polemically, in A. Guerreau's review of Bois, *La mutation*, in *MA* 96 (1990), 519-37.

³³ Barthélemy, *Mutation*, 20-23, 59-171 and 175-296.

³⁴ Barthélemy, *Vendôme*, esp. 11-13, 277-8, 333-64, 441, 506, 514, 693, 709, 770 and S. White's review cited above.

³⁵ Nelson, J., 'Ninth-century knighthood: the evidence of Nithard, in *idem.*, *The Frankish World, 750-900*, London, 1996, esp. 77.

to a great extent self-limiting in the private sphere.³⁷ In southern France some Carolingian terminology defining social relations did not vanish in the tenth-century, for it had never been widespread in the first place, whilst other terms stayed in use from the ninth century into the eleventh, implying a continuity of interpretation.³⁸ The very methodology by which some *mutationnistes* have reached their conclusions has been found wanting. S. Reynolds argues that we rely too much on monastic sources for understanding lay social relations and the extent of violence, sources which have an interest in exaggerating the scale of the problem. She uses the *conventum* between Hugh of Lusignan and William V to modify the impression that princely power had collapsed.³⁹

The debate is relevant to our subject not least because a society experiencing unprecedented levels of social injustice and the marginalisation of idealistic groups within it would, according to most models explaining the rise of heresy, be a society which could support religious as well as political dissent, perhaps depending on how well the authorities answered the concerns of the increasingly vulnerable and volatile sections of that society.⁴⁰ What kind of society, then, was Millennial Aquitaine?

It seems to me that many criticisms of the *mutationniste* model must be true: common sense dictates that things did not change uniformly throughout France within the same few decades: 'one does not safely bet against continuity in history'.⁴¹ The unabashed assertion that in the Millennial era "an old world burst apart" in "a time of sudden, rapid, and all-transforming change" inevitably invites qualification.⁴² Another study

³⁶ Nelson, J., 'Dispute settlement in Carolingian west Frankia', in *ibid.*, esp. 68-9.

³⁷ Barthélemy cites White, S., 'Pactum legem vincit et amor iudicium, the settlement of disputes by compromise', *American Journal of Legal History*, 22 (1978), 281-308, but see also *idem.*, 'Feuding and peace-making in the Touraine around the year 1100', *Traditio*, 42 (1986), esp. 199-200 and 246-63.

³⁸ Magnou-Nortier, E., 'Fidélité et féodalité méridionales d'après les serments de fidélité, Xe - début XIIe siècle', *AM* 80 (1968), esp. 460-70.

³⁹ Reynolds, S., *Fiefs and Vassals*, Oxford, 1994, esp. 124-5 and 159.

⁴⁰ Nelson, J., 'Society, theodicy and the origins of heresy', *SCH* 9 (1972), 65-77; Asad, T., 'Medieval heresy: an anthropological view', *Social History*, 11 (1986), 345-62; Cohn, N., *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, 3rd edn., London, 1990, esp. 53-62 and 282-4; Moore, R.I., *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, Oxford, 1987, 19-22 and esp. 102-6. See also chapter 4.

⁴¹ Bisson, 'Feudal revolution', 9.

⁴² Moore, R.I., 'The Peace of God and the social revolution', in *Peace of God*, 309. In accordance with this model, Moore sees the canons of the 1010/14 council of Poitiers as evidence that "the disintegration of comital authority was proceeding apace," stating that the sanctions it threatened were purely spiritual (*ibid.*, 314). I disagree with this interpretation of the canons (see below).

dates the decline of “strong comital power” in Poitou specifically to the time of William V, saying that until 995 it was extensive, and asserts that this process in Aquitaine was a perfect illustration of the decline of public authority more widely.⁴³ Such extreme expressions of *la mutation* add weight to the view that it is a useless *idéaltpe*. They seem to me to select from the available evidence in order to conform to a pattern of which their exponents are already convinced.⁴⁴ Such simplifications and truisms should, of course, be open to modification and, if necessary, destruction. However, the studies which best support the view that significant changes marked this period provide a far more complex and qualified model than Barthélemy would have us believe.⁴⁵

This is the case not least in relation to Aquitaine and south-western France, including Gascony. To begin with, the Dubyesque portrait itself contends that when knights eventually became dependent on noble patronage this took place in a less structured sense in Aquitaine and southern France than in the north and east.⁴⁶ P. Bonnassie, an apparently rigid *mutationniste*, frequently highlights regional variations in the conditions to which the peasantry were subject. He has shown his own supposed '*idéaltpe*' to apply less to the Auvergne and Septimania, where Visigothic law was still cited and some public courts were still held. Whilst he concludes that the peasantry of France was generally *miserable et asservie* and eventually *vaincue* with few exceptions, around the year 1000 some were *protégée* and others *libre et dynamique*, and whilst some were *opprimée et soumise*, some were *rebelle*. This view of the condition of the peasantry varies regionally, and I think his assertion, based on the available sources, that in south-western Europe there were indeed significant numbers of free peasants who lost their status is difficult to fault. However Bonnassie himself concedes that even in Aquitaine this process does not exactly fulfil the *mutationniste* formula, for here it began in the ninth century when once free *coloni* entered into relationships of dependency with those who could protect them from invading

⁴³ Bachrach, 'Reappraisal', esp. 15-16 and 17. I likewise disagree with this assessment (see below).

⁴⁴ Even T. Bisson's discussion of the debate and defence of *mutation*, if not 'revolution', does not address the charges levelled by the *ajustementistes* as well as it provides a catalogue of proofs supporting the orthodoxy ('Feudal revolution').

⁴⁵ S. White's review of *Vendôme* also notes Barthélemy's tendency to make generalisations and “overpolemicize” about *mutationnisme* and its advocates (at 119).

⁴⁶ See chapter 4.

Normans. Bonnassie also concludes that, although there was a period of freedom between that of slavery and serfdom in the south, northern France saw a more gradual transition in which few attained freedom in between the two servitudes, and that Poitou was 'un bon exemple de situation intermédiaire'.⁴⁷ A. Debord notes in the Charente a *mutation* which diverges from that occurring in Duby's Mâconnais. The aims of the Peace of God were to curb knightly violence in both regions, but in Aquitaine, in contrast with Burgundy, this was in collaboration with aristocratic power. The period in which castles appear to have proliferated in Aquitaine was actually before 1000, but in the Mâconnais it was after this date. Indeed, in the Charente the duke began to increase his control over castle building after 1000. In addition, Debord qualifies uniformity in this picture by saying that there is evidence that castles were licensed by public authority relatively frequently in the northern counties of Aquitaine in comparison to the south. He thus does anything but conform to the supposed *idéaltpe*.⁴⁸ G. Beech takes the traditional view that lords in the eleventh-century Parthenay increased in actual power in relation to the duke, but stresses this less in the period 1000-30 than in c. 1030-38, when they were allied with enemies of William VI.⁴⁹

For me, these historians achieve what Barthélemy accuses them of failing to do: they provide a detailed, justified and useful description of Aquitainian society in the Millennial period, based on the available evidence, essentially charters and cartularies. In fact, the *mutationniste* model is used to great effect in many modern works which do not discredit themselves by adopting unqualified the terminology of the 'feudal revolution'.⁵⁰ I am happy to accept for Aquitaine the general premise that 'the years before and, above all, immediately after, 1000, appear as a turning-point in the history of rural societies in the Frankish kingdom'.⁵¹

In addition, I am not convinced by some of the *ajustementist* inferences made by

⁴⁷ Bonnassie, *Slavery*, 299-300, 'Les paysans du royaume franc', 118-25, and 'Survie et extinction', 338-9 and note 24.

⁴⁸ Debord, *La société...Charente*, 116-22 and 140-152, and 'Castellan revolution', 142-9.

⁴⁹ Beech, *Gâtine*, 42-8.

⁵⁰ See, for example, the accounts of French society in the articles in *Peace of God*, and also a passage accounting for the growth in numbers of castles in *Cambridge Illustrated Atlas of Warfare in the Middle Ages, 768-1487*, eds. N. Hooper and M. Bennett, Cambridge, 1996, 33.

⁵¹ Bonnassie, *Slavery*, 313.

Barthélemy when citing 'supporting' authorities. S. White aims essentially to examine apparent contrast between north-western France and the Languedoc from c.1040 to c.1250, not to show continuity or otherwise between the Carolingian and High Medieval eras.⁵² S. Reynolds' study of elite social relations, like Bloch's, draws material from a wide period, from 900 to 1100, and is thus certainly the sort of survey which could illustrate or disprove *la mutation*. However she does not attempt this but seeks to improve the terminology used in the broader time-frame, concluding only that 'the rights and obligations attached to property...were different in 1100 from what they had been two centuries before', not whether this changed more rapidly in a given period. Not least, she notes that the Carolingian terminology associated with the obligation of military service and attendance at public courts had in fact disappeared by the early eleventh-century. In addition, she criticises Barthélemy's own use of an *idéaltpe*, '*féodalisme*'.⁵³ J. Nelson argues that there was little real contrast between the 'royal' power of the ninth century and the 'comital' power of the tenth. However the *mutationnistes* are identifying not merely an absence of royal government locally in the later tenth but also the decline of comital - and in our case ducal - authority itself, and the resultant devolution of justice to castellans. In arguing that the institution of knighthood emerged in the ninth century, she is explicitly referring only to its military and ideological facets, and nowhere implies that the delegation of judicial authority to soldiers took place in the Carolingian era.⁵⁴ Finally, it has been noted that some of Barthélemy's own conclusions, not least his assertion that the castle was a Carolingian phenomenon, may need revising.⁵⁵

To me a modified *mutationniste* thesis seems to apply well to the duchy of Aquitaine and its constituent parts. All the monographs concerning the duchy which I have come across support this view. Indeed, to my knowledge no one has taken a region of Aquitaine to illustrate *ajustement*, and nor could they. There is simply too much evidence, including that expressed through the Peace of God movement and the fact that this began in Aquitaine, that the duchy was undergoing a rapid social transformation, that the poor felt that this was novel and unjust, and that the struggling

⁵² White, '*Pactum*', esp. 285-8 and 289-98.

⁵³ Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, 14-15, 117-19, 117 note 4, 126-7 and 157-9.

⁵⁴ Nelson, 'Dispute settlement', 68-9 and 'Knighthood'.

secular and religious authorities sought to bring those resistant to 'legitimate' power under their control. Certainly churchmen, and also the dukes, used such protest and the resultant movement to improve their own position, not just over the knights but also over the poor, as will be discussed below. But unless we claim that they fabricated tales of violence to achieve this - and the amount of evidence involved would mean the discovery of a most elaborate conspiracy against the poor - we must conclude that many in Aquitaine perceived that something of a *mutation* was indeed taking place.

But I have hinted that *la mutation* in Aquitaine needs qualifying, as it has been by its *mutationniste* historians. Royal authority did not suddenly collapse here, for it was already comparatively weak.⁵⁶ Paradoxically, and in spite of the limitations on his power, William the Great, through what he inherited and what he achieved, was one of the most powerful rulers in this period of weak public authority.⁵⁷ Whilst, pre-empting Duby, C. Erdmann noted that the Peace of God was necessary because princely and royal protection of monasteries had collapsed, we find, in the very same duchy in which the Peace originated, growing devotion of lesser nobles to saints' cults.⁵⁸ If many free people were forcibly enserfed - or 'allowed' this to happen in order to protect their lives at the expense of their freedom and property: it surely amounts to the same thing - some peasant communities were successful in maintaining their liberty. Free peasants of the Gâtine, for example, apparently kept free status by supporting a lord, William de Parthenay, who did not subject them, and in 1037 they even built him a castle.⁵⁹

On balance, however, *ajustement* does not seem to me to describe Aquitainian society very accurately. From the evidence put forward by *mutationnistes* and others, it appears that the Aquitainian poor became increasingly frightened and insecure at the hands of the powerful and that this was largely the result of the emergence of a relatively new social group with unprecedented levels of unaccountable authority

⁵⁵ Jones, review of *La Mutation*.

⁵⁶ Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, esp. 29-31 and 41.

⁵⁷ See, for example, his role in relation to the counts of Angoulême, as discussed in Debord, *Charente*, and the lords of Parthenay in Beech, *Gâtine*, even though these were largely autonomous within their own territories.

⁵⁸ Erdmann, C., *The Origins of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart, Princeton, 1977, esp. 59, and Bull, *Piety*, cited above.

⁵⁹ Beech, *Gâtine*, 45-8 and 114-6. For other examples of free peasant communities see chapter 4.

embodied in the castle, itself a relatively new phenomenon. Whether or not any of these processes had roots in the Carolingian period is not actually the central point here. What concerns us most is the subjective interpretation of events by the peasantry, for their reaction to social conditions, not least their relationship with the allies whom they sought within the elite, seems to have paved the way for popular support for religious heresy.

The Millennium and popular religiosity

The extent to which Aquitanian society experienced Millennial 'terrors' in this period is also debated. On the one hand, what seem to me to be overtly eschatological images and apocalyptic interpretations in the sources are disputed by historians of the religious life who tend towards the view that society was only experiencing mild *ajustement*, a view encapsulated most recently in P. Riché's survey of Europe in the year 1000. On the other, the scale of chiliastic excitement in the Millennial period, and of an elite conspiracy formulated to suppress it, seems to have been exaggerated by R. Landes on the basis of very scant evidence. I am unconvinced, for example, by assertions that either the pilgrims travelling to Jerusalem to mark the Millennium of the Passion in 1033, or Ralph Glaber who tells us about them, were expecting an event of cosmological significance: Glaber says only that 'some' people came to this conclusion 'cautiously'. Like the Catholics who will travel to Rome in the year 2000, most were surely marking an anniversary. Nonetheless, for one thing there is convincing evidence that amongst both the pilgrims and the social commentators of the eleventh century there were indeed some who looked and even hoped for such an event and the signs prefiguring it. For another, if some excitable types, Adémar and Glaber amongst them, viewed events in an eschatological context, we should be aware, as R. Markus and P. Riché warn, that people had done this since the earliest Christian centuries.⁶⁰ Between

⁶⁰ Glaber 198-201 and 204-5; Riché, P., *Les grandeurs de l'an Mil*, Paris, 1999, esp. 11-26. For evidence of apocalypticism and eschatology see esp. relevant sections in Landes, *Relics* and 'Giants with feet of clay', at "<http://www.mille.org/AHR9.html>". For elite denial of the evidence see Landes, 'Millenarismus absconditus' and 'Sur les traces du Millennium: La via negative', in *MA*, 98 (1992), 355-77 and 99 (1993), 1-26. See also *idem*, 'Lest the millennium be fulfilled: apocalyptic expectation and the pattern of western chronology, 100-800', in eds. W. Verbeke *et al.*, *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, Leuven, 1988, 137-211. For discussion of views of the coming of the End in the ancient and early medieval period, as both imminent and at the same time 'indefinitely postponed', and an important critique of R. Landes' approach, see the forthcoming article by R. Markus, 'Living within sight of the End'. (proceedings of conference on Time, York, 1999). The collection of essays edited by R. K. Emmerson and B. McGinn also describes Apocalypticism as a medieval, not Millennial

the two positions, there is a case for at least moderately heightened apocalyptic awareness in the period c.999 to 1033, not least because, as Norman Cohn notes, 'the areas in which the age old prophecies about the Last Days took on a new, revolutionary meaning and a new, explosive force were the areas...involved in a process of rapid economic and social change.'⁶¹ Thus I believe that some, not least amongst the clergy, looked for and found signs of The End. This dangerous activity came to the attention of conservative authorities and, I suspect, of other extremists, as will be discussed in chapter three.

We know that some churchmen certainly saw the years 1000 and 1033 as significant. The problem is in interpreting how significant and in what way. I cannot accept that Bede and his predecessors re-calculated calendars in order to postpone the dates and thereby expectation of what would accompany them.⁶² The monk who wrote dates in the margins of the Angoulême Annals in 924, next to which those who followed him would note what happened in those years, stopped after writing *Mille*.⁶³ We could say that he merely succumbed to the attraction of round numbers, or, alternatively, that he saw no point writing 'A.D.1001': Christ would have returned to the world by then, marking the start of the sixth age and the end of history. To me both scenarios seem equally implausible. In 999 as in 924, most clerics surely obeyed instruction from Augustine and from Christ himself and refused to speculate on what might occur and when.⁶⁴ But a minority, and there are undeniable traces of them, looked for signs if only out of human curiosity, as some people do with horoscopes: not actually expecting to find the truth, but noting with excitement occasions when 'prophecy' and 'reality' appear to coincide. A valid criticism of this view is often posited: 'how many lay people (i.e. the uneducated and illiterate, both rich and poor) actually knew what year it was?'. I suggest that if the Medieval laity ever knew the date it would be in

phenomenon (*The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, Ithaca and London, 1992). For a good bibliography of arguments acknowledging and denying Millennial 'terrors', compiled by R. Landes, see "<http://www.mille.org/1000-bib.htm>".

⁶¹ *Pursuit*, 53.

⁶² For this view see R. Landes in the sources above.

⁶³ Ms Vatican Reg. Lat. 1127, 1-2 (cited in Gillingham, 'Ademar', 8-9, and published in *MGH SS XVI* 485).

⁶⁴ Credit for the observation that Christ himself declared he did not know when the End would come (Matthew 24: 36), a fact which, curiously, is rarely noted in medieval or modern sources, goes to

years such as 999, 1000, and 1033, years in which, whatever the apocalyptic beliefs of the clergy and monks with whom, it has been established, many were in close communication, it might be suggested to them that, at very least, they should live in a way befitting the Millennium of the Saviour's birth and suffering.

It is also certain that Antichrist, due to appear after a thousand years, was familiar to at least a minority of the laity. It was he whom Glaber's 'cautious' people anticipated. Abbo of Fleury was appalled to hear his return predicted in a sermon in Paris in the late tenth century. In the highest secular circles around the same time Queen Gerberga of France commissioned Adso, abbot of Moutier-en-Der, to write his *Libellus de Antichristo*, based on the Revelation of St. John the Divine and theological commentaries. Adso wrote that Antichrist would be born in Babylon, that is to say Cairo, in the Last Days. He would claim to be Christ but in spite of his apparent glory he could be recognised because he would declare himself greater than the Trinity. He would wreak havoc in human affairs. Non-Christians would be seduced by him easily and he would thus convert powerful rulers in the east. From there, he would send his agents, including apparently orthodox Christians, throughout the entire world. These are referred to as antichrists. The emergence of many such figures was to be a sign that the Last Days were near, and 'whatever man - layman, cleric or monk - lives contrary to justice and opposes the rule of good, he is Antichrist and the servant of Satan'. Converts would be made to their cause through false wonders and deception. All this, according to Revelation 20:7-9, would be met by a terrible fire from heaven.⁶⁵

To those who were looking, contemporary events in Aquitaine seemed to confirm that the Last Days were indeed at hand. As noted, protests against the new order of injustice and misrule abounded in this period. According to the Bonnassie model the

Bernard Hamilton. For a survey of the influence of Augustinian attitudes towards eschatology and chiliasm, expressed in *De haeresis* and *City of God*, see Markus, 'Living'.

⁶⁵ Rev. 20: 1-7; 2 Pet. 3:8; Ps. 89 (90): 4; PL CXXXIX 471-2; Adso of Moutier-en-Der, *Libellus de Antichristo*, (I have not been able to see the Latin [ed. Verhelst, *Corpus Christianorum Cont. Med.*, vol. 45, Brepols, 1976] but there is a translation in *The Play of Antichrist*, trans. J. Wright, Toronto, 1967, 100-110, at 102 (quotation), 102-7, 109-10). See also Emerson, R.K., *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, Seattle, 1981, esp. 21-33, 50-62 and 74-109; Landes, *Relics*, 16-19 and 285-327, and his 'Apocalyptic dossier: 967-1033' at www.mille.org. The image of Antichrist's reign taking the shape of rebellion against order on Earth comes from Medieval interpretations of 2 Thessalonians 2:3-11 (Emmerson,

condition of the peasantry worsened from c.1000 to c.1033, and P. Riché also proposes that the fourth decade might have seemed more momentous in secular terms than the year 1000.⁶⁶ In addition, between c.990 and 1030 there were five outbreaks of ergotism. The Limousin and Gâtine were amongst the worst hit, and Adémar tells us that victims consumed by the *sacer ignis* experienced visions of heaven and hell.⁶⁷ In the years 1005-6 and 1032-3 famine throughout France reduced some to cannibalism, as reported by Ralph Glaber.⁶⁸ Good Friday fell on the feast of the Annunciation in 992, an occurrence some believed to signify the beginning of the End.⁶⁹ Adémar informs us that news from the east told of the persecution of Christians in Egypt and that, in 1010, the Holy Sepulchre had been destroyed. The result was Apocalyptic visions, including one experienced by the chronicler, and attacks on Jewish communities in Aquitaine.⁷⁰ Not least, antichrists were discovered, identified by the clergy in the form of apparently orthodox religious figures, recognisable because, in accordance with the predictions of 1 Timothy, they forbade marriage and commanded the refusal of certain foodstuffs put on earth by God for humankind to eat.⁷¹ But the Last Days heralded the ultimate triumph of Christ and those aiding him. This too appeared to be taking place. Adémar tells us of the conversion of Jews in Limoges by Bishop Alduin, the re-construction of the Holy Sepulchre, and the tribulations of Muslims in Africa including the death of the *rex Babilonius* al-Hakim, Fatimid Caliph of Egypt.⁷² The fight for order and orthodoxy, in east and west, was always uppermost in Ademar's mind, for if humankind was soon to be judged, it would be judged, according to Revelation, by its works, and must not be found wanting.⁷³

The close association between the urban and rural laity and Aquitainian relic and cult sites in this period has been, I believe accurately, discussed in a Millennial context:

Antichrist, 38-9). The concept of 'antichrists' originates in 1 John 2:18 and was elaborated by Jerome in *De Antichristo in Daniele*, CCL LXXV (A) 914.

⁶⁶ Bonnassie, 'Paysans du royaume franc', 118; Riché, *Les grandeurs*, 26 and 314-18.

⁶⁷ Adémar, 158. Rye was the main grain crop in the Gâtine (Beech, *Gâtine*, 38).

⁶⁸ Glaber 81-3 and 186-93.

⁶⁹ Landes. R., 'Between the aristocracy and heresy: popular participation in the Limousin Peace of God, 994-1033', in *Peace of God*, 188.

⁷⁰ Adémar, 169.

⁷¹ 1 Timothy 4: 1- 4, and see below and chapter 3 for medieval sources identifying antichrists.

⁷² Adémar, 169-70.

growing in proportion to social and economic uncertainty, the protests of both peasantry and monks unified in movements of pilgrimage both within and beyond the duchy. The Limousin was heavily affected. When pilgrimages to Saint-Martial were at their height, in 994-c.1015, its monks championed Adémar's forged apostolic *vita* for their patron. Its claims were made in the context of the discovery by the monks at Saint-Jean d'Angély of the head of John the Baptist. Miracles abounded also at Saint-Cybard, which was rewarded with a fragment of the True Cross, and at Charroux. Such events led to the mass attendance at processions and ceremonies at which relics were present. Aquitainians were also attracted to the cult of Sainte-Foy at Conques, whose remains were housed in an elaborate statue-reliquary. The promotion of her cult and the emergence of that of the Limousin saint Leonard of Noblat, a figure of dubious provenance almost certainly invented in the early-eleventh century and whose miracles were first recorded in the twelfth, attest to the insecurity of the times and the ingenuity of the monasteries: both saints' *vitae* feature amongst their miracles the freeing of peasants unjustly imprisoned by castellans, often held for ransom.⁷⁴ It was in this context of the renewal of popular religiosity, its championing and containment by orthodox leadership, and the quest for order and justice on earth in the Millennial era, that the Peace of God movement emerged in Aquitaine.

The Peace of God: Church and lay authority in alliance

The Peace of God is most usefully described in recent scholarship as an attempt by clerical authorities to re-establish public order, lost under the later Carolingians, in order to provide themselves with lay protection against encroachment on their

⁷³ Rev. 20: 12-15. For Adémar's interpretation of these events and their place in medieval Apocalypticism generally see Landes, 'Between the aristocracy', 188-9, 216, 286-308, 322-7 and 'Giants', esp. 20.

⁷⁴ Adémar 162; CACx 29-41 and 48-53; Bull, *Piety*, 210-30; Landes, *Relics*, 46-49 and 'Aristocracy', 191-218; Callahan, 'William the Great', 332-6; Töpfer, B., 'The cult of relics and pilgrimage in Burgundy and Aquitaine at the time of the monastic reform', in *Peace of God*, 41-57; Solt, C.W., *The Cult of Saints and Relics in the Romanesque Art of south-western France and the Impact of Imported Byzantine Relics and Reliquaries on Early Gothic Reliquary Sculpture*, Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1977, esp. 2, 6-9, 58, 96-9, 113, 119-21, 122-32 and 192-230; *Book of Saint Foy*, 16-17 and 99-105, 128-9, 148-51, 164-5, 183, 185-7 and 190-9; Arbellot, M., *Vie de Saint Léonard Solitaire en Limousin: ses miracles et son culte*, Paris, 1863, 279 (manuscript tradition) and 56-9, 279, 289-94, 298-301 (miracles freeing prisoners) (Arbellot - *ibid*, 53 - agrees with Jacques de Voriange, who uses some of Leonard's miracles in the *Golden Legend*, that the miracles were 'worked' in the eleventh-century even though the earliest manuscript is twelfth century). For Saint Leonard see esp. Sargent, S., 'Religious responses to social violence in eleventh-century Aquitaine', *Historical Reflections/Réflexions historiques*, 12, (1985), 219-40 esp. 231-2.

property and liberty, and also to temper the violent excesses of private authority and place limits on *malae consuetudines*. They were aided in this by the highest secular powers, in whose interests it was to establish a stable social hierarchy which they could dominate. Recently the role in the peace of other groups has been highlighted: that of the rural poor, emerging communal movements, and also the nobility who, on the face of it, had an interest in decentralised power. In addition, it has been shown that the peace was aimed also at clerical reform, not least against the practice of arms-bearing and the waging of war by clerics. Almost everyone, in fact, had an interest in the success of the peace, with the exception of those making their living from the violence and also of religious heretics, whom the sources claim emerged in the same period and whom the peace councils also attacked.⁷⁵

Aquitaine was the birth place of the Peace, the first such council being convened by Archbishop Gombaud of Bordeaux in 989. It took place at the abbey of Charroux, to which he summoned bishops Gilbert of Poitiers, Hildegar of Limoges, Frotarius of Périgueux, Abbo of Saintes, and Hugh of Angoulême. Its canons, stating their intention to curb criminal activity and to promote that which was more lawful, contribute to the view of the peace now taken by historians, in that here 'criminal' can be defined as 'new' and 'harmful', especially to the Church. Three specific categories of violent crime are cited as being punishable, that is to say through sacramental sanctions. They are attacks on church property, theft of goods and cattle from *pauperes*, and attacks on unarmed clergy, matters over which 'these bishops... clerics and monks, not to mention lay people of both sexes, have beseeched the aid of divine

⁷⁵ Amongst the most influential work on the Peace is that by G. Duby in *Chivalrous Society*, 123-33, and *Three Orders*, esp. 13-20, 56-60 and 134-9, in which it is placed in the context of social disorder in c.1000. The most important recent work on the Peace is the collection of essays *Peace of God*. For Aquitaine see in it esp. Debord, A., 'The castellan revolution', 165-183; Töpfer, 'Cult of relics', 41-57; Callahan, D. F., 'The Peace of God and the cult of the saints in Aquitaine in the tenth and eleventh centuries', 80-103; Landes, 'Aristocracy', 184-218; and Moore, 'Peace of God', 308-326. For aspects of the peace aimed at clerical reform see Martindale, J., 'Peace and war in early eleventh-century Aquitaine', in eds. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey, *Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, IV, Woodbridge, 1992, 147-77; Remensnyder, A. G., 'Pollution, purity and Peace: an aspect of social reform between the late tenth century and 1076', in *Peace of God*, 280-307. For the historiography of the peace see especially Paxton, F.S., 'History, historians and the Peace of God', in *Peace of God*, 21-40. Problems with dating and verifying accounts of some Aquitainian councils are discussed in Martindale, 'Peace and war', 175-6. Information on Peace councils comes from these sources and others as cited.

justice'.⁷⁶

The council of Limoges of 994 was called in the context of an outbreak of ergotism sweeping the region. Adémar tells us that it was again convened by the men of God, on behalf of the poor, and that this time the support of the duke was sought. At it a precedent was established by which William V was to benefit greatly. As part of the council, great nobles, including the independent-minded viscount Guy of Limoges and Count William of Angoulême, took peace oaths in both the presence of the duke and of the assembled masses, on the relics of many saints. But wasn't warfare the very *raison d'être* of these arms-bearers? Here, then, we see not the banning of war but acknowledgement by the aristocracy that limitations should be placed on their conflicts, and recognition that the duke had a role in maintaining this. Here also we see the clergy conceding 'a certain rapprochement with war-like activities'. In other words, from the earliest days the Peace sought not to eliminate violence but to control it and to legitimise warfare sanctioned by the duke or by the clerical authorities.⁷⁷

Two decades later we find that William V was able to consolidate many of the ideological gains he had been making in the secular sphere. He summoned the bishops and great nobles to a council at Poitiers, in 1010 or 1014, and oaths were sworn by which magnates bound themselves to submit disputes to his court. Not only would transgressors be excommunicated, but the lay lords would help the duke take measures, implicitly violent, to destroy those disregarding his authority.⁷⁸ In this we see clerical support for the imposition of ducal authority in the secular sphere: whoever opposed him, opposed the will of God as defined by Aquitainian bishops and abbots. Note also, in this context, Adémar's assumption of God's support for the duke in all his wars and His opposition to his enemies. The very location of the councils, according to J. Martindale, expressed this duke's authority, taking place in towns which he controlled or, in the case of Charroux, where he was attempting to assert authority (it was held by the uncooperative counts of La Marche, but it was the duke who was reforming the abbey). And the new order began to extend itself through the arms-

⁷⁶ Mansi XIX 89-90 (quotation 89, trans. *Peace of God*, 327).

⁷⁷ CACx 11 and 15; Adémar 158; Erdmann, *Origins*, 59 (quotation).

bearing elite: peace oaths between 1025 and 1040 actually included the promise that the oath-taker would not betray his lord.⁷⁹

The subtle dynamic between the populace and the abbeys and the cults they promoted was an important part of the Peace from the start. The laity were at Charroux in 989 and Limoges in 994 *en masse*, and in the latter St. Martial relieved many afflicted by the *sacer ignis*.⁸⁰ R. Landes has argued convincingly that the manipulation of the hagiography of St. Martial played a part in both the recruitment of the poor to the peace and their containment within its discipline.⁸¹ Some of the secular clergy also played an important role in mobilising the poor. Under the episcopacy of Alduin the alliance between the church and populace of the Limousin in protesting against social violence took a symbolic yet pragmatic form: 'in response to...the rapine of the fighters...(and other sins)... churches and monasteries ceased to perform the divine cult and the holy sacrifice and the people, as pagans, ceased from divine praises, and this observance was regarded as an excommunication...'.⁸²

But Duby and the other *mutationnistes* are convincing when they argue that the most profound impact of the peace for the poor was not emancipatory but in fact oppressive. It both codified and justified the new order: those whose place it was to work, should work dutifully; those whose place it was to fight, should fight fairly. Whilst the councils asserted the right of those tilling the land not to be unjustly attacked by their own lord or anyone else, this served essentially to legitimise their economic exploitation: it was illegitimate to steal goods from the poor, but legitimate to take their labour and legitimate to punish those who belonged to you. There was never any question that the poor should be freed from this burden. The idealistic themes contained in the 989 canons of Charroux were side-lined in later councils which

⁷⁸ Mansi XIX 265-8; Callahan, 'William the Great', 328-42; Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal*, 151-2. Cf. Moore, 'Peace of God', 314-5.

⁷⁹ Adémar 179-80; Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal*, 151-2; Lemarignier, *Institutions ecclésiastiques*, 51-2; Erdmann, *Origin*, 60-2. I am doubtful whether Martindale's argument about Charroux ('Peace and war', 162) holds true for the 989 council, however, held in William IV's time and convened by Gombaud, the new Gascon archbishop of Bordeaux and rival to Poitevin authority there (see discussion of control of Bordeaux below).

⁸⁰ Mansi XIX 89; Adémar 158.

⁸¹ Landes, 'Aristocracy', 192-3; Cowdrey, H. E. J., 'The Peace and Truce of God in the Eleventh Century', *PP* 46 (1970), 49-51.

concentrated on establishing ducal control. The masses were apparently not invited to the second council at Charroux in 1028. The Aquitanian clergy now apparently agreed with a criticism of the peace made by Gerard of Cambrai, that the poor were usurping the role of 'those who pray'.⁸³

It was arguably partly out of a sense of betrayal that in 1021 the people of Limoges played reformer in the matter of the vacant abbacy of Saint Martial. On 3 August 1029 the re-invented saint had an apostolic liturgy sung in his honour in his newly enlarged church. A Lombard, Benedict of Chiusa, publicly challenged Adémar over the legitimacy of the claims he made for the saint and convinced the populace that they had been taken in by an elaborate pretence. They abandoned the cult, destroying not only Adémar's credibility but that of the monastery, severing the ties between themselves, Saint-Martial, and, by implication, the Peace. The Saint-Maixent chronicler is at pains to stress the presence of '*diversorum ordinum christianorum (et) fidelibus populis*' at a council at Poitou in c.1032, alongside important churchmen, but the role of the former was by now passive.⁸⁴ As has been argued by the authorities above, from the late tenth century the peasantry had sought protection from theft, violence and the erosion of its legal status, but by the 1030s was experiencing instead institutionalisation of the newly oppressive rural order, a betrayal attested to not least in sources for the Peace of God. As will be argued in chapter three, a minority of the Aquitanian laity appear to have become increasingly responsive to alternatives where reform had failed, making a choice (*heresis*) which challenged the very legitimacy of secular and ecclesiastical authority.

ii. Gascony under the Basques to c.1060

The Basque dukes and bishops of Gascony

We have only one account of heresy in Gascony, but I will examine similar themes in relation to Gascony as those addressed in Aquitaine, because the development of medieval Gascony is important not just for understanding heresy in the eleventh century but in the twelfth as well. The early history of Gascony is obscure and has been the cause of much debate and speculation because of the dearth of documentation. It

⁸² Adémar, 161-2 (trans. Landes, 'Aristocracy', 196).

⁸³ Adémar, 194; Gerard of Cambrai, *Gesta*, IV, 485.

seems certain that under the Franks it was not a coherent political unit. Into the tenth century, probably as a result of land hunger in the Pyrenees, ambitious Basques extended their traditional settlements beyond Bayonne as far north as the Bordelais and as far east as the Garonne. This was probably originally with the assent of the Franks, for a Basque dynasty of Carolingian officials came to dominate the region and became independent under Garsie-Sanche 'le Courbé' (886-920). His son Sanche-Garsie (c.920-c.960) was the creator of what R. Mussot-Goulard calls 'Grande Gascogne', an assemblage of territories more or less corresponding to the Landes, and later including the Bazadais and the Agenais, of which he was styled 'duke'. His brothers Guillaume-Garsie and Arnaud-Garsie held Fezensac and Astarac respectively whilst other Basque families dominated the western Pyrenees. Sanche-Garsie's successor, his son Guillaume-Sanche (c.960-997/9) was also called count of Bordeaux, but a cousin, Guillaume 'le Bon' was also likewise 'count of Bordeaux' in Guillaume-Sanche's lifetime, and thus we learn that the comital and ducal titles were not as synonymous as the titles 'count of Poitou' and 'duke of Aquitaine'.⁸⁵

Guillaume-Sanche reorganised Gascon political life and asserted himself over the comital demesne from his capital at Saint-Sever. From there he established viscounts at Lomagne, Oloron, Béarn, Dax and Marsan and attempted to negotiate with Scandinavian raiders. His son Bernard-Guillaume (997/9-1009), absorbed the Bordelais into the ducal lands. He was able to extend his political horizons further

⁸⁴ Adémar, 174; *Chron...Saint-Maixent*, 114-15; Landes, *Relics*, esp. 241-6.

⁸⁵ The father of Gascony history is P. de Marca. His *Histoire de Béarn*, first published at Paris in 1640, is the most thorough for the period before which Gascony was politically united with Aquitaine. It is still used reverentially by Gasconists, with the occasional qualification in more recent sources (I have used esp. 129-34, 223, 271-81, 286-93 and 307-8). The most recent political history is R. Mussot-Goulard's *Les princes de Gascogne (768-1070)*, Lectoure-Marsolan, 1982. This utilises Spanish sources to fill some gaps left by the other modern works originating in France. Mussot-Goulard avoids saying much about one of the most interesting figures in Gascon history, bishop Gombaud. This is frustrating because with the author's knowledge of the sources he could settle definitively historical debates about Gombaud's exact secular and episcopal authority. Nonetheless, the work is the best modern political history of Gascony in this period, and I can only aim to give the briefest of summaries of its contents (I have drawn esp. from 99-108, 112-29, 134-50, 178-86 and 242-3). Excellent chapters on Gascony are included in M. Zimmerman's *Les sociétés méridionales autour de l'an Mil*, Paris, 1992 (Mussot-Goulard, R., 'La Gascogne', 295-326 and Cursente, B., 'La Gascogne', 257-293). Cursente's, *Les Castelnoux de Gascogne Médiévale*, Bordeaux, 1980, is also very useful. I have also used Monlezun, *Histoire de la Gascogne*, I, Auch, 1846, esp. 390-2; Collins, R., *The Basques*, Oxford, 1986, 58-66, 99-112 and 170-9; Noulens, *Maisons Historiques de Gascogne, Guienne, Béarn, Languedoc et Périgord*, 2 vols., Paris, 1865 and 1866, I, 28 and 35-9. Other sources used as cited.

northwards, for in 1004 he travelled to St. Jean d'Angély on pilgrimage and there met with William V of Aquitaine and King Robert.⁸⁶ It was his sister Brisca who married Duke William in 1010.⁸⁷ However, in this period Gascony was still primarily Pyrenean in orientation. Bernard-Guillaume was the son of Guillaume-Sanche by a Navarrese princess, Urraca. He was succeeded in Gascony by his brother, Sanche-Guillaume (1010-32), who was already king of Navarre.⁸⁸

Sanche-Guillaume became famous for campaigning against the Muslims in Spain, and into his Navarrese army he recruited many Gascons. However he could not call upon such service automatically throughout Gascony, for north of the Pyrenees the cadet lines descended from Garsie-Sanche ruled Fézensac and Astarac autonomously, as did other related lines in Béarn, Bigorre and Armagnac. The duke had some personal authority over them, stemming from familial ties rather than oaths of allegiance, but he could not call them to account in legal terms nor influence the allocation of titles.⁸⁹ However in Bazas, Lomagne and the Agenais, as well as the Bordelais, the ducal family had seized firmer control of secular and ecclesiastical offices, to be discussed below.

Christianity probably came late to the Basques in general, and in the early-tenth century some sources still described them as pagan.⁹⁰ The early ducal family was active in Christian affairs: Aminiane (or Honorée), wife of Garsie-Sanche, rebuilt the abbey at Condom and Count Bernard of Fezensac restored St-Orens at Auch and founded Saint-Luper in c.980. However Gascony had relatively few religious foundations. Guillaume-Sanche founded and placed Saint-Sever-sur-l'Adour under Papal authority in 988 or 989 and was to reform La Réole, but reforms were not on the scale of those taking place north of the Dordogne (although a family member was to play a part in the latter). Notably, we find no evidence of peace councils in Gascony.⁹¹

⁸⁶ Dunbabin, *France*, 140; Duby, *France*, 29.

⁸⁷ *Chron...Saint-Maixent* 108-9; Adémar 161 and see xlvii.

⁸⁸ Adémar 194-5.

⁸⁹ Boissonade, P., 'Les premiers croisades françaises en Espagne. Normands, Gascons, Aquitains and Bourguignons (1018-32)', *Bulletin Hispanique*, 36 (1934), 16-25; Ourliac, P., 'La justice et la paix dans les fors de Béarn', in *idem*, *Les pays de Garonne vers l'an Mil*, Toulouse, 1993, 195-206.

⁹⁰ Thomson, J.A.F., *The Western Church in the Middle Ages*, London, 1998, 8.

⁹¹ *C1Cm* 581; BN ms. Lat. 8878, 286 (copy of the foundation charter of Saint-Sever, reprinted in de Jaurgain, J. *La Vasconie*, 2 vols., Paris, 1898-1902, I, 396-8); Mussot-Goulard, R., 'Remarques sur les

Instead it seems that the Gascon church at the turn of the early-eleventh century was primarily a resource for the ducal family, most immediately for Guillaume-Sanche and his brother bishop Gombaud, who constructed what R. Mussot-Goulard calls 'un principat confraternel' encompassing both the secular and religious sphere in Grande Gascogne. There has been much debate about the exact structural relationship between these two aspects of Gascon life in this period, aroused in part by the family's unabashed pluralism and rendered irresolvable not only by the lack of sources but by the variable terms of self-definition which they contain. Indeed, the powers held by Gombaud and his successors were apparently fluid and overlapping. It was called comital and sometimes ducal when it was secular, and episcopal or abbatial when it involved the manipulation of Church resources. On one occasion Gombaud is styled *episcopus et totius circumpositae regionis dux*.⁹² Such labels were surely used to inform those outside the family that it held power, not to define or limit it.

Gombaud founded the majority of the monasteries established in this period and was behind the few reforms. In 977, jointly with his brother Guillaume-Sanche, *dux Wascomum* in this context, he refounded Charlemagne's abbey of Squires, at La Réole, rededicated it to Saint Peter and gave it to Fleury. However through this 'reform' the family did not relinquish secular control, for the implication of the charter is that the abbey needed physical protection from violence and disorder, reinforcing a dependency on the duke which, in the same year, allowed Guillaume-Sanche to seize the treasury of the abbey of Condom to pay ransom for a cousin, Guillaume le Bon, count of Bordeaux.⁹³ Thus we find a pattern far from unique to Gascony, the ruling family both protecting and plundering monastic property.

But Gombaud was no mere pluralist. The most interesting thing that we learn from the 977 documentation is that Gombaud called himself *episcopus Wasconie*: he had created a new diocese corresponding to Grande Gascogne. This superseded the

textes relatifs à la fondation du monastère de Saint-Orens à Auch', in ed. C. Desplat, *Terre et hommes du Sud, hommage à Pierre Tucoo-Chala*, Pau, 1992, 81-5; Ducom, i, 177 and 180; Plioux,

A., 'Recherches sur les origines de la ville de Condom', *RA* 1 (1874), 385-95. See below for La Réole.

⁹² Labbé II 748; Higounet *et al.*, *Aquitaine*, 169.

authority of the archdiocese of Auch over the diocese of Bazas in which the abbey lay, for from the same year to 980 this bishop of Gascony was also called bishop of Bazas and Aire, and from 977 to 989 he is also called bishop of Agen, a diocese pertaining to Bordeaux but clearly by this time within the Gascon sphere of influence. By 989, under unknown circumstances, the family had also taken control of the archiepiscopal seat at Bordeaux from the Poitevins in what R. A. Sénac calls 'le fruit d'un pacte de famille'. A charter of 992 and the apparent disappearance of an independent archbishop of Auch indicate that this office too was subsumed by the new diocese. From this position, in which episcopal and secular interests were identical, the brothers exercised power and embarked on reforms which even rivalled the authority of Duke William IV (to be discussed below in the context of the eventual annexation of Gascony by the Poitevins).⁹⁴

Such arrangements over this family's property and titles seem likely to me not least because of the nature of the power Guillaume-Sanche had inherited. In Gascony in this period we find no traces of the Roman and Visigothic law codes which provided for partible inheritance in Aquitaine and the neighbouring Toulousain.⁹⁵ However, the Gascon dukes do not appear to have adhered to traditional Basque family law, entailing strict primogeniture, the very practice that had led Basque younger sons first

⁹³ AD Gironde ms Lat. 2906-II6 (Cartulary of Saint-Pierre, La Réole), 1r (published in *GC* I 1215-6); *CACm* 586.

⁹⁴ The idea of a composite bishopric of Gascony was first put forward in the second half of the nineteenth century. Its existence is supported by Gasconists including Ducom, Noulens (*Maisons*, I, 79-94), and A. Degert ('L'évêché de Gascogne', *RG* (1900), 5-23). Its existence was first disputed by A. Mouillé ('Le comté d'Agenais au Xe siècle: Gombaud et son évêché', *RSASAA* 2:4 (1875), 136-70, and is not acknowledged by P. B. Gams. However P. Imbart de la Tour was convinced it existed (*Les élections épiscopales dans l'église de France du IXe au XIIe siècle*, Paris, 1891, 253-5 and 364) but then became doubtful (*Les coutumes de La Réole*, in *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux*, 1893 and 1994). Most anglophone authorities doubt it existed except in name (Lewis, *Southern French...Society*, 322; Collins, *Basques*, 176; Martindale, *Aquitaine*, 101 note 55) and apparently so does R. Mussot-Goulard. The existence of the diocese has been disputed not least because the sources do not indicate a consistent geography for it. However the work of R.-A. Sénac ('L'évêché de Gascogne et ses évêques [977-1059]', in *Études sur la Gascogne au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1981, 131-44, and esp. 'Essai de géographie et d'histoire de l'évêché de Gascogne [977-1059]', *BPH* 1983, 11-25 [quote at 21]) has demonstrated that the diocese was no abstract concept but existed and changed in geography for a very logical reason until Gascony was taken over by the counts of Poitou: it corresponded to whichever lands the count-duke of Gascony controlled at the time. Thus it included the dioceses, but not the provinces, of Bordeaux and Auch. Indeed, the charter of 992 of Guillaume-Sanche in favour of Saint-Sever, refers to the episcopal offices of Bordeaux, Auch, Agen, Bazas, Aire and Lectoure as *sub mea dictione* (Noulens, *Maisons*, I, 15). For the activity of Gombaud at Bordeaux see above sources and my own comments below.

⁹⁵ Bonnassie, *Slavery*, 401.

to colonise the Gascon plains.⁹⁶ Indeed, the Gascony of Sanche 'le Courbé' was divided between his heirs, although this departure has received little attention historically. Central to it was perhaps the fact that the Basques in their Pyrenean and Spanish territories did not have kings or even a recognisable aristocracy in the period in which Gascony was colonised.⁹⁷ They thus had no indigenous model by which to construct a new ruling elite. Le Courbé's family appear to have devised or copied inheritance laws, perhaps influenced by the Carolingians, to suit their circumstances (it would surely have proved impossible for one ruler to dominate or exploit efficiently the vast new territory). Indeed, in later years, when a royal family was established in Navarre, partible inheritance appears to be in evidence again, for the kingdom and the duchy were ruled by two brothers until one of them died in 1009, as we have seen. Not least, in the ruling family the Basque practice whereby women succeeded in the absence of sons was apparently also abandoned, and would eventually contribute to the downfall of the dynasty.

In the late tenth century, therefore, it seems that family resources were split between Guillaume-Sanche and Gombaud in accordance with family policy, and that the latter received a lesser portion. When Gombaud took control of the see of Bordeaux, potentially exposing him to charges of pluralism, which would count against him in the ecclesiastical province if not in Gascony, it was expedient for him to relinquish Agen and Bazas and an appropriate time to devolve this power to his sons Arnaud and Hugues. Eventually the family appointed a new bishop of Gascony, Arsius Racha (before 1017 - 1025) who, whilst probably Béarnais and not a family member, was nonetheless closely associated with the family seats at Saint-Sever and Condom and not at all a threat to this 'family firm'.⁹⁸ Thus, when in 1020 Sanche-Guillaume made a donation of the villa of Tambielle to the abbey of Condom, in restitution for his grandfather's crime against the abbey in 977, we can interpret this again as another transfer of resources within the family: Hugues, Gombaud's son, the bishop of Agen,

⁹⁶ There is evidence that primogeniture continued to be practised in lesser families, however (see chapter 4 and Collins, *Basques*, 99-100 and 199-200).

⁹⁷ Collins, *Basques*, 99.

⁹⁸ *CACm* 581; Ducom i 185; Sénac, 'L'évêché', 139-40. See also the unpaginated list of Agen's bishops compiled by the chief archivist of Lot-et-Garonne, J. Burias, in his *Guide des Archives Lot-et-Garonne*, Agen, 1972.

had been Condom's abbot since 1013/14.⁹⁹ In addition, Gombaudo and his sons also exerted comital powers in the Bazadais and Agenais, a point which will be discussed more fully below.

The structure of lay authority

Under this Basque family and its cadet lines a society emerged in Gascony which was very different in many ways from that of Aquitaine. Although the dukes were, according to Abbo of Fleury, like kings on the lands they held personally, their power elsewhere in Gascony was very limited. Indeed, there were few centres of ducal authority, their fortified abbey of Saint-Sever being the most significant. Auch, essentially a small fortified episcopal city, was the only significant town south of the Garonne apart from Bordeaux, and there were smaller viscomital capitals at the centres noted above. Basque law and social structure survived at local level into the eleventh century and beyond. The counts of Fézensac, Astarac, Bigorre, Armagnac, and Pardiac, related to the duke, recognised his authority and attended his court as noted above, but were masters in their own counties and castle-capitals. Formal allegiances between them took the form of agreements over property and mutual pledges not to harm each other's interest, implying little sense of hierarchy. Beyond the turn of the century these and more minor families were increasing their influence. Like Aquitaine, Gascony saw the rise and diffusion of *castella*. Even many of the new monasteries, including La Réole and Saint-Sever, as mentioned, were essentially fortresses serving ducal interests. But centuries of governmental weakness meant that, in contrast with Aquitaine, the question of whether knights had the right to build castles simply did not arise, and many such structures were held independently of the dukes and counts. Even in Bigorre, whose *fors* said that lords may not fortify, small, wooden constructions on mottes came to dominate the countryside. Local wars remained endemic in Gascony into the twelfth century and beyond and so, although evidence is very sparse, we can speculate that society at a local level was insecure and in many ways came to resemble that of Aquitaine.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ *CACm* 583: Ducom i 188; Plieux, 'Condom', 394-5.

¹⁰⁰ *PL CXXXIX* 410. There are few Gascon sources for the ordinary laity (see Mousnier, M., 'Implantations monastiques et encadrement des populations en Gascogne Toulousaine dans la première moitié du XIIe Siècle', in *Crises et Réformes Grégorienne à la Préréforme*, Paris, 1991, first page of an unpaginated copy) but those that exist are thoroughly exploited in Cursente, 'La Gascogne', 259-67 and 295-6. *Castelnaux*, 26-32 and more importantly in *Des hommes*, esp. 19-24, 35-40, 48-50.

However the rise of the knightly caste in Gascony has been shown by B. Cursente to have been in many ways a different phenomenon from that which occurred north of the Dordogne. Although Gascony had little in the way of an economic infrastructure - there are no surviving records for markets and little evidence of coinage in the Millennial era - the group which was to emerge as the most dynamic in this respect were the castellans. They pursued activity which resulted in the foundation of and investment in towns, those of the Garonne being particularly successful. Whilst this activity undoubtedly resulted from the increased exploitation of those on rural estates, and Gascony was not immune to revolts against the *bannum* and *pravos usos*, as 'bad' customs were known there, some groups of peasants were able to gain economically in this period. Assarting became a major feature of Gascon rural life as waste land and forests were cleared and settled, and old farms were improved by communally acquired technological knowledge. One result was that famines became rarer and Gascony probably became more populous and better fed than some regions. Most importantly, the system of management on Gascon rural estates, *caseux*, has its roots in earlier decades. It involved the co-opting by lords of the most successful peasant families into positions of authority as estate managers. Some of these eventually found their way into the burgeoning numbers of castellans and came to exercise the ban in their own right over their once free and now servile neighbours (Cursente follows the Bonnassie model in asserting that enserfment had occurred by c.1030). Thus whereas in Aquitaine we found a sense of grievance amongst the peasantry, in Gascony the more powerful and wealthy, those with most to lose and perhaps potentially the most vocal, benefited from the new order. In addition, in the mountain regions, whose pastoral economy was too unprofitable to attract the attentions of ambitious lordship, there remained pockets of free peasants, descendants of slaves but never subjected to the *bannum*. These, also dominated by the most powerful amongst them, adopted the legal codes of the free Basques. They held allodial land, practised primogeniture, could bring court cases and

71-2, 91-101, 107-116, 120-4, 157-60. See also Mussot-Goulard, 'La Gascogne', 296-300 and *Les princes*, 152-9 and 175; Bonnassie, *Slavery*, 104-31, 151-3, 161, 302-6, 360-81 and 404; Bull, *Piety*, 54-6; Lewis, *Southern French Society*, 312; Dunbabin, *France*, 177; *Atlas de la France de l'an Mil.* ed. M. Parisse et J. Leuridan, Paris, 1994, 97-100. *Fors*, or *fueros*, were Basque legal codes (Collins, *Basques*, 169, 200-1 and esp. 220-5). There is little evidence of a proliferation of castles in the Isle-Jourdain before 1100, although there were many built after this date (Mousnier, M., *La Gascogne Toulousaine au XIe-XIIe siècles*, Toulouse, 1997, 98-103).

bear arms. Indeed, in contrast with serious destruction inflicted on the Gascon economy by the Scandinavians in the ninth century, the Millennial period was one of reconstruction in Gascony. This benefited, and to an extent created a sense of shared interest between, two social groups almost entirely at odds with each other in Aquitaine. A form of *mutation* thus occurred in Gascony also, but again it diverges from the *idéaltpe*.¹⁰¹

Religious enthusiasm in the Gascon population

Perhaps the greatest contrast of all, however, is with Aquitainian religious life. That of Millennial Gascony was undynamic and apparently mainly derivative, imported from Christian Spain, especially Basque Navarre. We have observed activity in the religious sphere at the highest levels, most notably the revival of La Réole and the re-foundation of Condom, but this was primarily the activity of the ruling family. Interest in the monastic life only really began in Gascony in the late tenth century, and by the mid-eleventh the major sites were few, most notably Blaisement and Lucq, established around the same time as Gombaud took interest in La Réole, and Sainte-Croix and Sainte-Marie at Bordeaux, and Sorde, all founded in the early eleventh century. Interest in local saints was a marginal phenomenon. Spanish centres were visited by the Gascon laity and so were Saint-Romain at Blaye, Nôtre-Dame de Rocamadour, and various Pyrenean sites associated with Roland, but the relics of Saint-Seurin at Bordeaux formed the only indigenous cult of major importance, especially since the loss of the relics of Saint Foy from Agen in the ninth century. In fact, there was very little investment by the aristocracy and clergy in the spiritual infrastructure of the region. This was largely the result of Gascony's still small population and its economic backwardness; the coastal marshland and the wooded Landes still contained few settlements and, as noted above, there were very few roads, towns or markets. There was little parish structure to speak of, and although some *caseux* contained churches local lords built far fewer chapels than their Aquitainian counterparts.¹⁰² Although there is little else that can be said with any certainty about levels of religiosity in the Millennial period, an interesting feature of its nature has been noted: by far the most

¹⁰¹ Cursente, *Des hommes*, esp. 48-50.

¹⁰² *Book of Saint Foy* 36-7; Lewis, *Southern French Society*, 318; Mussot-Goulard, *Les princes*, 239-42; Cursente, 'Gascogne', 267; Bull, *Piety*, 224 and 230-1; Bonnassie, *Slavery*, 140; *Atlas, Parris* and Leuridan, 99.

popular text copied and read in churches was the Apocalypse of Saint John, again probably a reflection of Spanish influence.¹⁰³

This brings us to the most famous episode in the religious life of Gascony in this period, the murder in 1004 of Abbo, abbot of Fleury, on arriving in the northern Bazadais to reform Fleury's daughter house at La Réole. The murder was apparently the work of townspeople, local knights, and also the monks, and as such cannot be seen as purely anti-clerical but a reaction against externally imposed reform. Indeed, it has been argued by modern authorities that the act was an assertion of Gascon communal identity not just against Fleury but against France.¹⁰⁴ That the Garonne town viewed itself as a sort of outpost of Gascon self-interest is quite possible, for the region's relative economic recovery towards the Millennium period had, it has been argued, forged a sense of self-identity amongst Gascons, whose Basque tongue combined with Occitan to form a distinct regional dialect.¹⁰⁵ However the true motives behind this affair remain obscure. Nonetheless, those with an interest in undermining monastic movements would have looked with interest at such subversive events in Gascony, as will be discussed in chapter three.

iii. The duchy of Aquitaine c.1060 to c.1152

The assimilation of Gascony into Aquitaine and the power of the dukes within lay society

I aim to outline political and social features of this period in far less detail than those of c.1000-50. This is because there is little or no indication of dualist heresy in Aquitaine until the second half of the twelfth century, and so it is not necessary to establish a social context for its emergence and success. However, some of the religious developments in the period seem to have provided a background to the later success or otherwise of Catharism in the duchy, as will be examined more closely in chapter four. These developments are thus outlined.¹⁰⁶ Some early developments in the Agenais are

¹⁰³ Mussot-Goulard, *Les princes*, 240. The eighth-century work of Beatus de Liébana, who wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse, became influential again in the late tenth-century (O' Callaghan, J.F., *A History of Medieval Spain*, Ithaca/London, 1975, 89 and 137).

¹⁰⁴ Aimoin, *Vita s. Abbonis abbatis Floriancensis*, PL CXXXIX 409-41; Adémar, 161; de Marca, *Béarn*, 302-3; Cursente, 'Gascogne', 260, 263-7, 278-9 and 282-3; Landes, *Relics*, 85.

¹⁰⁵ Cursente, 'Gascogne', 267-8; Collins, *Basques*, 104-6. See also chapter 4.

¹⁰⁶ The political history of the second half of the century is obscure, the Saint-Maixent chronicle being almost the only annal dealing with Aquitaine (Martindale, *Aquitaine*, 114), although the revival

noted for the same reason.

It was the Gascon titles in the Bordelais, Entre-deux-Mers and the Agenais which the Poitevins were eventually to control. They were to benefit from a growing trade in wine and salt, much of which was controlled by the towns and abbeys of these regions, but their interest in Gascon politics stemmed most immediately from the struggle for control of the archiepiscopal see of Bordeaux and the influence it exerted in Aquitaine. A Poitevin family had in fact dominated the see since the ninth century, and archbishop Gombaud's successor Séguin was one of its members. Thus the convening of the council of Charroux in 989 by Gombaud should surely be seen in the context of Gascon ambitions north of the Dordogne: the summoning of Aquitainian bishops, including Gilbert of Poitiers, was an archiepiscopal 'snub' to the dukes and their supporters, as was Gombaud's extensive involvement in the diocese of Limoges, whose bishop he also summoned in 989, which was also coveted by the Poitevins (although we may note that his successor at Bordeaux was able to continue this involvement, helping to move Limoges into the Poitevin sphere). Another Gascon, Islo (1024-7), succeeded Séguin, but was in turn succeeded by the Poitevin Godefred II (1027-43). An impasse between the two parties resulted in the see being vacant from 1043 to 1047, but Poitevin secular power was great enough to tip the balance in the Aquitainian direction by mid-century.¹⁰⁷

The exact process by which the Poitevins attained power in Gascony is difficult to determine. The first opportunity came with the death of Sanche-Guillaume in 1032. He

of the monastic life is well documented. J. Martindale's thesis is still the best English political source (esp. v-ix, 65-70, 97-123, 127-8, 132-9, 142-52, 154-87, 184, 210-16, 216-32). This survey of the period, except where otherwise cited, is also taken from *ibid.*, 'Succession', 31-7; Dunbabin, *France*, 94-100, 117, 219-220 and 355; Lewis, *Southern French Society*, 318-22; Higounet, *Bordeaux*, 51, 53, 91-2 and *idem. et al.*, *Histoire de l'Aquitaine*, 169-70 and 176-8; Richard, *Histoire*, I, 34, 48, 66, 95-6, 126, 278-81, 392-5; Mussot-Goulard, *Les princes*, 187-207; and Bonnassie, *Slavery*, 347-51.

¹⁰⁷ Adémar 194-5. Gombaud's involvement as a Gascon in the peace movement and at Limoges is rarely noted by historians of Aquitaine and deserves greater attention. However R.-A. Sénac notes that it was Gombaud who consecrated the bishop of Limoges in 991 and presided over the display of the relics of St Martial in 993 (Adémar 197-8; Sénac, *L'évêché*, 138). Thus, although D. Callahan follows Adémar's account of willing Poitevin co-operation in Gombaud's appointment to Bordeaux (Callahan, 'William the Great', 324), I am inclined to agree with B. Bachrach that 'William (V) found it necessary to share control of the power to choose the archbishop with the duke of Gascony' ('Reappraisal', 16). However, this process had clearly begun under William IV, in 989, which contradicts Bachrach's belief that 'William Iron Arm exercised sole control over the appointment of the archbishop of Bordeaux' (*ibid.*).

left only two daughters, Alausie and Garcie. One of them had married Count Aldouin of Angoulême in 1028 and their son Bérenger now claimed the Bordelais in his mother's name, in accordance with Basque rights of women to inherit in the absence of a male child. His lack of success perhaps indicates that this feature of traditional inheritance practices had also been abandoned, not least because it seems no one within Gascony was championing the cause of this minor. In addition, there were other strong claimants. One version of events says that power shifted in the Poitevin direction under Eudes, or Odo, a son of William V and Brisca of Gascony. By 1037 he was calling himself *Vasconorum comes* and minting at Bordeaux, although he had limited influence there. His half-brother, William VII 'Aigret', expressed a less easily supported claim, but the two eventually combined forces to beat off Gascon contenders, most notably Count Bernard Tumapaler of Armagnac who was supported by viscount Centulle-Gaston of Béarn. Other accounts attribute greater significance to the role of Guy-Geoffrey, younger brother of William VII, one saying that he secured the support of Tumapaler with 15,000 *solidi*, and another that he fought and beat his Gascon rivals near the river Adour.¹⁰⁸

Whatever the truth, by c.1044, it was Guy-Geoffrey, also known from this time as William VIII of Aquitaine, who had been successful. He established the Poitevin abbot of Saint-Maixent, Archibald de Parthenay, as primate at Bordeaux (1047-c.1059), and he was succeeded by Joscelin de Parthenay (1059-c.1080). By 1066, after his triumph over the Angevins, this duke had enough influence to lead an army of Gascons against the Muslims in Spain. He held minting and judicial rights in Bordeaux, and gained control of much new land and many churches in the Bordelais. He was also recognised by the great Gascon nobles. Indeed, some were his *fideles* by this time and an oath akin to liege homage, probably unique in the Pyrenees at this time, was taken by Centulle, viscount of Béarn and count of Bigorre, to King Alfonso of Aragon, in which he reserved his fealty to the duke and his son, the future William IX.¹⁰⁹

However the old Aquitaine continued to be governed from Poitou and Gascony from Bordeaux, apparently quite separately. The nobility, language and culture either side of

¹⁰⁸ Adémar 194; de Marca. *Béarn*. 363-9.

the Garonne also remained almost entirely separate, in spite of commercial exchanges. The exact status of Gascony - as a principality within a duchy or as an extension of Aquitaine proper - is consequently unclear. Guy-Geoffrey was known as its *comes* and as *princeps* and by other titles. It would seem that he viewed it as part of Aquitaine, but that Aquitaine now had two 'capitals', Bordeaux and Poitiers. In both regions he grew increasingly dominant. Indeed, although he had only partial control of the Limousin nobles and very little in Périgord by the time of his death, the other great magnates of Aquitaine and the castellans of Poitou were firmly under his influence, although he made a significant enemy in his neighbour the count of Toulouse who attacked Bordeaux in 1058 and against whom he went to war in 1060.¹¹⁰

Some of Guy-Geoffrey's achievements were lost in the minority of his son William IX, 'the Troubadour' (1086-1136). Significantly, however, the interests of the ducal house were upheld in this difficult time by the Poitevins, not least the Lusignans, and also by Centulle of Béarn. After he began to govern alone, in the early 1090s, firmer ties were forged with the other counties and great governmental advances were made in the counties he held directly, although this renewed tensions with the Poitevins. The ducal court was recognised, if most typically by the wronged party, even in Gascony, and many Gascons owed him some sort of military service, as did the nobles north of the Bordelais. Indeed, this duke's presence in Gascony is attested on many occasions. An alliance with Anjou was forged through marriage to Hermingarde, daughter of its count, and relations with Pyrenean and Spanish neighbours were also good.¹¹¹

However the period saw the resumption of hostilities with Toulouse. In 1094 the duke married Philippa (or Mathilde), daughter and heiress of Count William IV of Toulouse, who had died the previous year. Her rights to the county had already been resisted by other Toulousain nobles because it would mean the county being controlled by her first

¹⁰⁹ Bordeaux, Bibliothèque Municipale ms.745, 16r-v.

¹¹⁰ *CSM* i 1; *CASCB* 22; *CPSPR* 139; Geoffrey of Vigeois 299 and 304. The cause of the conflict with Toulouse has been thought to be uncertain (Martindale, Aquitaine, 104-5 and 124-5) but may perhaps be explained by the relationship between the houses of Toulouse and Périgord concerning the Agenais (below).

¹¹¹ Geoffrey of Vigeois 287, 289 and 298; *Chron...Saint-Maixent* 407, 420 and 428; *Historia pontificum et comitum Engolismensium*, ed. J. Boussard, Paris, 1957, 29 and 34; *C4CTV* II 345; *CPSPR* 64; *AHG* 12 (1864), 319-20; *GC II instr.*, 429; *CASJS* 6; Painter, 'Lords of Lusignan', 35 and 38; Favreau, R., 'Les débuts de la ville de Loudun', *BSAO* 5 (1988), 164-72.

husband Sanche-Ramirez, king of Aragon, whom she married after April 1085. Sometime after 1088, but I suspect in 1093 after her father died, the town supported the transfer of the county to her uncle, Raymond of Saint Gilles, count of Rouergue and marquis of Provence. Philippa and Duke William pursued her claim however, and the dispute would affect the politics of the region into the period of the Albigensian Crusade (1209-29) and beyond. In 1097/8 they entered the town of Toulouse with the support of its bishop Adémar and many of its leading families. In the following year, whilst Raymond was on crusade, they ruled it unopposed, William calling himself *comes Pictavensis et Tolosae*. Reprisals were apparently not taken during William's own crusade of 1101, but in 1108 Bertrand of Saint-Gilles was able to enter the town, Bishop Adémar having changed sides. However, in 1113, when Count Bertrand was in Tripoli, William attacked the Toulousain again. His Poitevin official was in control of it until 1123, when Alphonse-Jourdain of Saint-Gilles successfully claimed it, William's divorce from Philippa in 1115 having destroyed his own claim.¹¹²

Eventually good relations with the French crown were cemented under William IX, essentially from a position of strength. He was an important ally of Philip I when the king was excommunicated in 1100, but when Louis VI demanded the homage of the great princes in 1108, the duke refused him. He also undermined the ultimately irresistible expansion of royal power into the Auvergne for a time, in spite of flattering the king on another occasion as *l reis de cui ien tenc m'onor*.¹¹³ Against this background it perhaps seems surprising that the Capetian kings were soon to hold the title 'duke of Aquitaine'. However, when it seemed inevitable that Eleanor, the eldest daughter of Duke William X, would inherit Aquitaine, it was into Capetian protection that the duke entrusted her and thus his duchy. Eleanor and Louis VII were married in the cathedral of Saint-André at Bordeaux on either 27 July or 1 August 1137. The king

¹¹² *HGL* V 29-31, 33, 50, 193, 849-50 and 908 and *preuves* 400 and 454. The sources for this are twelfth century. Geoffrey of Vigeois, 304, tells us about the marriage to Sanche-Ramirez, who died in June 1094. Robert of Torigny, whose source for this was Baudri of Bourgueil's *Gesta Dei*, tells us that William IV sold Raymond the county in order to finance a military expedition to the Holy Land (Robert of Torigny, 201-2). The date of the count's death makes a crusading expedition unlikely. See also Wolff, P., *Histoire de Toulouse*, Toulouse, 1958, 77-80 and 122; Mundy, J.H., *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse 1050-1250*, New York, 1954, 16-17; Hallam, *Capetian France*, 987-1328, London, 1980, 53 and 60.

had entered Aquitaine with a huge military escort, which J. Martindale notes must have looked more like a warning to the Poitevins than a wedding party. In practice, however, the French king had little political impact on Aquitaine, in spite of Capetian ambition. Thus Louis was never *dux Aquitanorum* but governed with Eleanor's assent, perhaps realising that the way to avoid political conflict with its volatile nobility was to leave well alone.

Major religious movements in Aquitaine: Church reform and the powerful, the Truce of God, the early crusades, and monastic revival

We have seen that Aquitaine, and even more so Gascony, were only marginally affected by Cluniac reforms. This was to change in the second half of the eleventh century. La Réole and its associated houses grew in importance and Centulle IV of Béarn founded Sainte-Foi de Morlaas and gave it to Cluny. Between 1068 and 1167 Saint-Martial was reformed by the viscounts of Limoges and, on a more modest scale, the duchess Agnes and Bishop Itier of Limoges reformed Saint-Léonard de Noblat in 1062. Guy-Geoffrey was especially supportive of reforming trends. He never assumed the title of abbot of Saint-Hilaire, traditional for the counts of Poitou. With his co-operation Abbot Hugh of Cluny reformed many Aquitainian houses, including the duke's own foundation at Montierneuf. Cluniac monks Gilbert, Goderannus and Odo became abbots of Saint-Maixent, Maillezais and Saint-Jean d'Angély respectively. J. Martindale has observed that as a result of Hugh's reforming work, including that within the chapter of Saint-Hilaire, the sons of the clergy advanced little. Three corrupt bishops, at least one of them, Arnulf of Saintes, a simoniac, were deposed in his time. One of the great Gregorian bishops of the period, Archbishop Austinde of Auch (1042-68) disbanded the bishopric of Gascony and restored the ancient diocese of Auch with the support of Guy-Geoffrey.¹¹⁴ However Guy-Geoffrey's reforms did not significantly diminish his personal influence over the Church in Aquitaine. Initiatives

¹¹³ *Chron...Saint-Maixent* 42; Suger, abbot of Saint-Denis, *Vita Ludovici Grossi*, ed. A. Molinier. Paris, 1887, 127-8; Jeanroy, A. (ed.), *La Poésie Lyrique des Troubadours*, 1934, no.11; Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*, 173-5.

¹¹⁴ *CPSPLR* 99; Martin of Montierneuf, *Fragmentum historiae monasterii novi Pictavensis*, in *TNA* III 1213-4; *Recueil des Actes d'Henri II, Roi d'Angleterre concernant les provinces françaises et les affaires de France*, ed. L. Delisle and E. Berger, Paris, 1916-27, II, 431-2 (confirmation of a charter of Guy-Geoffrey in favour of Maillezais); *DSHP* 91; *PL* CXLIV 865-900, and CXLVI 1320-1; Becquet, J., 'Chanoines réguliers en Limousin au XIIe siècle: sanctuaires régularisés et dépendances étrangères'.

inspired by the great reformer Pope Gregory VII (1073-85) were often resisted by him and by Joscelin de Parthenay, his archbishop of Bordeaux, especially in the matter of lay investiture. Champions of clerical autonomy had cause also to complain about the duke's insistence on hearing cases involving criminal clerics. His refusal to support the pope in his quarrel with King Philip I of France over ecclesiastical liberties was noted with anger in Rome.¹¹⁵

During the minority of William IX the clergy were able to break somewhat from ducal influence. A dispute with the reformer bishop Amatus of Oleron (1073-89) had begun under Guy-Geoffrey and the cleric had himself elected archbishop of Bordeaux (1089-1102) against the wishes of William IX's Poitevin advisors.¹¹⁶ Relations did not improve with the majority, and the duke was seen by many as a secular, even irreligious figure. Although still a protector of the church and the source of extensive grants especially to the bishopric of Bayonne, he reduced the amount of financial and ideological support for Cluny in the duchy. Between 1101 and 1104 he left the see of Bordeaux vacant, and did the same with Poitiers in 1115-7 and 1123-4. Between 1114 and 1117 he was excommunicated, although the exact cause of this is unknown, and from 1130 to c.1135 flew in the face of European opinion by supporting the anti-pope Anacletus and forcing his own schismatic candidates on episcopal sees in the duchy.¹¹⁷ His son William X was also criticized for imposing ecclesiastical and abbatial candidates.¹¹⁸ In fact real reform only came under Louis VII, who renounced what was by this time an established ducal prerogative over the nomination of bishops and the right to demand oaths of loyalty from them.¹¹⁹

BSAHL 101 (1974), esp. 78-9; Higounet, C., *Le comté de Comminges de ses origines à son annexion à la Couronne*, 2 vols., Toulouse/Paris, 1949, I, 53-8 and 335-41.

¹¹⁵ *Das Register Gregors VII*, ed. E. Caspar, Berlin, 1920-3, II, 18 (cited in Erdmann, *Origin*, 163). See also *ibid.*, 162-6, where Erdmann suggests that the pope changed plans to put Guy-Geoffrey in charge of an expedition to aid eastern Christians as a result (*Register Gregors VII*, II, 3).

¹¹⁶ Higounet *et al.*, *Aquitaine*, 169-70.

¹¹⁷ *Chron...Saint-Maixent* 409, 413 and 425-6; *GC I instr.*, 201; William of Malmesbury, *DGP II* 510-11. Unfortunately I have not been able to obtain the following: Beech, G.T., 'Contemporary views of William the Troubadour, IXth Duke of Aquitaine (1086-1126)', in eds. N. Bulst and J.-P. Genet, *Medieval Lives and the Historian: Studies in Medieval Prosopography*, Kalamazoo, Mich., 1986, 73-89.

¹¹⁸ Martindale, *Aquitaine*, ix.

Ducal quarrels with reformers should be seen as a defence of princely independence rather than as anti-clericalism. However, Aquitainian rulers were apparently also backward in promoting the Truce of God movement, a more pragmatic version of the Peace of God, which banned violence on feast days and which was widespread throughout the rest of western Europe. The truce was observed to some extent in the duchy, however. In this context Bernard III of Bigorre protected pilgrims travelling to Santiago de Compostella, his half brother Gaston IV of Béarn was influenced by it in his dealings with his rival Bernard III of Armagnac, and Périgord was among the many parts of the west in which there was an attempt to raise taxes in support of the enforcement of the truce.¹²⁰

The Peace and Truce of God were to be over-shadowed by a movement that sought not to suppress or contain the violence of the arms-bearing caste, as they had done, but to direct it beyond Christian Europe. Aquitainians were involved in the crusading movement from its inception and in its earliest manifestations. We have seen that the proximity to Islamic Spain had produced armed responses from Christians north of the Pyrenees in previous decades, and in 1064 Guy-Geoffrey was at the head of an Aquitainian force aiding the Reconquista, a mission on which he was possibly entrusted with the papal banner.¹²¹ Amongst the Aquitainians who accompanied the First Crusade of 1095 to recover the Holy Land were Gaston IV of Béarn, Amanieu IV d'Albret, Raymond-Bertrand de l'Isle-Jourdain, several Limousin vassals of William IX and a Gascon force recruited by Count Raymond of Toulouse.¹²² William IX and many of his vassals took the cross at Limoges in September 1100 and undertook an expedition to the east in 1101. Amongst those destined never to return were Hugh VI of Lusignan,

¹¹⁹ Pacaut, M., *Louis VII et les élections épiscopales dans le royaume de France*, Paris, 1957, esp. 54-65; Shaw, I.P., 'The ecclesiastical policy of Henry II on the Continent', *Church Quarterly Review*, 151 (1951), 146.

¹²⁰ Erdmann, *Origin*, 57-94; Bull, *Piety*, 55-6; Bisson, T. N., 'The organised peace in southern France and Catalonia, c.1140-1233', in *idem.*, *Medieval France*, 219.

¹²¹ Erdmann, *Origin*, 33-4, 63 and 137-9.

¹²² *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill, London, 1962, 73-4, 87-9, 92 and 95; Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols., Oxford, 1969-80, III, 480-1; Raymond of Aguilers in *RHC Occ.* III 244; Baldric of Dol in *RHC Occ.* IV 16; Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, trans. H. S. Fink and F. R. Ryan, Knoxville Tennessee, 1969, 72 and 77-80; Noulens, *Maisons*, I, 425-7; Riley-Smith, J., *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131*, Cambridge, 1997, 197-242; Arbellot, l'abbé F., *Les Chevaliers Limousins à la Première Croisade (1096-1102)*, Paris, 1881.

Bishop Reynaud de Thiviers of Périgieux, and viscount Herbert II of Thouars and his brother Geoffrey, who led a contingent from Bas-Poitou. Also in this Aquitainian army were William 'Fort', a ducal officer in the Saintonge and brother of the archdeacon of Poitiers, and knights and minor castellans such as Peter II of Pierre-Buffière, Guy I of Bré and Walter of Châtillon. The defeat of this crusade led to humiliation in contrast with achievements of the glorious Crusade of 1098, and was blamed by churchmen on the duke's irreligion.¹²³ Aquitainians also formed part of the army of the Second Crusade of 1145, led by King Louis VII, not least as part of the retinue of his wife, the duchess Eleanor. Amongst them were Count William IV of Angoulême, Guillaume de Mauzé, the duchy's seneschal, and four members of the Limousin family of Bré.¹²⁴

The success of Aquitainian recruitment into crusading armies results in no small measure from the influence on the laity by the monasteries.¹²⁵ But the professed religious life was in itself being transformed by another dynamic movement, inspired and led by eremitic preachers, disillusioned with the limited impact of the Gregorian reforms, who were active especially between the Loire and Garonne. Like the crusades, it recruited from all sections of the laity. As such its adherents were initially thought suspect by church authorities. Eventually however, most of its participants were not only deemed acceptable but were able to revitalise religious orthodoxy and attract the patronage of the aristocracy of the duchy. Amongst the most influential of the new wave was Robert of Arbrissel (d.1116). His radical foundation at Fontevrault, in Poitou, provided for the religious vocation of the poor and of women, groups previously neglected by the reformed abbeys. A monastery founded in c.1110 by

¹²³ *Chron...Saint-Maixent* 172, 401 and 420; Albert of Aix in *RHC Occ.* IV 581; *Cartulaires du Bas-Poitou*, ed. P. Marchegay, Les Roches-Baritaud, 1877, 3-8; Geoffrey of Vigeois 296 and 306; *CSJA* 448; William of Malmesbury, *DGRA* II 47-8 and 510-11; Bardolf of Nangis in *RHF Occ* III 534; Orderic Vitalis, V, 324; *CAU* 611; *CAV* 59 and 68; *Chron...Eglises d'Anjou*, 342-3; Charte de Pierre, Eveque de Limoges, administrateur de l'évêché de Perigueux de l'an 1101, ed. G. Babinet de Rencogne, *BSHAP* 55 (1928), 156-8; Becquet, J., 'La mort d'un évêque de Périgieux à la Première Croisade: Reynaud de Thiviers' *BSHAP* 87 (1960), 66-69; Bull, *Piety*, 265 note 78 and 274-81; Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 197-242. I found most of the references in this footnote in an unpublished Ph D thesis: Mullinder, A., *The Crusading Expeditions of 1101-2*, Swansea, 1996, 9-10, 13, 32, 258-64, 264, and 336-54.

¹²⁴ *Ex Anonimi Chronici ...*, *RHF* XII 20 and 120; Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. V.G. Berry, New York, 1948, esp. 40-61; Riley-Smith, J., 'Family traditions and participation in the Second Crusade', in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers, New York, 1992, 101.

¹²⁵ Bull, *Piety*, esp. 155-204 and 250-82; Mullinder, *Crusading Expeditions*, 32 and 36-7.

Stephen of Muret at Grandmont, near Limoges, offered the religious life to the propertyless male faithful as well as to the nobility. Another innovator, Géraud de Sales (d.c.1120), maintained the wandering life himself, preaching in Périgord, Limoges, Poitou, Saintonge and Guyenne, as well as in the Languedoc, but advocated the establishment of autonomous eremitic communities for men and enclosed Fontevrisme priories for women. Étienne d'Obazine, also initially motivated by the pastoral needs of the Aquitainian poor and of women, founded a nunnery at Coyroux in 1142. In part through his involvement in the Cistercian order, the white monks, who dominated monastic renewal in Spain, began to found and to take over monasteries for men in Gascony from the 1130s, most notably Morimond in the very south, Berdoues in Astarac, Bonnefont in Comminges, and Cabadour (later called l'Escale-Dieu) in Bigorre. This brought the number of abbeys for men in Gascony closer to that north of the Dordogne. In spite of the fact that in the archdiocese of Auch, where there were no foundations for women by 1000, there were still only eight by c.1152, a new study is able to identify the period c.1080 to c.1160 as a time when monastic opportunities for women living between the Loire and Dordogne increased dramatically, with twenty-three female houses founded or re-founded before c.1152 in the ecclesiastical province of Bordeaux.¹²⁶

A more extreme wing of this movement also emerged: wandering holy men who remained beyond ecclesiastical control and who wanted to revolutionise Church organisation, straying into dangerous doctrinal territory. The most famous of these, the heretic Henry of Lausanne, attracted an anti-clerical following also in Aquitaine and at

¹²⁶ *PL* CLXII 1043-78; Barrière, B., 'Les abbayes issues de l'érémisme', *CF* 21, 1986, 71-105; *idem.* 'The Cistercian convent of Coyroux in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *Gesta*, 31 (1992), 76-82; Delarun, J., 'Robert of Arbrissel et les femmes', *Annales*, 39 (1984), 1142-51; *idem.*, *Robert d'Arbrissel, fondateur de Fontevraud*, Paris, 1986, 36-97; Porter, J. M. B., *Compelle Intrare: Monastic Reform Movements in Twelfth-Century Northwestern Europe*, PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 1997, esp. 70-2, 82, 88-104 and 133-5; Hutchinson, C. A., *The Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, Kalamazoo, Mich, 1989, esp.27-49; Magnou-Nortier, E., 'Formes féminines de vie consacrée dans les pays du Midi jusqu'au début du XIIe siècle', *CF* 23 (1988), 193-216; Edouard, J., *Fontevrault et ses monuments*, 2 vols., Paris, 1873-4, II, 253-6 and 276-7; Higounet *et al.*, *Aquitaine*, 156-8; O' Callaghan, *Medieval Spain*, esp. 311; Lekai, L.J., *The Cistercians*, Kent, Ohio, 1977, esp.41. See esp. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism*, xi-xiii, 8-10, 32-40, 52-66, 91-102, 164, 192-205 (in opposition to the view of P. Schmitz, cited, that opportunities for women declined in this period). See also Mousnier, 'Implantations monastiques' and *idem.*, *La Gascogne Toulousaine*, 86-90. When Duke William IX and Philippa controlled Toulouse, they implemented reforms there also, with the aid of Robert of Arbrissel (*HGL* V 846; Mousnier, M., 'Grandselve et la société de son temps', *CF* 21, 1986, 108-9; Mundy, *Liberty*, 17 and 81).

Toulouse. He almost certainly travelled between the two regions along the Garonne and passed through the Agenais, although we have no evidence that he preached there. Robert of Arbrissel did preach in the Agenais, however, against some unidentified heresy, possibly Henry's. This evidence will be discussed in chapter three. In the second half of the twelfth century the Agenais was to contain centres of Catharism, and so it is interesting to note that it already had a heretical history, even though it seems unlikely that these early heretics in the Agenais were dualist. The circumstances which eventually did give rise to dualist belief in the Agenais will receive detailed attention in chapter four, but they have origins in aspects of the early history of the region which will now be outlined.

iv. The Agenais, to c.1152

The ancient and early-medieval Agenais

First, we need to define what we mean by the Agenais. As a medieval county and diocese it corresponded very closely to the modern département of Lot-et-Garonne, except that until the creation of the diocese of Condom in 1317 it incorporated the Condomois as well. It thus extended from Périgord, to its north, to just south of the abbey of Condom, and from l'Avance, downstream from Marmande, to Auvillar and Fumel which marked its border with Quercy.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ The section on the Agenais draws from the following histories of the Agenais and Aquitaine except where cited: de Marca, *Béarn*, 152, 156-7, 166-70, 232, 251-62, and 301-2; Boudon de Saint-Amans, J. -F., *Histoire ancienne et moderne du département de Lot-et-Garonne*, I, Agen, 1836, 51-2; Martindale, *Aquitaine*, 100, 104-5, 124-5, 174-9; Tholin, G., 'Causeries sur les origines de l'Agenais', *RA* 22 (1895-1896), 152-62, 435-50 and 516-28; Burias, *Guide*, 73 and list of bishops; Ducom i 185 and 188; Verger, L., *et al.*, *Agen: hier et aujourd'hui*, Agen, 1979 reprint of 1969 edn., 23 and 174-6; Barrère, l'abbé J., *Histoire religieuse et monumentale du diocèse d'Agen*, 2 vols., Agen, 1855-56, I, 80-6; Lagarde, L.F., *Recherches historiques sur la ville et les anciennes baronnies de Tonneins*, Agen, 1833, 2-9; Caubet, J., *Histoire de Tonneins des origines à 1870*, Tonneins, (no date of publication given, but it is probably nineteenth-century), 5-7; Ricaud, A., *Marmande*, 2nd edn., Bordeaux, 1975, 7; Esquieu, M. *et al.*, *Agenais Occitan, 1050-1978*, Villeneuve-sur-Lot, 1978, 5-7; Plioux, 'Recherches Condom', 385-95; Higounet *et al.*, *Aquitaine*, esp. 136, 148-60 and 175; Mussot-Goulard, 'La Gascogne', 322-3. However the following four authors are the most important historians of the Agenais. B. Labénazie's *Annales d'Agen*, Agen/Paris, 1886 edn, 34-9 (composed in the mid-eighteenth century) is regarded as 'the' history of the Agenais in the sense that de Marca's is of Béarn. but he is not nearly as reliable and the most methodical tracing, citing and reproducing of Agenais sources was done last century. I have looked to more recent authorities to authenticate his claims where I have not seen his sources for myself (some of which have been lost). Ducom's detailed constitutional history extracts as much as is possible from the extant charters and customs relating to Agen (his most useful information on the pre-Poitevin period is in i. 45, 164, 173-6 and 185-88, after that he is cited below). M. Guignard's *Histoire de l'Agenais, des origines du XI^e siècle*, 2 vols., Agen, 1941 (I have used here I. 42-7, 57-80, 91-2 and 98) is perhaps the best monograph on the ancient and medieval Agenais. However J. Clémens is emerging as the modern authority on the Agenais (his 'Les Oscidates

However the features of the Agenais which help to explain its responses to heresy extend way back into the Gallo-Roman world, for then it was essentially two regions. The Garonne valley divided off the southern portion of the Agenais from the north, and whilst Celts dominated north of the Garonne, Iberian peoples were present in great numbers to the south. From the third century the Gallo-Romans of the north were governed as part of *Aquitania Secunda*. This was the political unit upon which the archdiocese of Bordeaux was to be based, except that the ecclesiastical unit would also incorporate the Agenais south of the river. The political region between the Garonne and the Pyrenees was known by the Romans as *Novempopulana*, and from its archdiocesan metropolitan of Auch the religious affairs of what was to be known as Gascony would be administered. Even before the medieval period, therefore, the Agenais was a somewhat incoherent unit.¹²⁸

Agen was christianised in the fourth century, giving rise to the stories of the martyr saints Vincent, Foy and Caprais. Its first bishop, Phoebadius (d. after 392), informed religious opinion in the Agenais against Arianism in the period immediately before the Visigothic occupation, from c.412. Merovingian defeat of the Visigoths in 507 brought the Agenais and Périgord together for a time as a single political unit under Duke Desiderius. However, Gallo-Roman culture still dominated the Agenais more than that of its Germanic rulers. Shortly after 700 *Aquitania Secunda* and *Novempopulana* slipped entirely from Merovingian control, the former being governed by the mysterious Eudes and the latter being settled by invading Basques. Charlemagne had some success below the Garonne, but under the later Carolingians Gascony and Aquitaine were again two separate entities. However the Agenais, on both sides of the Garonne, remained a unit in Frankish hands into the ninth century.¹²⁹

campestres', *RA* 107 (1980), 91-6 is used here, and see also citations of his excellent papers on the medieval Agenais below).

¹²⁸ Julius Caesar, *The Gallic Wars*, ed. T. E. Page, Cambridge, Mass., 1952, 388-9, 422-5, 446-9 and 486-9; Drinkwater, J. F., *Roman Gaul*, London, 1983, 9; Schmittlein, R., *Avec César en Gaul*, Paris, 1970, 30.

¹²⁹ *PL* XX 9-50 and XXIII 743; *MGH* II 190; *Chronique dite Saintongeaise*, ed. A. de Mandach, Tübingen, 1970, 269; *HGL* I 677 and 838; James, E., *The Franks*, Oxford, 1988, 165-82; Fouracre, P. and Gerberding, R. A., *Late Merovingian France, History and Hagiography, 640-720*, Manchester, 1996, 11-15; Bachrach, B. S., *The Anatomy of a Little War*, San Francisco/Oxford, 1994, 50, 56, 94-6, 110-11 and 118; Wood, I., *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450-751*, London/New York, 1994, 100-1 and

Internally, however, it was developing more complex identities. Different dialects had evolved north and south of the river. On the other hand, the process of warfare forged some sense of indigenous coherence which was still non-Frankish: local leaders faced unaided assaults on Tonneins and Marmande by a Muslim army in 726; the population both north and south of the Garonne supported Basques against the Franks; and the Agenais was decimated by raiding Norsemen in the central decades of the ninth century.¹³⁰

Too late to save the Agenais, a champion, Vulgrinnus (or Wulfgrin), was appointed to protect the Bordeaux-Agen stretch of the river. Accounts of this warrior inform us about the opening of another very interesting and relevant chapter in Agenais history. A kinsman of Charles the Bald, he was made count of Angoulême, Périgord and the Agenais. Adémar tells us that he acquired Agen through marriage to Rogeline, sister of Count William II of Toulouse. Although it would be unwise to take Adémar at face value for this period, counts of Toulouse-Agen, William I and then Bérengar, did indeed exist, during the wars of Pépin and Charles the Bald for control of Aquitaine. Bérengar's successor for Agen-Toulouse was Bernard II of Septimania. Bernard was neutral in the conflict but was assassinated in 844 and succeeded by his son William II. It was on William's death in 850 that his brother-in-law Vulgrinnus seized the Agenais, in spite of William's opposition to this during his lifetime. When Vulgrinnus himself died, in 886 or 894, it passed to his son by Rogeline, William I of Périgord, and possibly on the latter's death in 920 to his son Bernard, although more likely to Ebles Manzer, count of Poitou (890/2-c.935). The Poitevins then held the county until the last decades of the tenth century when, as we have seen, it was annexed by the Basques. But we should perhaps view the Poitevin's major rivals in the county as the Toulousains rather than the Basques until this occurred.¹³¹

175-6 ; Wolff, P., 'L'Aquitaine et ses marges' in ed. W. Braunfels, *Karl de Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, I. Düsseldorf, 1966, 270-1 and 282-6; Auzais, L., *L'Aquitaine Carolingienne*, Toulouse, 1937, 15-16, 33-5.

¹³⁰ *C4Cm* 581; de Bladé, J.F., 'Géographie politique de sud-ouest de la Gaule franque au temps des rois d'Aquitaine', *RA* 22 (1895), 47.

¹³¹ Relevant parts of the account by Adémar are cited and evaluated in Auzias, *L'Aquitaine*, 337, 352-65, 372; Wolff, 'L'Aquitaine', 290; Escande, *Périgord*, 61-3; Higounet-Nadal, A., *Histoire de Périgoureux*, Toulouse, 1983, 59-61; Noulens, *Maisons*, I, 9-11 as well as the sources above. See also Nelson, J., *Charles the Bald*, London, 1992, 57, 212 and 233 and le Jan, R., *Famille et pouvoir dans le*

Gascon rule

It was possibly an overlap in authority between the Basques occupying the Carolingian viscounty of Lomagne and the Poitevins who held Agen that led the Gascon dukes to take control of the Agenais: the viscounts of Lomagne probably held of the counts of Agen the most important estate in the Agenais, the viscounty of Bruilhois, and also their property at Nérac, Auvillar, and in the Condomois.¹³² Certainly the late-tenth century counts of Poitou were not powerful enough in the Agenais to prevent the usurpation. According to the Toulousains, they had no right to it, although whether the Gascons knew or made use of story of the illegal seizure of Agen by Vulgrinnus we cannot say (but we should note again that the story was common enough currency by the 1020s for Adémar to record it).

As noted above, Bishop Gombaud of Agen was both its count and bishop. Sometime after his elevation to Bordeaux his son Hugues, abbot of Condom, became bishop of Agen until c.1012, when a bishop Arnaud is recorded. In addition, he held secular power south of the river in 'that part of Lomagne which pertains to the diocese of Agen' (that is to say, in Bruilhois, Nérac and the Condomois, the latter of which estates he donated to his own abbey in 1014). Another son of Gombaud, Garsie, held comital powers north of the Garonne, perhaps even until c.1043.¹³³ Again we see the family practising a form of partible inheritance, using a geographical demarcation by then familiar to the Agenais, with Hugues, almost certainly the eldest son, taking the most valuable share.

Setting aside the innovative intrigues at the highest levels of Agenais society, in other ways it apparently resembled the rest of south-western France quite closely in this period. B. Labénazie asserts that numerous independent castles were built by local lords, notably at Castillon and Puymirol, and that town residences were fortified. When

monde franc, Paris, 1995, 35 and 213. We know of William II also through the manual composed for him by his mother, Bernard's wife, Dhuoda (See Dhuoda, *Manuel pour mon fils*, 2nd. edn., ed. and French trans. P. Riché, Paris, 1991).

¹³² Labénazie, *Annales*, 34-9; Noulens, *Maisons*, I, 19-25 and 63-6.

¹³³ BN ms Lat. 5652, 10v; *CACm* cited above. De Marca and Noulens note that another of Gombaud's sons, Odo, is named on an inscription concerning the family in the church at Aire (*Béarn*, 232 and *Maisons*, I, 25-7 and see *ibid.*, 31, 63-79 and 111).

the Jews of Aquitaine faced persecution, he tells us that the well-established community at Agen was likewise driven from its home.¹³⁴ However his portrayal of the Millennial Agenais appears to have been informed more immediately by his assumption that it was naturally experiencing apocalyptic terrors than by actual evidence. Indeed, there are very few sources for the county in this period: Condom's is the only cartulary, and the few secular charters are those relating to the ducal family already noted above.¹³⁵

In fact a conflicting picture emerges from the evidence. On the one hand, there is no evidence of Peace councils in the Agenais, nor of Agen's bishops attending councils elsewhere (with the exception of Gombaud after he moved to Bordeaux). It seems safer to assume from this evidence that there was a level of spiritual demoralisation in the county, and that the ecclesiastical infrastructure of Entre-deux-Mers was not well developed, than that the Agenais was less in need of the Peace. On the other hand, the political interest shown in the Agenais by the Gascon dukes and bishops might suggest that, along with the Bordelais and in contrast with most of Aquitaine and Gascony, its rulers' presence was felt relatively strongly.

This would certainly appear to have been the case by mid-century. After the death of Gombaud's son Garsie the *comitatus* reverted eventually to the dukes again, by then Poitevin, but from the episcopate of Arnaud II (1020-49) the *comitalia* had been delegated to Agen's bishop. That is to say, he held the powers that a count would exercise, but not the title itself. Henceforth the bishops of Agen held the right to mint (the coins were known as *Arnaudines*), to administer and profit from all justice in the county, and to levy taxes on the trade in weaving and milling and also on the city's Jews. Arnaud's fortune in this respect should be seen in the context of the struggle for power over Gascony taking place between the Poitevins and the count of Armagnac: Agen was important in strategic terms, dominating the Garonne as the border between Gascony at Aquitaine.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Labénazie, *Annales*, 42-3.

¹³⁵ Tholin, 'Causeries', 140.

¹³⁶ For discussion of the terminology used and what it meant see Ducom, i, esp. 191-2, 300, 307 and 316; *Coutume d'Agen*, ed. H. Tropamer, Bordeaux, 1911, 152-3; Wolff, R.L. and Wolff, P., *Évêques et*

Toulousain and Poitevin influences in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

In addition, we should not neglect to note that the Agenais could also either facilitate or hinder traffic along the Garonne, i.e. into and from the Toulousain. The significance of this, and the case made that Agen belonged to Toulouse under the Carolingians, becomes clearer if we speculate that the Toulousains may have begun to revive their claim in the decades when Gascony, and with it the Agenais, was again shifting into the Poitevin sphere. Indeed, it surely explains the warfare between Toulouse and Poitou in 1058-60. It has been noted that some preparatory diplomatic work appears to have been undertaken by the Toulousains with regard to Rome. Possibly also connected is the attendance of Bishop Bernard of Agen (1049-60) at a church council at Toulouse in 1056.¹³⁷

This seems all the more likely given that the Toulousains were certainly asserting a claim to the Agenais long after the Poitevins apparently had control of it. In a charter of 1079 William IV of Toulouse refers to himself as count of Agen in promising to protect those possessions of the abbey of Saint-Pons which lay in the Agenais, Périgord and Astarac. In a charter of 16 June 1080 he is '*Guillelmus Tolosanensium ... (and) ... Aginnensium... comes et dux*'. B. Labénazie states that in 1061 'le comté d'Agenais revint aux comtes de Toulouse'. What he bases this on is unclear. However, and very curiously, after a charter of Guy-Geoffrey in 1049 granting rights at Agen to the bishop of Bazas, I find no other evidence of Poitevin influence in the Agenais until 1122, when Duke William IX made a grant at Agen itself of dues to La Chaise-Dieu. William and Philippa of Toulouse also minted *moneta decena* at Agen, on which the word *Pax* was stamped.¹³⁸

How should we interpret this evidence? We have noted that William IX of Aquitaine was in control of Toulouse until 1123. It is in fact possible, therefore, that he was acting in this Toulousain capacity at Agen. If so, we need to ask what had happened to the rights of the bishop-counts of Agen. Had their era of supremacy ended with

comté d'Agen au XIe siècle, Villeneuve-sur-Lot and Agen, 1962, 115-20; Baumont, Burias *et al.*, *Agen*, 42-6.

¹³⁷ Sources cited in Bonnassie, P., 'L'espace Toulousain', in Zimmerman, *Les sociétés méridionales*, 112-13 and Martindale, *Aquitaine*, 100.

Arnaud II in 1049, symbolised by Guy-Geoffrey's grant to the bishop of Bazas in that year? It seems possible that Guy-Geoffrey, in attempting to take firmer control of the important marcher land, had attempted to undermine the autonomous power invested in Arnaud II, and that Bishop Bernard had consequently become a Toulousain partisan. From 1097, when the duke of Aquitaine and the count of Toulouse were one and the same man, William IX, the political repercussions of this would have been negligible. Indeed, the conflict over possession of Agen had effectively been solved for a time. It is also interesting to note that around the turn of the twelfth century Agen gained new fortifications, perhaps a reflection of its importance to William IX.¹³⁹ But most interesting of all is the fact that, although historians have assumed that the *comitalia* was held by Arnaud's successors as it had been by him, I find no evidence for this in the episcopates of Bernard, Guillaume (c.1060-68), Elias (c.1069-76), and Reynaldus (1079-83).

In fact what is usually portrayed as the confirmation of these rights by William IX to Bishop Simon II (1083-c.1101) should perhaps be seen instead as their renewal. This immensely important bishop was, early in his career, a canon of Saint-Hilaire d'Agen. Then he became bishop of Saintes from where he was apparently head-hunted and brought to Agen as a Poitevin appointee to help consolidate ducal power in the Agenais. His good relationship with the duke is further illustrated by his administration of the archiepiscopal see of Bordeaux during its vacancy following the death of Archbishop Joscelyn in 1086.¹⁴⁰ Many questions remain unanswered here and further work could be done in this area, but I suspect that the coins minted by William and Philippa at Agen should be seen strictly as a 'limited edition' and a revival of the tradition of minting in the town, for bishop Simon and his successors were soon stamping *Arnaudines* again and the *comitalia* continued to be conferred on the bishops into the twelfth century with little erosion of their power.¹⁴¹

The religious life of the Agenais

Many bishops elected at Agen were already significant lords in their own right. Arnaud

¹³⁸ HGL III 427-8, and V 649-50; Labénazie, *Annales*, 46; Mundy, *Liberty*, 28.

¹³⁹ The Tour du Chapelet still stands (Verger, *Agen*, 82-6).

¹⁴⁰ GC II 905; *Chron...Saint-Maixent* 408; RHF XII 456; CESSB 26; *Coutume d'Agen*, Tropamer, 153-4; Ducom, i. 191 and 307.

II and his successor Bernard were lords of Boville, and the family of Raymond-Bernard du Fossat (1128-49), probably an ex-monk of La Sauve-Majeure in Entredeux-Mers, held the important seigneuries of Fossat and Medaillon. The canons of Saint-Caprais were also very influential economically, and not only in the town, for they controlled Porte-Sainte-Marie on the Garonne.¹⁴²

Given the resources of the secular church in Agen, it is not surprising to find its bishops among the patrons of not only important older Benedictine houses at Condom, Leyrac and Nérac, but also of the new monastic movements. Bishops Audebert (1118-28) and Raymond-Bernard assisted the foundation for nuns of Fontevriste Paravis by local lords Forto de Vic and Amalvin de Paravis on land by the river opposite Porte-Sainte-Marie, and the latter bishop founded Benedictine Renaud near Agen. But religious renewal in the Agenais had begun rather late. The first example of reform by secular lords is perhaps in 1062 when the abbey of Leyrac was given to Cluny by the viscounts of Bruilhois. There was probably a convent at Agen by the late tenth century and it was reformed on its donation to La Grande-Sauve in the Toulousain by Bishop Simon and converted into the hospital of Saint-Antoine. Sainte-Livrade and St-Maurin were the only other religious establishments at the start of our period, but by the 1150s there were Benedictine houses also at Penne-d'Agenais, Marmande and Gontaud (Saint-Pierre de Nogaret). There were also daughter houses of Grandmort at Garrigues (near Marmande) and le Deffès (near Agen), and Pérignac was founded by the Cistercians in 1151. Another Fontevriste house for women was founded at La Sauvetat-des-Monges (near Blanquefort).¹⁴³

The new movement was important to the Agenais not least because the importance of Agen as a religious site had declined since the removal to Conques, in either 866 or 877-84, of the relics of Sainte-Foy. Medieval accounts originating in the Agenais say

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 193-6, 293-7 and 307-16.

¹⁴² GC II 902-11; Ducom, i, 193.

¹⁴³ GC II instr. 316 and 427; Ducom i 193; Clémens, J., 'La maison de Béarn et les Plantagenêts dans la diocèse d'Agen durant la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle', in ed. C. Desplat, *Terre et hommes du Sud, hommage à Pierre Tucoo-Chala*, Pau, 1992, 202; Lauzun, P., 'Les hôpitaux de la ville d'Agen', *RA* 19 (1892), 290-9; Barrière, 'Les abbayes', 85; *Atlas*, Parisse and Leuridan, 99; Venarde, *Women's Monasticism*, 63; Marquette, J.-B., 'Les Albret en Agenais (XIe-1366)', *RA* 98 (1972), 302; Barrère, *Histoire*, I, 217-18 and 318-25; Baumont, Burias, *et al.*, *Histoire d'Agen*, 41 and 46.

that the relics were stolen by the rival abbey, although M. Guignard has suggested that, given the timing, they may have been removed in case of further Viking raids and never returned. Praise of once-prestigious Agen in the *Passio* of Sainte-Foy is absent from versions transcribed after this, and the eleventh-century townspeople must have followed with some jealousy the growth in popularity of the cult site at Cluniac Conques. Another calamity hit Agen in the 1090s, when the church of Saint-Etienne was destroyed by fire and the hospital of Saint-Antoine treated many sufferers of a fatal disease. The insecurity of this period, presided over by two relatively inactive bishops, Géraud I (1101-4) and Gausbert (1105-17), perhaps provides some context for adherence to the heresy against which Robert of Arbrissel came to preach in 1114. Nonetheless, Agen and the *sauvetats* of Moirax, Sauveterre and Auvillars, all on or below the Garonne, were still visited on the route to Compostella and some economic recovery has been identified in the early years of the twelfth century, resulting in part from the clearance and cultivation of woodland by the new abbeys.¹⁴⁴

Finally, we should note some other important points about the religious life in the Agenais. Most obviously, the vast majority of religious establishments were founded either along the Garonne, concentrated around Agen itself, or south of the river in the Gascon Agenais. The same was true for parish churches; Agen had four major churches by 1100 - Saint-Etienne, Sainte-Foy, Saint-Caprais and Saint-Hilaire - and around thirty small churches were built within twenty-five kilometers of the town between the late tenth century and c.1150.¹⁴⁵ However, it has been remarked that the Agenais as a whole had relatively few churches or religious foundations by the mid-twelfth century, and also that the cults of the saints revered in Gascony had little impact in the region north of the Garonne. Thus the laity of the Agenais, most notably of its central and northern areas, was not as well served spiritually as those in other

¹⁴⁴ The cult at Conques reached its height in the Millennial period not least as a result of the work done by Bernard, a monk of Angers, who wrote the first two books in the *Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fides* between 1013 and c.1020 after visiting the site. Books 3 and 4 were written by continuators with very much the same agenda, between 1020 and 1050 and c.1050 respectively. See the recent edition *Book of Sainte Foy*, ed. and trans. P. Sheingorn, Philadelphia, 1995, esp. 37 note 7. See also Guignard, *Histoire*, I, 80-1; Higounet, 'Les chemins Saint-Jacques et les sauvetés de Gascogne', in *Paysages et villages neufs de Moyen-Age: recueil d'articles de Ch. Higounet*, Bordeaux, 1975, 211-13.

¹⁴⁵ Baumont, Burias, *et al.*, *Histoire d'Agen*, 37-9; Verger, *Agen*, 88, 94-5 and 149-51.

parts of Aquitaine.¹⁴⁶

Conclusion: The Agenais and the Languedoc

In this it resembled neighbouring counties in the Languedoc, Toulouse and Quercy, which also had a somewhat sluggish religious life by the mid-twelfth century. We have noted the origins of Toulousain influence in the Agenais but a study of the course of heresy in the Agenais should also note the related influence of Quercy. In this early period Quercy was governed by the descendants of the Carolingian counts of Rouergue, the house of Saint-Gilles. These, as we have seen, became counts of Toulouse in the early twelfth century in the face of opposition by the counts of Poitou. In other affairs too leading Quercinois families identified with the opponents of Poitou; Quercy was governed in religious matters by the bishop of Cahors, a suffragan of the archbishop of Bourges, whilst its monastic life was dominated by the important abbeys to its north-east, namely Figeac, Rocamadour, Beaulieu-en-Rouergue (south-east of Caylus) and, not least, Conques, thriving economically at the expense of Agen.¹⁴⁷ At first glance, therefore, there would seem to be tensions between the societies of Quercy and the Agenais just as there were between Toulouse and Aquitaine. In many ways, however, including at the humbler levels of society, Quercy and the Agenais were closely connected. This tendency is clearly apparent in the *Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fides*, whose authors describe a socio-geographical context for the abbey's immediate influence which encompassed Quercy, Périgord and the Rouergue and also extended into the Agenais and Bazadais. In addition, families of Quercy often intermarried and allied with the noble and knightly families of Périgord, Gascony and the Agenais. Their collective estates formed minor empires crossing the boundaries of more obvious political allegiance, and their Aquitanian branches were also donors to Quercinois abbeys.¹⁴⁸ Thus by c.1152, in terms of its political history, cultural and linguistic features and its religious life, and as might be expected from its geographical position in relation to important communication routes, the Agenais was a region where Aquitanian, Gascon, Quercinois and Toulousain influences overlapped.¹⁴⁹ This

¹⁴⁶ Clémens, J., 'Les origines de la cour générale de l'Agenais', *Actes du 110e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes*, 1986, 70, and see chapter 4.

¹⁴⁷ See donations in AD Lot F. 125, esp. nos.190-192, 199-201, and 216-220, and in F. 365.

¹⁴⁸ These points will be demonstrated through examples in chapters 3 to 6.

¹⁴⁹ This is nowhere better illustrated than in the curious mixture of workshop styles originating in Toulouse and Saintes which are evident in building work undertaken in this period at the church of

was to be of vital importance in the ways in which the Agenais responded to the Cathar heresy in the second half of the century.

Chapter 3: Heresy in Aquitaine, c.1000-c.1152

i. The Millennial Years to c.1050

Aquitainian heretics and the historians.

From around the year 1000 sources for the history of Aquitaine began to speak in alarmed tones of a new heresy which had appeared in the region. Some of them say it was Manichaean and that it had also taken root in other parts of Europe. It was initially as part of a wider European phenomenon that modern historians have also discussed it, identifying its dualist element and origins in Bulgaria, and its transmission via Italy.¹⁵⁰

This view has been called into question. Eleventh-century incidents of heresy are now called 'a half-way house between western dissidence and eastern dualism best described as proto-dualism', the anti-clerical nature of some incidents and a culture of lower order protest explaining why it was so readily received.¹⁵¹ Far from being related, heretical incidents are seen as 'few, incoherent and isolated from each other'.¹⁵² With very few exceptions the predominant view of these heresy specialists is left unqualified also by historians of eleventh-century Europe and Aquitaine. From both the *mutationniste* school and that which proposes Millennarian excitement comes a tempting theory that Aquitaine saw the emergence of 'apostolic communities': rejecting the hierarchical, gender exclusive and worldly authority of clerics and also the vainglorious *Opus Dei* of the cloister, they sought to prepare for The End with the simplicity of early Christians and became scapegoats for the elite.¹⁵³ An important

¹⁵⁰ Da Milano, I., 'Le eresie popolari del secolo XI nell'Europa occidentale', in *Studi Gregoriani*, II, Rome, 2 (1947), 44-6; Dondaine, A., 'L'origine de l'hérésie Médiévale: à propos d'un livre récent', *Revista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 6 (1952), 47-78; Runciman, S., *The Medieval Manichee*, Cambridge, 1947, 118 and 177. This view is taken, though more cautiously, in Stoyanov, Y., *The Hidden Tradition in Europe*, London, Penguin, 1994, 151-4.

¹⁵¹ Lambert, M., *Medieval Heresy*, London, 1977, 33 (quotation), and *idem.*, *The Cathars*, Oxford, 1998, 12; Russell, J. B., *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1982, 12; Fossier, R., 'Les mouvements populaires en Occident au XIe Siècle', *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres; comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1971*, Paris, 1972, 257-69.

¹⁵² Moore, R.I., *The Origins of European Dissent*, London, 1977, 18 and see *ibid.*, 23-45 and *idem.*, 'Literacy and the making of heresy', in ed. P. Biller and A. Hudson, *Heresy and Literacy*, Cambridge, 1994, 23.

¹⁵³ Landes, *Relics*, 37-9 and 208-9, 'Aristocracy', 207-18 and 'Millenarismus', 357-8; Bonnassie, P. and Landes, R., 'Une nouvelle hérésie est née dans le monde', in ed. M. Zimmerman, *Les Sociétés Méridionales*, 435-42; Moore, *Formation*, 13-19. Dualist influence is however noted in Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal*, 272-308. D. Callahan, who usually regards Adémar as reliable, says that there were Manichees in Aquitaine '...supposedly, according to Adémar...' ('William the Great', 330). In addition the *ajustementiste* D. Barthélemy, whilst rejecting actual dualist connections, thinks that the

source for the heresy has been given a revised interpretation and discussed as a coded warning against enemies of Cluniac monasticism.¹⁵⁴

This approach is western-orientated. It avoids addressing evidence that dualists were growing in strength in the east and that they had the declared intention of spreading their heresy wherever they could, for which this chapter will offer evidence. It will also show that the Aquitainian sources contained both dualist elements and evidence of eastern origin, and suggest that contacts between east and west were of a frequency and nature needed for religious dissent to spread effectively.

Dualist heresy in the Balkans

By the late tenth century there existed two dualist traditions in the Balkans, Paulicianism and Bogomilism.¹⁵⁵ The Paulicians had emerged in seventh-century Armenia. Their militarised communities were settled on the Asiatic and Thracian borders of Byzantium by its emperors. By the mid-ninth century Bulgars had taken many as captives into the Balkans and by c.872 their political autonomy had been destroyed.¹⁵⁶ The heresy itself continued to thrive, however, its evangelical nature being one of its major features and strengths. Paulicians were absolute dualists, teaching that there were two eternally co-existing principles; one good, the creator of the world to come, and one evil, the creator of the physical world. They rejected the Incarnation, saying that Christ only appeared to be part of the physical world and that the Virgin was not his physical mother but instead represented the heavenly Jerusalem. They rejected the Old Testament and the Epistles of St. Peter, whom they considered to have abandoned Christ, but accepted the rest of the New Testament. They venerated St. Paul and believed their church to be the true continuation of his work. Those texts

simple Christians might have erroneously assumed the Manichaean label for themselves (*Mutation*, 340). I find no evidence for this.

¹⁵⁴ Lobrichon, G., 'The chiaroscuro of heresy: early eleventh-century Aquitaine as seen from Auxerre', trans. P. Buc, in *Peace of God*, 80-103 and *idem.*, *La religion des laïcs en Occident, XIe-XVe siècles*, Paris, 1994, esp. 14, 104-7 and 171.

¹⁵⁵ Information on Paulicians and Bogomils and their social context is taken from Obolensky, D., *The Bogomils*, Cambridge, 1948 (reprinted Twickenham, 1972), 29-31 and 38-178 except where otherwise stated.

¹⁵⁶ The major source for the Paulicians is Peter of Sicily, Byzantine ambassador to the Paulicians at Tephrike in 869-70, where he learned of their plans to convert Bulgaria and wrote a history of the heresy in order to warn the Bulgarian church. This is contained amongst the sources in Hamilton and Hamilton, 65-92, and see *ibid.* 11-12.

which they accepted, they took word for word to be divinely inspired. However, their dualist belief meant that they interpreted them very differently from the orthodox Church, regarding the bread and wine of the Last Supper as symbolic and not actually involving the transformation of matter. When confronted with their heresy by orthodox authorities they would appear to denounce wrong belief and affirm the teachings of the Church. Their view of the Holy Family and the sacraments as symbolic enabled them to do this for they could, in good faith, declare their love of the body and blood of Christ: to them it meant simply His words. They loathed not only the teachings of the Orthodox Church but also the caste of monks and priests within it and sought to subvert orthodoxy both doctrinally and structurally.

Paulicians were still in evidence in the east during the early eleventh century at the time when dualist missions appear to have been established in Aquitaine. However it was a new, related, heresy, to be known later as Bogomilism, which most closely resembles that which appeared in the west. It was possibly founded by priest (*pop*) named Bogomil in the reign of Tsar Peter of Bulgaria (927-69). It took root in Bulgaria all the more easily because the country had only recently converted to Orthodox Christianity. It had emerged and spread, concealing its heretical nature from the Orthodox authorities, within the very ascetic tradition of Balkan monasticism. It was thus well equipped to operate similarly in the west.¹⁵⁷

Sometime shortly after 972 the Bulgarian priest Cosmas described a crisis in Macedonian monasteries which he identified with the rise of the heresy. The crisis originated within semi-autonomous monasteries outside Church control. Many monks had entered them with worldly and not spiritual concerns. They were doctrinally unprepared and the monasteries unable to train them. Such monks were easy prey for heretics, and most noticeable amongst their errors was the belief that Christians living in the secular world could not be saved. The eremitic tradition was flourishing also, not least because of the chaotic coenobitism because many monasteries fell into disorder on the death of their founder, or were disrupted by barbarian invasions, and their

¹⁵⁷ Evidence of this fusion of heretical ideas is contained in a letter written between 954 and 950 from Theophylact, Patriarch of Constantinople (933-56) to Tsar Peter (Hamilton and Hamilton, 98-102).

monks were left wandering and leaderless. These were especially susceptible to heretical teaching and were responsible for preaching it in the secular world in the guise of ascetic orthodoxy. The new heresy rejected the essentially non-Christian absolute dualism of the Paulicians and emphasised a moderate dualist concept: God had, in some way, been responsible for the creation of the demiurge. However like the Paulicians, the Bogomils believed that the Devil was responsible for the creation of the physical world. Cosmas reported that they taught that '...everything belongs to the Devil: the sky, the sun, the stars, the air, the earth, man, churches, crosses' and also that 'all that comes from God they ascribe to the Devil.'¹⁵⁸

In c.1045 a monk Euthymius of the Periblepton monastery in Constantinople, who had encountered numerous Bogomils, wrote that 'heaven and Earth and all that they contain [they say is the devil's] and say that the devil is the creator of all this, not God...[and] they say that there are only two things in the visible universe which belong to God's creation, the sun and the human soul.' He tells us that they also believed it was possible to escape the power of the devil on dying, but not through orthodox faith, only through extreme asceticism, the shunning of worldly concerns, and the refusal to kill anything living. This was a life-style entirely opposed to the Orthodox Church; the Bogomils rejected its teaching and most of its writings, the authority of its clergy and its saints, and the validity and power of its sacraments.¹⁵⁹

In the late tenth century and early eleventh great political changes took place in Bulgaria. Byzantine influence over Macedonia increased and threatened the Bogomils where they had become most successful. The provincial governor Nicholas resisted and by 998 his son Samuel had become Tsar. Samuel fought Emperor Basil II for his entire reign but died in 1014. After further defeats, in 1018 Macedonia finally fell. The result of this process was that the social, political and religious institutions of Bulgaria were greatly damaged and resentment of Byzantine authority became an enduring feature of Bulgarian and especially Macedonian society. This, along with the fact that Samuel

The source describes the new heresy as widespread. Its doctrine is essentially that of the Paulicians but its adherents also reject marriage and condemn reproduction as a sin.

¹⁵⁸ Cosmas, 58-9 and 77 (quotations) and also 2 and 100-105; *Christian Dualist Heresies*, 27.

Theophylact wrongly attributed Paulician absolutism to the Bogomils (*ibid.*, 26).

¹⁵⁹ Euthymius, 32-3, 151-2 (quotation) and 142-64; Stoyanov, *Hidden Tradition*, 136-9.

was unconcerned with the prosecution of heresy throughout his reign, meant that Bogomilism grew stronger than ever. The heretics were patronised as a symbol of resistance and discontent in Macedonia, in opposition to the now entirely Greek-dominated aristocracy and episcopate. They had much support amongst the peasantry, enserfed as a result of the high poll taxes and land taxes which they paid to the Empire. There is little evidence that the Bogomils ever set out to become a party of political resistance to this process, but they certainly grew in number in the atmosphere of dissent. Furthermore, once Macedonia was incorporated as a province of the Empire the heretics were able to spread their heresy to other provinces more easily than ever. Not least, intermarriages between the conquered Bulgarian nobility and the most powerful Byzantine families resulted in the infiltration of Bogomilism into high society in Constantinople and other important centres. After their unhindered growth and mobility in the reign of Tsar Samuel in Bulgaria, Bogomils were also able to spread throughout the Empire and take advantage of the new international connections which it offered them.¹⁶⁰

Possible problems with the western evidence

Difficulties undeniably present themselves when examining the accounts of early heresy in Aquitaine with a view to extracting from them the origins and actual beliefs of the heretics. We might anticipate that these beliefs would be difficult to identify in heresy which, if related to Balkan Bogomilism, practised deception and double meaning as one of its forms of defence. This is compounded by the fact that we lack sources composed by the heretics themselves or systematic records of the careful questioning of heretics by clerics who understood these pitfalls, such as we have for Catharism in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the fact that few medieval commentators on heresy, possibly only one in Aquitaine, had actually seen the heretics for themselves.

Sometimes, as a result, the sources are confused about what the heretics said about

¹⁶⁰ Browning, R., *Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire*, London, 1975, 127. Some historians believe that Tsar Samuel and his family supported the heresy (for example *ibid.*, 166). The speculation arises from the unreliable *Vita* of St. Vladimir (Stoyanov, *Hidden Tradition*, 134-6). Cosmas the Priest asserts that Bogomils turned the ordinary Macedonian people against their political and economic masters. Browning takes this as evidence that the heretics spread this subversive message wherever they preached, and eventually into the West in the twelfth century as inspiration to the Cathars (Browning,

themselves. Occasionally, as a result, they attribute orgiastic and satanic practices to them. Because they opposed the Church, Adémar reasoned, they must worship Satan, and he thus warns that they gave the powdered bone or ashes of dead children to the unsuspecting in food or drink to make them instantly and irrevocably forget divine truths.¹⁶¹ Such accusations are highly improbable and, more importantly, they may obscure actual heretical practice from the historian. Thus, whilst we may suspect that Adémar is recognising the infectious nature of the heresy and, perhaps, some kind of initiation ritual, we can deduce little with certainty from this demonizing propaganda.

Again perhaps because the nature of the heresy was concealed, the sources are sometimes less specific about the nature of the heretics' belief system, dualist or otherwise, than they are about their excessive asceticism and anti-clericalism. The same is also true for sources which describe early Bogomilism.¹⁶² Consequently it is not possible to do a systematic comparison with Bogomilism, least of all with reference to the belief system of the Aquitanian heretics or the organisational structure of their church, two areas which would be very useful in proving a link between these and other heretics in east and west.

Most troubling to the revisionist historians, in some cases those describing the heresy may have prematurely formed the opinion that they held certain beliefs that they then attribute to the heretics. It must also be considered that in the Millennial period some churchmen at least were anticipating the arrival of Antichrist and his *servi*. In these heretics, perhaps some considered that they had found them. Did not Augustine write of heretics leaving the Church and equate them with Antichrist? If these agents were to be considered Antichrist, then the predictions of 1 John were realised when 'many antichrists' appeared and behaved as expected: 'this is Antichrist, he who denies the Father and the Son'; 'this is Antichrist, whom you heard would come, and now is already in the world'; and 'many seducers have gone into the world who do not confess

Byzantium, 163-6). There is little other evidence to support this theory and nothing in later writings against the Bogomils to suggest such content in their message.

¹⁶¹ Adémar, 173; Bonnassie and Landes, '*Nouvelle hérésie*', 454-5.

¹⁶² Noted in Hamilton, B., 'Wisdom from the East: the reception by the Cathars of Eastern dualist texts', in Biller and Hudson, *Heresy and Literacy*, 39. For an exception to this see 'The Discourse of Cosmas the Priest against the Bogomils' in *Christian Dualist Heresies*, 114-34.

that Jesus Christ came in the flesh: this is the seducer and the Antichrist'.¹⁶³ Some westerners recognised servants of Antichrist because they forbade marriage and the consumption of meat.¹⁶⁴ Thus patristic and biblical texts which informed Medieval ideas about Antichrist and his servants sometimes provided the language with which commentators unmasked Antichrist in the world. Glaber's heretics are 'envoys of Satan....(according with)...the prophecy of St. John who said that the Devil would be freed after a thousand years'.¹⁶⁵

In addition, churchmen did not always use the term 'heretic' accurately. There are many sources in which the term is used to describe opponents of some section of the clergy. Adémar, for example, refers to various of his enemies as 'heretics', not least those denouncing his *Vita Prolixior* or those over fond of calculating Millennial dates.¹⁶⁶ We must concede that churchmen were indeed on the lookout for 'antichrists' and 'heretics', and in this volatile period, surrounded by dissent, we find them using such terms apparently indiscriminately.

But I find little evidence that they used the specifically dualist label 'Manichee' without justification, as is argued by some historians.¹⁶⁷ Adémar is very careful about whom he labels 'Manichees', for these always have a dualist element to their belief. He had clearly heard much about the beliefs of the eleventh-century heretics, as has been shown from his sermons, and the use of 'Manichees' goes beyond the predictable framework afforded by his Millennialist outlook. It is such a specific label, in doctrinal terms, that to mis-use it would undermine the credibility of the accuser. In all the cases where we find the label used in Aquitaine, and elsewhere in Europe in this period, there is other evidence supporting an essentially dualist doctrine. Indeed, there are significant features in accounts of these 'Manichees' which sound 'very like the Bogomilism which was evolving in the Balkans'.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶³ *De Civitate Dei*, CCL XL, 2 and 473-4; 1 John 2:18 and 22, 1 John 4:3, and 2 John 7.

¹⁶⁴ 1 Timothy 4: 1-3; *Christian Dualist Heresies*, 158.

¹⁶⁵ Glaber, 91-93 (Rev. 20: 2-3).

¹⁶⁶ *PL* CLXI 96; Emerson, *Antichrist*, 36; Landes, *Relics*, 248 and 296.

¹⁶⁷ For example Moore, *Origins*, 8-9 and 13-16, and *ibid.*, *The Birth of Popular Heresy*, London, 1969, 2-6; Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal*, 286; Barthélemy, *La Mutation*, 344.

¹⁶⁸ Hamilton, 'Wisdom', 39. See below for Adémar's sermons.

Evidence for heresy in Aquitaine

The major sources for heresy in Aquitaine

Accounts of heresy in the west in the early eleventh century, and especially in France, are numerous, and so Aquitainian accounts emerge as part of a wider pattern. However accounts of Aquitainian incidents are less informative than some of the detailed accounts of heresy elsewhere. In other parts of France heretics were active at the top levels of society and we know the names of influential converts. In Aquitaine and Gascony, however, we have only reports of the conversion of people of relatively low status: peasants, parish priests and some of the religious. The following accounts are presented here in chronological order, in as much as scholars have been able to establish this. Heretics are reported first in Périgueux c. 1000, are feared to be in Poitou at least as early as 1016, and are reported in the neighbourhood of Conques in the Rouergue from about the same time. By 1028 their presence was evidently still so strong that a council of the Aquitainian authorities was called in order to deal with the problem, and they are still reported near Conques in the second quarter of the century.¹⁶⁹

The three most informative sources for heresy in Aquitaine are monastic. The most studied is Adémar. Although he spent his adult life within the confines of the monasteries of Saint-Cybard in Angoulême and Saint-Martial at Limoges, this in no way limits his knowledge. Indeed these abbeys were major centres for the exchange of information, not least because of the numbers of secular and religious visitors whom they received. Apart from the accounts of heresy in the third book of his history, he discusses heresy in two collections of sermons, deposited at Saint-Martial before his departure for the Holy Land, a journey on which he died.¹⁷⁰ To my mind these clearly

¹⁶⁹ Accounts emerging from the abbey of Sainte-Foy are included in this thesis on Aquitaine essentially because of the close contacts between the abbey and Aquitaine and Gascony, as noted in chapter 2, and also because these accounts are usually overlooked in discussions of heresy.

¹⁷⁰ These, BN ms Lat. 2469, 1r-112v (composed at Angoulême in 1031-31) and especially Berlin MS Lat. Phillipps 1664, 1r-170v (composed also at Angoulême in 1029-1033) have been studied in detail in Frassetto, M., *The Sermons of Ademar of Chabannes and the Origins of Medieval Heresy*, University of Delaware PhD thesis, 1993, esp. 164-229. For the dating see Landes, *Relics*, 342-3. The sections of the sermon *De Eucharista* (Berlin 1664, 70v-78v, at 71, 72 and 75) were first presented as a source for heresy in 1992 (Bonnassie and Landes, 'Nouvelle hérésie', 454-5). Other relevant sermons are *De Chrismate Sacro* (Berlin 1664, 68r-70r), *Sermo ad Sinodum de Catholica Fide* (*ibid.*, 83v-96r), *Sermo ad Sinodo de Vita Clericum ex Dictis Hieronimi* (*ibid.*, 115r-6r) and the latter sections of the Berlin

address dualist thought and influence in the west. To the revisionists, however, Adémar uses the term 'Manichee' merely because it is 'one of the most infamous names in the constellation of ideas of medieval churchmen'.¹⁷¹ M. Lambert and R. Landes argue that Adémar's heretics are in fact advocates of monastic reform. They lead, in the apostolic life, by example.¹⁷² Whilst, as noted in chapter two, it is imperative to consider aspects of Adémar's work critically, this does not negate his importance as a source for heresy and of lay and clerical responses to it, not least because other sources confirm his fears about the nature of that heresy.

The probable earliest account of heresy in Aquitaine is early also in a general western European context. It is contained in a letter from a monk called Héribert.¹⁷³ Following J. Mabillon's first publication of the letter in 1682 compilers of sources and historians thought it dated from between 1145 and 1163 and thus related to twelfth-century Catharism. It has recently been pointed out that they overlooked an eleventh-century version bound into a manuscript belonging to the abbey of Saint-Germain in Auxerre in c.1050, containing documents composed from the mid-ninth century to the mid-eleventh and also Augustine's *De haeresibus*.¹⁷⁴ G. Lobrichon suggests that this version of Heribert's letter was copied from an earlier eleventh-century original by the author's fellow Cluniacs.¹⁷⁵ Nothing is known about Héribert other than what is contained in his letter. He is traditionally, but perhaps wrongly, taken to have written from an unnamed monastery in Périgieux because he says that the heretics have arisen in *petragorenses regionem*. However this does not prove that Heribert wrote from this area but that he was describing heretics going into it. Indeed, he later says that time is short *has namque ceterasue regiones occulte modo aggrediuntur*. In other words, they are not yet in his own area, but are currently entering it secretly. Thus

manuscript, one hundred and fifty short sermons based on the Pseudo-Isidorean decretals designed for delivery at peace councils (*ibid.*, 116v-170v).

¹⁷¹ Lambert, M., *Medieval Heresy*, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1992, 20.

¹⁷² Landes, 'Dynamics of heresy', esp. 502.

¹⁷³ Héribert is translated into English in Lobrichon, 'The chiaroscuro', 79-80 and its manuscript tradition is given in *ibid.*, 81-102.

¹⁷⁴ Paris BN lat. 1745. Héribert's letter is at 31r, lines 1-29.

¹⁷⁵ Lobrichon, 'The chiaroscuro', esp. 81 and 101. See also Bounoure, G., 'La lettre d'Héribert sur les hérétiques Périgourdins', *BSHAP* 120 (1993), 61-72, where the 'new' letter was first described and transcribed. Interestingly, however, a Millennial date for the letter was first suggested by J. J. Escande (*Périgord*, 68) based on J. Mabillon's edition (*IA* 483 [Escande cites the 1682 edn., III, 467]).

there are still puzzles to be solved about Heribert's identity and location.¹⁷⁶

In spite of this, we have an extremely informative picture of what Héribert identifies as dualist heretical practice, and, to an extent, of their beliefs and also the way in which heretics were received. But G. Lobrichon denies that this is evidence of dualism. To him the sources is not describing doctrinally dissident belief. He argues that the source's formulaic language was not in fact intended to reveal heresy but to indicate another hidden meaning, an attack on the enemies of Cluniac monasticism.¹⁷⁷ He has found support from other revisionist historians of heresy.¹⁷⁸ However, when the letter was thought to be twelfth-century Lambert cited its doctrine as evidence for a link between the Cathars and the Bogomils and R. Moore said that it was 'suggestive of Bogomilism'.¹⁷⁹ Nonetheless M. Lambert still concedes that from the account one 'catches a whiff' of dualism and that the 'wondrous feats' it describes need further attention.¹⁸⁰

To R. Landes Héribert's letter and also a charter of Duke William in favour of Saint-Hilaire of Poitou of 1016, which specifically refers to Manichees in the duchy, describe only 'communitarian asceticism' and 'textual communities' attempting to emulate the early Apostles. This is 'despite the hints of some kind of eastern dualism'.¹⁸¹

A source whose importance to the subject has only just been identified is the *Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis*. The theme was taken up by its first author Bernard of Angers between 1013 and 1020. In recounting miracles of the saint which he heard at Conques, he tells of us two groups of people who refused to accept Saint Foy's authority, lawless *milites* and religious heretics.¹⁸² He distinguishes clearly between the two for, whilst he is not averse to attributing supernatural causes to the misfortunes of

¹⁷⁶ However, if he was writing in Périgord and if Lobrichon is right about his Cluniac connection, his monastery must have been Sarlat, the only Cluniac house in Périgord at that time (see chapter 2), although Lobrichon ultimately doubts the existence of Héribert.

¹⁷⁷ Lobrichon, 'The chiaroscuro', esp. 80-8

¹⁷⁸ Moore, 'Literacy', 20-22; Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 2nd edn., 1992, 30.

¹⁷⁹ Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 1st edn., London, 1977, 62-63; Moore, *Origins*, 198.

¹⁸⁰ Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 2nd edn., 30. I will discuss the 'wondrous feats' below.

¹⁸¹ *DSHP*, i, 80-82 (reproduced and translated in Bonnassie and Landes, 'Nouvelle hérésie', 449-50);

Landes, 'Aristocracy and heresy', 208.

¹⁸² *Book of Saint Foy*, 23-4.

evil *militēs*, and even refers to them as antichrists on occasion, it is the doctrinal disbelief of heretical peasants and low ranking clergy which he sees as most threatening to popular orthodoxy. The subject of heresy was also taken up by his continuators in the second quarter of the century, who likewise distinguish between social dissidence and actual disbelief in the orthodox message. Bonnassie and Landes, whilst having brought this source to our attention, read it in the context of discontent with established monasticism and disillusionment with saints' cults, as Landes does with reference to Adémar's heretics.¹⁸³

Finally, towards the end of the century Bishop Walran of Naumburg visited Noblat in the Limousin, home of the cult of St. Leonard. He was told that in Leonard's day heretics who lived in the area had disputed his miracles.¹⁸⁴ As noted in chapter two, Leonard was an invented figure of the Millennial period. This makes me suspect that that these heretics were a product of contemporary popular consciousness also.

Incidents of heresy in Aquitaine

It is from Héribert that we get the only account of heretics in Aquitaine which declares itself to be first hand. He says that he met them when they had been bound in a barrel, a statement which also informs us that some authority had arrested them with a view to questioning or punishing them. He warns that the heresy is new and is being spread covertly by heretics masquerading as holy men. They sound very much like Bogomils who behaved in this way in the east.

Héribert strikes at the heart of the heresy: they loathe the Church. Their belief about orthodox liturgy, sacraments, the Cross and the Church seems to follow from the Bogomil view that the Divine does not interact with the physical. They mock the mass, eschew liturgical chant as pleasing to man rather than to God, have no respect for the host and refuse to worship the cross or image of Christ, calling it an idol, and mocking those who do. Indeed, they never go to church, except to attack it, and see the entire

¹⁸³ Bernard of Anger's account of the terrible death of the *miles* Guy is an example of just punishment for crimes against the servants of St Foy. However, Bernard does not imply that Guy is a heretic, merely impious. His accusations against him are not doctrinal, which those levelled at named heretics are, and so I must disagree with the inclusion of the story of Guy amongst incidents of heresy by Bonnassie and Landes (*Nouvelle hérésie*, 445-6).

mass as devoid of meaning or power because, to them, the Eucharist is but bread. We know that Bogomils also rejected veneration of the Cross as a symbol of Christ's pain, and mocked all sacraments, even entering churches, which they hated, to do so.¹⁸⁵

The heretics Héribert describes lived - or pretended to live, as he puts it - the simple apostolic life. They fasted excessively like Bogomils, and like them neither ate meat nor drank wine, except, says Héribert, on the third day. Fasting was not only the practice of heretics, of course. Ordinary Christians did it to express self-abnegation and discipline, and it was part of the monastic rule by which Greek Orthodox monks lived. As a method of both worship and intercession it was common in eleventh-century France, especially amongst clerics and monks. From Adémar we learn that abstinence was employed even in the context of widespread sickness and hunger in order to solicit divine mercy at the very first peace council.¹⁸⁶ Nonetheless, Héribert views his heretics as extreme in this.

The religious life was imitated in other ways in Aquitaine by heretics, just as it was in the east. Cosmas and Euthymius tell us that heretics entered Orthodox monasteries pretending to be monks and to follow the monastic way of life, subverting those within as well as laymen without who were impressed by their austere lives. Héribert's concern is also that both the lay and the religious in Aquitaine are being led astray, for amongst their converts are uneducated peasants, clerks, priests, monks and nuns. As such the heretics in Héribert's account also resemble Bogomils in the egalitarian nature of their recruitment and internal organisation. Members of the Bogomil communities, including women and the lowly, confessed their sins to each other and gave each other absolution, breaking down the distinctions between laity and clergy within their own church and also between the sexes.¹⁸⁷ The whole social ethos of the Bogomils was communistic, in fact, property being held and distributed in common. This is reflected in Aquitaine. Héribert says that the heretics refuse to accept alms on the basis that no

¹⁸⁴ AS III, 173.

¹⁸⁵ Euthymius, esp. 149-50 and 160; Cosmas 61-3 and 81-2; Obolensky, *Bogomils*, 131.

¹⁸⁶ Adémar, 158; Obolensky, *Bogomils*, 127-9. Poly and Bournazel have highlighted the case of Archbishop Seguin (977-99) as interesting. He was praised for his self denial in this matter but, intriguingly, was the uncle of the heretic Thierry of Orleans and protector of Lierry of Sens (*Feudal*, 284).

¹⁸⁷ Cosmas, 55; Euthymius, esp. 146-7; Obolensky, *Bogomils*, 133-5.

one should own property, from whence alms come in the first place. Instead his heretics share what resources they do have communally.

When Bogomils appeared like monks it was not only in order to deceive. It was a necessary part of their practice to deny themselves physical sustenance and pleasure. Thus they abstained from marriage, sexual intercourse and reproduction.¹⁸⁸ Aquitainian heretics also rejected sexual intercourse, both that sanctioned by the sacrament of marriage and otherwise. However, Héribert objects that they in fact indulged freely. This may be slander, but may perhaps be an unwitting reference to the existence of a hierarchy of believers, initiated and non-initiated, as was the case in the Balkans at least by the mid-eleventh century. For the ordinary believers, not ready to adopt the rigorous lifestyle but entirely convinced that the authority of the Catholic Church was insupportable, what was the need for marriage? The twelfth-century Cathars taught that sexual intercourse should be avoided but that, failing this, there was little point seeking clerical sanction for it. Thus the initiated themselves were chaste, but their followers must indeed have appeared wanton. It seems possible that the same tendency emerged in eleventh-century Aquitaine.

The uninitiated, as we have seen, did not remain ignorant of the teachings of the heresy. It was not necessary to be theologically educated to understand it for it was taught to people from differing backgrounds, the uneducated being taught first of all how to learn. The effect of this education was striking for, says Héribert, no doubt exaggerating, 'they perform many wondrous feats. Indeed, no one (no matter how rustic) adheres to their sect who does not become wise in letters, writing and action within eight days, (and so wise) that no one can overcome him in any way.' Accounts of this phenomenon are abundant in the west, most probably because the educated heretic on the one hand entered the privileged ranks of the learned, with its automatic association with freedom, but on the other hand, especially if he or she was of low social status, became instantly suspect because of an unlikely level of literacy. There is evidence that Bogomils too prioritised the education of initiates and that converts became well schooled in both their own and in orthodox theology. Euthymius believed

¹⁸⁸ Euthymius, esp. 150 and 160.

that they were all literate, that the heresy was taught through a succession of lessons and was revealed to the initiate in stages before actual hereticon took place, and that what they were taught was immensely convincing for he warned that, once corrupted, the heretic could never be reconverted to orthodoxy. As a result, they made formidably well informed opponents, able to cite Scripture to their own advantage. Cosmas tells us that 'where they met a simple or uneducated man, they sowed the tares of their teaching'. Euthymius mentions that a pupil of his in the Periblepton monastery was led astray by them because he was ignorant and gullible. The heretics cannot have targeted only the easily led for conversion, however, for they, and their new monkish follower also tried to convert Euthymius.¹⁸⁹

Heretics in Aquitaine seem to have also prayed like Bogomils. According to Cosmas and Euthymius the earliest Bogomils rejected all prayers which were the product of the Orthodox Church, and instead prayed only the Lord's Prayer. This they did four times a day and four times at night. Whilst they did this, they bowed, or genuflected, but did not make the sign of the cross. By the mid-eleventh century at the latest they had developed some form of ritual. The one leading the meeting began with the words 'Let us adore the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit', and the others replied 'it is right and fitting'.¹⁹⁰ They would then recite the Lord's Prayer, making frequent prostrations and bowing their heads constantly. Héribert's heretics also used a different form of the Lord's Prayer and they also genuflected frequently, a hundred times a day, and apparently did not make the sign of the cross.

Héribert's most baffling reference is to other 'wondrous feats' which the heretics perform. Amongst these he cites the filling of a vase of wine which someone else had already started to fill, and their escape from the barrel, which had been left open at the bottom: no stunning water-to-wine miracle then, and no great feat of escapology. Indeed, this part of the account is mocking in tone, and Lobrichon, who says little himself on the subject, cites P. Buc as saying that the latter feat might be a parody of

¹⁸⁹ Euthymius, 145-6, 150 and 154; Cosmas, 56; Moore, 'Literacy', 20; Obolensky, *Bogomils*, 181. For which texts might have been taught, and in what languages, see Hamilton, 'Wisdom', 40-41.

¹⁹⁰ Euthymius, 151, 161 and see 163; Obolensky, *Bogomils*, 134-5.

Christ's escape from the tomb.¹⁹¹

However, I believe the 'wonderous feats' passage makes more sense if examined as part of a contemporary genre. Bernard of Angers and his continuators, as we have seen, give us several accounts of St. Foy freeing captives - often peasants, always good Christians - who have been falsely imprisoned. The miracles of St. Leonard of Noblat abound likewise with such tales. Both sets of miracles were compiled, and, in the case of St. Leonard at least, originate in the eleventh century. We even have an account of an empty wine vase being filled through the intercession of St. Foy and of St Leonard filling an empty vase full of altar wine using water from a spring. We should note that both these saints were denounced by heretics, and also that their stories and miracles would have been familiar to a monk of Périgord, lying between the two regions, just as Adémar was familiar with and reported St. Leonard's miracles and also those of Saint Antoinin of the Cahorsain.¹⁹² If Héribert is parodying these local stories to ridicule the powers of the heretics, then here also is further evidence to tie Héribert to early eleventh-century Aquitaine and not to Auxerre (and it is hard to imagine why such feats would be ascribed to enemies of Cluny in any case).

It may even be that Héribert is mocking the fact that the 'god' of the heretics was in fact incapable of working miracles in the physical world, for he did not create or control it. It also seems likely that he is also employing an apocalyptic *topos*: the coming of Antichrist 'is according to the work of Satan in all power and in signs and in false marvels'. In the medieval interpretation, Satan would empower Antichrist and his servants to perform wonders that would test the faith of Christians: Heribert is surely describing these false marvels, and mocking them so that his reader knows that he recognises what he sees. It seems possible to me that we are seeing in Héribert's account both the recognition of dualist heresy and its condemnation as part of the works of Antichrist in the last days.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ 'Chiaroscuro', 85 note 14.

¹⁹² *Book of Saint Foy*, 183 (and see below); *Vita* of St. Leonard in Arbellot, *Saint Léonard*, 15-16 and 53-4; *AS* III, 50-42. My thanks to David Green for drawing to my attention other prisoner-freeing saints in the *Golden Legend*.

¹⁹³ 2 Thessalonians 2: 9. 2 Thessalonians 2: 1-12 was interpreted in the Middle Ages as an account of Antichrist, although 'the evil one' is not named as such by Paul (Emmerson, *Antichrist*, 39, and see discussion of Antichrist in chapter 2).

Héribert's heretics were not only targeting Périgord: 'for right now they are secretly invading these parts and others'. Indeed it is evident from not only the content but also the number of accounts of heresy that in the first few decades of the eleventh century heretics were spreading their ideas to as many regions as they could. We have little idea of the exact scale of their preaching and converting activity in Aquitaine, but in 1016, in a charter of privileges for Saint-Hilaire at Poitiers, Duke William V expresses the belief that priests are flocking to them in droves and that the Church is being drained of clergy as a result. Whilst this must be an exaggeration, it is specifically in order to stem this flow that the duke says he is acting: to protect Saint-Hilaire. Presumably, therefore, the duke and his clerical allies had good reason to fear that the canonical house was in danger of being infiltrated by heretics who could pass themselves off as monks. The heretics whom the duke identifies seem very likely to be connected to those described by Héribert. We are also told in the charter that the heresy is new, proliferating, and Arian. This reference to Arians, to his own love of the holy and indivisible Trinity, and also his faith in the intercession of St. Hilaire, imply that the heretics Duke William opposes are anti-Trinitarian and denounce saints' cults. Covert infiltration of monasteries was central to the activity of the early Bogomils, as is continually stressed by their commentators, and it was evidently carried out both amongst the religious and secular clergy and at all levels of lay society. Euthymius tells us that they drew lots to decide who would travel where to proselytise, and perhaps does not exaggerate too wildly in stating that they covered the whole Christian world with missionaries.¹⁹⁴

We know that Bogomils mocked the saints and those who prayed to them, rejecting cults and ascribing miracles associated with relics to tricks played by the Devil to mislead people. Very like this practice is the ridicule of saints and their veneration found in stories of heretics associated with the monastery of Sainte-Foy. Bernard of Angers reports that they found absurd and actually offensive the idea that a long dead child martyr could still be active. In c.1013 some pilgrims of Bernard's acquaintance visited Le Puy en Velay and met a heretical man from the neighbourhood of Conques.

When he heard that they were from Anjou, he complained that Bernard had been spreading miracle stories which were lies. In particular he disputed whether it was possible for sight to be restored to a man whose eyes had been put out, or for mules to be raised from the dead. Such a man, says Bernard, was surely a son of the Devil and the supporter of Antichrist, fallen into perilous error. Indeed, he is certain of the need to be vigilant against such disbelief in the Last Days. He specifically refers to the belief of the ministers of Antichrist that human corpses will not be raised from the dead, being unworthy of entry to heaven, and states that this heresy is the same as that which was reported in the time of the Holy Fathers. This attack on resurrection really troubles Bernard, for he argues at length that by raising animals from the dead God, through the saint, is showing Christians that they will later be raised up. Like Héribert, Bernard appears to be recognising both dualist belief and seeing the work of heretics as having Apocalyptic significance.¹⁹⁵

Adémar of Chabannes' well known account of heretics in Aquitaine in c.1018 appears with his account of the heresy at Orleans. He says that the heresy was taken to Orleans by a peasant from Périgord, and here we surely have a link with Héribert's heretics. He tells us that shortly after a tragedy in which over fifty pilgrims were crushed to death entering the church of Saint-Martial, Manichees arose throughout Aquitaine. Like Héribert's heretics they seduced the populace, turning them from truth to error, persuading them to deny holy baptism, the power of the cross, respect for the saints, the Church and their Redeemer, legitimate sexual union and the eating of meat. They themselves abstained from food and seemed to be like monks (although Adémar adds that they were feigning chastity). They were the messengers of Antichrist, turning simple people from faith.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ Héribert, 79; *DSHP* i 80-82 (reproduced in Bonnassie and Landes, '*Nouvelle hérésie*', 449-50); Euthymius, 158. See discussion of the term Arian below.

¹⁹⁵ Cosmas, 70-77; *Book of Saint Foy*, 64-5; Obolensky, *Bogomils*, 131

¹⁹⁶ Adémar, 173. Adémar's comment about Périgord has become controversial. It occurs at the start of the account of the Orleans heretics in the *Gamma* version of his *Historia* contained in a twelfth-century manuscript (Paris BN ms lat. 5926, 1-141 and see Adémar, 184, note b). It was originally taken at face value (see, for example, Runciman, *Manichee*, 117) but Lobrichon doubts whether Adémar believed it to be true ('The chiaroscuro', 100). His implication is that the reference was an insertion by the twelfth-century copyist of this version. He cites, as his authority that the surviving *Gamma* manuscript is twelfth-century, Landes, R., 'L'accession des Capétiens: une reconsidération des sources', *Religion et culture autour de l'an Mil: Royaume Capétien et Lotharingie*, eds. D. Iogna-Prat and J.-C. Picard, Paris, 1990, 153-4. But no evidence is offered for *Petragoricensi* being a scribal

Adémar was not being alarmist. By 1028 the heresy was evidently widespread in Poitou and causing great concern. He informs us that Duke William 'called a council at Charroux to wipe out the heresies which Manichaeans were spreading among the common folk'.¹⁹⁷

Adémar attacks the heresy also in his sermons, most clearly in *De Eucharistia*. Here he is quite clear about its nature and implications. Bogomil christology is reflected in the beliefs which he attributes to heretics about the natures of the Virgin Birth and the Trinity. He states that the heretics denied that Christ was in any sense human, and that they consequently denied the Passion and the Cross. This sounds like the Bogomil assertion that Christ's miracles should be interpreted allegorically, for he was not born of and did not interact with the physical world. They taught that the miracle of the loaves and fishes should be interpreted as Christ giving the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles to his followers, to 'feed' them spiritually, and that the Resurrection was amongst these purely allegorical miracles.¹⁹⁸ In this sermon Adémar outlines one of the most important articles of faith, the belief that Christ was both human and divine, and that he suffered on the cross to save humankind, thereby defeating the Devil. This, he says, is why the cross is feared by the Devil and loved by Christians as a weapon in the war against him. By implication we can recognise heretics who, we have heard, blasphemed instead of adoring the cross, denouncing the idea that the Passion should be remembered through it. This message, says Adémar, is delivered by heretics because they are messengers of the Devil.

Adémar goes on in the sermon to discuss the role of saints, saying that whoever denies that eternal life can be gained through their intercession is a heretic. True Christians

addition. Indeed, Landes has argued that the *Gamma* version was probably Adémar's preferred and final version, not the *Beta* version (the earliest version of which is also in a twelfth-century manuscript, Paris BN ms lat. 5927, 1-262, and is the version on which editions of the *Historia* have so far been based [Landes, *Relics*, 13-14 and 331-2]). This would seem to be an argument for accepting the Périgordian reference (see also Frassetto, *Sermons*, 27 and note 97). Indeed, even Lobrichon has to admit that 'one must allow the possibility that Heribert's pamphlet and Adémar's historical work are either textually linked or, more likely, independently describe the same phenomenon in the Périgord' ('Chiaroscuro', 100, note 46.), a statement which rather undermines the view that the heretics were a coded metaphor for the enemies of Cluny, for this is most certainly not the way in which Adémar was writing about them.

¹⁹⁷ Adémar, 194. Unfortunately no canons of the council are known to have survived.

¹⁹⁸ Obolensky, *Bogomils*, 131-5 and 181-2.

should look out for people stating such things, for they are the messengers of Antichrist sent to seduce and damn the Lord's flock. Another thing the heretics do, he says, is to fool the uneducated. For example, they pretend to fast, wrong in itself for God created nourishment for human bodies. They also pretend to speak evil of no one, to renounce all worldly goods, to refuse honours for themselves and to condemn sexual intercourse, when in fact they indulge in all these things. He emphasises the ability of the heretics to convince people of their message, warning priests to be on their guard in this matter and to warn their flock that heretics they may meet, no matter how eloquent, learned or saintly they appear, do not adhere to the beliefs of the Church. They are to be shunned and expelled from religious and secular society and afforded no charity. Adémar highlights the danger of the uneducated seeking to examine the nature of God, for they might fall into heresy. It is faith and belief in the sacraments, he says, not knowledge or a pure life alone, which offer salvation. Once a true Christian has been won to the heretics he or she undergoes a form of baptism involving the laying on of hands (although Ademar notes that this ceremonial ritual is also part of orthodox baptism). He says that heretics, once initiated, are irretrievably lost to the true faith. Indeed, he emphasises their rigid adherence to their own faith for they prefer death to re-conversion. They are like martyrs in their resolve, he says, but go instead to eternal death rather than eternal life, for God lets the Devil take them. *De Eucharistia* is thus the source which reminds us most of Bogomils, and it must surely be describing the same heretics of whom Héribert warns.

Other sermons of Adémar cast light on what he saw as the origins of the heretics and the causes of their success. He places them in an Apocalyptic framework, frequently calling them 'antichrists' and 'messengers of Antichrist', and referring often to Jerome's comment that Antichrist will have many precursors who persecute good Christians.¹⁹⁹ In *Sermo ad Sinodum de Vita Clericum ex Dictis Hieronimi* he advocates that the clergy and monks must lead by example as well as words with regard to celibacy. This is most reminiscent of Cosmas' passages on the ill-disciplined life of the Greek religious, which he identified as a causal factor in the heretics' success.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ Berlin 1664, 40r-57r, 75r, 90v, 96v and 114v (cited in Frassetto, *Sermons*, 199).

²⁰⁰ Berlin 1664, 115r-6r (Frassetto, *Sermons*, 224). Frassetto also notices similarities with Bogomils (*ibid.*, 230-1).

Adémar clearly did not use 'heretics' as a metaphor for merely reformist or anti-clerical tendencies. From his detailed discussion of the way in which the ecclesiastical hierarchy should deal with them, he makes it clear that the heretics hold a specific form of non-belief which goes beyond disillusionment: the heretics, precursors of Antichrist, 'rise up secretly amongst us denying baptism, the mass, the cross and Church'. Bishops themselves should confront them, and attempt in earnest to reconvert them to the belief in Christ whose nature, though the heretics deny it, was 'true God and also true man'. If this approach fails, the heretics must be cast out like serpents and separated from good Christians whom they might contaminate.²⁰¹

In the years approaching the middle of the century, when Aquitainian and Gascon affairs were becoming intertwined, we have the only known account of this eleventh-century heresy in Gascony, written down in c.1050. A monk called Deusdet, who lived in the Bazadais, built a simple but beautiful wooden church dedicated to St. Foy in the woods near Sardan. We are told that peasants from the area never failed to incline their heads and say a prayer as they passed it. All except one that was, '*profano captus errore*', who mocked them for praying to a shed, calling it a dog kennel. Like other heretics who, the source says, had led this man into error, he denied the nature of the sacraments, failing to acknowledge that grace could change a shed into a church or water into a sanctified substance.²⁰² The influence of the heretics, it would seem, had spread south of the Garonne, and the alarmed monks of Sainte-Foy were still struggling, and failing, to undermine them. And yet contemporaries were apparently having little trouble identifying them.

Dualism elsewhere in France, the Low Countries and Germany

There are many accounts of heresy occurring in northern France, in the north-east and in the Low Countries, in the Languedoc.²⁰³ The nature of these bears a striking resemblance to that occurring in Aquitaine, although revisionists deny that they reveal any dualist content either. Several accounts survive for a heresy which was exposed at

²⁰¹ Berlin 1664, 114v and 162v (Frassetto, *Sermons*, 228 and 253).

²⁰² *Book of Saint Foy*, 212-13 (Latin text in Bonnassie and Landes, '*Nouvelle hérésie*', 448-9).

Orleans in 1022, which had evidently been gaining popularity since the turn of the century. King Robert raised to office various of the clergy who were pious and educated but not necessarily noble, and it was amongst such literate people that a new heresy was taken up and taught to initiates. It was exposed through the intervention of a Norman noble, Aréfast, and his lord Duke Richard. Initially, the heretics refused to refute the teachings of the Church, twisting them instead to accord with their own interpretations. Sources for the discovery and trial of the heretics indicate that they believed a very different version of creation and the means to salvation from that of their inquisitors. They were asked whether they believed that before anything was made through nature the Father created everything from nothing, to which they replied 'You may spin stories in that way to those who have earthly wisdom and believe the fictions of carnal men, scribbled on animal skins.' But they had already taught Aréfast that they did not believe that Christ was born of a virgin, nor that he suffered on the cross and was placed in the tomb, nor that he rose from the dead. Consequently, they said, mankind could not be saved by believing this. The sacraments were also worthless, for they did not signify the presence of the Holy Spirit nor any special power on the part of priests. They instead performed some kind of baptism into a new faith, from which the believer could not easily be reconverted and which he or she would not deny. Like the Aquitanian heretics, we learn that the Orleans recruits were educated by their heretical masters. Herbert, a Norman monk, was taken in by them because he was lacking in theological knowledge himself. After his conversion, according to Paul of Chartres, he believed himself to be wise in theological matters. Ralph Glaber says that simple folk as well as churchmen were converted at Orleans, and Paul of Chartres attests that the educated amongst them insisted that they received their new knowledge from God rather than the Church, although they used scripture to teach Aréfast their heresy. When Adémar tells us that these heretics abstained from certain foods, he knows there is something very strange about the practice and is not simply condemning them for hypocritical or excessive asceticism.²⁰⁴

²⁰³ This northern group of outbreaks have been discussed extensively, and so I mention only their most relevant aspects and devote more detail to the under-worked southern sources.

²⁰⁴ The major sources for this outbreak are Fulbert of Chartres, nos. 18, 22, 23, 40, 42, 43 and 123; Glaber, 138-51; Paul of Chartres, *Gesta Synodi Aurelianensis* in his *Vetus Aganon*, RHF X 536-9 (quotation at 538); Adémar, 184-5. The only eye-witnesses accounts are by Andrew of Fleury (*Vita Gauzlini Abbatis Floriencis Monasterii*, ed. R.H. Bautier and G. Labory, Paris, 1969, at 98) and John of Ripoll, a monk of Fleury (see Lambert, *Heresy*, 1st. edn, 343-5). For an evaluation of the sources

During their trial a canon and a nun retracted their beliefs. Condemned and burnt were ten canons of Sainte-Croix, the master of the school of Saint-Pierre-le-Puellier and two lay nobles. Deodatus, former precentor of the cathedral, noted by contemporaries as devout and holy, was disinterred and burnt for being their master (he had died in 1019, but as early as 1006 had been expressing heretical ideas to Fulbert, bishop of Chartres). And the matter went even deeper, for it appears that the heretics had enjoyed the protection of Thierry, bishop of Orleans, to whom Fulbert had written questioning his orthodoxy. Indeed Fulbert had doubts about other clergy and laity in Orleans and throughout the archdiocese of Sens, and several royal officials appear to have been of dubious orthodoxy.²⁰⁵

North-eastern France experienced many heretical incidents from the turn of the century into the 1040s. In about the year 1000 in the village of Vertus, in the diocese of Reims, a peasant farmer, Leutard, professed heretical ideas transmitted to him by a swarm of bees which entered his body through his private parts and exited, with much pain, through his mouth. Leutard then abandoned his old way of life, repudiated his wife 'as though he effected the separation by command of the Gospel'. He appeared very learned and became a preacher, converting other peasants. When the bishop of Châlons summoned him and undermined the faith of the people in him, he apparently killed himself.²⁰⁶

In 1025 we have accounts of heretics at Arras who are described in similar terms to those of Orleans; denying the human suffering of Christ and the supernatural power of priests. They too rejected marriage and set out a path of righteous practice, asserting that humankind could be purified through this alone and that no sacrament in the

see Bautier, R.-H., 'L'hérésie d'Orléans et le mouvement intellectuel au début du XIe siècle', *Enseignement et vie intellectuelle (IXe-XVIIe siècles)*, Paris, 1975, esp. 65-76, although Bautier does not think the Orleans heretics were Bogomils. See also Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal*, 283-5.

²⁰⁵ Fulbert of Chartres, 22, 23 and 42; Adémar, 185; Bautier, 'Hérésie', 70-1.

²⁰⁶ Glaber, 89-91 (quotation at 91); Wakefield and Evans, 72-3 (also for the dating); Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal*, 276-7. There is certainly much here which sounds unlike dualism, the role played by bees, for example. However, Poly and Bournazel have shown that such very specific imagery was used in the west and, interestingly, in the eastern Church, to refer to the transmission of the Word of God through earthly subjects. It is possibly also significant that it was only fifty kilometres from Vertus that Bishop Thierry of Orleans was born (*RHF* X, 619; Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal*, 277).

Catholic Church could save them, referring specifically to the uselessness of orthodox baptism and penitential acts. This group was converted back to Catholicism by Bishop Gerard I of Arras-Cambrai (1013-48).²⁰⁷ Further south, the diocese of Châlons-sur-Marne was a dualist centre for several decades, and those spreading the heresy to Arras had apparently come from a community there.²⁰⁸ As early as 1015 Bishop Roger I of Châlons (c.1008- c.1042) held an anti-heretical synod. In 1042-8 his successor, also Roger, wrote to Bishop Wazo of Liège, asking whether certain heretics should literally be dealt with as 'tares', i.e. separated from the 'wheat', the good Christians, and burnt. The 'tares' were peasants, who Anselm of Liège tells us baptised each other by laying on hands like the heretics in Adémar's *De Eucharistia*, and believed that the Holy Spirit was transmitted through this and no other ceremony. Anselm refers to them as 'Arian' and as 'Manichaeans'. They had first been identified as heretical simply because they were pale, presumably from fanatical fasting. They were indeed burnt, and in vast numbers. Shortly afterwards a great council of the whole province of Reims condemned the heresy.²⁰⁹ Its surviving exponents appear to have moved eastwards, for the similarity between the Châlons heresy and an outbreak condemned at Goslar in 1051 has been noted. The Emperor Henry III hanged heretics accused by Duke Godfrey II of Upper Lorraine. Herrmann of Reichenau calls them 'Manichees' and they refused to kill chickens or eat their meat even though the refusal meant their own condemnation.²¹⁰

In c.1022, according to Adémar, there were also heretics at Toulouse. These messengers of Antichrist had spread throughout other parts, where they concealed themselves, taking care to draw to themselves men and, notably, women wherever they were able.²¹¹ John of Ripoll, a witness to the Orleans heresy, was a Catalan and wrote home to his bishop, Oliba of Vich, warning him to 'enquire diligently in your bishopric

²⁰⁷ Gerard of Cambrai, *Acta Synodi Atrebatensis*, PL CXLII, 1269-1312; Wakefield and Evans, 82-5.

²⁰⁸ Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal*, 276-7.

²⁰⁹ Anselm of Liège, *Gesta pontificum Leodiensium*, MGH SS VII 226-8; Mansi XIX 742; Noiroux, J. M., 'Les deux premiers documents concernant l'hérésie aux Pays-Bas', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 49 (1954), 853. This imagery and the heresy itself is all the more interesting in the context of a widespread famine reported for the year 1044 in which huge numbers died and were in danger of dying (*Chron... Saint-Maixent*, 122-3).

²¹⁰ Herrman of Reichenau in MGH SS V 130; MGH SS XII 79; Anselm of Liège, *Gesta*, 228; Moore, *Birth*, 21 and 24.

²¹¹ Adémar, 185.

and in your abbeys' for he suspected that heretics would cross the Pyrenees who denied the role of grace in the sacraments, never ate meat, opposed marriage and denied that the clergy could pardon sins.²¹² Another story told by the monks of Sainte-Foy and written down between 1030 and 1050 concerns a heretic encountered whilst transporting a golden statue of their saint to a church named after her at Montpellier. The party camped on the outskirts of Millau, placing the statue, with due honour, in a pavilion. The people of the *vicus* heard of its presence and rushed excitedly to see it and make offerings. But one of them, Lambert, ensnared by some religious error, mocked her instead, in defiance of the piety of his countrymen.²¹³

A pattern emerges from these dates and locations of traces of heretical thought. Aside from the Leutard incident, Aquitaine appears to have been the first place in which the heresy was successfully disseminated on any significant basis in France. This took place in the context of a wider pattern of evangelism in western Europe by heretical missionaries. Indeed, Adémar believed that the same heretics who were at Orleans and Toulouse were 'in various parts of the West'.²¹⁴ Specifically, there is evidence that the outbreaks in France, Germany and the Low Countries originated most immediately in Italy.

The view of accusers that the heresy was eastern, transmitted via Italy, and was dualist

The heretics who originally brought the new doctrine to Arras, we are told, came thence from Italy and said that they were disciples of one Gundalf.²¹⁵ We are not told whether they were themselves Italian. The heresy at Orleans was apparently also brought there from Italy, this time by a woman.²¹⁶ From Glaber we learn that she quietly moved on 'elsewhere' after she had made her converts. Heretics who in many ways seem to be dualists were active in Italy at some time between 1028 and 1040, sheltered by the countess who lived in the castle above Monteforte d'Alba, near Turin

²¹² John's letter is in Andrew of Fleury, *Vita Gauzlini Abbatis Floriencis Monasterii*, eds. R.-H. Bautier and G. Labory, Paris, 1969, 180-83; Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal*, 303.

²¹³ *Book of Saint Foy*, 169-71; Bonnassie and Landes, 'Nouvelle hérésie', 447-8.

²¹⁴ Adémar 185.

²¹⁵ Gerard of Cambrai, *Acta*, 1271.

²¹⁶ Glaber 138-9. Glaber tells also of a heresy in evidence as early as 970 in Italy, Spain and Sardinia, although this sounds more gnostic than dualist (*ibid.*, 92-3).

and in the diocese of Milan. At his trial, the heretic Gerard of Monteforte at first declared that he believed in the Trinity but when pressed admitted that by the Son he meant a spirit, who was not really human, and that the Virgin to whom he was 'born' was the Holy Scriptures.²¹⁷ This very allegorical approach to Scripture is exactly like that of the Bogomils. And the Monteforte heretics, just like Heribert's, prayed frequently, throughout the day and the night. Landulf, one source for the Monteforte heresy, states clearly that the heretics had come from 'some unknown part of the world...[and appeared to be] like good priests'.²¹⁸ Glaber perhaps even links them to the Graeco/Bulgarian conflict for he says that the 'demon' whom they worship had been making mischief in Byzantium, murdering an emperor, before he came to Italy.²¹⁹ Like the Bogomil 'priesthood', that in existence at Monteforte did not exclude women, and Landulf says, as do other eastern and other western sources, that the male and female heretics claimed to live together chastely. Indeed, we may have here the only western example of a woman administering heretical rites at this time, the countess of Monteforte herself.²²⁰ With regard to the original source of the heresy, in *Sermo ad Sinodum de Catholica Fide* Adémar states that the reason that heretics had not found their mission easy in Gaul was because St. Martial protected it, and he contrasts this with their success in the east.²²¹ Finally, we must note that the Orleans heretic Stephen was referred to retrospectively, in 1063, as *bulgarellus*.²²²

In describing the heresy, as noted above, medieval commentators frequently refer to it as dualist and anti-Trinitarian. Adémar of Chabannes says that the heretics of Aquitaine, Orleans and Toulouse were Manichees, and in his sermon *De Nativitate Beatae Mariae Virginis* he specifically attacks dualist ideas about the Virgin and the Trinity. Anselm of Liège tells us that Bishop Roger of Châlons had written to inform

²¹⁷ Landulphi senioris Mediolanensis historiae libri quatuor, 27, in ed. L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Bologna, 1900, IV, ii, 67-69 (trans. in Wakefield and Evans, 86- 9); Glaber, 178-9.

²¹⁸ Wakefield and Evans, 88.

²¹⁹ Glaber, 178-9. Glaber is rather confused about which murder he is referring to, however (*ibid.*, note 2).

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 177.

²²¹ Berlin 1664, 85r (cited in Frassetto, *Sermons*, 213, and see also *ibid.*, 336 and 338).

²²² GC VIII 494; Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal*, 287. From Paul of Chartres we learn that Stephen was once confessor to the queen, Constance of Aquitaine, cited as proof of a link with Aquitaine (Runciman, *Manichee*, 117). However, there is no evidence that Stephen himself came from Aquitaine.

the Lorraine reformer Bishop Waso of Liège that peasants in his diocese were Manichaeans. Heretics are also referred to as Arian by Anselm, and Duke William's charter for Saint-Hilaire also uses the term.²²³ Possibly this implies moderate dualism such as that practised by the Bogomils.

Contemporary accounts give another important clue as to both the dualist nature and Balkan origins of the heresy. For twelfth-century dualists throughout Europe, killing for meat involved harming a soul which had transmigrated from one body, on death, to another. There is no hard evidence that Balkan Bogomils believed in reincarnation in the eleventh century, let alone those heretics in the west. Yet the belief was possibly evolving in heterodox circles, probably necessitated by the question of what happened to souls who did not escape the physical realm at death. It would appear that the refusal of eleventh-century heretics to eat meat became related to the refusal to kill animals, indicating an emerging link between the taking of animal life and the ill-fated soul. Mid-century, as noted above, the heretics at Goslar were said to have refused to shed the blood not only of a fellow human but of any living creature, even for food. When put to the test, as we have seen, they would not strangle chickens even to save their own lives. The heretics of Châlons, says Anselm, also refused to kill for food, thereby misunderstanding the commandment 'thou shalt not kill'.²²⁴

In the earlier eleventh century dualists appear simply to have believed they would not escape the earthly realm if they killed or otherwise strayed from the heretical life-style, but that otherwise they could escape from the physical world at death. When exposed by the authorities, heretics in the east were willing to suffer whatever punishments were meted out to them. But if they believed that 'death' meant literal death, there would have been no purpose in initiation into the heresy and the rigorous, persecuted lifestyle assumed thereafter. Thus, when Euthymius says that Bogomils did not believe in the resurrection of the dead, he surely means in the orthodox sense of a resurrection

²²³ Adémar, 173 and 184; *PL* CXLII 1029; Anselm of Liège, 226; Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal*, 275-6. In Frassetto (Sermons, 251-3, 304 and 315) it is argued that Adémar used neither the term 'Arian' nor 'Manichee' as a typology but as deliberate and accurate description. If this extends also to Duke William's use of the term, it implies that the heretics believed the Son to be lesser than and to have derived from the Father in some way. See below for the argument that the term was used in this way in the twelfth century, and arguments against this view.

²²⁴ Obolensky, *Bogomils*, 139; Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal*, 284-7.

of the body.²²⁵ A willingness to face death is a feature of western accounts too.²²⁶ There is perhaps evidence that Aquitanian heretics held this same belief in 'escape'. We are told that 'they have been swallowed up (by heresy) to the extent that they seek to find men who might torture and deliver them to death.'²²⁷ Fearlessness in the face of death and, amongst some sick and elderly, its hastening by *endura* - fasting and neglect of medical aid - was a feature of Catharism in the thirteenth century. If the adherent was in a 'perfected' state at death, they would be transported from the physical realm into the universe of the angels. Thus there seemed little point in prolonging the corrupted life of the physical body or, even worse, being tempted to relapse. It seems impossible that the heretics in the eleventh century were actually killing each other, for they did not shed blood. Nonetheless, like their counterparts in Orleans, Italy and Bulgaria, Héribert's subjects do seem to be embracing death confident in the knowledge that it would lead to life. Perhaps beginnings of a belief in reincarnation were present throughout Europe by the mid-eleventh century.

Communication between eastern and western Europe

If western heretics were influenced by Bogomils and Bogomil teachings, there must have been sufficient contacts between western and eastern Europe from the late tenth century for ideas and/or missionaries to have travelled. This was indeed the case. To begin with, dualist beliefs had been known in southern Italy before our period for Byzantine influence there was strong and shortly before 872 Paulician mercenaries, the defeated survivors of some of the Armenian communities, were settled there. Paulicians were deployed in southern Italy by Byzantine armies also in 1038-41. Armenian Paulicians were probably using the trade routes and mercantile communities between Constantinople and central and northern Europe to spread their heresy into Bulgaria. Cosmas the Priest complains that many wandering monks in Bulgaria were involved in mercantile trade. Many Balkan dualists were associated specifically with the cloth industry, and cloth merchants were amongst those who travelled to the West, perhaps bringing an unorthodox religious outlook with their Byzantine fabrics.

²²⁵ Euthymius, 144; Cosmas the Priest, 90-1; Obolensky, *Bogomils*, 141-2. The belief in reincarnation and the ability to escape, as believed by Bogomils by c.1100, is attested by Euthymius Zigabenus (see below).

²²⁶ At Orleans according to Paul of Chartres and Glaber, and at Monteforte according to Glaber.

²²⁷ Héribert, 79.

Mercantile activity could account for Bulgarian influenced place names in northern Italy - Bulgaro, Bulgari, Bulgarello and Bulgarini - which date from at least as early as the eleventh century.²²⁸

Contacts between Byzantium and the West were strengthened in the late Carolingian and Ottonian period. Cultural and artistic influences came westwards, and eastern saints were venerated and their relics brought home by churchmen. Greeks were present at the secular and ecclesiastical courts of Europe in both a cultural and diplomatic capacity, and many westerners journeyed into Byzantium for the same purposes. In Italy, Greek monks were frequently used in diplomacy between their Latin patrons and Byzantine superiors. Abbots and bishops from all over Europe travelled to Constantinople on Papal and Imperial business, such as the marriage arranged between Emperor Otto II and the Byzantine princess Theophano in 972. After her husband's death in 983, Theophano was co-regent for their son Otto until her death in 991. Byzantine influence was thus at the heart of western Imperial court life.²²⁹

Greek intellectuals were engaged in debates at such lay and also ecclesiastical courts, some of them having been taught Latin in Byzantium. Greek patristic works were in circulation in the west in the early eleventh century and the Greek language was read and spoken not only by monks but even by some nobles. It has been noted that Greek cultural and linguistic influence was in evidence not least in early eleventh century Aquitaine: in subscription clauses in charters of the abbey of Bourgueil, founded by Emma of Poitou, mother of Duke William III; in the nickname Chiliarch, meaning leader of a thousand, attributed to Hugh of Lusignan in the *Conventum*; in the inclusion of the Greek alphabet in what is very probably an autograph manuscript of

²²⁸ Cosmas, 100-105; place names discussed in Obolensky, *Bogomils*, 287, and see 82-3 and 289; Browning, *Byzantium*, 151; *Christian Dualist Heresies*, 23 and 139-40; Runciman, *Manichee*, 169. The Cathars in particular were later to be identified with weavers. Interestingly, Bernard of Angers tells us of a girl who arrived at the monastery of Sainte-Foy in a crippled state and was cured and subsequently worked there as a weaver, during which time he says that she refused to rise when the saint was paraded, or to acknowledge the religious ceremonies taking place around her, but remained instead deeply engrossed in her work (*Book of Saint Foy*, 80-81). Later in the century weavers were to be associated with an anti-clerical heresy at Châlons (see below).

²²⁹ Ebersolt, 41-8; Hamilton and Mc Nulty, 182-4 and 189-91; Davids, A. (ed.), *The Empress Theophano. Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millennium*, Cambridge, 1995; Riché, *Les Grands*, 94-8.

Adémar. Greek art remained influential in spite of the Schism mid-century.²³⁰

Probably the most significant form of contact with the east was the increase in pilgrimages in the Millennial years, undertaken by people of various social levels. In addition to those pilgrims travelling from various parts of western Europe into, across and throughout Aquitaine, were many travelling from eastern Europe to the west, and vice versa.²³¹ These latter pilgrimages were aided by the fact that Crete and Cyprus were captured by the Greeks in the second half of the tenth century. Pilgrims to Jerusalem, many Aquitainians amongst them, met Greeks and Orientals on their travels, and easterners were welcomed into French communities in return. Amongst those Aquitainians who made the journey towards the Holy Land in the Millennial period were Duke William V, Bishop Isembert of Poitou and Bishop Jourdan of Limoges, Mainard, abbot of Saint-Cybard's in Angoulême, and Adémar of Chabannes himself. Gascons include a knight, Raimond Paba, who travelled to Jerusalem as penance for a murder of a Gascon noble.²³² One of the easterners who came west was the Armenian Saint Symeon the Hermit arrived who in Italy in 983 and stayed in Europe until at least the 1020s, spending time in Gascony and also Aquitaine amongst other places, then becoming a hermit at Padolirone near Mantua.²³³ Indeed, wandering preachers from southern Italy were amongst the earliest initiators of the eremitic movement in Europe, and an Armenian hermit is known to have lived at Orleans in the early eleventh century.²³⁴

Most significantly, the conquest of Bulgaria by Byzantium led to the opening up of a new land route to the Holy Land. Duke Richard of Normandy used it and in 1026 contingents from Verdun, Trier, Limoges and Angoulême were led through it by Abbot Richard of Saint-Vanne, returning the following year. In 1034 Lietbert, bishop

²³⁰ Hamilton and McNulty, 195-6 and 213-4; Ebersolt, 55-68. Examples of the use of Greek are detailed in Martindale, 'Conventum', 528, note 3. Adémar's alphabet, which she cites, in BN ms Lat. 2400, 182r, was not known to R.L. Wolff when he stated that Adémar knew no Greek in 'How the news was brought from Byzantium to Angoulême; or, the pursuit of a hare in an ox cart', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 4 (1978), 149.

²³¹ Landes, *Relics*, 39 and 309-27; *Book of Saint Foy*, 4-13; Ebersolt, 49-56; Hamilton and McNulty, esp. 192-4.

²³² Adémar, 194; CSM, ii, 134; Ebersolt, 49-50; Mussot-Goulard, *Les princes*, 242.

²³³ Hamilton and McNulty, 197.

²³⁴ Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal*, 288.

of Cambrai and Arras, and other pilgrims used this route as far as Laodicea, but the Fatimids then closed the frontier to Christian traffic.²³⁵ Thus, we see that pilgrims from most of the regions which experienced heresy in our period journeyed through Bulgaria, the Byzantine Empire and parts of Asia Minor.

The 1026-7 pilgrimage led by Count William Taillefer of Angoulême certainly brought easterners into contact with Aquitainians. A significant character here is Saint Symeon of Trier, a Greek Calabrian, raised in Constantinople, who eventually went to live at the abbey of Saint-Vanne in Verdun after meeting its abbot Richard in Antioch in 1027. The Greeks in this party went with Richard as far as Belgrade but then took a route via Rome and then France. They spent time in Aquitaine as guests of William V at Poitiers, where they became acquainted with the clergy of Angoulême, residing for a time at Adémar's home, Saint-Cybard's. The Angoumois was greatly impressed by the Greeks, and especially by the intellect and devotion of Symeon and his companion Cosmas, and Symeon's fondness of fasting. Adémar was to be affected in another way by this pilgrimage. One of the pilgrims was his abbot, Richard, who died in Byzantium and, upon which William Taillefer nominated a fellow pilgrim, Amalfred, as the new abbot.²³⁶

Through either his connection with the Greeks Cosmas and Symeon at Saint-Cybard's in 1027, in which year they accompanied him to Limoges, or with his new abbot or other pilgrims returning from the east in the same year, Adémar attained some limited knowledge of eastern affairs and gives us some possibly revealing observations. He accounts for the fourteen year struggle of the Byzantine Emperor Basil against the Bulgarians (1000-1014) thus:

'At this time the rebelling Bulgarians were greatly annoying the Greeks and the Emperor Basil in particular. He promised God that if he could subject them he would become a monk. He struggled with that enemy for fifteen years and triumphed in two great battles. At last, he got all the land of the great kings of the Bulgars, Samuel and Aaron, not by

²³⁵ Hamilton and McNulty, 192-4; Hamilton, 'Wisdom', 39-40.

public battle but when they had been killed by Greek cunning, and the strongest cities and castles were destroyed and most of the Bulgar population was held in the Greek camps everywhere established against them. As he had vowed, he put the habit of a Greek monk for the rest of his life, abstaining from sensual pleasure and meat...²³⁷

It is an intriguing account. Adémar is factually incorrect.²³⁸ Yet his mistakes may be revealing in themselves. Are we reading here a confused or allegorical account of the struggle between orthodoxy and heresy? Adémar refers neither to the Bulgarians nor their Tsar as heretics.²³⁹ Yet the moral triumph and sacrifice of the Christian Basil is contrasted with the rebellious and dissident nature of the Bulgars and their leaders. Most interestingly, it was only after Adémar came into contact with the two Greek pilgrims that he wrote his account of Aquitainian heretics, who he says were in various parts of the world.²⁴⁰ Was Adémar beginning to understand the significance of contacts between Aquitaine and the Balkans?

The Normans were the cause of many other contacts between Byzantium, Italy and France. In the early decades of the eleventh century Norman adventurers, in alliance with autonomous elements in Byzantine Italy, gained control of much of Apulia and Campania and from there encroached on Muslim Sicily. Then, supported by the Pope, who hoped to disrupt Byzantine influence over southern Italian monasteries and bishops, they threatened Byzantium and the Balkans. It is not impossible that Balkan missionaries, refugees from the turbulence afflicting their own countries, could have travelled back to Sicily and thence through France along established Norman lines of communication. Indeed, the close collaboration between Norman colonists in different

²³⁶ Adémar, 189; Landes, *Relics*, 154-70; Hamilton and McNulty, 197-8 and 215-6.

²³⁷ Adémar, 555. On this visit to Limoges with the Greek monks Adémar composed the first version of the account of the Bulgarian war, as marginalia in his abbey's copy of the *Chronicon Aquitanicum* (Landes, *Relics*, 163-5; Wolff, 'News from Byzantium', 139-89).

²³⁸ He is confusing several events. The reference to monasticism is probably a confusion with the 'monastic reign' of Tsar Peter of Bulgaria during which the orthodox religious life in Bulgaria was revitalised and which ended when Peter himself became a monk after a Russian invasion. Tsar Samuel fought the Greeks till the end - he collapsed and died in 1014 at the sight of thousands of prisoners of war whom Basil had had blinded (see sources for Byzantine history above).

²³⁹ See above for such accusations against Samuel.

parts of the world was a causal feature of their success at this time. And we should not overlook the possible role of the Paulician communities which had remained in Sicily under Muslim rule and who now perhaps also had access to the most westerly parts of Europe.²⁴¹ Indeed, established Norman communications with south-westerly regions of France existed in the time of the Norman raids and, as noted in chapter two, negotiations between Normandy and Gascony in the 970s resulted in the release of prisoners captured along the Garonne. Adémar was very familiar with Norman affairs and frequently attests to political contacts between Norman and Aquitainian rulers.²⁴² In the context of the Orleans heresy, Duke Richard of Normandy seems to have been well enough acquainted with heresy to recognise a serious problem when he saw one. His knowledge might well have come from a combination of contacts with Aquitainian and Greek clergy. Saint Symeon of Trier had actually been *en route* to Normandy to the court of Duke Richard, on the business of the monks of Mount Sinai, when he met Abbot Richard of Saint-Vanne.²⁴³

Links between Byzantine and Roman monastic institutions by the late tenth century resulted in extensive activity by easterners in the west; in their own Orthodox communities in Southern Italy, the Papal States, Lombardy, Lorraine and the west of France; in Latin houses such as Gorze, and most notably Saint Bonifatius' in Rome and Monte Cassino in Benevento; and as widely tolerated and patronised hermits. If, like Euthymius' heretics at the Periblepton, Bogomils attempted to use Orthodox monasticism as a cover for their missions, they would not have been short of opportunities to enter western houses. Indeed, the eastern habit continued to suit them well, for Orthodox monks were noted for their preoccupation with the simple life: St. Nilus and his monks lived frugally on the abbey estates of Monte Cassino, engaging in debate about the rites of the Greek and Latin churches until the abbacy of Manso (from 984) when they left, offended by the lax practices which had crept in and influencing others at the abbey to do likewise. Austerity was also noted amongst those Greeks at

²⁴⁰ The account does not appear in the first version of his history, written 1025-7, but was added to it later in notes and included in the later two versions, although the Orléans and Toulousain heretics appear in the earlier account (*Landes, Relics*, 175-7).

²⁴¹ Adémar, 178; Tabacco, G., *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy*, trans. R. B. Jensen, Cambridge, 1989, 179-81; *Christian Dualist Heresies*, 23 and 167.

²⁴² Adémar, 146-50, 178 and 188-9.

²⁴³ Hamilton and McNulty, 197-8.

Mount Gargano in Benevento and those visiting Saint Michael the Archangel in Apulia.²⁴⁴

One of the most unlikely easterners to find himself in a Latin monastery was a Muslim convert. Brought to Christianity whilst in prison in the Holy Land with an Aquitanian mercenary, he came at length to the Rouergue where he entered the monastery at Conques and became known as 'Brother John'. After his conversion he had also spent time in Constantinople and at the Imperial court. It is interesting to speculate what influences this open minded Saracen might have encountered, living in Byzantium contemporaneously with Bogomils. Interestingly, this account is also reminiscent of so many of the 'escape' stories in the Book of Sainte-Foy. It also tells us of a, presumably Frankish, monk called Robert who had built a monastery to St. Foy by the Euphrates, to whom Brother John sent the fetters from which he had been freed.²⁴⁵ This indicates not least that links between devotees of the saint in east and west were already established. It would be tempting to associate Brother John with the reports of anti-clerical and heretical activity at Conques, were it not for the fact that he could have entered the abbey at almost any point between 1034 and 1078.²⁴⁶

Indeed, I do not suggest that any of the above incidents are in themselves evidence of a Bogomil mission, only that they prove it possible for heretics to have concealed themselves within the foreign traffic, toward which there was clearly much familiarity and tolerance in the west. This was not uniformly the case of course. Pope Benedict VIII (1012-24) had to rescue the Orthodox Saint Symeon the Hermit from the hands of an angry mob who suspected that he was a heretic.²⁴⁷ In addition, it was widely believed in the west that all Armenians were heretics, because their rite had been labelled as suspect by the Greek Church.²⁴⁸ But even this evidence suggests that at some level in popular consciousness there was a connection between the east and

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 187- 92; Ebersolt, 50 and 56.

²⁴⁵ *Book of Saint Foy*, 234-6 and 241-2; Hamilton and McNulty, 205; Ebersolt, 55; Sargent, 'Religious responses', 234.

²⁴⁶ Hamilton and McNulty, 205 note 4.

²⁴⁷ *AS* VI 324; Hamilton and McNulty, 207. For the dating of this event see Hamilton, 'Wisdom', 40 note 10.

²⁴⁸ For the schism between the Byzantine Church and the Monophysite Armenians see *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Strayer, I, 498-500.

religious heresy, perhaps because heterodox ideas were indeed being expressed in the west by apparently orthodox easterners.

We have other evidence that a pilgrim's guise could render a stranger inconspicuous in this period. The *Translatio* of Saint Foy, composed between 1020 and 1060, tells us that the monk Arinisdus, planning to steal the relics of Saint Foy from their resting place in Agen in 866, needed to discard his own Benedictine garb and dress himself instead as a pilgrim in order to win the trust of the townsfolk of Agen. Heretical 'pilgrims' might deceive all the better if, like Bogomils, they had the appearance of saintliness. Arinisdus, indeed, was all the more successful in his deception at Agen because of his virtuous and humble demeanour and his chastity.²⁴⁹

Conclusion: Bogomils in Aquitaine

As discussed in chapter two, in the early years of the eleventh century the less powerful amongst the laity turned to the highest secular and clerical authorities for protection and justice. This dialogue expressed itself through cults of saints, notably champions of the oppressed such as Saints Foy and Leonard, and through the Peace of God. In this context higher powers intervened for a time on behalf of the poor against tyrants. We have seen that the laity grew disillusioned with the Peace as it became an expression of elite order, and to a lesser extent, the same happened with the cults. Adémar, as noted above, tells us of the tragic death of over fifty pilgrims entering Saint-Martial. This shook the faithful and by 1029, as we have seen, Martial's dubious apostolic status was so vulnerable that the populace abandoned him. Where were they to look now for guidance? R. Landes makes a convincing case that Adémar implies some connection between the tragedy at Limoges and the success of heretics (or 'apostolic communities' as Landes prefers to see them).²⁵⁰ I do not suggest that the populace turned *en masse* to heresy any more than they became convinced that their misfortunes signified The End. But, having shown that Bogomils wanted and were able

²⁴⁹ *Book of Saint Foy*, 26 and 267. Cathars also disguised themselves as Catholic pilgrims (Doat, XXII, 20r).

²⁵⁰ Adémar, 173. Landes' case rests on Adémar's of the phrase *e vestigio* to indicate causality (Landes, R., 'The dynamics of heresy and reform in Limoges: a study of popular participation in the Peace of God (994-1033)', *Historical Reflections/Reflexions historiques*, 14 (1987), 499-503; *Relics*, 165-6 and 176; 'Aristocracy and heresy', 209 note 117).

to infiltrate the ranks of the faithful in Aquitaine, I do suggest that some people may have found the dualist case a convincing one by which to explain human misery.

The medieval world was, for the most part, a terrible place in which to be poor and powerless. I suggest that to those in eleventh-century Aquitaine just as in the twelfth-century Languedoc, there appeared both rationality and some consolation in dualist cosmology: God is indeed good, but unfortunately it is not He but the demiurge who controls the fate of the world and those within it. In addition, evolving in this period as argued above, was the dualist path to liberation from the cycle of re-incarnation in the physical realm.

As noted above, R. Landes and *mutationniste* heresy experts, notably R. Moore, follow G. Duby in seeing 'heretics' in the sources as the expression of social discontent and protest by the lower order; as 'apostolic communities' preparing for The End; as 'levellers' pushing for clerical and social reform. I see this view of the heretics as perfectly logical in the context of the frightening social changes and low-level Millennial anxiety which historians have identified in western Europe. They are right to expect a chiliastic response by the poor, and right to expect to find it reflected in the sources.

But this is not what the sources say about the heretics. The sources say they are Manichees and give us examples of belief and practice which is dualist, if also ascetic and communistic. I consider that the revisionists amongst historians of heresy, whilst being right to read their sources in a social context, have neglected to read them in a global one. Historians whose primary interest is not heresy but the eleventh century have looked to the revisionists for guidance as to how to interpret accounts of heresy within that society. They thus feel justified in dismissing 'hints of some kind of eastern dualism'.²⁵¹ To me the heresy in the sources does not resemble 'some kind of eastern dualism': it resembles Bogomilism specifically. But if proselytising in the west was a strategy that eleventh- as well as twelfth-century Bogomils adopted, we need to ask ourselves why they did so in this particular period.

²⁵¹ Landes, 'Aristocracy and heresy', 208.

It seems to me that not only would the people, including 'foreigners', travelling from east to west have made it easy for Bogomils to arrive in Aquitaine without arousing too much suspicion, but also that Bogomils would have gained from people moving west to east the impression that some were anticipating The End. Indeed, if we take Glaber as evidence that those of an Apocalyptic disposition were disproportionately represented in the ranks of pilgrims, Bogomils may well have over-estimated the extent of Millennial anxiety in the west. Apocalypticism in itself emphasises that the power of evil is in evidence in the cosmos as well as the power of good, and apocalyptic history becomes an account of the interaction of these forces - of God and Satan, of Christ and Antichrist, of saints and of demons - for influence over creation. Of course this is not dualism in the sense understood by the Bogomils. To orthodox Christians Antichrist was not eternal but was eventually to be destroyed by Christ. But perhaps to the Bogomils the orthodox 'End' was to be a momentous non-event giving rise in popular circles to debate, expectation and ultimately disappointment and disillusionment amongst those Christians seeking signs and explanations of changes which would not occur. Western Christians would then seek new answers and explanations.

We should add to this the contemporary experience of Bogomilism in the east, for, as we have seen, it entered a period of simultaneous persecution by Byzantine rule and the ability to extend its horizons as Bulgaria became part of the wider Christian world. I suggest that because of the inherently evangelical nature of the heresy the early eleventh century was a time to 'go west', and that their missionaries concealed themselves in the columns of travellers already doing so. Such journeys as orthodox pilgrims undertook were often encounters with the unknown, and on long journeys there is nothing so good as religious discussion with which to while away the time. Indeed, Euthemius of the Periblepton tells us of heresy encountered in this way.²⁵² Finally, we should note that the sources indicate a correlation, not least in Aquitaine, between places from whence organised pilgrimages set out and the places where heresy was reported.

²⁵² *Christian Dualist Heresies*, esp. 143-5.

I conclude also by suggesting that even if only a handful of Bogomil missionaries came west, or if only a handful of westerners were converted to their beliefs in the east and brought them home with them, the evangelising aspect of the heresy and extremely dangerous nature of the doctrine they preached would have quickly brought them to the attention of authorities able to identify them. Thus this was not necessarily a large movement and nor was it ultimately successful. Perhaps it over-estimated the scale of Millennial anxiety just as some historians have done. Perhaps, as sources outside Aquitaine indicate, the authorities successfully challenged it. Whatever the case, from mid-century we find few indicators of dualism amongst the variety of heresies which arose in Aquitaine.

ii. Heresy in Aquitaine c.1050-c.1150

The context of eastern and western European movements

In the period in which the west saw the rise of great intellectual currents, the beginnings of the universities, of the scholastic tradition and of Church reformers, it is hardly surprising that some of the most radical activists and intellectuals might be branded suspect by theological conservatives. Thus, we see Peter Abelard, Arnold of Brescia and Gilbert de la Porrée under attack for their religious ideology, and Robert of Arbrissel under initial suspicion for his monastic innovation.

But what of those heretics who, on closer examination by the authorities, were still deemed to be beyond the pale? In October 1079 the heretic Berengar of Tours had made his submission to the Council of Bordeaux.²⁵³ One of the earliest of the scholastics, he denied the doctrine of transubstantiation and accused Pope Leo IX of corruption. However, his teachings influenced only a handful of educated European clerics and cannot be said to have affected the laity of Aquitaine significantly. Although one heretic, Henry of Lausanne, was active amongst the populace of Aquitaine, there were in fact few outbreaks of popular heresy in western Europe in this period, and these were anti-clerical rather than dualist in nature.

²⁵³ *Chron... Saint-Maixent*, 407. The council was an episcopal initiative. Duke Guy-Geoffrey was not responsible for the prosecution of heretics in the manner of William the Great's initiative at Charroux.

Several explanations offer themselves for the decline of heretical influence, in particular that of eastern origin. Most obviously, friendly discourse and traffic between the churches of east and west was interrupted by the mid-eleventh-century schism. There were fewer opportunities for Bogomils to conceal themselves in western monasteries, for hostility between the Greek and Latin Churches increased and fewer eastern monks entered the west. It is certainly not the case that diplomatic contact ceased entirely in 1054, and ordinary pilgrims continued to travel east as well. However the route through Serbia and Bulgaria fell into relative disuse from 1064, the journey becoming too dangerous after the Seljuk invasion of Anatolia.²⁵⁴ To an extent its social context was removed: the insecure and unfree society was no longer a novel phenomenon; whatever Millennial anxiety existed had passed; and popular criticism of clerical practice, a precursor for and a feature of heresy in the early years of the eleventh century, was partly answered by the Gregorian reforms. In addition, lay piety found a new outlet from 1095 in the crusading movement. Nonetheless, partly in the aftermath of the First Crusade, Bogomil and possibly Paulician influence does appear to have begun to come westwards again in the early twelfth century.

The context of heresy in the east

In the east, dualist heresies were still thriving.²⁵⁵ The removal of political boundaries between Macedonia and Byzantium explains the ease with which Bogomils now infiltrated urban and rural monasteries throughout imperially controlled lands, which Euthymius attested to have occurred in Constantinople and in western Asia Minor.²⁵⁶ By 1050, the heretics he described had apparently divided the world up between them into zones in which different groups were responsible for teaching. They were more sophisticated doctrinally than those identified by Cosmas the Priest, more articulately denying any Divine influence over earthly matter and having developed their liturgical form of prayer.

See also Martindale, *Aquitaine*, viii-ix, 176-8 and 184 and Russell, *Dissent*, 41, 55, 150, 159 and 162-5.

²⁵⁴ Hamilton and McNulty, 190-3 and 206; Runciman, S., *The Crusades*, 3 vols., 5th edn. London, 1991, I, 117.

²⁵⁵ For the history of Bogomilism in this period see Obolensky, *Bogomils*, 168-219.

²⁵⁶ See above and Angold, M., *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081-1261*, London, 1995, 496.

From the 1080s the Byzantine government began to react very strongly against dualism, most immediately against the Paulicians. The Paulicians at Philippopolis proved a great menace to Orthodox Christians, according to Anna Comnena, daughter of Emperor Alexius I Comnenus, and when confronted in disputations, they proved as skilled in knowledge of Scripture and in debate as the Bogomils, although they were more ready to convert. The Bogomils, on the other hand, lived more covert lives and were harder to detect. Their persecution came later, after they were well established in the Byzantine capital, disguising themselves in monkish garb and gaining support amongst some very high ranking families. Between 1097 and 1104 Emperor Alexius imprisoned those who recanted and burned their leader Basil. After their persecution at Constantinople Bogomil activity there appears to decline. It is possible that energies were being re-directed, however, for Bogomils appear again in the west in the early twelfth century. By mid-century they had recovered in the east and their operations centred again on Bulgaria and also Asia Minor.²⁵⁷

To help in his fight against heresy Alexius commissioned the *Panoplia Dogmatica* of Euthymius Zigabenus, the most systematic first-hand source of the history of the Bogomils. From this it emerges that the sect at Constantinople believed that Satanael, elder son of God, had created the world and that he imitated his father's heavenly power in the physical realm. He created demons who inhabit water, the bodies of non-Bogomils and also the relics of saints. Christ, who came into the physical world through the Virgin's right ear as the Word, only appeared to be made flesh, not dying or rising in the physical sense. He returned to heaven after taking away Satanael's divine nature and became one with the Father. Thus the Bogomils denied the Trinity and redemption through Christ's suffering, and consequently rejected the sacraments in favour of adherence only to Christ's teaching, believing that Scriptural allusions to the physical world should be understood allegorically. Zigabenus attests that they underwent rigorous instruction and then a double baptism in which the Gospel of John was laid upon the head, once as believers and then once as fully fledged members of the sect. Men and women both participated. They then undertook the rigorous lifestyle described for earlier Bogomil adherents with its chastity, dietary restriction,

fasting, frequent genuflections and prayers. They believed that when they died, they escaped the physical world and went to live with angels.²⁵⁸

Dualism in the west before the foundation of the Cathar churches, to the 1140s. Dualist churches were established on a large scale in the west in the second half of the twelfth century. However this process appears to have begun much earlier, perhaps using the crusading movement as a medium and very possibly involving Aquitainians from the crusade of 1101. Heretical belief and activity, possibly influenced by Bogomilism, was reported in south-western Europe perhaps from as early as the 1080s. Around this time, a seventeenth-century source informs us, foreign Arians were in the valleys of Aran and Andorra in the diocese of Urgel in northern Spain, including in a castle called Monléo.²⁵⁹ The term 'Arian' was arguably used indiscriminately as 'a common designation for all heretics and specifically those Christians who denied the full divinity of Jesus Christ'. Such a view has been applied to the use of the term by St. Bernard's biographer about heretics encountered at Toulouse.²⁶⁰ Indeed, until the 1170s, and in some cases subsequently, the Cathars in southern France followed the moderate dualist Bogomils in the belief that there was a dominant creator God who gave rise both to evil and to Jesus, who were thus not co-eternal with him. This is a view not so different to that of the ancient Arians and, unless we are proposing that St. Bernard did not educate himself about the beliefs of the heretics of Toulouse before preaching against them, might have been a useful and not entirely inappropriate way of describing them. It would appear to have been the term preferred by William of Puylaurens, referring to the heretic Bernard Raimundi in 1178, and this writer was most certainly familiar with Cathar theology.²⁶¹ Such a version of dualism was indisputably held by Bogomil-inspired dualists in other parts of the west by the mid-

²⁵⁷ Anna Comnena, 14-15, 141, 463 and 496-504; Stoyanov, *Hidden Tradition*, 135-6; *Christian Dualist Heresies*, 38.

²⁵⁸ PG CXXX 1289-1332.

²⁵⁹ Monfar y Sors, D. D., *Historia de los Condes de Urgel*, I, reproduced in *Colleccion de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragon*, ed. D. Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró, 9, Barcelona, 1853, at 354. This reference was discovered by Dr. Philip Banks and referred to Bernard Hamilton, who passed it on to me. However Monfar y Sors does not give his source.

²⁶⁰ PL CLXXXV 410-16 (St. Bernard's mission); Congar, Y., "Arriana haeresis' comme désignation du néo-manichéisme au XIIe siècle", *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologique*, 43 (1959), 454.

²⁶¹ William of Puylaurens, 34-5; Griffe, E., *Les débuts de l'aventure Cathare en Languedoc*, Paris, 1969, 21-52.

1140s, as discussed below.

If this second infiltration had not begun in the 1080s, it had possibly done so as early as 1101. The date is deduced from the words of Hildegard of Bingen, who gives either 1083 or 1101 for the first arrival of Cathars in the West, and the account of the inquisitor Anselm of Alessandria, who possibly indicates a connection with the 1101 crusade of William IX of Aquitaine. Anselm, writing in c.1270, says that Franks who went to Constantinople to conquer land met there Bulgarian Bogomils, established a flourishing Latin branch of the dualist faith in the city, with its own bishop, and then returned home where they established the heretical bishopric of 'France'. Although there is no corroborating evidence for this from French sources, the evidence from the above sources seems to imply that the first Cathar church in the west was founded by crusaders returning from Constantinople, and the case for this happening in 1101 is more convincing than that for the 1080s.²⁶²

Other crusaders may also have come into contact with heretical ideas on the First Crusade or in 1101. On the journey to Constantinople in 1095 the contingents of Peter the Hermit and Godfrey de Bouillon took a route via Bogomil-infested Bulgaria and visited Philippopolis, where Bogomils and especially Paulicians were still influential.²⁶³ Normans from southern Italy, Toulousains and Gascons in other contingents also passed through Constantinople.²⁶⁴ The Lombard, Rhineland and Bavarian-Aquitainian contingents on the 1100/1 expedition almost certainly travelled a similar route, the Bavarians and Aquitainians journeying also through Serbia and the Lombards spending the winter of 1100/1 camped outside the walls of Philippopolis. All of them spent time in Constantinople and Asia Minor.²⁶⁵ We thus see a correlation between the home regions of some crusaders who travelled in lands where the Bogomils were influential

²⁶² Anselm of Alessandria, 308; Hamilton, 'Wisdom', 43-45 and 59-60 (where the case for 1101 is made). It is not accepted by everyone that Anselm was referring to the 1101 crusade (Lambert, *Cathars*, 19 and 36-7).

²⁶³ Albert of Aix in *RHC Occ.* IV 274-8 and 303-9; Anna Comnena, 463; Obolensky, *Bogomils*, 195; *Christian Dualist Heresies*, 259-60.

²⁶⁴ Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. J. H. and L. L. Hill, Philadelphia, 1968, 16-24; Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, ed. and trans. H. S. Fink and F. R. Ryan, Knoxville Tennessee, 1969, 72 and 77-80.

²⁶⁵ Runciman, S., 'The crusades of 1101', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 1 (1951), 3-12; Mullinder, *Crusading Expeditions*, 86-131 and 286.

and regions which were to receive the Cathar heresy in later years.

Bogomils remained active in the city of Constantinople. The Greek Bogomil church suffered a major blow under Alexius I, but the Cathar-turned-inquisitor Rainier Sacconi informs us of its survival in the city into the thirteenth century.²⁶⁶ Heretical contacts could also have been made in 1148 for, amongst others, the contingent of Alphonse Jordan, count of Toulouse, and Queen Eleanor's Aquitanian courtiers passed through the capital as part of the Second Crusade, having already visited Philippopolis.²⁶⁷ The German contingent travelled via Philadelphia, where Sacconi tells us a Bogomil bishopric also existed.²⁶⁸ However, again there is no actual evidence of the transmission of heterodox ideas back to the west in this context.

However the crusades are not the only means by which eastern heretical ideas might have influenced westerners. In 1087 the hermit Nilus was discovered by the Byzantine authorities to hold the Bogomil belief that God had two sons. He was dealt with as a dualist, being forced to renounce his beliefs using the same formula as had been previously demanded of Paulicians. Nilus had spent some time in Italy.²⁶⁹ Normans encountered Paulicians in 1081 when the heretics fought under the leadership of Xantas and Kauleon in the army of Alexius I.²⁷⁰ In fact, in this same Imperial army were Anglo-Saxon refugees from England who had fled after the Conquest.²⁷¹ Thus orthodox western Christians could come into contact with eastern dualism through a wide range of circumstances.

The argument for the inadvertent role of the crusading movement in transmitting dualist heresy westwards would be weakened by the fact that there are no universally accepted accounts of the activities of Cathars in the west until the 1140s, implying that the Frankish-speaking mission from Constantinople had been a failure, were it not for three significant incidents in the intervening years. The first, an outbreak of heresy at Soissons in c.1114, bears traits of contemporary Bogomilism, and Guibert of Nogent

²⁶⁶ Rainerius Sacconi, 64-78.

²⁶⁷ Odo of Deuil, 40-61; Runciman, *Crusades*, II, 260-1.

²⁶⁸ Riley-Smith, J. (ed.), *Atlas of the Crusades*, London, 1991, 51.

²⁶⁹ Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal*, 288

²⁷⁰ Anna Comnena, 141 and 160.

says these heretics were like Manichees. The second is a pronouncement of anathema in the third canon of the 1119 Council of Toulouse against heretics who rejected the sacraments and denied the supernatural power of priests. This action was initiated by Pope Calixtus II. The third is another outbreak of heresy at Ivoy near Trier, not a great distance east from Soissons, probably in 1122. The account again hints at dualism, as the sect denied the efficacy of child baptism and refused to accept transubstantiation. Whilst the source does not specifically label them Manichees, the writer refutes them in what he believes, incorrectly, to be Augustinian language and asserts that Christ was indeed born in flesh, as though the heretics denied this also.²⁷²

It may be the case, as R. Moore asserts, that sources originating in the first decades of the twelfth century are not describing dualists, although I suspect he is wrong.²⁷³

However it is the case that dualists only appears to have recruited adherents in large numbers from around the 1140s. The first undisputed detection of the heresy in the west was at Cologne in 1143. From that decade we see them spreading into Italy and southern France, where they began to establish organised churches and, perhaps by 1167 although more likely 1174-7, were well enough established in Gascony to warrant the foundation of a bishopric in Aquitaine at Agen.²⁷⁴ In order not to interrupt the chronological flow of the development of southern French Catharism, of which the heretical diocese of Agen was to be a cornerstone, its development from the 1140s will be discussed in the following chapter. As a background to this, however, the impact of non-dualist heretical ideas on Aquitaine itself will be discussed.

Conclusion: non-dualist heretics and their activity in Aquitaine as a background to Catharism

The activities of heretics in the region under examination in the first half of the twelfth century took place in the context of a minor but significant wave of outbreaks

²⁷¹ Obolensky, *Bogomils*, 191.

²⁷² Guibert of Nogent, *Histoire de sa vie (1053-1124)*, ed. G. Bourgin, Paris, 1907, 212-5; Mansi XXI 226-27; *Gesta Treverorum*, MGH SS VIII 193; Wakefield and Evans, 101-6; Thouzellier, C., 'Hérésie et croisade au XIIe Siècle', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 49 (1954), 855-72; Hamilton, 'Wisdom', 45.

²⁷³ Moore, *Birth*, 28 and 'Saint Bernard's mission to the Languedoc in 1145', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 47 (1974), 1-4 and 10.

throughout Europe following the Gregorian reforms. We might conclude that, in certain areas, after early eleventh-century heretics had exposed the failings of the clergy, the reforms had raised expectations about clerical behaviour. Where these expectations were not realised, further dissent might follow. Most of the anti-clerical heresies which can be identified come from the north-east of France and the Low Countries, where, along with heresy which was Bogomil influenced, they maintained a presence into the 1140s. They seem to reflect divisions between towns and their high-ranking clergy.²⁷⁵

Peter of Bruys was another heretic who originated in the north-east of France. In 1115 or 1118 he began preaching at his home in the district containing the manor of Bucy, near Soissons. He was thus a contemporary of the dualist heretics of that area, and must have grown up at the same time as their leader, the native-born Clement. He taught against infant baptism and baptised adults without water. We also learn that he preached against the veneration of both the cross and the body of Christ and against charity and services for the dead. He was thus far more than an anti-clerical heretic. He was a theological opponent of Catholicism and had much in common with the teachings of dualists, although he is not usually considered to have been one. He certainly had some influence on an important anti-clericalist, Henry of Lausanne, according to Peter the Venerable, although Henry's teachings were not dualist. Peter's beliefs also had a huge impact in Provence before he was killed there in 1131, perhaps helping to sow the seeds of dissent from which Catharism benefited in that region some decades later.²⁷⁶

Henry of Lausanne was most successful in areas with comparatively radical backgrounds; Le Mans and Toulouse, both towns gaining autonomy in the early 1100s and the latter prone to dualist heresy in, as I have argued, the early eleventh and twelfth century as encountered by St. Bernard. Henry was essentially anti-clerical and socially subversive and exploited discontent with the standards set by the authorities.

²⁷⁴ The controversial document, known as the Saint-Felix document which describes the establishment of the Cathar churches in the west probably dates to 1174-7 (Hamilton, B., 'The Cathar council of Saint-Felix reconsidered', in *ibid.*, *Monastic Reform*, 24).

²⁷⁵ *MGH SS* VI 449, and VII 540; William of Newburgh, I, 60-64; Wakefield and Evans, 95.

He began his heretical career in Maine c.1115. In 1135 he recanted his heresy but was preaching again at Toulouse where, in 1145, his followers were confronted by Bernard of Clairvaux, who had preached against him also in Aquitaine and the Cahorsain. There he disappears from the record.²⁷⁷

En route between Maine and the Languedoc lay Aquitaine. Whilst its heretical past was a distant memory by Henry's time, the success of Robert of Arbrissel (d.1116) revealed it to be open to new ideas, and Henry's probable monastic background and sojourn in neighbouring Maine might have acquainted him with relevant aspects of Poitevin religious history. As he travelled towards the south we know he preached in Poitou and at Bordeaux, and Peter the Venerable tells us that the teachings of both Henry and Peter of Bruys were influential in *Novempopulana*. Churchmen were certainly concerned about his possible success in Gascony for in the spring of 1145 the papal legate brought together St. Bernard, the bishop of Chartres and bishop Raymond-Bernard of Agen at a meeting at Bordeaux. It was here that Bernard's preaching mission to Toulouse was arranged. Bernard in fact retraced Henry's own steps to Toulouse via Poitiers and Bordeaux.²⁷⁸ Whilst there is no local evidence that Henry was active at Agen, or even that he had much success at either Bordeaux or Poitiers, the diocese lies on the route to Toulouse along the Garonne. The presence of bishop Raymond-Bernard at Bordeaux probably indicates that he was to undertake preaching against heresy in his diocese to complement the work of Saint Bernard elsewhere. It seems certain that Henry's impact at Toulouse was such that anti-clerical feeling was fuelled, since he addressed both the question of opposition to the worldly interests of the clergy and also doubts about their power to intercede between God and the laity. This surely made it easier for dualists to address the same themes, albeit with

²⁷⁶ PL CLXXXIX 719-24; Wakefield and Evans, 118; Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal*, 278-9 and esp. 290.

²⁷⁷ *Actus Pontificum Cenomannis in urbie degentium*, eds. G. Busson and A. Ledru, Le Mans, 1901, 407-15 and 437-38; PL CLXXXV 312-13 and CLXXXII 434-6. See mention of St. Bernard at Toulouse above and see Russell, *Dissent*, 72 and esp. 77-8 for an appraisal of Henry's career.

²⁷⁸ PL CLXXXV, 410-11 and CLXXXIX, 721; Russell, *Dissent*, 77-78; Wolff, P., *Voix et Images de Toulouse*, Toulouse, 1962, 54. Henry has been wrongly assumed to have preached in Périgord, for historians used to identify his heresy with the incident reported by Héribert (when the latter was thought to date to c.1140-47), a later version of which name a Périgourdan heresiarch called Pons (see, for example, Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal*, 279-80). However, no connection between Henry and the heretics described by Héribert should ever have been made for there is very little similarity

a different explanation. We have seen that as well as Henry of Lausanne, St. Bernard encountered 'Arians' who have been dualists. Indeed, St. Bernard remarked that the Toulousain contained 'many heresies'.²⁷⁹ Might it also be the case that Henry paved the way for Catharism in the Agenais?²⁸⁰

between the doctrines of the two. Indeed, Russell pointed out how dubious the connection was even before the eleventh-century Héribert was discovered (Russell, *Dissent*, 1965 edn., 77-78).

²⁷⁹ Moore, *Origins*, 113; Lambert, *Cathars*, 40.

²⁸⁰ He perhaps established heretical centres there, see chapter 4, and L'abbé Guignard and J. -R. Marboutin are certain that he was influential in the county (*Agenais*, 107-8 and see chapter 4).

**PART II: Aquitaine and the Agenais in the period of
Catharism, the Albigensian Wars and the Inquisition, the
mid-twelfth century to c.1249**

Chapter 4: Aquitaine and its Cathars, 1152-1207.

i. The duchy of Aquitaine

Catharism and Aquitaine

As noted above, Bogomils, or at least Bogomil teachings, arguably returned to the west as early as 1101. Although there is no undisputed source which tells us of the Bogomil missions which established the first Cathar churches in the west, by 1143 there were Cathars in the Rhineland, and these were indigenous to the region: second generation converts, if not third. Their teachings were so similar as to be indisputably derived from the moderate dualism of the Bogomils. By the 1160s, Cathars had established themselves also in northern France, Lombardy, and the Languedoc. The Cathar church was not a branch of the Bogomil church, however, but a fully independent movement. M. Lambert notes that in many ways it was more mature and coherent, both in terms of doctrine and organisation. Relations with the east were perhaps maintained to some degree, but were certainly renewed in the 1170s when the southern French Cathars were recruited to the absolute dualist faith which had been adopted by the Bogomils of Constantinople since the last contact, resulting in schism in eastern Europe and subsequently also in Italy. This was a tense time for the southern French, therefore. Like the Italians, whose leader Mark came with Nicetas to the Toulousain, they had been initiated into a doctrine since brought into disrepute. The implications of this must have been devastating, not least when they recalled their fellow heretics who had already died expecting at last to escape reincarnation in the physical world. But the Cathars recovered with Nicetas' help and went from strength to strength in the new faith, increasing their numbers in Occitania.²⁸¹ I shall now address how widespread in southern France they became.

When Pope Innocent III was elected in 1198, one of his first actions was to write to the metropolitans of Auch and Narbonne instructing them, amongst other things, to challenge the strength of the heresy in their archdioceses, not least in parts of Gascony. This task was in turn entrusted to the bishops of Bazas, Comminges, Lodève and

²⁸¹ There are many works describing this transmission and development of dualist ideas in east and west, many of which are cited below. The most recent however is Lambert, *Cathars*, esp. 29-44. Another work on the Cathars in English, by M. Barber, is also about to be published. The best modern source for the visit of Papa Nicetas is Hamilton, B., 'Cathar council of Saint Félix'. This Cathar council will be given some detailed attention below.

Agen.²⁸² This action was the result of an assertion by many churchmen that the Cathar heresy had been flourishing in Gascony in preceding decades. Several church councils reported the fact: Reims in 1148, Tours in 1163 and the Third Lateran Council of 1179. Chroniclers of the kings of England believed that there were Cathars in Aquitaine, and in 1181 Robert of Auxerre stated that they were *in Gascogna*.²⁸³

However, there is no evidence that the bishops of 1198 found any such toleration of heresy in Aquitaine. Pontifical directives soon ceased to claim that there were heretics there. Bishop Navarre of Couserans, papal legate from 1207-9, never once mentioned heretics in his diocese.²⁸⁴ Although there was to be Gascon opposition to the Albigensian Crusade - launched in 1209 against the heretics and their protectors - from Béarn, Comminges, Bigorre and central Gascony, like the attacks which prompted it, it was to have a secular and territorial basis, not one of support for the heresy. This is in spite of the conviction of the crusaders and churchmen, and some historians, that these areas were indeed heretical in sympathy.²⁸⁵ Geoffrey of Vigeois describes action against heretics at Lavaur in the Albigeois in 1181, the nature of the dualist doctrine, and preaching against them in the Languedoc by clergy of the archdiocese of Bourges. He then gives a lurid account of depravity in heretical circles, which serves mainly to indicate that there was little first hand knowledge of Catharism in the Limousin.²⁸⁶ William of Newburgh 'conjured' heretical origins in Gascony 'out of the air'.²⁸⁷ The central thesis of a recent work claiming that there were Cathars in Périgord is very

²⁸² PL CCXIV 71-2; *L'épopée*, I, 147-54. M. Roquebert is a journalist not a historian by training and so his work is unpopular with some historians of the heresy: C. Dutton criticizes his unscholarly Occitan partisanship (*Aspects*, introduction), whilst others simply do not cite him. I find his investigative technique and methodical cross-referencing of sources illuminating. Perhaps he sometimes extrapolates too much from documents, but his citations are generally sound and so his conclusions can be tested. In addition *L'épopée* is one of the most thorough accounts of the heresy in southern France.

²⁸³ Mansi XXI 718 (for 1148) and 1177 (for 1163), and XXII, 232 (for 1179); William of Newburgh, I, 329-30; Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. T. Wright, London, 1850, 62; Gervais of Canterbury, I, 285; Duvernoy, J., *Le Catharisme*, II: *L'Histoire des Cathares*, Toulouse, 1979, 121-2, 131-2, 146, and 208; Dossat, Y., 'Gascogne', in *idem.*, *Eglise et Hérésie*, 150.

²⁸⁴ Dossat, Y., 'Comminges', esp. 120.

²⁸⁵ Lataillade, J. B., 'Catharisme en Comminges, Couserans et Armagnac', *Revue de Comminges*, 86 (1973), 212-6 (cf Dossat, 'Gascogne', 150-3 and 'Comminges', 119-21 and 125).

²⁸⁶ Geoffrey of Vigeois, II, 326-7.

²⁸⁷ Forthcoming article by P. Biller, 'William of Newburgh and the Cathar mission to England', in *SCH Subsidia* 11, Woodbridge, 1999.

unsatisfying also.²⁸⁸

Although churchmen incorrectly assessed the geographical spread of the heresy, they were not entirely wrong to attribute heretical belief to Gascons before 1198 or, more accurately, 1196, for before it passed to the house of Toulouse, the Agenais, heavily infested with the heresy, pertained to the duchy of Aquitaine. Thus, of the above sources, the 1163 council of Tours was probably the most accurate in warning that heresy was spreading from the Toulousain into Gascony. In fact the Cathars of Agen were so infamous that they made the duchy of Aquitaine appear doctrinally suspect into the next century. Matthew Paris, discussing events for 1209-13, says that heretics were also established in Gascony; William of Tudela, first author of the *chanson* recording the Albigensian Crusade, says that their influence extended to Bordeaux.²⁸⁹ However, apart from in the Agenais, Cathars in fact appear to have had little if any presence in Aquitaine at any point.

There are a handful of possible late exceptions to this pattern. The cleric Yves of Narbonne, who worked for the archbishop of Bordeaux, fled to Italy in c.1214 after denying accusations of heresy.²⁹⁰ More difficult to explain is a reference to a *diachonum haereticorum* of Saintonge who was in the Languedoc in c.1237.²⁹¹ Some of the heretics and heretical sympathisers interviewed by the Inquisition in the 1230s and 1240s had names which imply that their families were of Aquitainian descent, but this does not provide a record of heresy in the duchy.²⁹² As late as the early fourteenth

²⁸⁸ Bordes, R., *En Périgord: l'hérésie Cathare*, Eglise Neuve d'Issac and Castelnaud-la-Chapelle, 1996, esp. 77-93 and 135-53. Bordes knows that Héribert's letter has been discounted as a twelfth-century source, but cites the following as Cathars in Périgord: those of the Languedoc with Périgordian names, which is not proof of heresy in Périgord; those of Gourdon, actually in Quercy; 'heretics' at Cistercian Gondou and Cadouin, accusations related to a struggle for control of the abbeys within the order and not to do with doctrine (see Barrière, 'Les abbayes', 94-102); and heretics in the castles of the *faidit* Bernard de Cazenac, for which I find no evidence. He cites the failure to act against heresy as the reason for the deposition of bishop Raymond of Périgord in 1210 by the pope, although again no evidence for this is offered.

²⁸⁹ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols., RS, 1872-83, II, 554; *Chanson*, I, 8-9 and 18-19.

²⁹⁰ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, IV, 270-2.

²⁹¹ Doat XXIII, 135v; Duvernoy, *Catharisme*, I, 351.

²⁹² Such names include 'Poitevin', 'Gasc', 'Engolesme', and 'de Limoges'. See esp. depositions contained in Doat XXI 168r-169r, 191-3v, 206v, 211v-13v, 227r-v, 286v and 302r, XXII 17r-v, 23 r-v and 29v-31r, XXIII 108-109, XXIV 135r-136v and 141r, and XXV 248r-71r.

century, it has been suggested, heretics could conceal themselves in Gascony.²⁹³

Thus the Bogomil heresy, by now containing many eastern branches, though rent by schism by the early 1170s, had travelled as far as the western Languedoc.²⁹⁴ The heretical diocese founded at Agen constituted the most westerly outpost of organised dualism. This requires explanation, for in many ways the societies of the Languedoc and Aquitaine were very similar. L. Paterson has asked 'why should the Cathar heresy have taken such a strong hold in Occitania, or more particularly in the Languedoc?'²⁹⁵ R. Moore has pointed out how wisely Henry of Lausanne chose the region between Toulouse, Carcassonne and Albi for his work earlier in the twelfth century, for it turned out to be especially susceptible both to his heresy and to dualism.²⁹⁶ But Henry had also worked in Aquitaine, with much less success.

A little work has been done previously to establish why Aquitaine was largely immune to the heresy. Y. Dossat has noted that the river Garonne separated the lands which accepted the heresy from those that were resistant to it, even though the societies of eastern and western Occitania were essentially the same and offered the same opportunities for heretics, Gascon Comminges being especially Languedocian in orientation. He points to a linguistic difference between Gascony and the Languedoc: outside of Gascony, Gascon was only spoken in Couserans. He concludes that whilst we might therefore expect to find the heresy in the Couserans-Comminges region, its linguistic distinction from the Languedoc means that this was not the case.²⁹⁷

However, far greater barriers were overcome in spreading the heresy from the Balkans to southern France. Gascon, by this period, was a variant of the Occitan tongue of the Languedoc, and there is no indication that speakers either side of the river had trouble understanding each other.²⁹⁸ The Garonne was, as we have seen, a major artery for communications of all kinds in the Midi, and was to be used frequently by the heretics

²⁹³ Duvernoy, *Catharisme*, II: *L'histoire des Cathares*, Toulouse, 1979, 331.

²⁹⁴ Runciman, *Manichee*, 71-3, 116, 119, 121-30 (although Runciman believes that many dualist converts in the west were made by Paulicians).

²⁹⁵ Paterson, L., *The World of the Troubadours*, Cambridge, 1993, 336.

²⁹⁶ Moore, *Origins*, 200.

²⁹⁷ Dossat, 'Comminges', 117-8 and 'Gascogne', 162-8. See also Bec, P., *Les interférences linguistiques entre Gascon et Languedocian dans les parlers du Comminges et Couserans*, Paris, 1968, 24.

²⁹⁸ B. Guillemain is also unhappy with this explanation ('Le duché', 66).

who could easily have crossed into Gascony to undertake missionary work had they so wished.

How can we therefore account for the lack of heresy in Aquitaine in the period during which it manifested itself so forcefully in the Languedoc? In spite of a prevailing view that 'il semble assez vain de chercher une explication dans l'inexistence des raisons qui peuvent être invoquées en Languedoc pour justifier la crise', it seems to me that this is exactly what we should do.²⁹⁹ Indeed, a study of the relevant features of Aquitanian society, with reference to elements that compare or contrast with the circumstances in which Catharism flourished in the Languedoc, does perhaps provide a few clues.

The duchy of Aquitaine in Europe

Angevin power over Aquitaine

Our starting point is the political structure of Aquitaine in the relevant period, which also provides a background to the response of the duchy to the coming crusade. In 1152 Henry, count of Anjou, Maine and Touraine and duke of Normandy, married Eleanor, divorced queen of Louis VII of France and duchess of Aquitaine. In 1154 he became king of England and began to increase his influence over Brittany. Thus, all western France was ruled by the king of England, his territory dwarfing that of his lord the king of France. The threat that this posed to Capetian power produced war or truce, as opposed to actual peace, between the rulers of the two lands for the rest of our period.³⁰⁰

In 1169, Henry and Eleanor's son Richard did homage to his father for Aquitaine and ruled as its duke from 1172, with Eleanor's support. The king's jealous heir, the young Henry, invaded the duchy in 1182, encouraged by independent-minded Poitevins who opposed Richard, and again in 1183, supported by his brother Geoffrey, duke of

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 67. See also Higounet, *Aquitaine*, 182.

³⁰⁰ This summary of important features of Aquitanian political structure and Aquitanian relations with France is taken, except where otherwise cited, from Le Patourel, J., 'The Plantagenet Dominions', in *idem*, *Feudal Empires: Norman and Plantagenet*, London, 1984, 289-308; Gillingham, J., *The Angevin Empire*, London, 1984, 16-27, 35 and 66-9; Warren, W. L., *King John*, 3rd edn., New Haven/London, 1997, 51-99; Turner, *King John*, London, 1994, esp. 59-86, 83-5, 93-5 and 116-7; Boussard, *Gouvernement*, 178, 226-35 and 352-79; Higounet, *Aquitaine*, 178-82; Hallam, *Capetian*, 59-62.

Brittany. Geoffrey again invaded Poitou in 1184, this time with his youngest brother John, whom Henry II, alienated from Richard, now wanted to be duke of Aquitaine. Both invasions were unsuccessful and in response Richard did homage to Philip II 'Augustus' of France. In 1189 he succeeded his father as king of England and in 1190 went on crusade. Returning in 1192 he became the prisoner of Duke Leopold of Austria and John began to plot with Philip Augustus to undermine him. The brothers were reconciled on Richard's release in 1194, but this did not stop Capetian attempts to dislodge him in France. Philip attacked Angevin territories at their weak points, making most progress after Richard's death in 1199 by supporting the claims of Arthur, posthumous son of Geoffrey, against his uncle John in accordance with Angevin law. Crucially, Eleanor supported John. She secured allies amongst the Poitevin lords then did homage herself to the French king for Poitou. She subsequently ceded Poitou to John who formally gave her the whole duchy, including the allod of Gascony, to rule on his behalf as *domina*. The pair thus attached the principality of Aquitaine to the English crown without Philip's approval.³⁰¹ At its highest social level, Aquitaine was thus far from stable or securely part of an Angevin 'empire'.

John was still not free of his complex status as king of England and a prince of France. In 1200 he and Arthur made their peace but the treaty involved John's submission to Philip for his lands in France, an acknowledgement of authority which John was soon to regret. In 1202 the Poitevin Hugh IX 'le Brun' of Lusignan brought to the French *curia regis* a case against John, his lord. John refused to acknowledge Philip's authority in the affair and so the latter declared the Angevin territories forfeit and began the process of conquest. In 1204-5 Normandy, Anjou, Maine and the Touraine were seized, Brittany also passed into Capetian hands and many Poitevins did homage to Philip. With Angevin authority weakened, Gascon nobles looked temporarily to Castile for leadership, as noted below. John was able to recover his position in

³⁰¹ Robert of Torigny, 240; Gervais of Canterbury, I, 513-4 and 529; Geoffrey of Vigeois, 282, 284, 290 and 302; Holt, J. C., 'Aliénor d'Aquitaine, Jean sans Terre et la succession de 1199', *CCM* 29 (1986), 95-100; Chaplais, P., 'Le Traité de Paris de 1259 et l'inféodation de la Gascogne allodiale', *MA* 4:10 (1955), 121-37. The rulers of Gascony were probably not considered to owe homage to the crown, reviving its control over other French princes in this period, because the Basque rulers of Gascony had been invaders and not royal officials who had usurped power from their Carolingian masters (see Higounet, *Aquitaine*, 174-5 and chapter 2).

Aquitaine, largely due to the efforts of his Poitevin *senechal* Savary de Mauléon and Elie de Malemort, archbishop of Bordeaux (1188-1207). However his Continental possessions were now geographically isolated from England, and the French still threatened Poitou. From 1204-14 John's priority was the recovery of his lost lands, and even in those parts of the duchy which he still ruled, now from Bordeaux, his authority was weakened.

John's position was partly the result of the traditionally looser structure of authority in Aquitaine compared with the bonds which had been forged in England, Anjou and Normandy. Due to the strength of provincial customs, as noted previously, much of the Aquitanian aristocracy was in many ways autonomous. But if it was true in general that in the time of duke Henry 'les grands fiefs ...étaient trop anarchiques pour être dangereux',³⁰² John managed to provoke them to serious rebellion. Neither was local loyalty encouraged by John's innovative practice of appointing foreigners to the position of *senechal*, thus the English knights Robert of Turnham, Hubert de Burgh and Geoffrey de Neville, and Martin Algaïs, a Spanish mercenary, were not well received. Savary de Mauléon was in fact John's only Poitevin appointment.

Thus, although north of the Dordogne most of the major lords were vassals of the duke, they were to assert themselves against ducal power on many occasions, and in Périgord that authority remained minimal. The castellans controlling the frontiers with France, most notably the Lusignans, were prepared to exploit to the full the advantage of their geographical position. This was a tendency which John seriously exacerbated when in 1200 he forced the count of Angoulême to give him his daughter and heir Isabella in marriage, although she had already been promised to Hugh le Brun of Lusignan by Richard.³⁰³ Hugh, also count of La Marche, and other Lusignans had been vital to John in securing control of Angevin territories in 1199. Now they were robbed of the prize of Angoulême, and not only did John not compensate them but he confiscated La Marche. This was why Hugh had appealed to Philip Augustus, precipitating the process whereby John lost control of many of his continental possessions. This was not the first or last occasion on which the Lusignans were to

³⁰² Boussard, *Gouvernement*, 548.

play a key role in Anglo-French relations.

Gascony was the region most likely to be the focus of a Cathar mission, for it was most like the Languedoc.³⁰⁴ By 1152 it consisted of thirteen virtually independent counties and viscounties and much allodial land, real ducal authority still being limited to the demesne around Bordeaux. As noted previously, its nobility was usually beyond ducal control. Those of the plains, although many were ducal tenants-in-chief, recognised no legal superiority in the court at Bordeaux. The most powerful amongst them were by now the counts of Armagnac and Fezensac, but fluid social bonds allowed also for the emergence of a dynamic group of barons between the aristocracy and the castellans. Relatively minor families such as the Biran and Marestaing associated themselves with major houses of Astarac, Comminges and L'Isle-Jourdain; others, such as the Montesquiou, began as minor cadet lines and grew in importance, in this case as part of the house of Fezensac. Most successful amongst the newcomers was the house of Albret. Of their exact origins little is known, but Amanieu I (in 1050), Amanieu II (in 1096), Amanieu III (in 1130), and Bernard (in 1140) held the majority of their lands at Labrit, in the diocese of Aire. Meagre evidence for their early period reveals that they patronised La Sauve-Majeure in the 1130s. By the mid-twelfth century, however, they too were tenants-in-chief of the dukes and had come to hold estates in the Bazadais and Agenais.³⁰⁵

The Pyrenean powers had clearly divided allegiances, being part of the Spanish world as much as that of Aquitaine. The viscounts of Béarn did homage to the duke for Brulhois, Marsan and Gabardan but to the kings of Aragon for Béarn itself since 1170, and for the Aragonese valleys of Roncal and la Tena. In spite of the fact that in 1187

³⁰³ Roger of Wendover, I, 295.

³⁰⁴ For the political structure specifically of Gascony in this period see, except where otherwise cited, Samazeuilh, J. F., *Histoire de l'Agenais, du Condomois et du Bazadais*, 2 vols., Auch, 1846-47, 147-8; Bordes, M. et al., *Histoire de la Gascogne, dès origines à nos jours*, Roanne, 1982, 61-70; Boussard, *Gouvernement*, 122-55 and 226-9; Ellis, J., *Gaston de Béarn: A Study in Anglo-Gascon Relations (1229-1290)*, unpublished D.Phil thesis, Oxford, 1952, esp. i-v, 24b, 204, 379-384 and appendices; Lodge, E., *Gascony under English Rule*, London, 1926, esp. 25-6; Cursente, 'Castelnaux', 40 and 48-50 and *Des hommes*, 80-4 and 128; Studd, R., 'The marriage of Henry of Almain and Constance of Béarn', in eds. S. D. Lloyd and P. R. Cross, *Thirteenth Century England*, III, Woodbridge, 1991, esp. 162.

Gaston VI's homage to Aragon expressly reserved his obligations to Duke Richard, Béarn was in fact allied with the expanding Aragonese sphere in the Pyrenees, and in their viscounty they had all the prestige of independent rulers. The powerful position of the viscounts was such that they could practise rights of justice and coinage like those more usually held by counts, and by the end of our period they had reformed the administrative and legal processes of the viscounty in their own favour and renewed its *fors* to undermine ducal powers. The counts of Bigorre controlled many castles and *caseux* from their capital at Lourdes. In the early 1190s after the death of Count Centulle III, also a vassal of Aragon, Petronilla, heiress to Bigorre, was given in marriage to Gaston VI of Béarn, increasing the relative power of the viscounts in Gascony. The counts of Comminges spanned the Spanish, Gascon and Toulousain worlds, being vassals of their relatives the counts of Toulouse for the strategically important towns of Samatan and Muret, whilst choosing when and how to ally with the kings of Aragon to improve their position. By the early thirteenth century the count of Toulouse also had influence in Armagnac-Fezensac and Astarac, and the marcher viscounts of Lomagne performed homage to him. Thus we should see the Gascon plains and mountain lordships as very much part of the Occitan world which welcomed the heresy, even though they themselves did not, and note that their place within that world would perhaps inform their response to the northern invasion which the heresy would provoke.

The dukes of Aquitaine and their southern neighbours: Toulouse, Aragon and Castile

This pan-Occitan sphere was not an alien one to the dukes themselves, for they were at various times the enemies and allies of the major Languedocian and Pyrenean houses. As we have seen, William X asserted with some success Philippa's claim to Toulouse, occupied since c.1093 by the house of Saint-Gilles. Louis VII of France did likewise on behalf of her descendant the duchess Eleanor, notably in 1141. However after Eleanor's marriage to Henry of Anjou, Louis supported his brother-in-law Raymond V of Toulouse, husband of his sister Constance of France. Henry entered the Languedoc in 1159 and held Cahors briefly, but was ultimately unwilling to wage war against his suzerain and a truce was agreed in 1162 and renewed the following year. But by 1167

³⁰⁵ Marquette, J.-B., 'Les Albret en Agenais (XIe siècle-1366)', *RA* 98 (1972), 301-2; *Dictionnaire de la*

Raymond had repudiated Constance and so Henry pressurised the county again until, in 1173, Raymond was forced to perform homage for the county to the Angevins at Limoges. The king of England, as duke of Aquitaine, thus became overlord of Toulouse, this time recognised as such by its counts.³⁰⁶

During 1183 the new accord was disturbed. Henry and the young Henry were at war. The king, John and Richard formed an alliance with Alphonse II of Aragon and Ermengarde, countess of Narbonne, whilst the count of Toulouse threw in his lot with the young Henry and his Aquitanian allies. In 1188 Richard claimed that Raymond was responsible for the mistreatment of pilgrims travelling to Compostella and occupied parts of Quercy held by the house of Saint-Gilles, to which the count retaliated in 1191-2. Raymond V died in 1194 and Richard initiated a peace with Raymond VI, giving his sister Jeanne in marriage to the new count in 1196 and with her the Agenais as her dowry. It was to be held by Raymond and his heirs by Jeanne of Richard and his heirs, in return for liege homage by the count and his service with five hundred men for a month per year. As part of the same settlement Richard abandoned the claim to Toulouse and restored, unconditionally, parts of Quercy and the Rouergue which he had invaded. Thus ended ninety-nine years of intermittent warfare between the dukes of Aquitaine and the house of Saint-Gilles, now their in-laws and vassals for the Agenais. Jeanne died in 1199, but homage was performed again in 1200 by Raymond VI to John.³⁰⁷

In the years leading up to the Albigensian Crusade, therefore, we see a strong Anglo-Toulousain alliance which was by implication anti-Capetian. In 1207/8 Philip Augustus apparently told the Pope that he was more than happy for a crusade to enter the

Noblesse, ed. de la Chenaye-Desbois *et al.*, 3rd edn., 19 vols., Paris, 1969, I, 276-7, and see below.

³⁰⁶ Robert of Torigny, 201-2 and 225; Gervais of Canterbury, I, 167; Roger of Wendover, II, 75; Geoffrey of Vigeois, 318; *HGL* III 718-20, V 29-30, 33 and 50, and VI 24-5, 34-5, 38, 41 and esp. 51-6 (*ibid.* 53-4 notes that Ralph Diceto says that this homage for Toulouse was saving Raymond's homage to the king of France, but speculates that it may in fact have been liege homage); Wolff, *Histoire de Toulouse*, 77-80 and 122; Gillingham, *Angevin*, 26-7.

³⁰⁷ Gervais of Canterbury, II, 432; Roger of Hoveden, II, 339-40; *HGL* VI 102-5, 144-5, 173-5, 179-80 and 189-91, and VII 22-4; Mundy, *Liberty*, 59-60. No copy of the marriage contract survives but see William of Puylaurens, 44-7; PVC 17-18 and 126. The anonymous second author of *La chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise* also refers to it in his account of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, where he claims, although there is no supporting evidence, that the agreement was approved by Rome (*Chanson* II 73-7).

heretical Toulousain, for the house of Saint-Gilles had greatly offended him: Philip and his father had given it aid against Henry and Richard in the wars before 1196, but Raymond had taken Richard's part against France in 1198 and in 1204 had sent troops to help John at the siege of Falaise. As recently as 1208 the French king had quarrelled with Raymond again because of a visit made by the latter to Otto of Brunswick, enemy of Philip and ally of John.³⁰⁸ Thus a crusade against Raymond would have predictable repercussions within the broader conflict between John and Philip: a defeat for Raymond would bring French influence into the South, whereas a victory with John's assistance might bring Angevin influence to bear more directly in the Languedoc.

More typically however, it was not the dukes of Aquitaine or counts of Toulouse but the house of Aragon which was the arbiter of Occitan events. Its influence in 1173 was decisive, for it was a southern alliance formed against Toulouse in 1172, involving both Aquitaine and Aragon, which was largely responsible for the submission of Raymond V at Limoges.³⁰⁹ In 1183, as noted, it tipped the balance of power against Toulouse and the young Henry. Elsewhere in the Languedoc the kings of Aragon were overlords of the Trencavel viscounts of Béziers, leading rivals of the counts of Toulouse. Through a voluntary association with the kings of Aragon, Count Bernard IV of Comminges (1176-1225) was able to realise his ambitions in the Languedoc. In 1181 he and Alfonso II went to war against his uncle and lord Raymond V, and in 1201 he became the vassal of King Peter for Comminges in return for a new fief, the Val d'Aran, which Comminges had been disputing with Bigorre since c.1143. Through this alliance Bernard also gained the viscounties of Marsan and Astarac and temporarily the county of Bigorre itself. Peter II was a capable politician and eventually sought peace with Toulouse, so that between 1204 and the start of the crusade in 1209, an alliance was achieved by marriages between the two families. However, in the case of Raymond VI, this was understood as secondary to his liege homage to the duke of Aquitaine for the Agenais.³¹⁰

³⁰⁸ *PL* CCXVI 127; *Chanson* I 98-9; Luchaire, A., *Innocent III*, 6 vols., Paris, 1905-8, II, 125; *L'épopée*, I, 224. In May 1204 John lost Falaise and subsequently the rest of Normandy. See also *HGL* VI 185-6 and 271.

³⁰⁹ *HGL* V 52-3; Turner, *King John*, 30.

³¹⁰ Higounet, *Comminges*, I, 34-48 and 73-89; *L'épopée*, I, 166-7 and 171-4; Mundy, *Liberty*, 52.

The king-dukes had also been seeking allies across the Pyrenees. In 1170 Henry gave his daughter Eleanor to Alfonso VIII of Castile. Her dowry was the whole of Gascony, to be handed over on the death of the duchess Eleanor. In 1204 that time came but John was unwilling to comply, providing an opportunity for rebellion in Gascony. Until 1206 the viscounts of Tartas and Orthez, the lord of Trencaléon and even the bishops of Bayonne, Dax and Bazas supported some nearly successful campaigns by Castile. It was perhaps only the Castilian commitment to the Reconquista that saved John from further attempts on the duchy.³¹¹

Thus the influence of other powers within Aquitaine was viable because of a shared Occitan political identity, and Gascony and the Languedoc, including their Pyrenean regions, had very similar societies. Similar, that is, but not identical, and it is probably in the differences between these neighbours that the clues to their different approaches to religious diversity lie. I shall outline briefly what it was about the Languedoc which made it susceptible to the heresy, using the model already established by historians of Catharism, and note that to a great extent these features were present in Aquitaine too. I shall then discuss features of Aquitainian society which made it different from the typical Occitan model in an attempt to understand the absence of heresy in the duchy.

Aquitainian society '*hors du Catharisme*'

The Languedoc and Aquitaine as Occitan neighbours

In essence, and to generalise, it was two related features which distinguished the Languedoc from northern France and made it susceptible to heresy: its decentralised political structure and its looser forms of social cohesion. A complex and fluid network of allegiances existed in place of the more clearly recognised hierarchies and obligations of the northern counties and royal lands. The greatest powers formed 'an aristocracy without vassals', for they did not command military support from those lesser lordships with whom they allied, the latter forming a patchwork of competing castellanies between whom counts and viscounts could not always arbitrate. This situation resulted in part from Occitan family law, which favoured partible inheritance as we have seen, and the resultant features of noble poverty and the economic unviability of systems of dependence based on the landed fief. Indeed competition for

land, or more specifically its revenues, made for frequent local warfare and the predominance of paid military service as opposed to that resulting from the performance of homage for an estate, a system which could define and contain private wars in the north. A frequent cause of conflict was control of the administration of tithes, and so the Church itself and those dependent on it were often the target of military activity in the campaigning season and of the brutality of the discharged *routiers* pillaging the countryside in the winter. The poor, if they looked to the Church for reassurance, evidently found it worldly and indifferent to their spiritual and physical well-being. It was also almost exclusively aristocratic and male in its recruitment. As a consequence, anti-clericalism was widespread amongst the powerful and powerless laity in a society typified by material insecurity and social disquiet: a perfect breeding ground for religious dissent. Into this came a heresy from the Balkans which was quite indifferent to the theft of property from the Catholic Church. Indeed, it shared many of the criticisms of those in opposition to and neglected by it. In contrast with the monasteries, it gave expression to the vocation of women and men irrespective of social status, it welcomed the patronage of aristocratic heiresses and, I suspect, offered the poor a better explanation for their misery and clearer path out of it than that offered by ill-educated parish priests. Alongside endemic anti-clericalism, social liberality, centred especially on the noble courts and in the increasingly autonomous communes, allowed new and dissident ideas to flourish.³¹²

³¹¹ Robert of Torigny, 247; Turner, *King John*, 124 and 130.

³¹² An Italian source, overlooked in English until recently, highlights that this picture of the lawless Languedoc lived on in the memories of unfortunate Italian merchants forced to travel through it (Vauchez, A., 'Les origines de l'hérésie cathare en Languedoc, d'après un sermon de l'archevêque de Pise Federico Visconti (1277)', *Società, istituzioni, spiritualità: studi in onore di Cinzio Violante II*, Spoleto, 1994, 1023-36, cited in Lambert, *Cathars*, 41). For modern accounts of the medieval Languedoc see *L'épopée*, I, 95-126; Sumption, J., *The Albigensian Crusade*, London, 1978, 15-31; Guillemain, 'Duché', 67; Paterson, *World*, 66-89; Magnou-Nortier, 'Fidélité et féodalité', esp. 472 and 470-6 (quotation on 476); Bonde, S., *Fortress Churches of Languedoc: Architecture, Religion and Conflict in the High Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1994, esp. 53-65; Humbert-Vicaire, M., 'L'action de Saint Dominique sur la vie régulière des femmes en Languedoc', *CF* XXIII 225-6; Wolff, P., 'La noblesse Toulousain: essai sur son histoire médiévale', in ed. P. Contamine, *La Noblesse au Moyen Age, 11e-15e siècles*, Paris, 1976, 154-74. T. Bisson has sought to moderate this picture and emphasize the survival and institutionalised growth of the peace movement founded in the eleventh century ('The organised peace in southern France and Catalonia, c.1140-1233, in *idem.*, *Medieval France*, 215-36). However, the legislative initiatives on which he draws as evidence of a move towards a Catholic and peaceful hegemony rather strengthen the impression of continuing disorder and abuse of secular power, against which they were reacting, as argued by R. Bonnaud-Delamere whose views he disputes ('Légende des associations de la Paix', *BPH*, 1936-7, 47-65). The *routier* problem was so bad by the turn of the century that it ranked as highly as heresy in papal complaints about the Languedoc, and according to William of Tudela, was the cause of the excommunication of

Many of the features of Languedocian society which encouraged support for the heresy were also present in Aquitaine and will now be outlined. Most obviously, the western and eastern counties of southern France shared a language, Occitan, unique to them, to whose speakers the northern French *Langue d'oïl* was alien and which predominated over Latin in legal and other profane literature. South of the Garonne a Gascon-Béarnaise form was spoken, whilst between the Garonne and Blaye, Ruffec and Périgord, and in the Limousin and the Auvergne, a mixture of Occitan and northern dialects had evolved.³¹³

Aquitainian court life was cultured, intellectual, cosmopolitan and liberal by comparison with many parts of France. The noble code of *paratge* dominated court life as far north as Poitou. Northern, clerical and ethical concepts of knighthood were largely absent in that most noble of pastimes: warfare. The *miles* income was still frequently supplemented by mercenary activity, the castellan's by raids on neighbouring estates. This tendency was, if anything, increasing, and as far north as the Loire the *chevauchée* was favoured over 'chivalrous' warfare.³¹⁴

Income from noble estates was low in areas where partible inheritance was still the predominant means of transmitting family property. This practice, influenced by that of the Aquitainian ruling families as well as those of Toulouse, was widespread even in Gascony in this period. We see it enshrined in the laws of Soule in an act of 1170. The castle and lands of Durfort supported the families of its three co-heirs by 1215, and the Montesquiou family and others in Fezensac and Astarac, previously generous to the church, seized back donations in the twelfth century to provide for heirs and fortified

Count Raymond VI of Toulouse in 1209 (*PL* CCXV 1166; *Chanson*, I, 14-15; Tillman, H., *Pope Innocent III*, Amsterdam/New York/Oxford, 1980, 240). The extent of the appeal of Catharism to women is still a moot point. See most recently Lambert, *Cathars*, 152, where it is argued that women did not independently adhere to the heresy but followed their families and husbands. Whilst it is undoubtedly true that families were important in the recruitment of believers of both sexes, the fact remains that women in the twelfth-century Languedoc wanting a life of religious observance could, with few exceptions, only enter the heretical life (*CF* XXIII 217-37 and 299-309). Examples of such women, below, show them influencing as well as being influenced by male relatives.

³¹³ A linguistic description of mid-twelfth-century Aquitaine is given in Higounet, *Aquitaine*, 172, and see discussion of dialects in the Agenais below and chapter 2.

³¹⁴ Higounet, *Aquitaine*, 162 and 172-3; Paterson, *World*, 63-115; Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 1-20; Lodge, *Gascony*, 202; Barthélemy, *Vendôme*, 711 and 724-35.

requisitioned churches in order to prepare for warfare against their neighbours. Although essentially still castle-based, Gascon nobles sometimes lived in towns or married into commercial families. Indeed, most noble revenues in Gascony were derived, directly or indirectly, from the trading community. This activity strengthened the links between Gascony and the Toulousain with which much trade was transacted. The nobility of Gascony thus played a supportive role in the growing urban assertiveness of the Languedoc, appearing frequently in urban charters, and also profited by levying *péage* on goods transported through their lands.³¹⁵

Urban life, though it came late to Aquitaine, became relatively vibrant from the late eleventh century, and towns in the duchy began to aspire to political independence. Geoffrey of Vigeois attests to the growth in confidence of the urban elites in the Limousin, and the *bourg* of Saint-Martial in Limoges itself was administered by *consuls* from early in the twelfth century. Poitiers briefly proclaimed a commune in 1138, and Bayonne, Dax, and Saint-Gaudens achieved partial economic and political autonomy. In the far north of the duchy too there was a shift from a castle-orientated society to one which was becoming more urbanised.³¹⁶

Secular authority in Aquitaine, as we have seen, was decentralised and patchy even under the Angevins. Justice was still often dominated by local custom rather than by the ducal court, so that disputes were settled by the peer group of the interested parties. This sometimes involving violent feuding, considered a perfectly legal and proper process. Legal bonds between individuals were also weak and temporary, and ill-defined alliances were the commonest form of social relation. Because of land-hunger, not least that resulting from the inheritance of unviably small plots of family land, the period did see a partial shift from allodial land-holding to that involving some service or responsibility. However there was no established framework for the duration

³¹⁵ CASJS 179; CAB 91, 104, 110, 116-7, 120-2, 192, 448; CAG 16, 18, 35, 82, 135, 137-8; Cursente, *Des hommes*, 117 and *Castelnaux*, 29-41, 45 and 48-9; Wolff, *Histoire*, 36, 58, 118, 201 and 206-7; Limouzin-Lamothe, R., *La Commune de Toulouse, 1120-1230*, New York, 1954, 369.

³¹⁶ Geoffrey of Vigeois, 284, 308, 313-4 and 317-8; Beech, *Gâtine*, 25-6 and 125-7; Debord, *La société... Charente*, 323-6; Petit-Dutaillis, C., *Les communes françaises, caractères et évolution des origines au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1947, 155-7; Guibert, L., *Le consulat du château de Limoges*, Limoges, 1895, 153; Higounet, *Comminges*, I, 87-8; Higounet, *Aquitaine*, 166-9; Barthélemy, *Vendôme*, 749-70.

or nature of services rendered and the term *fevum*, common terminology by this period in texts from the Languedoc, was rarely employed in Gascony. *Casal* perhaps carried some of the same connotations, but neither of these terms had an implicitly understood type of tenure or service, and property held in this way appears in many cases to have been regarded as simple payment and to remain allodial. Thus, 'until the thirteenth century the whole of south-west Aquitaine was virtually foreign to ties of obligation or dependence'. Not least, it seems that land actually became increasingly allodial in Gascony and also in Saintonge, Périgord, Angoulême and the Limousin, for the concept of the fief is less commonly contained within charters of alienation after 1050.³¹⁷

As in the Languedoc the real victim of warfare was the peasantry, for armies mobilised by either public or private authority supported and amused themselves largely by plunder. And who was to stop them? The Church had ultimately failed to moderate the behaviour of the Aquitainian soldiery, in spite of the earlier success of the Peace movement. The church in Gascony was relatively insignificant, the province of Auch comprising even in the later twelfth century a collection of ten unimportant sees. Until the 1170s the archbishopric of Auch was the family property of the counts of Armagnac. When the election of Géraud de Labarthe (c.1172-92) brought independence, lands pertaining to the see were decimated by the aggrieved Count Bernard IV. Archbishop Bernard III de Montaut (1200-1214), whose election never had the approval of Rome, was so negligent of the pastoral needs of his flock in this period when heresy was flourishing in the neighbouring Languedoc that the Pope was to demand his resignation. At parish level, in spite of reform in the last century, the clergy were frequently the beneficiaries of nepotism. Often they appear to have had only a little knowledge of the Church's teachings and to have been ill-suited to ministering either to the spiritual or pastoral needs of the poor. Cistercian monasteries were landlords who exacted as harshly from their tenants as any lay lords, and bishops were the resented recipients of tithes which much of the peasantry could ill-afford to contribute. As a result, anti-clericalism was common amongst the poor.³¹⁸

³¹⁷ Paterson, *World*, 19 (quotation) and 141; Bonnasia, *Slavery*, 104-31, 355-7 and 382-8; Lodge, *Gascony*, 196 and 203-4; Cursente, *Des hommes*, 71.

³¹⁸ CSM i 113; GC I instr. 163-4; Cursente, *Castelnaux*, 32; Shaw, 'Ecclesiastical policy', 139-42.

The poor were also still largely excluded from religious life, even though the monastic movement of the early twelfth century had attempted to redress this balance. Indeed, the new abbeys were amongst those most closely associated with aristocratic piety at its highest level: foundations such as that at La Rochelle by Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1180 epitomised this relationship, Fontevrault became the family abbey of the Angevins, and by the 1170s Grandmont was supported by endowments from both the dukes of Aquitaine and the French Kings. In both the role played by the humble laity became less significant: after the death of their founder Gérard de Sales, simple autonomous Geraldine hermitages either transformed into larger, and wealthier, Benedictine abbeys - for example Fontdouce in Saintonge - or formed 'family' groups under the authority of a house such as Cistercian Cadouin in southern Périgord. Indeed, Cadouin was itself Geraldine when founded in 1115, but became Cistercian in 1119. Etienne d'Obazine found his ultimate inspiration in La Grande Chartreuse and formed a larger coenobitic community on a Cistercian-inspired model. Significantly, there were still few religious outlets for women south of the Loire. The new monasticism had already reached its peak in Aquitaine by the period in which Catharism was gaining strength, with the foundation of probably only two houses accepting women in the archdiocese of Bordeaux between c.1150 and c.1215 and one in that of Auch. The Cistercians only formally associated female houses with their order after 1213.³¹⁹

Thus we find in Aquitaine many of the same characteristics of the society in which Catharism was successful: weak central government; a liberal-minded aristocracy which thrived through warfare; towns which were socially fluid and cosmopolitan; anti-clericalism amongst a vulnerable peasantry; and frustration of the religious aspirations of the ordinary laity and of women. But when we look beyond this superficial picture, we find that many important features necessary for confessional

³¹⁹ *CFAR* esp. 130-6; Venarde, *Women's Monasticism*, 10-11, 142 and 192-205; Paterson, *World*, 324-7 and 241-55; Barrière, 'Les abbayes', 74-85; Porter, *Compelle Intrare*, 71-99 and 109; Verdon, J., 'Les moniales dans la France de l'Ouest au XIe et XIIe siècles', *CCM* 19 (1976), 247-64 and 'Recherches sur les monastères féminines dans la France du Sud au IXe-XIe siècles', *AM* 88 (1976), 117-22 and 127-8; Thompson, S., 'The problem of Cistercian nuns in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries', in ed. D. Baker, *Medieval Women*, Oxford, 1978, 227-52; Douais, C., *Les frères prêcheurs en Gascogne au XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, Paris-Auch, 1885, 17-19 and 282-93; Hutchinson, *Hermit Monks*, 51-90.

diversity were missing.

The Aquitainian laity: a more conservative body of opinion

Perhaps the most striking contrast between Aquitaine and the Languedoc is that its highest authorities were actively orthodox and largely co-operative with ecclesiastical authorities. Duke Henry had little formal influence over archiepiscopal elections to Bordeaux, but when he exercised it informally the result was often good partnerships with prelates. Although he tried unsuccessfully to influence an election in 1158, he was decisive in the election of Hardouin, dean of Le Mans, to Bordeaux in 1162, and this new ally campaigned against Toulouse on his behalf in 1164. William de Temple, abbot of Reading, another ducal nominee and ally, was elected to Bordeaux in 1173 and supported Henry against his sons. There is less evidence of ducal influence at Auch, a much less important office. Nonetheless, its bishops were willing ducal officials and allies: Gérard de Labarthe was justiciar and chief chaplain on Richard's crusade, Bertrand de Montaut of Lectoure (1162-74) worked closely with Henry and was an opponent of Thomas Becket. Indeed, the king's quarrel with the archbishop of Canterbury did not jeopardise his relationship with the Aquitainian bishops in the slightest.³²⁰

When heresy was infiltrating the Languedoc, the Aquitainian bishops can have been sure that Henry would support them if Cathars entered the duchy, for in 1166, when a group of about thirty continental Cathars were discovered at Oxford, the king commissioned an episcopal synod to try them. This handed them over to the crown for punishment, and they were beaten, branded and cast out into the snow. Royal legislation followed in the same year: article twenty-one of the Assizes of Clarendon forbids Christians from giving succour to condemned heretics. This constituted the first secular legislation against the heresy anywhere in Europe and influenced the form of the Imperial and Papal decree against heresy, *ad abolendam*, of 1184.³²¹

³²⁰ Benedict of Peterborough, II, 110; Shaw, 'Ecclesiastical', 137-46; Gillingham, *Angevin Empire*, 27 and 62-3; Samazeuilh, *Histoire*, I, 219-20. Indifference to Henry's implication in the Becket murder is also illustrated by Geoffrey of Vigeois, who tells us that the martyr intervened to aid the king's army against the Scots (319).

³²¹ William of Newburgh, I, 131-34; *Select Charters*, ed. W. Stubbs, Oxford, 1913, 145-6 and 173; Biller, 'William of Newburgh'; Hamilton, B., *The Medieval Inquisition*, London, 1981, 32; Moore, *Formation*, 111, although Moore has said that the Oxford heretics were not dualists ('Saint Bernard's mission', 5). In 1210 Cathars were reported in London (*De Antiquis Legibus Liber...cronica maiorum*

In 1178 Henry acted against heretics and their defenders in the Languedoc at the request of his vassal Raymond V of Toulouse. He sent bishops Jean de Bellesmains of Poitiers and Reginald of Bath to Toulouse with the papal legate Peter of Pavia in a mission sanctioned by Pope Alexander III. To protect them Henry sent a vassal of both Aquitaine and Toulouse, Raymond II of Turenne. The delegation confronted Bernard Raimundi, the Cathar bishop of Toulouse, and the *credens* Peter Maurand. The bishop of Bath then excommunicated Roger II Trencavel, viscount of Béziers, who had imprisoned the Catholic bishop of Albi and was more accommodating to the Cathars than the count of Toulouse. Indeed, he was openly challenged in the names of the kings of France and England, two monarchs who had no political authority over him, and thus this mission, with the threat of physical force, should be seen as a precursor to the Albigensian Crusade.³²²

A second exception to the generalisation that Aquitaine and the Languedoc were very similar is that the nobility north of the Dordogne began slowly to reform its inheritance practices in favour of male primogeniture in our period. In the Gâtine of Poitou, for example, a practice emerged whereby the estate remained essentially intact and was passed to the eldest brother of the deceased. Women in Poitou consequently inherited less property, and this was exacerbated also by the shift from an 'aristocratic' to 'ecclesiastical' model of marriage, resulting in a loss of control of dowry lands by women. The case should not be overstated. Even by the 1250s the titles and lands of the house of Turenne were claimed by rival daughters of previous viscounts of Raymond IV and Boson III, until a royal judgement divided the lands between them. Thus neither female succession nor partible inheritance was dead north of the

et vicecomitum Londoniarum, 1188-1274, ed. T. Stapleton, London, 1846, 3). P. Biller notes that Ralph of Coggeshall gives a similar account but dates this to 1211. This latter account is usually overlooked, being contained not in the Rolls Series edn. of Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglicanum* but only in *MGH SS XXVII* (1885), 357 (Biller, 'William of Newburgh'; Borst, *Die Katharer*, 103). In the 1210/11 accounts the heretics were burnt, the Albigensian Crusade perhaps having set a medieval precedent for this.

³²² Benedict of Peterborough, I, 198-202; Roger of Hoveden, II, 155-66; *HGL VI* 78; Duvernoy, *Catharisme*, II, 219-29. This was the start of an extensive military involvement against the heresy by the house of Turenne, whose viscounty spanned the Dordogne from Brive to Souillac and Saint Céré (Documents relatifs à l'histoire de la maison de Turenne, ed. A. Vaissière, *BSHAC* 7 (1885), 312 and 330-2; *Dictionnaire de la Chenaye-Desbois*, 256-7; *L'épopée*, I, 239-40 and II, 110-113). See also below.

Dordogne, but both were being successfully challenged. Women may have been losing their inheritance rights in parts of Gascony too. In the period before 1050 some important castellanies were inherited and held by women. Marie de Esconboeuf brought the castles of Marmont and Tourecoupe into her family through marriage to Hugh de Panassac and Guillaume-Raymond du Brouilh. The castle of Estang was held by Alemane d'Estang in the second half of the eleventh century. But male primogeniture was adopted by families in Comminges during the twelfth century. By 1256 *caseux* were typically inherited by elder sons and they had most rights when it came to disposing of family property, as reflected in an entry in the cartulary of Sorde. Bernard, Pierre and Pons de Condom donated property at Vieilaigue (modern Grenade-sur-Garonne) to Grandselve. Their sister Guillemette approved this alienation, but does not seem to have been a co-owner herself.³²³ Thus some of the economic causes of instability on which the heresy thrived in the Languedoc had been ameliorated in Aquitaine to some extent, not least in Comminges, and by the same process we find women unable to patronise independently the orthodox religious, let alone the heretical.

Thirdly, in spite of the undoubted growth of urban life, a result of demographic growth and land hunger which was a feature of Aquitaine as much as of other parts of France at this time, it cannot be justly compared with that of the Languedoc, for the duchy was far less urbanised and at a later date. On the other hand, the economy of the duchy was almost entirely centred on towns; La Rochelle and Oléron in the north and Bordeaux and Bayonne in the south dominated the lucrative river and sea transport of wine and salt to England, Brittany and Flanders, and the import of wool. But their prosperity was dependent on the dukes, not achieved at their expense. The best trade in wine, for example, occurred at times when the Angevins were at war and had troops to support. Urban elites thus had an economic interest in the political ambition of the Angevins. In 1173-4 La Rochelle aided Henry against Richard, for it was Henry who

³²³ *CASJS* 60; *HGL* VIII 1799; Beech, *Gâtine*, 42-70 and 98-9; McNamara, J. A., 'Victims of progress: women and the twelfth century', in *Female Power in the Middle Ages*, eds. K. Glente and L. Winther-Jensen, Copenhagen, 1989, esp. 28-9 and 31-33; Duby, G., *Medieval Marriage*, trans. E. Forster, Baltimore, 1978; Rezak, B. B., 'Women, seals and power in medieval France', in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, eds. M. Erler and M. Kowaleski, Athens Georgia/London, 1988, esp. 65-6; Vaissiere, 'Turenne', 313-5 and 347-9; Bonnassie, *Slavery*, 391-2; Higounet, *Comminges*, I, 40-8; Cursente, *Castelnaux*, 31, 40 and 48.

offered access to markets throughout the Angevin territories. And it was specifically in this context of support for Angevin authority that towns won political autonomy: Bordeaux's first customs were conceded by Eleanor and confirmed by John in 1199 because its support was needed against Arthur; further liberties were granted when it closed its gates to Alfonso of Castile in 1205-6; and a commune was recognised 1224 when it refused to submit to Hugh of Lusignan. Bayonne, Dax, Oléron, Niort, Poitiers and Saintes were also granted communal status under the Angevins for their loyalty. In the Languedoc, in contrast, urban independence was exacted at the expense of the seigneurial prerogative. Toulouse offered its economic resources in 1141, 1159 and 1188 in exchange for concessions from its counts. Urban prosperity in Aquitaine thus lay in identification with conservative priorities, perhaps explaining why town life was less liberal and tolerant than in the Languedoc at a comparable date: Jewish moneylenders, persecuted in southern France as elsewhere in Europe, were more socially oppressed in Aquitaine than in the Languedoc, and the customs of Bordeaux eventually decreed that anyone found guilty of heresy would immediately lose their burgess-ship.³²⁴ It is hard even to imagine a Cathar being able to preach in such towns, let alone making converts.

Fourthly, many communities in the Aquitainian countryside managed to resist the erosion of free status and even to improve their condition. The *francaus* of Entre-deux-Mers held allods over which the only higher authority was the duke himself, and he provided protection in exchange for a payment, rendered communally, which was considered neither as rent nor payment in lieu of military service. Legal freedom and freely held land could also be attained by immigration into *castelnaux* and *salvetats*, the predecessors of the *bastide*. Established by the church since the second half of the eleventh century, the duchy had far more of these than the Languedoc. They were built in regions subject to attack by soldiery such as the Bordelais, ravaged in 1179 by

³²⁴ Robert of Torigny, 282; *Rot. lit. pat.*, 36; *Livre des coutumes de Bordeaux*, ed. K. Barckhausen. Bordeaux, 1890, 445 and 518; Higounet, C., Renouard, Y. et al, *Histoire de Bordeaux*, 3 vols., Bordeaux, 1962-5, III, 22-35; Bautier, R.-H., *The Economic Development of Medieval Europe*, trans. H. Karolyi, London, 1971, 79-86; Lodge, *Gascony*, 152-5, 168-9 and 200-23; Boussard, *Gouvernement*, 178-92, 247-51; Crozet, R., *Villes d'entre Loire et Gironde*, Paris, 1949, 39-78; Papy, L., *La côte atlantique, de Loire à la Gironde*, Bordeaux, 1941, II, 15-16; Petit-Dutaillis, *Les communes*, 117-21; Lot, F., *Recherches sur la population et la superficie des cités remontant à la période gallo-romain*, Paris, 1945, 104-7, 245-6, 310-13, 461-2, 497, 541-2, 576-8, 600-1; Favreau, 'Loudun', 163-4; Collins, *Basques*, 238-41; Mundy, *Liberty*, 60; Paterson, *World*, 175-82.

Basque, Navarrese and Flemish mercenaries; Périgord, where peasant holdings were attacked by discharged *routiers* during periods of fighting between Toulouse and Aquitaine in 1183-5; and the Limousin, where Brabançon mercenaries provoked an organised defence by the population in 1192. These communities were granted a degree of communal self-government. Again, therefore, we find communities who very much identified with the interests and values of the orthodox authorities in Aquitaine.³²⁵

In contrast, some communities defined themselves by their distance from higher authority. In the valleys of the Gascon Pyrenees survived villages never subjected to the *ban* and influenced instead by the Basque-Navarrese law codes of the free. The *fors* of Soule stated that its inhabitants were 'free and of free status without any stain of servitude'. Those of Bigorre indicate that its inhabitants were answerable only to the count and could bear arms in self defence against knights. In such self-governing communities authority rested with *baziaus*, village assemblies. These were dominated by those who held the most land. Usually this meant the eldest male heir, for Basque family law, and primogeniture with it, survived here. It also allowed for a daughter to inherit if there were no sons. However, if a man married an heiress he took on her family name, for most important of all was the transmission of land intact within one family. Thus the strict observance of family law was the very basis of authority in the Pyrenees, and these laws invested property and the legitimacy of marriage with great psychological significance. Such values were antithetical to Catharism. In addition we should note again the inherent conservatism of the heads of some *casal* communities in Gascony, themselves free but acting as agents of the *ban* over their servile neighbours, and their identification with the values, noted above as Catholic, of the social elite they aspired to enter.³²⁶ Thus we find that in many subtle ways the society of Aquitaine was developing along different lines from that of the Languedoc in the twelfth century.

³²⁵ Bonnassie, *Slavery*, 1-59 and 111; Lodge, *Gascony*, 189, 191, 194-223 and 227-33; Paterson, *World*, 28, 141-2, 145, 176-85 and 225-6; Higounet, *Comminges*, 61-66, *idem.*, *Histoire de l'Aquitaine*, 160 and 'Nouvelle approche sur les bastides du sud-ouest aquitain', in *Paysages et villages neufs de Moyen-Age; recueil d'articles de Ch. Higounet*, Bordeaux, 1975, esp. 348; Mousnier, *Gascogne Toulousaine*, 94-8 and 102; Boutruche, *Seigneurie*, 146 and *Une société provinciale*, 53-71 and 113-16.

³²⁶ Cursente, *Des hommes*, 157-62. The *Fors* of Soule are cited in Lodge, *Gascony*, 189, and those of Bigorre in Cursente, *Des hommes*, 91 and 159.

These may well have had an important impact on the extent to which the Cathar heresy would be received if heretics attempted to carry it there.

Aquitainian Catholicism: meeting the challenge of dissent and reform

In addition to these differences, and perhaps more important than all of them, is the fact that since the eleventh century the church in Aquitaine had been able to confront and eliminate heretical tendencies, most recently that of Henry of Lausanne, and to distinguish them from orthodox radicals like Robert of Arbrissel. In challenging attitudes to the vocation of women and the poor, the new movements fulfilled some of the important social and spiritual roles later played by the Cathars in the Languedoc. As stated above, there was a decline in interest by the new monasteries in simply lay piety and so it would be going too far to say that the new monasticism revolutionised the relationship of the Church to the vocation of the laity. Nonetheless, a model channel for the expression of simple piety had been firmly established, and that path was orthodox.

Although in Gascony it was still only in Comminges and Couserans that the religious life was relatively healthy, Fontevriste daughter houses of Lespinasse were established in both and Bernard IV of Comminges was a generous patron. J. Duvernoy has noted that the Fontevriste presence goes some way towards explaining the lack of heresy in these very regions in which historians once expected to find it. We should also note that Comminges had seen by far the biggest increase in Gascony of abbeys belonging to older orders: the Benedictine dependants of Lézat were well patronised after its reform in 1073; Cistercian monasteries abounded there by the mid-twelfth century; and a prestigious new abbey, La Bénisson-Dieu, daughter house of Bonnefont, was founded at Nisors between 1180-4. The knightly orders had a strong presence in Comminges too from c.1114 and in Couserans from 1176. It is hard to imagine Cathars infiltrating such houses or having success in the communities they dominated. Otherwise, although Gascony had very few monastic houses, wealthy Gascons made donations to prestigious abbeys elsewhere.³²⁷

North of the Dordogne the new monasticism had had a huge and well documented impact. By 1149 the order of Fontevrault had between four and five thousand nuns. B. Venarde has shown that although the demand for female monasticism increased in proportion to the numbers of propertyless unmarried women, such women chose the religious life for themselves and were not typically coerced by their families. In contrast with religious apathy of the leaders in the Languedoc, the support of bishops and of noble families had been vital in this trend.³²⁸

It thus seems possible that from an early date the Fontevriste movement in Aquitaine had been catering for the vocation of a social group from which the Cathars made some of their most prestigious conversions in the Languedoc, aristocratic women. These, as other evidence has indicated, had fewer resources at their disposal with which to patronise any variety of religious life. The only house in the Languedoc which came close to offering noble women and the poor of both sexes a similar orthodox outlet, Prouillé, founded near Fanjeaux by Dominic Guzman, was not established until 1206. This was far too late to prevent heresy taking root, but Dominic does appear to have looked to accommodate the religious vocation of social categories whom the Fontevriste houses served in other regions. The women at Prouillé lived an enclosed existence and did not preach, in contrast with both male Dominicans and Cathars of both sexes, and the foundation was never patronised as extensively by the native nobility as by the northern crusaders. Nonetheless, Prouillé was approved of by the southerners, and when lands seized by the Albigensian crusade and handed over to the Church began to be retaken by the southern party in the 1220s, those pertaining to this abbey were left untouched. The Franciscans may also have felt that the Fontevriste-style houses undermined the heresy, for of the twenty five houses they founded for women in western Europe before 1260 most of them were in regions containing Cathars. The Cistercians also first accepted women in the period when the order was in

³²⁷ Duvernoy, *Catharisme*, II, 196; Humbert-Vicaire, 'Saint Dominique', 226; Higounet, *Comminges*, I, 51-60, 85, 88-9 and 339-41; Dossat, 'Comminges', 122; Barrière, 'Les Abbayes', 84-5; Mousnier, 'Grandselve', 109-10.

³²⁸ See, for example, charters and donations to the new abbeys in *Recueil des Actes d'Henri II*, eds. L. Delisle and E. Berger, Paris, 1916-27, esp. I, 1.xxiii-xxx, 2.xxv, 2.cxxv, 2.cxxxii, 2.cxlili, 2.ccxliv, and 2.cclxxviii. See also Venarde, *Women's Monasticism*, 84, 91-132 and 152-5; Faye, M., 'Notice sur le monastère de Montazai, de l'ordre de Fontevrault', *MSAO* 20 (1853), 120-28; Beech, *Gâtine*, 98; Gaussin, P.-R., 'Y a-t-il eu une politique monastique de Plantagenêt', *CCAF* 29 (1986), 83-94.

close contact with Catharism and its supporters.³²⁹

The reformers had thus removed some of the causes of grievance which had enabled Catharism to thrive in the Languedoc and, as their foundations did not challenge Catholic doctrine or ecclesiastical power, they were acceptable to the secular authorities whose worldliness they had sought only to escape, not to destroy, and whose patronage they had come to accept. Because of this, and because some of the economic causes of warfare had lessened, the Aquitainian Church shaped aristocratic understanding of religious issues. We should not imagine that the Aquitainian nobles never attacked church property: Grandselve complained of thefts from monastic lands by the ill-disciplined retinues of some of the same nobles who at other times patronised it, even those of the viscounts of Turenne, themselves great allies of the Church. But the nobility of Aquitaine now rarely waged war on the church, and one of the most impressive mobilisations of Gascon soldiery was for a religious cause, Richard's crusade of 1190, on which at least sixteen lords, including Bernard of Armagnac, Bernard of Bezaume, Gaston of Béarn, Pierre of Castillon, Guillaume of Mont-de-Marsan, and Amanieu d'Albret, led contingents in the company of leading clergy and abbots of Aquitaine.³³⁰

Because both the religious and secular establishment had already made a distinction between acceptable innovation and dangerous heresy, Cathar missionaries to Aquitaine would perhaps have been judged by all sections of society in the context of these two models. The exception to this is the Agenais, part of Aquitaine until 1196 but home to Cathars from the 1170s at the latest. Their history will be discussed after a description of Agenais society in the period. Finally I shall attempt to account for their success on this frontier between Aquitaine and the Toulousain.

³²⁹ Humbert-Vicaire, 'Saint-Dominique', esp. 221-5 and 133-6; *L'épopée*, I, 189-92 and 491-4; Lambert, *Cathars*, 132-3; Venarde, *Women's Monasticism*, 171-5; Thompson, 'Cistercian nuns', 227-52.

³³⁰ Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 1-20; Mousnier, 'Grandselve', 122; Samazeuilh, *Histoire*, I, 219-20.

ii. The Agenais and its Cathars

The Agenais

The highest authorities in the Agenais

In 1152 when Henry of Anjou became duke of Aquitaine he assumed the title count of Agen. Although little is known of the region's early administration under the Plantagenets, it seems very likely that they installed *senechals* to govern it.³³¹

Economic concessions were soon made to the town of Agen itself, an indicator of the importance of the Garonne towns to the security of the frontier between Aquitaine and Toulouse, not least because the house of Toulouse disputed the Aquitanian claim to the Agenais. To resolve this conflict, as we have seen, Duke Richard gave his sister Jeanne in marriage to Count Raymond VI in 1196. Thus, though the counts of Toulouse became vassals of the kings of England, the Agenais itself moved further into the world of the Languedoc. By 1207 it was divided into twelve *baillages* under the immediate authority of its first Toulousain *seneschal*, Hugues d'Alfaro, a Navarrese mercenary captain to whom Raymond gave his natural daughter Guillemette in marriage. The seat of the *senechaussé* was Richard's castle Penne d'Agenais on the Lot.³³²

Perhaps one reason for the dearth of documentary evidence about the ducal administration of the Agenais is the fact that the bishops of Agen continued to have the most immediate influence. Their possession of the *comitalia* meant that, like his predecessors, Bishop Elie II de Castillon (1149-82) was count of Agen in all but name when Henry assumed the actual title in 1152. Elie was probably from Castillon-en-Couserans and was appointed from the chapter of Saint-André de Bordeaux. His career was a prestigious one and continued to involve him in affairs beyond the Agenais. We will see that he took steps against heresy in the 1150s. In 1158 he was called back to Bordeaux to arbitrate in the dispute over the election of the new archbishop. His judgement in this matter undermined the attempted interference of the duke. Perhaps as a result, in c.1174 he found Henry unco-operative when he petitioned

³³¹ Ducom assumes this to have been the case (i, 283). It is a logical assumption because when the Agenais was ruled from Toulouse *sénéchaux* were appointed to it (see below). This office was essentially alien to the Languedoc and so it seems likely that in the Agenais it was inherited from its earlier rulers, who had *sénéchaux* throughout their continental lands. English rule of parts of Quercy presumably accounts for the presence of *sénéchaux* there likewise under the counts of Toulouse.

him to transfer the benefices of Saint-Caprais to Saint-Etienne at Agen. Nonetheless, when Duke Richard conferred the *comitalia* on Bishop Bertrand de Béceyras (c. 1183-1209) in 1190-1, it still entailed the exclusive right to mint *Arnaudines*, to administer justice and receive the revenues thereof in the diocese, and to raise various other moneys in a secular context.³³³

Not all the clergy originating in the Agenais were as dynamic as Bishop Elie. Given the major political and religious events in the Agenais, the episcopate of Bertrand de Béceyras was unremarkable. His most meritable activity in defence of orthodoxy took place outside the Agenais, for he apparently went on the Third Crusade with Duke Richard. A famous clerical scandal took place during his episcopate. Bernard de Rabestans, archdeacon of Agen, became bishop of Toulouse through fraud and was deposed in 1205.³³⁴ Thus in the period around the turn of the century, after heretics had already established themselves in the county, we find that, in spite of their undoubted orthodoxy, its ecclesiastical and secular authorities were only as capable, or incapable, of challenging the subversion as those of the rest of the Languedoc. But this does not enable us to explain how the heresy had originally become established in the Aquitainian Agenais.

Identity and diversity in the Agenais

T. N. Bisson observes that 'even in the twelfth century the men of the Agenais were understood to form a kind of regional community, with common rights and responsibilities'. The clearest expression of this, he says, was the *Cour d'Agenais*, a secular body which consisted of representatives of the Agenais' villages and approximately twenty significant towns and one hundred and fifty nobles. It would convene at Agen when convoked by the count or his *senechal*. This, says Bisson, was the institutionalisation of local customary practice that recognised responsibility to, but also some autonomy from, the region's higher authorities. He asserts that it began in Duke Richard's day, initially to support him militarily but also to offer advice and to arbitrate amongst its members. Bisson's argument for a twelfth-century *Cour* is based

³³² Boussard, *Gouvernement*, 148-51; Burias, *Guide...Lot-et-Garonne*, 35; Ducom, i, 273, 282-8.

³³³ AD Lot 2J54, 13, xviii (cited in Clémens, 'Cour', 74). See also Ducom, esp. i, 294-318 and Labénazie, *Annales*, 47 and 50-3.

on the implication of regional responsibility in certain articles of the general customs of the Agenais, not least common liability for military service and regional regulation of relationships relating to land-holding and inheritance practices. The earliest reference to such articles is in the customs of Marmande, the earliest extant copy of which claims that they date to 1182. Such was the emphasis on this regionally constituted body that oaths of homage from individual nobles and towns to the counts of the Agenais are unknown until the imposition of northern practices by the crusaders in the next century.³³⁵

However, Bisson may have inferred too much from the contents of early documentation in asserting that the origins of the *Cour* lay in regional tradition and in the twelfth century. The origins of the customs of Marmande in 1182, and thus the early date for the articles relating to the Agenais, have been seriously called into question by J. Clémens, who argues convincingly that the mention of a *Cour* is an interpolation of the mid-thirteenth century.³³⁶ It does seem likely that, as in the thirteenth century, early *senechals* of Agen had the power to convoke gatherings of its lords and to summon an army.³³⁷ However, even if the articles cited by Bisson imply the existence of a general court, which Clémens is surely correct to dispute, such a body probably did not exist by 1182, not least because the *Cour* is nowhere mentioned until 1212.³³⁸

Bisson's hypothesis of political self-identity relies heavily on the assumption of a homogenous culture throughout the Agenais. This might in turn lead us to expect to find a unified response to heresy within the region. Neither of these appears to have been the case, and frequently the opposite is true. Indeed, in seeking to understand the religious preferences of the people of the Agenais, we should note that Gascon, Toulousain and Poitevin-Aquitainian influences met and overlapped in this region and

³³⁴ William of Puylaurens, 48-9; *PL* CCXV 682-83; Samazeuilh, *Histoire*, I, 219-20; *L'épopée* I 150-1 and 180.

³³⁵ Bisson, T. N., 'The general court of Agenais in the thirteenth century', in *idem.*, *Medieval France*, 4-5 (quotation at 4), and 7-11; Ourliac, P., 'Note sur les coutumes successorales de l'Agenais', *Annales de la faculté de droit d'Aix*, 63 (1950), 253-8. See below for the customs of Marmande

³³⁶ Clémens, 'Cour', 69-80.

³³⁷ Ducom, i, 283.

³³⁸ Clémens, 'Cour', 72; Samazeuilh, *Histoire*, I, 187.

produced a very diverse society.

As noted in chapter two, the southern third of the Agenais was distinct in many ways from its northern portion. By the mid-twelfth century the region spanning the Garonne's broad fertile plain and extending into Bas-Quercy formed a region of assarted agricultural land and commercial towns which the foreign crusaders were later to find a more pleasant environment than the area to the north, consisting of wooded hills and river gorges like those of the Lède and the Canaule, and dotted with castles and tiny settlements dominated by those of the river Lot. These contrasts in environment and settlement meant that the Agenais of the Garonne had a great deal more in common with Bas-Quercy. Indeed, it has been observed that the pre-Revolutionary demarcation of the 'Agenais' and 'Bas-Quercy' is in many ways arbitrary and that the region stretching from Marmande into the Aveyron, Tarn and Garonne basin were self-defining *Pays de la Moyenne-Garonne*. This association is reflected in the treaties of mutual support struck between the towns of the two regions after they began to gain self-government, notably the ports of Agen, Mas-d'Agenais, Marmande, Porte-Sainte-Marie, Montauban, Moissac and Castelsarrassin. Thus the Agenais was neither homogenous nor clearly defined in geographical or economic terms, and parts of it associated most immediately with places beyond its political boundary: Bas-Quercy in the case of the towns of the Garonne, and in the case of the Lot parts of upper Quercy brought into the Aquitainian sphere (the Cahorsain by Henry in 1159 and by Richard from 1188 to 1191, and even Cahors itself until the settlement of 1196). Indeed, on several occasions after 1196 Quercy and the Agenais were administered by a single *senechal*.³³⁹

Cultural distinctions, in contrast, are most notable either side of the Garonne. A linguistic mapping of the region reveals the presence of a distinct subdialect within Occitan extending from just south of the abbey of Blasimon in Entre-Deux-Mers into the Lot region and down towards Agen. It was a dialect closer to that of Quercy and

³³⁹ *Agen... Chartes*, xiv-xix; AD Lot F. 97 and 104; *HGL* III 810-11, VI 174 and VII 22-4; Robert of Torigny, 201-2; Sumption, *Albigensian*, 150-1; Deffontaines, P., *Les hommes et leur travaux dans les pays de la moyenne Garonne*, Lille, 1932, esp. 1-8 and 247-56; *Inventaire des archives municipale de Cahors*, ed. E. Albe, I: 1, Cahors, 36. Clémens too notes that the work of Deffontaines undermines Bisson's picture ('Cour', 69-70).

the Languedoc, but even containing elements of medieval French. South of the river, however, the dialect was more obviously Gascon.³⁴⁰

Very significantly, and in contrast with Bisson's model, I find that the people within the Agenais do not in fact appear to have assumed a distinct regional identity: the towns of the Garonne and the seigneuries of the Lot were very different from each other in their orientation; the bishops and the orthodox nobility north of the Garonne presented only the veneer of an institutionally Catholic hegemony; and the powerful Gascon lords south of the river were actively Catholic and in fact had little to do with Agenais political life. These differences are very important when we examine the way in which the region reacted to heresy, and so they will now be examined more closely.³⁴¹

The urbanised right bank of the Garonne

None of the towns of the Agenais were thriving commercial centres by the standards of Bordeaux or Toulouse, but some of the ports on the right bank of the Garonne were amongst the largest and most important of the *Pays de la Moyenne-Garonne*. Land owners adjoining the river were becoming increasingly aware of its economic potential. Thus in 1210 Honor de la Tour and her husband Gaubert de Pis were attempting to undermine the right of Grandselve to import salt along their stretch of the river without paying duties for it, a right granted to the abbey, argued Bishop Arnaud de Rovinha (1209-28), by Richard I.³⁴²

Agen and Marmande both contained busy mercantile communities, collecting *péage*

³⁴⁰ Guiter, H., 'Limites linguistiques dans la région bordelaise' in *Actes du 104e congrès des Soc. Sav.*, Paris, 1981, 65-7; Guillemain, 'Le duché', 63; Higounet, Ch., *Paysages*, 409; Esquieu et al., *Agenais Occitan*, 11-12 and 23-27; Guignard, *Agenais*, 121; Verger, et al., *Agen*, 433; Baumont, Burias et al., *Agen*, 31; Ségury, J., *Atlas linguistique et ethnographique de la Gascogne*, 3 vols., Toulouse, 1954-6, e.g. I maps 4, 11, 25, 33, II maps 275, 296, and III maps 704, 741, 761, 778, 786.

³⁴¹ Except where cited, information about the major towns and lordships of the Agenais comes from the following sources: Labénazie, *Annales*, 5-53; Clémens, 'Cour', esp. 70-3, *idem.*, 'L'espace coutumier d'Agen au Moyen Age', *RA* 109 (1982), 18-19 and 'La coutume d'Agen au XIVe siècle', *RA* 113 (1986), esp. 305; Bisson, 'Court', esp. 8-10 and 29; Ducom, i, esp. 194-200, 288-94 and 319-20, and ii, 133-234 and 319-20; Coutumes d'Agenais, ed. P. Ourliac, *AM* 74 (1962), 242-3; Guignard, *Agenais*, 100-6; Baumont, Burias et al., *Histoire d'Agen*, 38-50; Higounet, *Paysages*, 325-34 and *Le Développement urbain et le rôle de Marmande au Moyen-Age*, Agen, 1952, esp. 1-5 and 14; Ricaud, *Marmande*, 7, 35, 41-43; Lagarde, A., *Notes historiques sur la ville de Tonneins*, Agen, 1882, esp. 6-9, 12 and 38-9; Samazeuilh, *Histoire*, I, 147-58, 186, 219-20; le chanoine Delrieu, J. B., 'Les puits de Richard-Coeur-de-Lion à Penne', *RA* 1 (1874), 181; Marquette, 'Les Albret', 301-3 and 306-7; Lacoste, J., 'Le Château de Nérac', *RA* 4 (1877), 198.

and developing their own consular authorities, and resisting most other secular interests except for those permitted to the clergy by the counts and those of the counts themselves. The articles of the customs of the town of Agen itself were conceded in 1196-7, significant economic rights were granted by the duke, the limited authority of its consuls was recognised, and the town's seal was issued.³⁴³ These privileges were not all new, for the charter confirms some exceptions to comital power already in existence, and in 1189 the town had been granted the right to finance and build a bridge.³⁴⁴ The charters of 1189 and 1196-7 thus provide us with a picture of a town that was economically and communally assertive. The greatest economic wealth in the town, however, was that of the chapter of Saint-Caprais, and there is evidence by 1216 of resentment of its dominance by the townspeople, expressed over the charges made for performing religious ceremonies and the size of wine measures sold by the canons.³⁴⁵ The bishop too, in spite of his own extensive economic and judicial powers in the Agenais, was somewhat alienated politically from the town, having no say at all in the running of the commune in spite of the homage performed to him by the consuls.

The next most important town on this stretch of the Garonne was Marmande, with strategic importance for the control of the river. It was established by the dukes of Aquitaine although its exact origins are a matter of some debate. This is not made easier by the uncertainty of the original wording and date of the customs of Marmande. The earliest extant version of these, claiming to have been based on an older version conceded by Duke Richard in around 1182, date from 1340.³⁴⁶ What is certain is that by the late twelfth century this was a relatively thriving town for the Agenais, home to numerous mercantile and noble families and a monastic priory, protected by walls and a castle. By the outbreak of the Albigensian Crusade it dominated the very border between the lands of Toulouse and Aquitaine.

The towns and nobles of the Lot and the Lot-Garonne confluence

The towns of the more hilly region through which the river Lot ran were settlements

³⁴² HGL VIII 1853-4 (see also *ibid.*, 1828, 1834, 1848 and 1855).

³⁴³ *Agen...Chartes*, ii.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, i. This bridge was not completed until the late thirteenth century.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, iv and v.

³⁴⁶ *Coutûmes de l'Agenais, I: Les coutumes du groupe Marmande: Marmande, Caumont, Gontaud, Tonneins-Dessous, La Sauvetat-du-Dropt*, ed. P. Ourliac and M. Gilles. Montpellier. 1976, 5.

around small castles. They were dominated by local seigneurial families who, we might speculate, did not trouble much with a literate administration, for secular records pertaining to them are few and far between, and originate almost exclusively in the chanceries of higher authorities. One of the most important was the de Rovinha family. Their origins are uncertain. During the thirteenth century they acquired numerous titles, but in the late twelfth century, as far as we know, they were simply lords of Casseneuil, which nestles low in the gorge where the Lède meets the Lot, and also of Tonneins-Dessus, just above the meandering confluence of the Lot and Garonne.

The first reference we have to a de Rovinha is to Racinto-Bernard de *Roviniano* who, at Agen in c.1185, witnessed a charter of Duke Richard in favour of the abbey of Candeil, in modern Tarn.³⁴⁷ The next is to Raymond-Bernard de Rovinha and his son Centulle, who co-operated in 1197 with an abbot Guillaume, exempting his monks from *péage*. This charter most likely refers to the abbey of Grandselve, and is perhaps the oldest record of a branch of the family at Tonneins-Dessus.³⁴⁸ The most famous members of the family are Agen's bishop Arnaud de Rovinha and his brother Hugues, lord of Casseneuil, the family's most important seigneurie in the period and one that was possibly held of Raymond VI of Toulouse.³⁴⁹ There can have been little love lost between this fascinating pair. Indeed, in 1209 the former was literally to declare war on the latter. Perhaps their animosity had some origin in family politics; we can only speculate. What is certain is that Arnaud was determined to rid the Agenais of the Cathar pestilence, and that Casseneuil, under Hugues' protection, had become a major, if not the major foyer of heresy in the region.³⁵⁰

In spite of the dearth of documentation relating to the towns of the Lot valley, we also know a little of another family connected with Casseneuil. Seguin de Balenx was to be in charge its defence in 1209 and 1214. *Balencs* itself was situated somewhere in the *bailliage* of Monflanquin, north-east of Casseneuil on the Lède, a region which, as will be noted below, was arguably the earliest in the Agenais to be infected with the heresy.

³⁴⁷ *HGL* VIII 388.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1849. In 1289 Ranfred de Montpezat followed the earlier example of a Raymond-Bernard de Rovinha of Tonneins and Auterive (alive in 1261) who had exempted Grandselve from *péage* (*ibid.*, 1878).

³⁴⁹ Cassany-Mazet, A., *Annales de Villeneuve-sur-Lot et de son arrondissement*. Agen, 1846. 49.

A woman, Hartemanda de Balenx was to feature in the records of the Inquisition.³⁵¹

Neighbouring Tonneins-Dessus was Tonneins-Dessous. This was controlled by another family, the Ferréols, present in the town since ancient times (Tonneins takes its name from the fifth-century Frankish official Tonnantius Ferréolus). They would appear to have been owed some sort of homage for Tonneins-Dessus from the de Rovinhas, rendered at least in symbolic form by the presentation of thirteen bread rolls on a silver dish. The family had some influence at Gontaud also in the early thirteenth century, and elsewhere in the Languedoc, and was to be involved in the coming wars.³⁵²

Sainte-Livrade was less heretical than some towns on the Agenais Lot. The lord of Madaillan, a leading vassal of the bishop, was also a lord of Sainte-Livrade, and it was one of the few towns of the area containing a monastic foundation, as noted in chapter two. The town was never attacked in the Albigensian wars. Instead, the abbey hosted the crusader army for some time and there an important document was drawn up by the northern party in 1214. The only known heretic of Saint-Livrade was Guillaume Amanieu. His goods were confiscated because of his belief before 1214 and on 13 April of that year were given to a relative, Pons Amanieu, who did homage at Penne d'Agenais to Simon de Montfort, the crusade's commander. Guillaume was not a *perfectus* however, at least not by 1217 when he helped to liberate Toulouse.³⁵³

Penne d'Agenais was the most significant political centre on the Agenais Lot. When Henry II pacified Richard in 1173 with a portion of the Aquitanian revenues, the latter immediately used them to set about building this fortified town and castle high above the river, later known locally as *castrum regum*. It was granted after 1196 to Hugues d'Alfaro by Raymond VI as the administrative base of the *sénéchaussée*, and the lord of Fumel, a vassal of Agen's bishop for other lands, also controlled property in its town.

³⁵⁰ PVC 198-9 and see below.

³⁵¹ *Chanson* III 341, and see below and chapters 5 and 6.

³⁵² *HGL* VIII 308, 363-4, 411-2, 789, 846-7; Tholin, 'Notes...féodalité', iv, 77.

³⁵³ Molinier, *Actes*, 78; *L'épopée* II 258, and see chapter 5.

South of the Garonne

In general terms, as elsewhere in the Languedoc, nobility in the Agenais was defined far more clearly by land-holding than by birth, and property ownership within towns as well as in the countryside conferred great status.³⁵⁴ Yet this would only seem to be true as a generalisation north of the Garonne. The estates of the left bank were dominated down the years by minor local and major Aquitainian dynasties, which held towns and estates there because they pertained to their titles and they could exploit them, not acquiring *noblesse* through urban activity. The lords on this side of the river were also actively Catholic. Those of Caumont had a very close relationship with the abbots of Grandselve, donating property to the abbey in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century and allowing its monks to transport goods unhindered along this rural stretch of the river. The viscounts of Lomagne also had influence south of the Garonne and as lords of Auvillars on the right bank.³⁵⁵

The viscounty of Bruilhois was the largest and most important estate in the Agenais. Its somewhat confusing history - it was held at different times by the viscounts of Béarn and the Aquitainian de Faye family - has recently been clarified by J. Clémens. An act of King John of 1199 recognises Raoul de Faye as its viscount, and so we see that it did not pass to Toulouse with the rest of the Agenais. In c.1170 the viscounty had been granted to Raoul's father of the same name, uncle of Duchess Eleanor and *senechal* of Saintonge in 1163. Yet by 1193/5 Bruilhois had evidently been transferred to Gaston de Béarn, who founded there the abbey of Laplume. This transfer, as Clémens demonstrates, probably occurred in 1183. In the 1190s however, Gaston fell out of favour with the Plantagenets, as did the powerful Boville family of the Agenais with whom he was associated. It was in an attempt to limit rival power with the Agenais, therefore, that one of John's first acts as ruler of Aquitaine was to re-allocate Bruilhois to the de Faye family. As part of this process in which the Bovilles were undermined, their castle of Castilou, near Agen, was also destroyed.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁴ Bisson, 'Court', 8-10. For such patterns at Toulouse see Mundy, *Liberty*, esp. 9-13.

³⁵⁵ *HGL* VIII 1795, 1816, 1849, 1854 and 1857; *Chanson* III 139 note 5 and see chapter 2.

³⁵⁶ *Rot. chart.* p. 62; *RHF* XII 420; Richard, *Histoire*, II, 136; Boussard, *Le gouvernement*, 115 note 8; Higounet *et al.*, *Aquitaine*, 178; and esp. Clémens, 'La maison de Béarn', 201-9. See also chapter 2 for the Bovilles.

Other Gascons, Bernard (c.1140) and Amanieu IV (1174-1209) d'Albret, had influence in three major towns in the Agenais. It is unclear how the family acquired rights at Casteljaloux, but by the time Amanieu IV made his will, in the year he died, they had overcome the claims of the bishop of Bazas, although by the late twelfth century Bishop Galhard de Lamothe (1186-1214) still shared some power with them there. At Meilhan they were at least co-lords by the end of the century, and in 1200 Amanieu IV granted an exemption from *péage* there to the monks of Grandselve. It also seems likely that another lord of the town, Fort Guillaume de Meilhan, was an Albret. The town of Nérac was theoretically the possession of the monks of Condom, having been granted to the abbey by the sister of the, presumably deceased Arnaud de Nérac, earlier in the century. The Albrets rose in importance there between 1130 and 1143, initially as its protectors, and one of the twelfth-century lords of Albret held the title of abbot and had built the town's castle. In all three towns they were working in relative harmony with the ecclesiastical authorities and also with the *prudhommes* by the turn of the century, when urban customs were conceded and they became partly self-governing.³⁵⁷

These towns were not the most important on the left bank, however. This honour goes to an ancient port, one also acquiring communal identity, Le Mas-d'Agenais. Mas was vitally important for securing the Agenais, both militarily and in terms of resources. Duties were levied there by the late twelfth-century, and its customs make little reference to any seigneurial over-lordship, the *consuls* and *jurats* holding extensive powers.³⁵⁸ It was also to assert its autonomy, though no particular religious preference, in the next century, and thus the crusaders would pay it significant attention.

The orthodox religious life and the allies of the bishop

Some of the laity on both sides of the Garonne were influenced by and co-operated with abbeys in both Aquitaine and the Languedoc, most notably Benedictine La Réole and Grand-Sauve in Entre-deux-Mers, and Cistercian Grandselve in the Toulousain. However, the Garonne was a dividing line not least in terms of the scale of orthodox religious affinity for, as noted in chapter two, religious enthusiasm north of the river

³⁵⁷ HGL VIII 1851 and 1860: Marquette, 'Les Albret', 301-2 and 307.

³⁵⁸ Agen...Chartes, xiv, xvi, xviii.

paled in contrast with that inspired by the Gascon saints revered to the south.

North of the Garonne the abbeys of Saint-Maurin and Sainte-Livrade received little patronage and Agen had waned as a centre of pilgrimage. With the exception of the Templar convent founded at Agen in 1154-8 by Bishop Elie de Castillon and the priory of Clairac, founded under Duke Richard's protection at Marmande, the region is notable for the lack of monastic foundations in the latter half of the century. The Lot valley in particular was still something of a religious wasteland. South of the Garonne, however, religious houses, especially in the sphere of the Gascon church, continued to be patronised, established and protected by the nobility. As such, the influence of Condom grew and a daughter house of La Réole was established at Meilhan by the end of the twelfth century, very possibly by the Albrets, which served also as a parish church. The colonisation of new land by monks and associated peasantry was a feature of the Garonne valley and especially the left bank, with the establishment of *sauvetats* by the monasteries noted in chapter two and also at Aubiac and Moirax.³⁵⁹

There is little indication of the role played by the bishops in the promotion of monastic activity in this period but we do have an idea of the geographical extent of their personal influence. Since the time of Arnaud II de Boville (1020-49), on the day on which a new bishop was consecrated he ascended his episcopal throne in the church of Saint-Caprais and Agenais nobles then carried him in it across town to Saint-Etienne. This honour was accorded to the lords of Clermont-Dessus, Madaillan, Boville and, at different points, of Fossat and Fumel. These lords were amongst the bishop's greatest vassals, owing homage for much of the property and revenues they collected from various Agenais churches. The lords of Fumel, Clermont, Fossat and Madaillan almost certainly held their titles and lands from him. The lord of Boville probably held Castillonés likewise. In 1190 Bertrand of Fumel accompanied bishop Bertrand de Béceyras on crusade.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁹ Higounet, C., 'Les bastides du sud-ouest'. *L'Information Historique*, March-April (1946), esp. 28-35 and 'Les chemins Saint-Jacques', 211-3. Some *sauvetats* were eventually founded north of the river as well, initially at Monsempron and Saint-Maurin (Guignard, *Agenais*, 105-6) and La Sauvetat-de-Savères, founded by the canons of Saint-Caprais (Wands, *Romanesque*, 44-6).

³⁶⁰ Tholin, G., 'Notes sur la féodalité en Agenais au milieu du XIIIe siècle', i 50-1 and 55-7, iii 146, and iv, 74. Ducom says that bishop was carried by five lords at once, those of Clermont-Dessus.

We should note three significant things about these lords. Firstly, their estates were spread throughout the portion of the Agenais lying north of the Garonne almost marking its furthest boundaries. Bearing in mind the influence of Madaillan at Sainte-Livrade, we see that the bishop had a very wide but thinly spread geographical network of secular and orthodox influence in that region. Second, none of his vassals appear as part of the southern resistance in the Albigensian wars. Third, there is little evidence of the suzerain power of the bishop south of the river by this date, and the essentially Gascon lords there were to have differing responses to the crusade. Thus, although it is appealing to believe, as does Bisson, that in 1211 the army raised in the Agenais in support of the count of Toulouse consisted of 'the whole Agenais; no one remained behind', the nobles of the Agenais were actually very divided over the heretical issue once the Crusade demanded of them that they take sides.³⁶¹

The Cathar diocese of Agen

The origins of the Cathar diocese

The earliest possible incidence of Catharism in the Agenais was in 1114, when Robert of Arbrissel preached at Agen against an otherwise unidentified heresy.³⁶² Although, as noted previously, there may well have been Bogomils active again in western Europe by this date, there is certainly not enough information to connect this heresy to them. On the other hand, it would also seem to be rather early to be related to the teachings of Henry of Lausanne or Peter of Bruys. In the 1140s the Bogomil-derived heresy was certainly gaining success in the west and could well lie behind the identification, before 1150, of certain heretics whom Abbot Hervé of Le Bourdieu at Déols calls 'Agenais' and also 'Manichaeans' who opposed marriage and the eating of meat.³⁶³

We know a little about the nature of two incidents in the Agenais, one at Gontaud on the river Canaule and the other at Gavaudun on the river Lède occurring in c.1155-60. Their position, and a reference to Saint-Bernard having preached against the latter,

Madaillan, Fossat, Boville and Fumel (i, 318-21 and ii, 230), but given the nature of the ceremony this seems unlikely.

³⁶¹ *Chanson I* 208-9; Bisson, 'Court', 4.

³⁶² *Monumenta Conventus Tolosani Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, ed. J. J. Percin, Toulouse, 1693, II, 3; Capul, M., 'Notes sur le Catharisme et La Croisade des Albigeois en Agenais', *RA* 90 (1964), 4.

³⁶³ *PL* CLXXXI 1426; Capul, 'Notes', 4-5; Duvernoy, *Catharisme*, II, 206.

make it possible that they could have been related to the heresy of Henry of Lausanne. But the same reference to Bernard, who also encountered 'Arians' at Toulouse, and Abbot Hervé's reference makes a connection with early Catharism seem possible. In c.1155 Agen's bishop Elie made an appeal to Abbot Pierre II de Didonie of La Grand-Sauve for aid in restoring the lapsed faith of the people of Gontaud. To encourage the abbot, he donated to the abbey the church of Saint-Pierre de Nogaret, near Gontaud, and informed him that Vital de Gontaud, presumably its lord, invited him to establish monks at the town, which the abbot did. The castle of Gavaudun, in contrast, was thought irredeemable and was attacked in c.1160 by the army of Bishop Jean d'Assida of Périgueux.³⁶⁴ These actions did not rid the region of the heresy however. Robert of Torigny referred to the Cathars of Toulouse as 'heretics who are called Agenais' in 1178 and at the end of the century Raoul Ardent described in some detail Cathar beliefs in the Agenais.³⁶⁵ Thus we know that the heresy was well established in the Agenais by 1200, and perhaps reached it by the 1150s.

This is also attested by another source. In 1266/7 the Dominican inquisitor Anselm of Alessandria reported that the Balkan dualists had inspired the establishment of French Cathar bishoprics, including one at Agen, between 1150 and 1200.³⁶⁶ He is referring to the visit of the Bogomil Nicetas and to the establishment of the bishoprics at the Cathar council of Saint-Félix de Caraman, which Nicetas attended. The only surviving account of this council refers not to *Ecclesia Agenensis* but to *Ecclesia Aranensis*, i.e. the Val d'Aran, which is in the county of Comminges. However, it is now generally agreed that this was a scribal error resulting from a misreading of the source. The council was convened between 1174 and 1177. In attendance also were the Cathar bishops Mark of Lombardy, Robert de Spemone of 'France', and Sicard Cellerier of Albi. Three new bishops were elected by the Cathars of southern France; Gerald Mercier to Carcassonne, Bernard-Raymond to Toulouse and Raymond de Casalis to

³⁶⁴ GC II 911; letter of Bishop Elie in l'abbé Cirot, *Histoire de l'abbaye et congrégation de Notre-Dame de la Grande-Sauve, ordre de Saint-Benoît, en Guienne*, Bordeaux, 1844, II, 90; Capul, 'Notes', 6; Guignard, *Agenais*, 107-8. For a description of Gavaudun see Tholin, 'Notes', iii, 155-6.

³⁶⁵ Robert of Torigny, 279; PL CLV 2011. Migne and his sources place Raoul Ardent's homilies c.1100, but he has since been shown to have lived around a century later (Gründel, Th. -J., *Das Speculum Universale des Rodulfus Ardens*, Munich, 1961, 3; Duvernoy, *Catharisme*, II, 206; Thouzellier, C., *Catharisme et Valdésisme en Languedoc à la fin du XIIe et au début de XIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1966, 128-9; Dondaine, A., *Le hiérarchie Cathare en Italie*, AFP 20 (1950), 272-3).

³⁶⁶ Anselm of Alessandria, 308.

Agen. They were ordained in the new absolute dualist *Ordo* by Nicetas.³⁶⁷ The new doctrine was apparently quickly adopted by the southern French Cathars as a whole, according to Rainier Sacconi.³⁶⁸

However the Cathars of the Agenais were, I suspect, nowhere near as numerous as those of the bishoprics of Toulouse, Carcassonne and Albi, and there is no evidence of a Cathar hierarchy of the Agenais after its initial foundation until the following century. It is unlikely that this is simply a reflection of the fact that we have little Inquisitorial documentation relating to the region. If it had been of greater significance, it might have been a target of the missions against the heresy initiated in 1198 by Innocent III and intensified in 1204. William of Tudela asserts that in 1209 the pope gave instructions to the crusade's convenor, Arnaud Aimery abbot of Cîteaux, to 'destroy anyone who offers resistance, from Montpellier to Bordeaux'.³⁶⁹ In spite of this rhetoric, it was clearly the region from Toulouse eastwards which was the pope's main concern.

It has been noted how difficult it is to establish exact boundaries of jurisdiction for the Catholic bishoprics of Agen and Cahors in the Middle Ages.³⁷⁰ The task is even more difficult for the Cathar diocese of the Agenais. The Cathars of southern France followed the Bogomil and Italian dualist practice of naming their dioceses after Catholic bishoprics, and often followed the borders of Catholic dioceses for practical reasons. But they did not always limit themselves to the exact shape of the orthodox bishoprics. From the Saint-Félix document we know that the Catholic archdiocese of Narbonne and all the dioceses of the region of Catalonia were put under the authority of the Cathar bishop of Carcassonne, and that the Cathar bishop of Toulouse also had much of northern Spain under his authority. Neither were the Cathar bishops based in

³⁶⁷ The original Saint-Félix document is lost but portions of a copy of it were published in 1660 by Guillaume Besse. The document is thought by some to be a forgery (see especially Dossat, Y., 'A propos du concile cathare de Saint-Félix: les Milingues', *CF* 3 (1968), 201-14) but mostly thought to be genuine (Hamilton, 'Saint-Félix', 23-8). See also *ibid.*, 27-36 and 42, and Besse's document at 51-3. See also B. Hamilton's appendix on the Saint-Félix document in Moore, *Origins*, 288, and Thouzellier, *Catharisme et Valdésisme*, 13-14. Lambert notes that 'Agen' is still not universally accepted (*Cathars*, 46 note 5).

³⁶⁸ Rainerius Sacconi, 77.

³⁶⁹ *Chanson* I 18-19 and see 20-22.

³⁷⁰ Albe, *L'Hérésie Albigeoise et l'Inquisition en Quercy*, Paris, 1910, 27.

the towns after which the Catholic diocese were named, for obvious practical reasons.³⁷¹

Thus it seems unlikely that we can reconstruct the Cathar diocese of the Agenais as it was conceived in the Saint-Félix document with any real accuracy. We would certainly be unwise to attempt to equate it closely with the boundary of the Catholic diocese. We should instead discuss the Cathars of the Agenais most usefully by establishing as far as possible where they were actually situated and in what geographical context we can show them to have operated. As sources are few, especially for the period before the early thirteenth century, we have to extrapolate backwards cautiously from early references in sources such as those for the Albigensian Crusade and the Inquisition. From these we find no references to Cathars in that portion of the Agenais on the left bank of the Garonne.³⁷² More surprisingly, we find no references to heretical centres in the Garonne towns themselves until much later. Instead, we find them concentrated in the valley of the Lot and using the Garonne apparently only for communication with the Cathars of Bas-Quercy, with whom they were probably most closely connected.

The Cathars of the Agenais and those of Bas-Quercy

Heretics were present in Quercy relatively early but no Cathar diocese corresponds to the Catholic diocese of Cahors. This was perhaps a reflection of the uncertain political status of the region in the later twelfth-century when it was fought over and occupied variously by the duke of Aquitaine and the count of Toulouse. J. Duvernoy concludes its Cathars must have been considered to have been under the authority of the Cathar bishop of Toulouse because the Cathars most active there after the start of the crusade were Guillaume de Caussade, heretic of south-eastern Quercy, and Vigouroux de la Bacone, Cathar bishop of the Agenais, both acting under the guidance of Guilhabert de Castres, the Cathar bishop of Toulouse.³⁷³

To this picture of activity in Bas-Quercy by heretics of the Toulousain we should also add Bernard de Lamothe, a very important member of the Cathar hierarchy in the years of the crusade, and, before the crusade, Arnaud Arrufat, *perfectus* of Verfeil, and

³⁷¹ Hamilton, 'Saint-Félix', 36-8, 40-2 and 52-3.

³⁷² Noted also in Guillemain, 'Le duché', 64

Raymond Aymeric, Cathar deacon of Villemur. But their activities in the thirteenth century do not indicate to me a general Toulousain dominance of the Quercinois Cathars. In the first place, through his exceptional talents and the crisis of the war, Guilhabert de Castres came to lead all the Cathars in the Languedoc in the mid-1220s, not just those in the heretical diocese of Toulouse.³⁷⁴ Thus we should not infer that influence over Quercy had necessarily been the prerogative of his predecessors. Second, there is evidence of the heresy only in Bas-Quercy in the twelfth century. Thus the absence of a Cathar hierarchy in Quercy as a whole before the crusade should not concern us, for we only need to establish the orientation of the heretics of the Tarn-Aveyron-Garonne basin.³⁷⁵ Finally, although it should be noted in support of Duvernoy's theory that Bas-Quercy was part of the Catholic diocese of Toulouse and not of Cahors, this was evidently an inappropriate geographical demarcation even for the Catholic church, and it was changed around a century later with the creation of the diocese of Montauban.³⁷⁶

The evidence does not point clearly to the dominance of any individual Cathar diocese over Bas-Quercy in the twelfth and early thirteenth century. If it was an extension of the Cathar diocese of Toulouse, it seems strange that Bernard de Lamothe appears there in preference to two Cathar deacons of the northern Toulousain, Pons Guilhabert and Arnaud de Cavelsaut. Both were based close to Bas-Quercy, at Verfeil and Villemur, but we find them in Bas-Quercy very infrequently.³⁷⁷ The presence of Bernard de Lamothe is surely largely explained by the fact that he was actually a native of the region, as discussed below. Guillaume de Caussade, who had little to do with Bas-Quercy in any case, was most closely associated with the Cathar hierarchy of Albi

³⁷³ Duvernoy, *Catharisme*, II, 230-4 esp. note 86, 257-66 esp. 264, and 284.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 265-6.

³⁷⁵ The question of why the heresy was not taken up in upper-Quercy in the twelfth century cannot be explored here for reasons of space. However, an initial survey of Quercinois cartularies suggest to me very close connections between the region's aristocracy and its abbeys and that similar factors may have prevented the acceptance of the heresy in the region as in Aquitaine. I will however make some suggestions as to why the over-riding orthodoxy of the region eventually changed.

³⁷⁶ Noted in Passerat, G., 'Cathares en Bas-Quercy: entre l'église de l'Agenais et celle de l'Albigeoise', *Actes de la Cinquième Session d'Histoire Médiévale organisée par le Centre d'Etudes Cathares/René Nelli*, Carcassonne, 1992, 151.

³⁷⁷ Doat XXII 5v-6r, 28v, 48v, 53v-54r, 54r, 54r-v; Griffé, E., *Le Languedoc Cathare au Temps de la Croisade, 1209-29*, Paris, 1973, 178; *L'épopée* IV 168.

who, I think, had little practical influence in Bas-Quercy at any point.³⁷⁸

The most important heretic of all to be found in Bas-Quercy was not from the Toulousain at all but was Vigouroux de la Bacone, bishop of the Agenais. Y. Dossat, the authority on Vigouroux, notes the extent to which he was active in Bas-Quercy, 'cette region qui devait naturellement relever de lui'. B. Guillemain has noted how easy communications were in the *Moyenne Garonne* for the heretics, and G. Passerat has noted that the heretics of Bas-Quercy and also Villemur had close associations with the *perfecti* of the Agenais.³⁷⁹ It does not seem unreasonable to assert that the Cathars of the Agenais had a very strong influence, perhaps even the strongest, in Bas-Quercy from the start. Even though we have a good amount of evidence about Bas-Quercy at the start of the thirteenth century there is little indication that it contained an independently organised Cathar hierarchy of its own. It was the heretics of the Agenais and Villemur who were to decide how the northern Languedoc in general should respond to the first campaign of the crusade in 1209, as will be discussed. Some work has previously been done on the Cathars of Bas-Quercy, but I shall attempt to identify important families and family members who we find later in contact with heretics of the Agenais. First, I shall describe the heretical Agenais in the pre-crusade period, to the extent that the sources allow.

The Agenais: a heresy of castellans

There is no evidence that Agen itself contained a heretical community until the 1240s. In spite of tensions between the town and its clergy, its largest and most important families, for example the de la Casaihna and Peitavi, do not feature in the history of the heresy.³⁸⁰ Indeed, this is the case for all the towns along the Garonne until we come to the junction of the river with the Lot. In spite of the possibility that Cathars were at Gontaud in the 1150s and were at Tonneins by the 1220s, and the fact that the crusaders attacked both towns in 1209, we know nothing of the heretical life of this

³⁷⁸ Cf. Passerat, 'Cathares', 149-65. Passerat includes the heretics of Caussade amongst those of Bas-Quercy, and thus finds Albigeoise influence in Bas-Quercy. I find Caussade to have been more closely associated with the other towns of the Aveyron on the eastern-Quercy/Albigeoise border and think that it was regarded as part of the Cathar diocese of Albi.

³⁷⁹ Dossat, 'Un évêque Cathare', 628; Guillemain, 'Le duché', 60; Passerat, 'Cathares', 149-65.

³⁸⁰ Names of important families of the town can be found in *Agen... Chartes*, i, ii and iii. However, an Etienne Pelicier, convicted of the heresy at Penne d'Agenais, may have been related to the important Pelicier family of Agen (see chapter 6).

stretch of the Agenais Garonne around the turn of the century.

In the pre-crusade period, Cathar activity in the Agenais was concentrated instead along the Lot. The first heretics encountered by the Albigensian Crusade were at Casseneuil, at the junction of the Roman Périgueux-Agen road and the Lot. William of Tudela tells us that after the attack a youth rushed to Villemur and informed the townspeople that the crusaders were already striking camp.³⁸¹ Naturally the secular authorities of Villemur would need to know such news, and a natural response of the Agenais would be to send such a warning into the Toulousain. But why rush straight to Villemur, a town one hundred kilometres from Casseneuil and less easily accessible than Castelsarrasin, the more important seat of secular power in Bas-Quercy?

The action of the messenger perhaps indicates that Villemur was the next significant town in the organisational network of the Cathars, and that the seat of the heretical bishops of the Agenais was Casseneuil. There is other evidence to support this. The attack on Casseneuil was in fact the culmination of this campaign of 1209, indicating that this curious first stage of the crusade was not as arbitrary or fruitless as is sometimes assumed. Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay says that the town was again full of heretics by 1214, indeed, that it was populated mostly by heretics. It was thus besieged again in that year and again many Cathars were taken and burned. The same chronicler describes it not only as one of the most important centres of the heresy, but also as one of the oldest and most resistant to Christianity. Perhaps symbolically, after it fell in 1214 its revenues were granted to the Dominican convent at Prouillé, whose foundation had been the major spiritual initiative against heresy in the Languedoc.³⁸²

M. Capul has offered an explanation as to why the Agenais Lot was an important region for heretics. Aside from its obvious opportunities for transmitting the heresy using river traffic, the valley was forested heavily and its cliff and hillsides full of caves.³⁸³ Long before the crusade and Inquisition, security must surely have been a

³⁸¹ *Chanson* I 42-5. I believe that Duvernoy is wrong to attribute the burnings at Casseneuil to Gontaud and Tonneins (Duvernoy, *Catharisme*, 236) as there seems to be no reason to doubt the evidence of Guillaume of Tudela.

³⁸² PVC 198-9 and see chapters 5 and 6.

³⁸³ Capul, 'Notes', 10.

concern in the Agenais. It was an outpost of the heresy in an essentially orthodox duchy, and safety could not have been offered as easily by larger towns on the Garonne, for they were much more closely under the scrutiny of the officials of the dukes of Aquitaine. We can perhaps speculate as to why Casseneuil in particular might have become the most important centre after 1196. The town had excellent natural and man-made defences and Hugues de Rovinha was supported by his lord Raymond VI and was thus well placed to protect leading Cathars from his brother bishop Arnaud. Indeed, it took entire army to threaten the security of this Cathar stronghold in 1209, and then only temporarily.

The towns neighbouring Casseneuil, most notably Castelmoron-sur-Lot, Villeneuve and Pujols were to play an important role in the heresy in the next century, and it is possible that there may have been houses of Cathars in them previously. However, not all the towns on the Lot were heretical. Sainte-Livrade was and remained Catholic and east of Villeneuve there is little evidence of heresy either in spite of efforts made to identify heretical centres in the Penne area in 1212. Nonetheless, the heretic Guillaume-Amanieu had family at Sainte-Livrade who were land-holders in the Penne district by 1214.³⁸⁴ In addition, there is almost no evidence of Catharism north of the Lot in the late twelfth century, even along the Lède where it had perhaps been established earlier at Gavaudun. The Agenais, in contrast with the other parts of the Languedoc, was probably of marginal importance as a heretical region by the turn of the century.

Bas-Quercy - a heresy of towns and abbeys

In contrast, before the Albigensian Crusade Bas-Quercy had several large towns containing heretical communities, and just as there was a natural cultural association between the region and the Agenais, the same appears to have been true in religious matters. It is interesting to note that the only surviving inquisitorial documents concerning trials at Agen relate not to the Agenais at all but mostly to the heretics of

³⁸⁴ Molinier, *Actes*, 78; Cassany-Mazet claims a female heretic for the Penne area: Girauda of Lavaur (*Villeneuve*, 48). His source is the earliest history of the Agenais, the often unreliable Darnalt, J., *Remonstrance...faicte en la Cour de la sénéchausée...d'Agenois.... Antiquités de l'Agenais*, Paris, 1606, 72. Darnalt is clearly confusing Penne with Penne d'Albigeoise and his heretic, who is thrown down a well and covered with rocks by the crusaders, with Dame Girauda of Lavaur in the Albigeoise, executed in 1211 (*Chanson I* 164-7 and 172-3; PVC 89 and 94).

Although the town of Villemur in the Toulousain was a Catholic archdeaconry of Toulouse and part of the same Cathar diocese, its heretical history is intertwined in this early period with that of Bas-Quercy, as noted by M. Roquebert and E. Griffe, and the Agenais, as indicated above. This was to continue well into the crusade. The assumption by its inhabitants that Villemur was to be attacked in 1209 is therefore understandable. If an army were to travel from the Agenais into the Toulousain it might well do so via this town in spite of the indirect route, for it was a major centre of heresy with its own Cathar deacon, Raymond Aymeric. In the event, the Agenais crusade was called off after the fall of Casseneuve and Villemur escaped attack, but not before its inhabitants had abandoned their town in terror.³⁸⁶

Most of our evidence for the heretical community of Villemur in this period comes from the deposition of the *perfecta* Arnauda de Lamothe whose family were from Bas-Quercy. She and her sister Péronne were moved to Villemur from their home at Montauban around the turn of the century by arrangement between Raymond Aymeric and Arnaude's kinsman, the *perfectus* Bernard de Lamothe. At Villemur they lived as Cathar novices at the house of the *perfecta* Poncia where they were visited by Bernard in 1207/8 and hereticated whilst still young. It was not long after this that the news of the attack on Casseneuve reached Villemur, and Arnauda tells us that Raymond Aymeric organised an evacuation into the Albigeoise.³⁸⁷

The Lamothes were amongst the many minor nobles of Bas-Quercy. In origin I suspect they were lords of what is modern Lamothe-Capdeville, just north of Montauban on the Aveyron. Since 1203 Guillaume de Lamothe and his son Raymond had been under the protection of Count Raymond himself.³⁸⁸ Arnauda's immediate family resided in

³⁸⁵ See chapter 1. For discussion of the heretics of Bas-Quercy and Villemur see esp. *L'épopée* I 96-100, 241-2, 477 and 527-8, and IV, 179; Griffe, E., *Le Languedoc Cathare de 1190 à 1210*, Paris, 1971, esp 89 and *idem.*, *Le Languedoc... 1209-29*, esp. 117; Duvernoy, *Catharisme*, II, esp. 268; Albe. *L'Hérésie ... en Quercy*, esp. 17.

³⁸⁶ *Chanson* I 44-5.

³⁸⁷ Doat XXIII 2v-49v, esp. 2v-5v; *L'épopée* I 242-3, and IV 212-13.

³⁸⁸ *Layettes* I 710; *Chanson* II 299 note 5. The toponyme de Lamothe (and de la Mothe, or de la Mota) is not uncommon throughout the Languedoc, but it seems to me that the many people called de Lamothe in Montauban and its immediate vicinity were of one family.

Montauban itself, founded on the Tarn in 1144 by Count Alfonse-Jourdain of Toulouse.³⁸⁹ There she and her sister spent their early childhood with her mother Austorgue and brother Arnaud, frequently accepting Cathars into their home and adoring them. The rest of the family remained in Bas-Quercy in 1209; a Hugues de Lamothe fought in the defence of Toulouse, and Lamothes were still in the area in the period of the Inquisition.

Further east, dominating the Garonne below its junction with the Tarn, lies Castelsarrasin, the administrative seat of Quercy for the counts of Toulouse. By 1209 it was notorious for its support of the heresy and several of its leading families were implicated. Most important was the Grimoard family, of which Pons Grimoard, a *credens* himself from around 1204, was later the *sénéchal* of Quercy for the count of Toulouse. It was the elder generation of Pons' family who dominated the heretical life of the town before the crusade. His father Vital was a heretic who later lived at Moissac, and his mother Arnauda was a *credens*. One of the most important accounts we have is of a meeting in 1204 at their house at which many other heretics and *credentes* of the region were present. Pons' uncle Raymond Grimoard was the most important *credens* of Castelsarrasin and was later hereticated. Vital and Raymond's brother, Pierre Grimoard, was married to Na Berètges and fathered Raymond-Bernard Grimoard before also being hereticated.³⁹⁰

Amongst the Inquisition's witnesses, Pons Grimoard's memory was one of the longest, and the other families of the town emerge only hazily in this early period. Nonetheless, we know that the Fabers of Pechermer, a suburb of Castelsarrasin situated on the Garonne road to Moissac were already very important both socially and in terms of the heresy. Both of Guillaume Faber's parents were hereticated before death, as were many other family members, and the whole family had a good deal of contact with the Cathar hierarchy. Guillaume Faber married Bernarda de Ruptari, daughter of Guillaume-Arnaud de Ruptari, at an unknown date in the early decades of the thirteenth

³⁸⁹ Ligou, A., Passerat, G., *et al.*, *Histoire de Montauban*, Toulouse, 1992, 28-30.

³⁹⁰ Doat XXII 34v, 38r and 40v (references to Pons before the crusade); *ibid.* 8v, 13v-14r, 15r-v, 16r-v, 18r, 19r-v, 20v-21r, 23v, 23v-24r (Vital and Arnauda); *ibid.* 4r-v, 15v-16r, 22v, 23r, 23v-24r, 34r-v, 36r, 37v (Raymond); *ibid.* 15r and 21r-v (Pierre); *ibid.* 16v and 23v-r (Raymond-Bernard). See chapter 6 for the Berètges family.

century.³⁹¹ Both the Fabers and de Ruptaris were also related to the Audebert family, active in the heresy into the late crusading period.³⁹² Emerging also in the sources for this period, and important allies of the heretics in later years, were members of the Bressols family, especially Raymond and his nephews Aymeric and 'P'.³⁹³

We know a good deal also about the de Cavelsaut family into which the *credens* Na Pros, Pons Grimoard's cousin and the daughter of Raymond Grimoard, was married by the early years of the century. Pros and Johannes de Cavelsaut had a daughter, Raimunda, who had been hereticated by c.1218. The couple were apparently married by the meeting of c.1204, which Pros attended with Bertranda, wife of Johannes' brother Hugues, a *perfectus*, who was also present. Both the de Cavelsaut brothers and other family members were to continue in the heresy for several decades.³⁹⁴

Further north, on the Tarn-Garonne junction, the abbey town of Moissac was far more subject to actively Catholic influences than Castelsarrasin. Its protagonists in authority were the count of Toulouse and a series of dynamic and ambitious abbots. Both controlled secular rights in the town in a situation not dissimilar to that at Agen. The abbots were to prove active in promoting orthodoxy in the town and the abbey.³⁹⁵ Nonetheless, they were only partially successful amongst the laity, and the heresy found a foothold at an early date in the instability and conflict between the count and the abbey. The important *perfectus* Raymond Imbert came from the town and had been hereticated before crusade.³⁹⁶ The seigneurial family of Moissac contained many *credentes* by c.1224 and were possibly involved in the heresy before then.³⁹⁷ The Falquet de Saint-Paul family were also influential *credentes*, many of whom aided the heretics throughout the wars.³⁹⁸

³⁹¹ Doat XXII 2r-v, 4r, 6r, 9v-10r, 11r, 15v-16r, 23r-v, 26r-v, 28v, 34r-v, 34v-35r, 35r, 35v-36r, 36r, 36v, 37r-v and 44v-45v.

³⁹² *Ibid.* 9v-10r, 11r-v, 13v-14r, 20v-21r, 24r, 26r-v, 34r-v and 35v.

³⁹³ *Ibid.* 34r-v and 38r (Raymond); *ibid.* 4r-5r, 10r, 13v-14r, 18r, 34r-v, 36v and 37r-v (Aymeric); *ibid.* 13v-14r, 20v-21r and 35r-v ('P.')

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 7v, 9v-10r, 15v, 15v-16r, 17r-v, 18r, 19v-20r, 20r, 22r, 23r, 24v, 28v, 34r-v, 35v (Pros); *ibid.* 15r-v, 16v, 19v-20r, 22r, 23v-24r, 34r-v, 36r, 37v (Johannes); *ibid.* 17r-v, 20r, 23r, and 28r-v (Raimunda); *ibid.* 11r, 14r-v, 15r-v, 19v-20r, 21r-v, 21v, 28v, 34r-v, 35r, 37v, 38r (Hughes).

³⁹⁵ Sumption, *Albigensian*, 151.

³⁹⁶ Doat XXIII 167v.

³⁹⁷ See chapters 5 and 6.

³⁹⁸ Doat XXI 294r-v, and XXII 6r and 36r-v.

Finally, we should note the possibility that heretics sometimes found shelter in the rural abbey of Belleperche in this period. The eleventh-century foundation, on the Garonne south of Castelsarrasin, was influenced by Géraud de Sales and became Cistercian by the late twelfth century.³⁹⁹ But we find that before the attention of the Inquisition fell upon it *credentes* were being admitted there; B. d'Alegre de Borrel and Folquet, a *credens* of Moissac, entered the abbey as monks, and the latter lived there until the friars arrived in the region and he was forced to flee for Italy.⁴⁰⁰ In the early 1240s Rostanh de Bressols led R. Stephani, a condemned heretic, to the abbey apparently expecting to find him shelter there. Instead, the pair were met by an angry and frightened, brother Otto, who later recounted the story to local *credentes*.⁴⁰¹

It would appear therefore that at least one abbey in Bas-Quercy had been infiltrated by heretical ideas and another, at Moissac, was at risk from the heretical urban community whose religious life it dominated only theoretically. The river towns of Bas-Quercy were certainly accustomed to heretics the late twelfth century, probably including those from the more rural castellan dominated region of the Agenais, who we know from more abundant evidence certainly travelled to and through Bas-Quercy in later years. How these heretical towns and their families fared in the coming wars and Inquisition will be discussed in subsequent chapters, after a summary of which features of Agenais life allowed it to be the only part of Aquitaine to be infiltrated by the heresy.

iii. Conclusion

B. Guillemain implies that the Agenais, alone in Aquitaine, was home to heretics because it was 'disputée, entre l'influence toulousaine et l'influence bordelaise'.⁴⁰² This indeed provides an insight into the religious tolerance of the region, but not because the two powers were closely involved in the Agenais in the period during which Catharism was being implanted there. On the contrary, its importance to them was apparently primarily as a military buffer zone. It was built up in defensive terms by

³⁹⁹ GC XIII 259; Mousnier, M., 'Implantations monastiques' (unpaginated).

⁴⁰⁰ Doat XXII 3r; *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Inquisition dans le Languedoc*, ed. C. Douais, 2nd edn., Paris, 1977, 95.

⁴⁰¹ Doat XXII 12r.

⁴⁰² Guillemain, 'Le duché', 63.

Duke Richard: Marmande defended the Bordelais from enemy activity along the Garonne; the loyalty of Agen was bought to secure its co-operation also, and we should not neglect the defensive as well as commercial significance of the bridge which he intended the town to build; and Penne guaranteed Aquitainian interests in Quercy by its domination of the Lot. Aside from the probability that the dukes installed *sénéchals* in the Agenais, there is little indication that they were interested in the immediate government of the region. Indeed, its economic potential pertained most immediately to the bishops and the towns. Thus higher lay authority was very distant in the Agenais under the Angevins. This changed under Raymond of Toulouse to an extent, but his *senechal* Hugues d'Alfaro was no more interested in the persecution of heresy than were the count's officials in the Toulousain, and there is no evidence that the lethargic bishop Bertrand de Béceyras took action in spite of the papal initiative of 1198.

In the absence of activity by its highest authorities, the heresy thrived in the more 'Languedocian' northern portion of the county in very similar conditions to those which favoured it in Bas-Quercy, the Toulousain and the counties to its south and east. Lordship was weak, legal hierarchy between families rarely in evidence, accountability to comital authority apparently voluntary and loyalty to the bishop existing only amongst a small orthodox section of the nobility. Minor castellanies in the Agenais could thus accept heretics into their protection with little fear of action from above. Whilst there is not enough evidence from any sources to indicate generalised female and peasant support for the heresy, the presence of Languedocian patterns of partible inheritance at all social levels, and the highly militarised and castle based culture and weak monastic life, might lead us to suspect that these characteristics of heretical adherence were also present along the Lot.

In contrast, Y. Dossat's premise that Catharism did not establish itself in beyond the Garonne holds true even for the Gascon Agenais, with its far more vibrant orthodox life. There is no evidence of the heresy even in the ancient and assertively independent port of Mas-d'Agenais. We have noted that the Garonne divided the region in linguistic terms. Whilst, as argued above, this was unlikely to have proved a barrier in itself, it reinforces the impression of cultural differences either side of the river. Thus the Agenais was far from being a coherent entity and was instead an almost accidental

geographical construct, the result of two distinct influences: Gascon on the one hand, dominated by powerful secular lords who, like other Gascons, favoured orthodoxy; Languedocian on the other, and thus, either through genuine adherence or religious ambivalence, open to the Cathar heresy. The next few decades were to see the Agenais plunged into appalling warfare. Patterns of local partisanship in the fighting and its geographical orientation indicate that the orthodox authorities of France were also well aware that the region was not a religious unity.

Chapter 5: The Agenais and Aquitaine in the Albigensian Wars, 1207-1229

i. The crusaders and their targets in Aquitaine and in the Cathar diocese of the Agenais, 1209-1215

The Crusade in the Languedoc, 1209-15, and the involvement of Aquitainians.⁴⁰³

On 14 January 1208 Pierre de Castelnau, papal legate to the Midi charged with investigation of the Cathar heresy, was murdered. Count Raymond VI of Toulouse was held by many to be responsible. Not only was the Languedoc a haven for heretics but their protectors had now murdered a servant of Christ's vicar. Arnaud Aimery, abbot of Cîteaux and papal legate to the Languedoc, was initially charged with organising and leading the crusade. The pope advised him to target Christians including those of Périgord, the Limousin and Poitou specifically.⁴⁰⁴ Thus the main crusading army came

'...from the whole length and breadth of the Auvergne, from Burgundy,
from France, from the Limousin, from the whole world - north and

⁴⁰³ This is necessarily the briefest of summaries, designed to provide a chronological context for events in the Agenais, Aquitaine, and to a lesser extent Quercy, and to highlight the responses of Aquitainians to the war. There are two major contemporary literary sources for the crusade. One is an Occitan poem by William of Tudela and his anonymous continuator (abbreviated as *Chanson*). William was a cleric from Navarre based in the Languedoc under the patronage of Baldwin of Toulouse, the brother of Count Raymond VI of Toulouse. Whilst a staunch defender of orthodoxy, his writing reveals great empathy with the suffering of his adopted countrymen. He began the *Chanson* in 1210 and finished writing at *laisse* 132, when King Peter II of Aragon entered the war. The continuator, also Catholic, was much more of a southern partisan than William. There is a recent English translation (Shirley, A., *The Song of the Cathar Wars*, Aldershot, 1996). The second source is a chronicle by a northern French Cistercian, Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay, nephew of Guy des Vaux-de-Cernay, bishop of Carcassonne from June 1212. His account was probably the official record of the crusade, commissioned by Rome. Peter was young and impressionable, fanatical about the justness of the crusade and an apologist for its excesses. His partisanship is so apparent, however, that his value as a source is not especially undermined by it. His Latin chronicle covers events until 1218, when he probably died. I have mainly used the French translation (PVC). The original Latin (*Hystoria*) is referred to for its excellent footnotes. There is also a recent English translation (PVC, *History*). Another important southern French source is the *Chronique* of William of Puylaurens. William was a southern notary who later worked in the service of Raymond VII of Toulouse and of the Inquisition. He was especially interested in the subject of heresy and his chronicle contains some important insights into the crusade, of which he probably had first hand experience, written in c.1250 (Dossat, Y., 'A propos du chroniqueur Guillaume de Puylaurens', in *idem.*, *Eglise et Hérésie*, 47-52 and *idem.*, 'Le chroniqueur Guillaume de Puylaurens était-il chapelain de Raymond VII ou notaire de l'inquisition toulousaine?', in *ibid.*, 343-53). Finally, the anonymous *Histoire de la Guerre des Albigeoise* (RHF XIX 114-92 and HGL VIII 1-205) is a later thirteenth century work which follows Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay almost entirely, but occasionally contains interesting information from other sources. The most thorough secondary accounts of the crusade are in HGL VIII and *L'épopée*.

south - Germans, Poitevins and Gascons, men from the Rouergue and Saintonge...⁴⁰⁵

It mustered in Lyon in June 1209 and approached the Languedoc via the Rhône valley, anticipating the confiscation of such lands as it could wrestle from the protectors of heretics. The excommunicate Raymond VI sought reconciliation with the church as it approached, not only because of this army but because his lands in the Agenais had been attacked by an earlier expedition, which will be covered in more detail below. Friendless amongst the clergy of the Languedoc, he sent into Gascony to request Archbishop Bernard of Auch and Montazin de Galard, abbot of Condom, to intervene on his behalf. This they did successfully in Rome.⁴⁰⁶ Thus, when the main crusade arrived Raymond had already taken the cross, on 18-22 June, and was therefore protected from attack. The lands of viscount Raymond-Roger Trencavel in the eastern Languedoc were targetted instead.

For our purposes events until the settlement at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 can be summarised in four stages.⁴⁰⁷ Aquitainians played a part in all of them, and on both sides. The first phase, from 1209-11, was the brief expedition in the Agenais and the conquest of the Trencavel lands. In its early stages a courageous and skilful military leader quickly came to the fore, Simon, count of Montfort in the Île de France, who was to dominate events in the Languedoc until his death in 1218. Gascons were involved in two of the sieges of this phase. Their soldiers, famous for lethal skill as *dardassiers*, were employed as defenders of Casseneuil in the Agenais in 1209.⁴⁰⁸ In the ranks of the crusaders at Minerve in spring 1210 was a contingent of more respectable Gascons, recruited by archbishop Bernard of Auch.⁴⁰⁹ These same soldiers were part of a Gascon contingent at the siege of Termes, from August to November that year, which also contained Amanieu V d'Albret, son of the crusader of 1190, and a Gascon force he had recruited at Langon, near La Réole. Archbishop Guillaume II de

⁴⁰⁴ *Chanson* I 38-45.

⁴⁰⁵ *Chanson* I 36-9 (translation Shirley, *Song*, 17).

⁴⁰⁶ *Chanson* I 30-1.

⁴⁰⁷ As they are in Evans, A. P., 'Albigensian Crusade', in ed. K. M. Setton *et al.*, *History of the Crusades*, 5 vols., Philadelphia, 1962, II, esp. 287.

⁴⁰⁸ See below.

⁴⁰⁹ PVC 155; *Layettes* I 899.

Geniès of Bordeaux (1207-27) was also present.⁴¹⁰ At the siege of Minerve in June-July 1210 Gascons served under the crusader Guy de Lucy, and a contingent of Angevins was also there.⁴¹¹

The second phase began when de Montfort and the legates again secured the excommunication of Raymond VI, early in 1211. Then the conquest of the Toulousain was achieved, with the exception of Toulouse itself, as was the submission of much of Quercy and the Agenais by late in the following year. At an unsuccessful siege of Toulouse by the crusade in June 1211 Gascons were amongst the defenders. They included Count Bernard IV Comminges and his cousin Raimond-At de Castelbon of Couserans, who was killed.⁴¹² In September an important double siege took place at Castelnaudary. Savary de Mauléon, King John of England's seneschal at Poitiers, appeared in the southern army at this point, arriving from Bergerac after being summoned by Raymond VI for a substantial reward.⁴¹³ During the subsequent battle at Castelnaudary the *routier* Martin Algaïs, John's seneschal for Gascony and Périgord, arrived to support the crusaders with twenty men, but then deserted.⁴¹⁴ Viscount Gaston VI of Béarn brought a force to aid the southerners at the same siege.⁴¹⁵ In the winter of 1211-12 the Agenais was attacked again and treacherous Gascons with local knowledge acted as guides to the northerners.⁴¹⁶ When Moissac was besieged in 1212, Gascons were amongst the crusader force repelling a sortie from the town.⁴¹⁷

The third phase saw King Peter of Aragon, Catholic hero and victor of the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa against the Moors in the previous year, intervening on the southern side in 1213. His objective was to protect his brother-in-law Raymond VI and

⁴¹⁰ *Chanson* I 134-5.

⁴¹¹ PVC 155.

⁴¹² *Chanson* I 192-3.

⁴¹³ PVC 105 and 112; *Chanson* I 219 and 235; *HGL* VI 368-70. It has been said that he also aided Toulouse during its 1211 siege (*L'épopée* II 150). K. Norgate says that it was because both John and Otto of Brunswick kept Toulouse so well supplied that the crusaders had to raise the siege (*John Lackland*, London, 1902, 166). However neither historian cites a source and I am doubtful whether John was so committed at this stage. Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay refers to de Mauléon as 'this son of the Devil and minister of Antichrist...this delighter in heresy' (PVC 105). However there is no actual evidence of heretical belief on his part. For his *vida* see *Biographies des Troubadours*, ed. J. Boutière and A. H. Schutz, Toulouse, 1950, 317-20.

⁴¹⁴ *Chanson* I 226-9.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 208-11 and 220-3; PVC 109.

⁴¹⁶ *Chanson* I 254-7.

his Pyrenean vassals, whom he considered to have been unjustly demonised by the crusade. This intervention coincided with papal misgivings about the conduct of the crusade and moves by Innocent III to divert military activity toward the Holy Land. Ultimately, however, the pope was persuaded by the legates that Peter and his allies were in the wrong. The result was a decisive but horrific battle at Muret, gateway to Couserans and the Gascon Pyrenees, on 12 September 1213. It resulted in the decimation of the combined southern forces, probably many Gascons amongst them, and the death of King Peter.

The fourth phase, between the defeat at Muret until the Fourth Lateran Council of November 1215, saw the south unable to resist northern domination any longer. De Montfort continued to assume secular powers throughout the Languedoc, with the approval of Prince Louis, son of Philip Augustus. This was in spite of a ruling by the pope that he should await the forthcoming arbitration.

Aquitaine and the Agenais at war

The Agenais in 1209, 1211-12 and 1213-4

At the time of the apparently minor campaign in the Agenais in 1209, the very first of the crusade, the county was governed for Raymond VI by Hugues d'Alfaro from Penne d'Agenais. William of Tudela is the only source which gives us an account of its events.⁴¹⁸ His knowledge perhaps results from the fact that in the years 1198 to 1211 he was based near the Agenais, at Montauban.⁴¹⁹ The leaders and major recruiters of the campaign were Count Guy II of Auvergne and Archbishop Guillaume of Bordeaux. Their army was mainly drawn from the archdiocese of Bourges, however. It included four of the most important nobles of central and upper Quercy, regions likewise outside the heretical sphere at this time. They were Bertrand II de Cardaillac, Bertrand de Gourdon, Ratier de Castelnau-Montratier, and viscount Raymond III of Turenne.⁴²⁰ Amongst the churchmen were bishops Jean de Veira of Limoges and Guillaume de

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 269.

⁴¹⁸ *Chanson* I 38-45.

⁴¹⁹ *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, eds. J. Balteau *et al.*, XVII, Paris, 1989. 191-2.

⁴²⁰ *Vaissière, 'Turenne'*, 330-2. Raymond III was viscount from 1190/1 (*ibid.*, 310 and 325-6;

Higounet, *Comminges*, 149). His Quercinois lands included Castelnau-Montratier, which he inherited from his mother (see chapter 4). It is not clear whether he held it from Raymond VI, from whom most Quercinois seigneuries were held (*Vaissière, 'Turenne'*, 312 and 330-2; *L'épopée* I 239-40, and II 110-113 and note 7; *Dictionnaire de la Chenaye-Desbois*, XIX, 256-7).

Cardaillac of Cahors (1208-34), who was the uncle of Bertrand de Cardaillac and a vassal of Raymond VI.⁴²¹ Absent, in spite of the crusading assembly at Agen itself in May, were the laity and most of the clergy of the Agenais itself, with the exception of Arnaud de Rovinha, bishop of Agen. Indeed, it was perhaps Arnaud, 'turbulent et fanatique' in his relations with the heretics and their supporters in his diocese, who instigated the campaign. His motive was not just concern for orthodoxy. He was personally in dispute with Raymond VI over their respective rights in the county, a matter he had apparently referred to Rome.⁴²²

Their army first destroyed Gontaud and sacked Tonneins, both of which possibly had a heretical population (although no indication of this is given by William of Tudela). It is not known whether the latter attack was on Tonneins-Dessus, held by members of bishop Arnaud's own family, or Tonneins-Dessous, held by the Ferréols. It is however quite possible that the bishop would attack heretical sympathisers amongst his own family, for the most important activity of this campaign was aimed at his brother Hugues, lord of Casseneuil, probably the seat of the Cathar diocese as we have seen. There a major siege took place. The town was built on a rocky outcrop, the Pech-Neyrat between the Lot and the Lède, natural barriers which were rendered almost insurmountable by the addition of a man-made ditch three hundred meters long, twenty five meters wide and fifteen deep. This had been built in the twelfth century, filled in, and since re-excavated.⁴²³ The well-equipped garrison was commanded by Seguin de Balenx, of the heretical Agenais family.

The outcome of the siege is curious, however. William of Tudela tells us that the town was well defended by the garrison and its Gascon recruits, but that it could have been taken had Count Guy not defied the archbishop and intervened in its favour. The reason for this, he tells us, is that Guy held property at the town. This sounds most

⁴²¹ In 1211 Bishop Guillaume transferred this homage to Simon de Montfort (Doat CXX 3r; Albe. E., *L'hérésie... en Quercy*, 2). Bishop Jean's dates are uncertain but he was bishop after 1199 and before 1215 (Gams).

⁴²² Cassany-Mazet, *Villeneuve*, 44 (quotation): Capul, 'Notes... en Agenais', 7; Samazeuilh, *Histoire*, I, 229-30 and 235.

⁴²³ PVC 199. M. Roquebert discusses the problems that the re-excavated ditch posed to the crusaders only with reference to the 1214 siege (*L'épopée* II 279 and 281). Given the similar difficulties which the crusaders of 1209 faced, it would seem probably that the ditch had already been re-dug by then.

unlikely. Another explanation is that the *quarantaine* was up and that recruits began to drift away.⁴²⁴ It is also likely that the crusaders heard of Raymond VI's amnesty of mid-June, and the consequent illegality of their campaign. However - and the context for this is unclear - numerous heretics were apparently captured from the unconquered town and burned. This constituted the very first executions or, indeed, recorded encounter with heretics by the Albigensian Crusade. It was the incident which led to the temporary evacuation of Villemur and probably to the view in Rome the following year that, although there were still heretics in the Agenais, their numbers had been greatly reduced.⁴²⁵

In 1211, when Raymond of Toulouse was excommunicated again, the Agenais declared itself for him. William of Tudela tells us that the people of Agen said they would go into exile into Gascony rather than be subjected to rule by foreigners.⁴²⁶ Raymond preferred them to fight, however, and they probably did this under the command of Hugues d'Alfaro, present with his brother Pierre Arcès in the ranks of the defenders of Toulouse that summer.⁴²⁷ Men from the Agenais and Bas-Quercy were also summoned by the count to the double siege at Castelnaudary that autumn.⁴²⁸ Around the same time, Raymond managed to force bishop Arnaud from his see and seize all secular resources there for himself, including the comital powers pertaining to the bishop.⁴²⁹

In the following year the arrival of Guy de Montfort, brother of Simon, made possible the conquest of the lands and communication routes surrounding Toulouse. The capture of the Albigeoise Aveyron by the crusaders allowed them also to target the towns commanding the Lot and Garonne. In this context, and undoubtedly with the encouragement of its exiled bishop, the Agenais was again attacked. First the army approached the Lot via Montcuq. Its inhabitants, including the *bailli* Guiraud de Montfabès, fled on 1 June and took refuge at Penne d'Agenais. Montcuq was put into

⁴²⁴ Guillemain, 'Le duché', 60.

⁴²⁵ PVC 127 note 1.

⁴²⁶ *Chanson* I 146-53.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, 194-7.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, 205-37; PVC 104-14.

⁴²⁹ PL CCXVI 836; *L'épopée* II 122; Labenazie, *Histoire*, 124; Samazeuilh, *Histoire*, I, 237 and see chapter 6.

the hands of the crusader Baldwin of Toulouse, the northern-raised half-brother of Raymond VI.⁴³⁰

The crusaders then amassed at Penne on Sunday 3 June and established two camps below the castle. But Penne had been well designed by Richard I and was almost impenetrable. It was also well provisioned, and Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, who was present, says that d'Alfaro had hired the *routier* chief Bausan, four other captains and their four hundred mercenaries to defend it.⁴³¹ However, the mere presence of the crusaders sent shock waves through the Agenais and the brave words of 1211 were forgotten. On 4 June, even before the siege was begun in earnest, de Montfort was received with honour by the town of Agen, and on the 17th, along the lines traditional to the town, he divided the *comitalia* between himself and the reinstated bishop.⁴³²

The besieging of Penne could now commence properly. It began on 6 June and continued throughout a hot month with neither side gaining the advantage. Indeed, the crusaders struggled to keep up their numbers as the *quarantaine* lapsed. In late June, however, due to the arrival of reinforcements from northern France, morale in the castle fell and d'Alfaro expelled its non-combatants. But continual bombarding of the castle still did not bring a result and de Montfort decided to begin the second phase of his conquest of the Agenais. He sent Robert Mauvoisin, who was ill but none the less zealous, to Marmande shortly after 17 July to engage Raymond VI's garrison. The town surrendered as the result of a mangonel bombardment and a northern garrison was installed.⁴³³

During June and July the nobles of the Agenais became as demoralised as the towns, and also began to declare for the crusade's commander, receiving their lands back as fiefs. Amongst those who defected that summer was possibly Hugues de Rovinha himself, for in 1214 he is described by Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay as breaking faith with de Montfort. On 25 July this mass defection, combined with a serious shortage of food and water at Penne and a lack of reinforcements from Raymond VI, led d'Alfaro to

⁴³⁰ PVC 127.

⁴³¹ PVC 127-33. See also *Chanson* I 254-61 and *L'épopée* I 370-1

⁴³² PVC 127 and see chapter 6.

request that he and his garrison be allowed to surrender armed but unharmed. His timing was unfortunate for, unknown to him, another large group of crusaders had been about to desert the camp. As it was, the conditions were accepted. De Montfort put his own garrison in place and began to re-build this strategically important fortification.⁴³⁴ Indeed, Penne became his main base in the northern Languedoc, from which he would launch campaigns into Périgord and Bas-Quercy and where he would later base the first French *senéchaussée* in the Languedoc .

Because the Agenais had submitted, almost without a fight, by late summer 1212, its inhabitants were not dispossessed. Unlike the landless *faidits* of the Lauragais, Albigeoise and Trencavel lands, who had been conquered and their lands given to crusaders, and who were thus irrevocably opposed to the crusade, the loyalty of the Agenais lords was apparently taken for granted. The weakness of the Agenais resistance was not to be long lasting however. In truth, its lordships and towns were to change allegiance whenever it was necessary in order to avoid political subjection and the confiscation of their property or, indeed, whenever the dominant authority in their region looked like facing a reversal of fortune.

Thus it was that in 1214 confidence revived in the Agenais. The deciding factor was the intervention of an external power in the spring, but as early as February Hugues de Rovinha appears to have recovered his nerve. After the terrible defeat at Muret, of which Hugues d'Alfaro was one of the lucky southern survivors, the depression that had hit the Languedoc was somewhat alleviated by the capture and execution of the hated Baldwin of Toulouse, by that time lord of much of Quercy and the Albigeoise. The lord of Casseneuil, we are told, openly defied the crusade by sheltering his murderers.⁴³⁵

Then in April, whilst marching his army from La Rochelle to Poitou, King John of England took a detour via La Réole. De Montfort sensed the threat and moved to Penne, on April 13. His fears appear to have been justified. Marmande, the next major

⁴³³ PVC 130-2; Higounet, *Marmande*, 8.

⁴³⁴ PVC 129-32 and 199. Labénazie states Hugues transferred his homage in 1210 at the instigation of his brother the bishop (*Annales*, 123).

town up river from La Réole, surrendered to John, who garrisoned it heavily with his own men and placed in charge his seneschal for Gascony, Geoffrey Neville. This began a wave of defections in the Agenais. The castle of Montpezat-d'Agenais, across the river from Castelmoron on a plain dominating the Lot, became a rallying point for the Agenais rebels. Le Mas d'Agenais also defected and the crusaders attempted to win it back in vain, hampered by an armed flotilla of barges from La Réole. But events went de Montfort's way again when John left the region and the Marmande garrison was isolated. The crusaders destroyed Montpezat d'Agenais, which was abandoned as they approached, and made for Marmande. The townspeople at first refused entry to the crusade but after a short siege they fled by boat to La Réole. Geoffrey Neville and his garrison were granted safe conduct after surrendering and de Montfort refortified and garrisoned Marmande himself.⁴³⁶

Now he could turn his attention to the rebels and murderers at Casseneuil, described by Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay at this point as 'one of the most important centres of heresy and one of the oldest, whose inhabitants were in the majority heretics, thieves and traitors'.⁴³⁷ On 28 June the crusaders established a fortified camp, known subsequently as Château de Montfort, on one of the hillsides overlooking the town. They began bombarding the walls and houses with a catapult and organising for reinforcements. This was to be a long and protracted siege. To the fascination of Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay it involved the use of specialist siege technology as the besiegers

⁴³⁵ PVC 199; *L'épopée* II 199 and 278 and see below for the murder.

⁴³⁶ PVC 197-202; *HGL* VI 446; *L'épopée* II 257-8. Most sources refer to Geoffrey Neville only as John's chamberlain, but he is in fact referred to as seneschal for Gascony between April and August 1214 (*Rot. lit. pat.* 120-1 and *Rot. lit. claus.* I 170). For Neville's role in events 1209-15 see also Taylor, C., 'Pope Innocent III, John of England and the Albigensian Crusade (1209-1216)', in ed. J. C. Moore, Proceedings of conference entitled *Pope Innocent III and his World* (New York, 1997), Aldershot, 1999 (forthcoming). He had evidently replaced Martin Algaï whom the crusaders had killed (see below). The identification of Montpezat has caused historians some problems. Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay was with the army and is clear that the castle in question was in the diocese of Agen (PVC 197-8). However Devic and Vaissette identify it as Montpezat-de-Quercy and the archivist G. Tholin follows them (*HGL* VI 445; 'Notes', *RA* 26 (1889), 71-2). The chronicler says that de Montfort destroyed castles in Quercy and moved for Marmande destroying Montpezat *en route*. We know from another source that he was near Montcuq on 12 June (see below). Tholin's objection rests on his own assumption that if Montpezat were the Agenais castle this meant an unlikely detour back to Montcuq before reaching Marmande. However, the route given by the chronicler is Castelnau-Montratier. Mondenard, Montpezat, Marmande, then back up the Lot to Casseneuil. It is perfectly possible that de Montfort was at Montcuq on 12 June between visiting Mondenard and Montpezat-d'Agenais. Indeed, it is a logical route, allowing the crusaders to join the river at Penne.

⁴³⁷ PVC 198-9.

attempted to span the man-made ditch joining the Lot and the Lède to the east of the town. During the night of Sunday 17 August a constructed causeway at last reached the opposite bank and the crusaders, under cover, were able to begin demolishing the barbicans. The defenders sensed defeat and the mercenaries in the town charged out on horseback and escaped. On the following day Casseneuil was stormed and burned, and its heretics and other inhabitants massacred.⁴³⁸

This time the loyalty of the conquered region was not taken for granted. De Montfort appointed Philip de Landreville, a knight of the Île-de-France, as his seneschal for the Agenais, presumably based at Penne, and Pierre de Voisin was installed as his marshal. By late August the nobility of the Agenais had done homage to the crusade's commander, promising to demolish their castles, and recognised the authority of his officials. As part of this process Hugues de Rovinha was apparently deprived of Casseneuil, or at least its revenues, for de Landreville granted them to Dominic Guzman.⁴³⁹ De Montfort returned briefly to the Agenais later in the same year to ensure that destruction of fortifications was actually taking place, and to receive at Penne the homage of the Quercinois lord Raymond de Montaut for lands he held in the Agenais.⁴⁴⁰ De Montfort certainly anticipated that he would be confirmed in possession of the Agenais at the Lateran council scheduled for the following year.

Quercy and Périgord in 1212 and 1214

After the second excommunication of Raymond of Toulouse, in 1210, his lands in Quercy were again very vulnerable. Bishop Guillaume of Cahors, the crusader of 1209, was active again in the army from early February 1211 and transferred his homage for Cahors from Count Raymond to de Montfort on 20 June, and later in the year to King Philip. He was working in alliance with Abbot Raymond du Proët of Moissac, Raymond VI's rival for secular authority in the abbey town, who was in the camp from Spring 1211.⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁸ PVC 198-202.

⁴³⁹ *L'épopée* II 277-84 and 358; *HGL* VI 465 and see VIII 677; Vicaire, M. H., *Saint Dominique et ses frères: évangile ou Croisade?*, Paris, 1967, 81 and *idem.*, *Histoire de Saint Dominique*. Paris, 1957. I. 322 note 247.

⁴⁴⁰ PVC 204; Doat LXXV 53r; *HGL* VI 448; *L'épopée* II 290.

⁴⁴¹ *HGL* VIII 160 and 611-12. See also Dutton, C. M., *Aspects of the Institutional History of the Albigensian Crusade, 1198-1229*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 1993. 42.

A good many nobles of central and upper Quercy also transferred their homage that same summer.⁴⁴² Never having received the heresy themselves, they saw no reason to lose their lands to the northerners by resisting the invasion. Thus, in the retinue of Baldwin of Toulouse we find the viscount of Monclar-de-Quercy and the Quercinois Hugues de Breil, and they were joined by an unidentified 'Raymond de Périgord'.⁴⁴³ Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay tells us that other lords of Quercy sent bishop Guillaume to the siege of Toulouse to offer their submission, although William of Tudela sees the surrender of Quercy resulting from pressure applied by Arnaud Aimery. Whatever the case, in August 1211 de Montfort received at Cahors the promised homages of the most important lords of Quercy, the crusaders of 1209: Bertrand de Cardaillac, Bertrand de Gourdon and Ratier de Castelnau-Montratier, and in addition that of Raymond of Turenne.⁴⁴⁴

The following year de Montfort began rewarding his allies in the northern Languedoc and punishing those whom he considered traitors. Activity also took place in Périgord, very likely at the instigation also of its count, Archembaud II (he was with the army at points between 1212 and 1214 and probably looked to use its presence to extend his rather nominal authority in the county).⁴⁴⁵ When the siege of Penne ended in late July 1212, de Montfort moved just across the Agenais border with Périgord to the castle of the traitor Martin Algaïs at Biron. The occupants of the castle soon sought to negotiate for their safety. De Montfort suspected that this adversary, for whom he appears to have developed a special dislike, had a secret escape route and suggested that the garrison hand over their commander in exchange for their freedom. This they did. Algaïs was cruelly executed and his castle granted to the Quercinois Arnaud de Montaigu, a recent recruit by the crusade who had provided much needed reinforcements at Penne.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴² Canon 27 of the 1179 Lateran Council allowed a Catholic lord to renounce his oath to a protector of heretics (*L'épopée* II 138).

⁴⁴³ *Chanson* I 176; *L'épopée* I 480 and 503.

⁴⁴⁴ PVC 101 and note 4; *Chanson* I 202-3; *L'épopée* I 428-30 and II 111 note 8.

⁴⁴⁵ Guillemain, 'Le duché', 66. Archembaud of Périgord performed homage to Philip Augustus in 1211 (cited in Dutton, *Aspects*, 42-3).

⁴⁴⁶ *Chanson* I 256-61; PVC 113 and 132.

De Montfort returned briefly to Penne and then, on 6 August, via Montcuq to Bas-Quercy. Its conquest was essential if he was to benefit from his easily won domination of the northern Languedoc by having access to it from the Toulousain. Its towns understood the special position they occupied both strategically, dominating the river system of the northern Languedoc, and psychologically, in support of the still resilient people of Toulouse. The first town to be attacked was Moissac. It was not as strategically important as Montauban, which was garrisoned by a son of the count of Foix, or Castelsarrassin, garrisoned by Guiraud de Pépieux. It was more vulnerable, however, and its fall would be a great blow to the other towns.

In the disputes between Raymond VI and the monks, the people of Moissac typically sided with the count. Earlier in the year it had expelled the abbot and he was imprisoned at Montauban. Now the town supported the count and also its heretics, and was aided by a mercenary garrison supplied by Count Raymond. The crusaders reached it on 14 August. The ensuing siege consisted of frequent sorties and offensives in which the town initially had the upper hand. However, soldiers from Montauban unsuccessfully attacked a crusader party and were captured by Baldwin of Toulouse and the Quercinois lords Armand de Mondenard and Hugues de Breil. To demoralise Moissac, they were held as prisoners in the camp outside. In September, the arrival of northern reinforcements enabled the crusaders to encircle the town at last, and a series of offensives and counter-offensives ensued in which it became apparent that the town could eventually be overwhelmed.⁴⁴⁷

At this crucial point the garrison at Castelsarrassin deserted and the townspeople sent a delegation to the crusaders offering their surrender. This was accepted and the town was given to Guillaume de Contres. The people of Moissac were by now on the verge of surrender themselves but the mercenary garrison, which faced certain death if not on the winning side, wanted to hold out. The *routiers* were betrayed by the townspeople as a condition of their own safety when they opened the gates to de Montfort on 8 September, and were indeed executed. On 14 September the abbot, accustomed to sharing the lay rights and responsibilities at Moissac with the count of Toulouse,

acknowledged de Montfort in this secular capacity.⁴⁴⁸ However, Bas-Quercy was not quite lost. It was too late in the season to besiege Montauban, an even better defended and more resilient town, and so the success of the crusade in the Agenais and Quercy did not lead to the fall of Toulouse. Nonetheless, de Montfort had seriously reduced Toulousain influence along the Lot and the Garonne in Quercy and the Agenais by late summer 1212.

As for the lords of central and upper Quercy who capitulated so readily, it has been noted that few are to be found at any point actually engaged in combat on behalf of the crusade.⁴⁴⁹ The reality of northern domination was not only frightening but sickening to even the Catholics of the region, and many were to change sides again. It was in this context that Baldwin of Toulouse was murdered, during a peace under which the Languedoc had been placed after Muret. On 17 February 1214 after a journey through the Agenais he went to bed in the castle of Lolmie, whose lords had done homage to him as lord of Montcuq, ten kilometers to the south, which he had also just visited. The treacherous castellans alerted two other Quercinois lords to his presence. One was Bertrand de Mondenard, a kinsman of Armand de Mondenard, the crusader of 1212 and vassal of de Montfort. The other was a Montfortist vassal in his own right, Ratier de Castelnau-Montratier, the crusader of 1209. Both were now secretly southern partisans. During the night they and their men were let into the castle and seized the unsuspecting Baldwin from bed. They took him to Montcuq where he spent two days without food before agreeing to dismiss his garrison and hand the town over to the southerners. Baldwin was finally taken to Montauban and executed, and as a direct result the confidence of the southerners was temporarily revived.⁴⁵⁰

This revival was not enough to defeat the crusade, however, and Raymond submitted to the legate Peter of Benevento and the Languedoc was placed under a peace until the anticipated arbitration in Rome of 1215.⁴⁵¹ In spite of this crusader forces remained in

⁴⁴⁷ *Chanson* I 261-77; PVC 134-7; Sumption, *Albigensian*, 151-3; *L'épopée* I 477-81. See also *ibid.* II 122 and *PL* CCXVI 836 for the abbot's incarceration.

⁴⁴⁸ *HGL* VIII 621; AD Lot F. 125, and see chapter 4.

⁴⁴⁹ *L'épopée* I 503.

⁴⁵⁰ PVC 189-92; William of Puylaurens 92-3; *Chanson* II 276; Albe, *L'Hérésie ... en Quercy*, 4; *L'épopée*, II, 257-7 and 407.

⁴⁵¹ *RHF* XIX 210.

the northern Languedoc in summer 1214. De Montfort justified this defiance of papal wishes by enlisting the support of another legate, Robert de Courçon, charged not with duties in the Languedoc but with recruiting throughout France for a planned crusade to the east. However he was with the army for many of its manoeuvres from April 1214 and it was with his blessing that de Montfort launched a campaign to punish the rebellious Quercinois, especially Ratier de Castelnaud and the family of Mondenard. These rebels were under the protection of Hughes de Rovinha at Casseneuil, as we have seen, but their own castles were taken in the first two weeks of June.⁴⁵² It was now that de Montfort moved for Montpezat d'Agenais, pausing near-by Montcuq on 12 June to receive the submission of the Quercinois Déodat de Barasc, lord of Béduer and Lissac, who was forced to agree to destroy his own castles.⁴⁵³

After taking Casseneuil in late August, de Montfort decided to attack a stretch of the Dordogne in southern Périgord. This followed information received by the crusade that several of its castles harboured enemies of the peace and of the faith, that is to say, *routiers* and heretics. Domme and Montfort, although well fortified, were abandoned before the crusaders arrived. Neighbouring Castelnaud was also deserted and from it the crusaders organised a successful siege of the castle of a robber chief Gaillard de Beynac.⁴⁵⁴

Aspects of this crusade in Périgord are puzzling. I have argued that there was no Cathar enclave there in the twelfth century, and there is likewise no substantial evidence that there were any there in the early thirteenth. In fact the crusade's real target was the *routier* Bernard de Cazenac, lord of Domme, Cazenac and Montfort, who fled before it arrived. He and his wife Hélis of Montfort were, according to Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay, already notorious in the crusader camp for their barbarous exploits. After their castles were taken, the chronicler says that crusaders visiting the nearby abbey of Sarlat saw one hundred and fifty horribly mutilated victims of the couple. However, although he was with the army at this time, he does not claim to

⁴⁵² PVC 197-8; *L'épopée* II 269-76, and 287. The legate's motives in this matter will be discussed below.

⁴⁵³ Molinier *Actes* 8; PVC 197-8; *Chanson* III 303 note 6.

⁴⁵⁴ PVC 202-5. The original editors and not Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay identify Beynac's lord (PVC *Hystoria* II 228 note 5). See also *HGL* VI 448-51.

have seen this for himself, and nor does he name those who did. In addition he alludes to atrocities which he does not even attempt to describe let alone to verify, except to say that they constituted less than 'one thousandth part of the evil crimes committed by this tyrant and his wife'.⁴⁵⁵ These accounts are suspicious not least because there is no corroborating evidence from sources composed locally, for instance by the abbeys of Sarlat or Cadouin.⁴⁵⁶

It is usually noted by historians writing about this incident that the chronicler's portrayal of de Cazenac is in stark contrast with that of the anonymous *Chanson* author who describes him in 1218, when he came to aid the besieged Toulouse, as a

'Pus adreit cavalier, per complida lauzor,
Qu'el a sen e larueza e cor d'emperador
E governa Paratge e capdela Valor'.⁴⁵⁷

In addition, de Cazenac cannot be shown to have either favoured the heretics or defied crusaders by the time he was attacked, although he did both in later years. Indeed, it seems that he was perhaps no worse than any other *routier* and that, unlike many others employed by both parties in these wars, had done little to justify a campaign which distracted the crusade from more obviously important targets. How can we account for this diversion?

Perhaps the explanation lies in the fact that Périgord was part of Aquitaine. Even though John's control there was weak and he does not appear to have received homage for its lands, nor to have replaced his dead seneschal Martin Algaïs, very few of its land-holders were the vassals of the enemies of the Church in the Languedoc. Given evidence offered below that the Albigensian wars were not distinct from the wars between the kings of France and England, we might speculate that this attack on the Périgord/Quercy border was intended as a warning to John. That is, were it not for de

⁴⁵⁵ PVC 203 (quotation translated in *PVC History* 238).

⁴⁵⁶ *Chartier du Monastère de Sarlat*, ed. G. Marnier, *BSAP* 11 (1884); *Le cartulaire de l'abbaye de Cadouin*, ed. J.-M. Maubourgnet, Cahors, 1926. J. Escande says that de Moutfort himself visited the abbey, but says nothing about any victims of de Cazenac (*Périgord*, 42-3).

⁴⁵⁷ *Chanson* III 138-9.

Cazenac's own protest that the crusaders should leave him in peace because he had been the only lord in Périgord to take the side of the French king against that of England.⁴⁵⁸ Unlike Martin Algaïs, therefore, the *routier* de Cazenac was not an ally of the duke of Aquitaine. Nor can we assert that the count of Périgord encouraged the crusade, as he may have done against Algaïs, in order to strengthen his own hand in his county, for there is no evidence of his presence in the army at this particular time and he does not appear to have benefited from the expedition.

A possible source for the stories which so maligned the couple is the Benedictine abbey of Sarlat, six kilometers to the north of Montfort, where the victims of the *routier* and his wife were supposedly seen. Its abbot, Élie de Vignon, was an ally of the crusade and was in the camp at Domme on 12 September, where he submitted the abbey and the town of La Roque-Gageac into de Montfort's protection.⁴⁵⁹ It is possible that his emissaries took the stories of the de Cazenacs' 'victims' to the crusader camp in the first place.

However, if the explanation for the attack can be found by looking at who was newly in the camp at the time the stories first emerged, we have a more likely candidate for their origin. If Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay places the reports in the correct chronological framework, they began earlier that summer, around 14 June at Casseneuil when Raymond of Turenne performed homage to de Montfort and promised the service of ten knights and ten sergeants to be deployed in the dioceses of Agen, Cahors and Rodez.⁴⁶⁰ He remained in the army after Casseneuil and, at the point when de Cazenac's property was taken from him, this loyal Catholic was firmly in favour with the crusade's commander. In addition, and it cannot be a coincidence, he

⁴⁵⁸ An incident dating back some twenty years (PVC *Hystoria* 228 note 5). Interestingly Count Henry of Rodez, de Montfort's next target, attempted to attach himself to John in order to ward off the crusaders, but his claim to be John's vassal was almost certainly untrue and availed him little (PVC 205 and PVC *History* 240 note 111). Geoffrey Neville seems to have only replaced Algaïs as *senechal* in Gascony and not Périgord (see above and below).

⁴⁵⁹ Molinier *Actes* 87; Doat LXXV 57r-8v; Escande, *Périgord*, 95-6.

⁴⁶⁰ AD Lot F.125; Doat LXXV 51r-52r. Through his marriage to Hélie of Montfort (see chapter 4) viscount Raymond II had acquired Castelnau-Brétenoux, north-east of St.-Céré. He was very probably the vassal of the count of Toulouse for this, and also for the viscounty of Brassac, near Castres, and Salignac in southern Périgord, for in 1236 viscount Raymond IV did homage for these possessions to Raymond VII of Toulouse, saying that his predecessors had held them of the count's predecessors (Vaissière, 'Turenne', 309-12 and 325-6; *L'épopée* II 294 and 350 and see chapter 4).

had a legal claim to the castle of Montfort, for viscount Raymond II had, at an uncertain date, married Hélic de Castelnau, heiress of the castle of Montfort and mother of de Cazanac's wife of the same name. Thus in September at Domme, in the presence also of abbot Elie, Turenne was invested with the confiscated Montfort, all the lands of de Cazenac, and the other lands and castles captured in the area.⁴⁶¹

We might think that the viscount considered that he deserved a return for all his crusading activity in previous years, both in the Languedoc and at Las Navas de Tolosa (notwithstanding a brief conscientious defection to the Aragonese party in 1213).⁴⁶² We should also remember that one of his predecessors had been Henry II's representative against heresy in the Languedoc. However, the accusations I level at the viscount of Turenne cannot be made with any great certainty. This is the case not least because the nature and paucity of early documentation for the house of Turenne make it very difficult even to identify the viscount of 1214. Indeed, historians are considerably confused as to whether or not he was the same as the crusader of 1209, Raymond III, who became de Montfort's vassal in 1211. Devic and Vaisette are prepared only to concede that there were two viscounts between 1178 and 1236. M. Roquebert says that Raymond III was viscount until some point in 1214. However Ch. Higounet is certain that Raymond III was viscount 1191-1212, and that Raymond IV was viscount 1212-1243.⁴⁶³

If we are dealing with Raymond III alone we must see him as a confused character, committing himself fervently at different times to both sides, for 1213 was not the only year in which he switched sides because he believed the crusaders were not the party of God: in 1218 he was to contribute to an army being raised to restore Toulouse to Raymond VI and his son.⁴⁶⁴ True, many southerners who had declared for the crusade then defected, as we have seen, not least when Peter of Aragon, the hero of Las Navas de Tolosa, took their part.⁴⁶⁵ But very few of these threw themselves into fighting on both sides with the fervour apparently exhibited by Raymond III. And few turned

⁴⁶¹ Molinier *Actes* 82, 88, 89a and 288; Doat LXXV 55r-56v; *L'épopée* II 289.

⁴⁶² *HGL* VI 383; *L'épopée* II 52.

⁴⁶³ *HGL* VI 1023; *L'épopée* II 111 note 8; Higounet, *Commingses*, I, 149. See also chapter 4.

⁴⁶⁴ See below.

⁴⁶⁵ *L'épopée* I 463 and II 110-11.

against their siblings in the process: Raymond III would have been the brother of Hélis of Montfort.

If, however, Raymond III died in 1212 as Higounet suggests, the scenario is rather different. Raymond IV would have been the viscount of Turenne at Muret, and he would not have been alone there amongst the perfectly orthodox Catholic southerners. When the southern cause appeared to have been lost in midsummer 1214, not least because the rebellious northern Languedoc was on the point of collapse, he performed homage to de Montfort as his father had done and attached himself firmly to that camp. Indeed, he used his influence to extend crusader authority across the Dordogne into Périgord, with the consent of abbot Elie, and at the same time added to the holdings of his viscounty.

Yet, whether or not Higounet's dates are correct, this portrait of an opportunist viscount is still incomplete. Its major imperfection is the fact that the southern army in question in 1218 was being raised by de Cazenac himself. If the brother-in-law of the *faidit* had deliberately dispossessed his own family, an alliance between them seems unlikely, although possible as part of the dire necessities of the war. On the other hand, if the viscount was merely the passive recipient of Montfortist favour, an alliance with Hélis and her husband, reassured that their castles were at least still in the hands of their own southern family, seems more understandable. However, in the latter case, unless the extent of de Cazenac's crimes was in fact not exaggerated by the chronicler, the catalyst for the expedition of 1214 in Périgord still remains somewhat obscure.

The crusaders in Gascony in 1212-15

The same cannot be said for the expeditions which penetrated far into Gascony, whose clear objectives were to deprive the Languedoc of support from Béarn and Comminges in particular, and to do this by dispossessing Gascon lords who opposed the army of God and rewarding crusading families with the territory they conquered. This was justified initially by the claim that heresy was rife in the mountains and that the lords there supported it, which, as we have seen, was untrue. However those same Gascon lords eventually began to intervene militarily in the Languedoc against the crusade, outraged by the fate of their fellow Occitans. It thus became strategically imperative to

the crusaders to control the Gascon Toulousain.

The process by which the Gascons were dispossessed, eventually condoned in Rome, was made all the easier by two local factors. First, not only were the rights of the duke of Aquitaine rather nominal south of the Bordelais as we have seen, but in the period in question he was more concerned with the defence and extension of his power north of the Dordogne. Although, as I will show below, John did make a minor response to such infringements of his rights, he simply did not have the resources to prioritise the defence of the Gascon towns and nobility who, experience taught him, would almost certainly prove ungrateful. Secondly, the really powerful over-lord of the Gascon Pyrenees, King Peter II of Aragon, whose familial connections within the Languedoc were actually strengthened in the first two years of the crusade, was successfully demonised and then eliminated by the crusaders in the summer of 1213.

As we have seen, some Gascon nobles, most notably Amanieu V d'Albret, involved themselves on the side of the crusade from the start. Significantly, viscount Roger II of Couserans defected from the southern party, performing homage to the crusade's commander in April 1211.⁴⁶⁶ Although he was a kinsman and vassal of the counts of Comminges and Foix, his lands were most immediately vulnerable to whoever controlled the Toulousain.

More typical of the Gascon response to the war was that of Bernard IV of Comminges and his son-in-law Gaston VI of Béarn. On 17 December 1210 Pope Innocent had instructed these lords to co-operate with de Montfort.⁴⁶⁷ The command had little effect. Gascons were not unwilling to commit themselves in a holy war, for they had crusaded in the Holy Land as we have seen, and in summer 1212, whilst the Albigensian Crusade was attacking the Agenais, the archbishop of Bordeaux, the count of Astarac, and hundreds of Gascon knights, not to mention many Aquitainians from north of the Dordogne, journeyed across the Pyrenees to fight the Almohads under the leadership of Peter of Aragon.⁴⁶⁸ However their identity, like that of the lords of the

⁴⁶⁶ *HGL* VIII 608; *L'épopée* I 389 and 454.

⁴⁶⁷ *HGL* VIII 601; *PL* CCXVI 356.

⁴⁶⁸ See chapter 4 and *L'épopée* I 463.

Languedoc, was rooted in the love of independence from foreign authority, not least that originating in northern France. Thus, although in the very early stages of the crusade the Catholic Gascons found their loyalties divided and did not commit themselves to either side, this ended when the crusade threatened Gascony and its allies. Bernard of Comminges went to the aid of the southerners during the 1211 siege of Toulouse and at the battle of Saint-Martin-la-Lande, and his support continued the following year. Gaston of Béarn joined forces with the counts of Toulouse and Foix at Castelnaudary in 1211. He apparently journeyed to Penne d'Agenais in summer 1212 to negotiate with the crusaders, but the submission they had hoped for was not forthcoming and he returned to the south still their enemy. Subsequently both lords were excommunicated.⁴⁶⁹

Another factor prompting the invasion of Gascony was that on 15 April 1211 Innocent III had written to Archbishop Bernard of Auch demanding his resignation. This was not least because his only voluntary intervention in the crusade had been in defence of Raymond VI in 1209 (his mobilisation of Gascon crusaders 1210 took place only after the pope had commanded him to recruit them). Bernard would not resign, and in 1214 he was finally deposed. In 1212 he was therefore regarded amongst those failed clerics of southern France who, through neglect and indifference, hindered the imposition of orthodoxy.⁴⁷⁰

Thus the two major lords of the Gascon Pyrenees had abetted the protectors of heretics and had no credible ally in the Church to intervene in their defence. Indeed, bishops Garsie of Comminges and Navarre of Couserans were adamant that de Montfort invade 'heretical' Comminges, which would in turn make easier an attack on Béarn, whose viscount was notoriously anti-clerical.⁴⁷¹

Thus it was in order to isolate the Toulousain and Gascon parties from each other that Muret was occupied in late 1212.⁴⁷² Within a short time many lesser nobles of

⁴⁶⁹ *Chanson* I 186-9 and 222-3; PVC 105 and 118; Higounet, *Comminges*, I, 92-3; *L'épopée* I 476.

⁴⁷⁰ PL CCXVI 408; *Chanson* I 30-1 and notes 1-2; PVC 67; Dossat, 'Comminges', 123; *L'épopée* I 151.

⁴⁷¹ PVC 138-40; *Chanson* I 278-81; *L'épopée* I 487-9.

⁴⁷² PVC 138-9.

Comminges, Couserans and Béarn surrendered to de Montfort. He himself entered Saint-Gaudens, which capitulated in spite of good relations with its lord Roger of Couserans (this troubled lord had denounced his new crusading allies and rejoined the southerners, but in 1211 was again brought to heel by de Montfort).⁴⁷³ William of Tudela, who was not with the crusaders at this time, tells us that they also conquered lands pertaining to Béarn, l'Isle-Jourdain and everything as far as Oleron, although this seems unlikely and is verified by no other sources.⁴⁷⁴ Indeed, crusader control of Comminges was actually only nominal by the end of this campaign.

This was to change the following year. In the winter of 1212-13 Peter of Aragon intervened in support of his Catholic vassals, demanding the return of the Pyrenees to southern authority. He was denied by pro-Montfortist clerics at the council of Lavaur in January 1213. The direct result of this was that on 27 January, along with important figures in the Languedoc, Gaston of Béarn and Bernard of Comminges performed homage to Peter for their lands, including even Marsan and Gabardan held by Béarn in central Gascony. This was done with the express understanding that if these lords were to fall decisively foul of the Church, Peter would take control of their lands and guarantee orthodoxy within them. In June the crusader presence in Comminges was accordingly strengthened. De Montfort's son Amaury was knighted and enfeoffed with the conquered lands there, which were garrisoned by a new crusading force, meeting serious resistance only at Rochefort, near Saliés-de-Sarlat in Comminges, which they were forced to besiege. The Battle of Muret was by now probably inevitable. It had become so not least by the failure of the papacy to rule decisively on the matter of who should hold the invaded Gascon territories: in March, Innocent III had denounced the crusaders for their illegal excess, then in May was persuaded that it was Peter and the Pyrenean lords under his protection who threatened peace and orthodoxy. Although de Montfort and his son were not actually granted the Gascon counties by the pope, they could not be recovered by the south without battle.⁴⁷⁵

Thus the forces of Aragon, Toulouse, Foix and Comminges began to besiege Muret on

⁴⁷³ *Chanson* I 278-81; PVC 139; Higounet, *Comminges*, I, 93-4.

⁴⁷⁴ *Chanson* 278-81; *L'épopée* I 489.

10 September. A smaller, but militarily superior crusader army arrived from Fanjeaux to relieve the siege and battle ensued on the 12th, before the arrival of Béarnaise troops under Guillaume-Raymond de Moncade, brother of the viscount and King Peter's seneschal for Catalonia. The southern forces were decimated and de Montfort was able to take even firmer control of the south-west of the Toulousain/Gascon frontier.⁴⁷⁶ Count Raymond could now only hope that his title would be confirmed in Rome the following year. In April 1214, therefore, he submitted, along with other southerners including the count of Comminges, to the legate Peter of Benevento, who was under instruction from the Pope to institute a peace in the Languedoc until its possession could be determined in 1215.⁴⁷⁷

ii. An Anglo-French context for the crusade, to 1214

King John's involvement

The attempts made by Pope Innocent III to persuade a royal figure to involve himself in a crusade in southern France are well known. From 1204 to 1208 he consistently called for a truce between Philip of France and John of England so that their efforts could be put into such a venture. The circumstances of the troubled relationship between John and Rome from the years 1205-13 cannot be rehearsed here in any detail, but the dispute over his refusal to accept Stephen Langton as archbishop of Canterbury is a factor which stood in the way of his co-operation in the crusade. Indeed, he was excommunicated on 8 November 1209.⁴⁷⁸ In addition, there is little evidence that John showed much interest in affairs in the Languedoc on the eve of the crusade. And yet how could he have been indifferent to his position as overlord of the count of Toulouse for the Agenais?

⁴⁷⁵ PVC 145-72; PL CCXVI 739-41, 743-4, 836, 839-40, 848, 849, 852; *L'épopée* II 61-2, 82-85, 99-102; Higounet, Comminges, I, 94-5; Dossat, 'Catharisme', 153-4; Sumption, *Albigensian*, 156-63.

⁴⁷⁶ PVC 173-84.

⁴⁷⁷ *RHF* XIX 210; *HGL* VIII, 643; *L'épopée* II 259-64.

⁴⁷⁸ PL CCXV 355-7, 501-3, 1360 and 1545; *Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) Concerning England and Wales*, eds. C. R. and M. G. Cheney, Oxford, 1967, 37-156 and 272-3; *RHF* XIX 500; Cheney, C. R., *Innocent III and England*, Stuttgart, 1979, 147-54, 293, and 298-325; Tillmann, H., *Pope Innocent III*, trans. W. Sax, Amsterdam/New York/London, 1980, 79-85 and 230; Bolton, B., 'Philip Augustus and John: two sons in Innocent III's vineyard?', *SCH* 9 (1991), esp. 113-26; Knowles, D., 'The Canterbury election of 1205-6', *EHR* 53 (1938), 211-20; Warren, *King John*, 154-73 and 206-17; Turner, *King John*, 147, 154-66; Painter, S., *The Reign of King John*, Baltimore, 1949, 151-203. C. Dutton has noted that the pope asked Philip of France to intervene in the Languedoc as early as 1201 (*Vetera monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium*, I, ed. A. Theiner. Rome, 1863, 222, cited in *Aspects*, 28).

In fact, Anglo-Toulousain relations shed a good deal of light on John's attitude to the crusade. Although his concern to recover Normandy and Anjou was most pressing, and concern about worsening his position with regard to Rome informed his actions, John did not remain passive with regard to the crusade for long. As suggested above, there is evidence between 1209 and 1215 that he was attempting to undermine the French position in the south. This activity cannot be explained simply by his overlordship of Gascony, for his lack of activity and diplomacy concerning the region south of the Garonne indicates that it was not his immediate concern. But it does make sense viewed in the context of his political interest in the Languedoc and his war with Philip Augustus. I hope to demonstrate that John's aim was to improve the position of his Toulousain kin, and thereby his own. His involvement is somewhat obscured, however, by his relationship with the pope: unwillingness to draw papal attention to his anti-crusade activity meant that most of his involvement was semi-covert and its objective thus not immediately clear. But, as will also be shown, the French crusaders were far from oblivious to the enemy in Aquitaine.

Perhaps surprisingly, there is no evidence of a reaction on John's part to the crusade of 1209 in the Agenais, held of him by Raymond VI. In 1211 there is somewhat unsatisfactory circumstantial evidence for his involvement, for it was in this phase that his officials Savary de Mauléon and Martin Algaïs undertook anti-crusade activities, although there is nothing to suggest that they did so on his behalf and Algaïs, as we have seen, originally supported the northerners. We can, however, see the Anglo-Toulousain alliance being realised in the affairs of the Languedoc in subsequent years. It was certainly thought by the crusaders that John was involved, for the council of Lavaur in January 1213 denounced Raymond for putting his faith in him, and also made reference to the involvement of Savary de Mauléon.⁴⁷⁹ In early May, when the crusaders were attempting to secure their position at Muret, they were faced with the untimely defection of a significant contingent led by the Walloon Alard II de Strépy. De Strépy was a vassal of John and had apparently received a message from him in late

⁴⁷⁹ *PL* CCXIII 836-8.

April, and historians have speculated that this was the cause of his departure.⁴⁸⁰

There is concrete administrative evidence that John was exchanging embassies with the southerners. Count Raymond had a Provençal official, Vital, at John's court from late 1212 to at least 7 April 1213, when he was making preparations to return home. Vital had replaced another ambassador, Robin, and was himself replaced by envoys from Raymond and also Peter of Aragon, whose expenses John paid from 14 to 20 April.⁴⁸¹ They were surely sent in an attempt to involve John in the Aragonese/Toulousain alliance of 1213. John himself had an ambassador, a Cistercian monk, at the Aragonese court between 14 April and 8 May.⁴⁸² On 8 July he again sent embassies to both Peter and Raymond, this time travelling in an armed ship.⁴⁸³ On 17 August he sent two more envoys to the southerners with letters of accreditation, one of whom was Geoffrey Neville.⁴⁸⁴

After Muret Raymond was denied the revenues and resources required for a counter-offensive. Several sources tell us that he and the young Raymond fled to England where they sought refuge and aid from John.⁴⁸⁵ Ralph of Coggeshall tells us that the count did homage to his brother-in-law. Perhaps this was simply a renewal of the homage to Richard of 1196 for the Agenais, but it could also have been a revival of that of 1173 for Toulouse. This is certainly implied by the chronicler, who notes that Raymond's position was so weak that Toulouse itself was all he in fact held at this point. We are also told that he received one thousand marks from John. Apparently this money was raised as part of a levy of twenty two thousand *livres* on the Cistercian order imposed because of their support for the Crusade.⁴⁸⁶ The money was granted on 15 December 1213 at Reading and 16 January 1214 at Winchester, the second grant

⁴⁸⁰ PVC 164; PVC *Hystoria* II 113 and note 1; *L'épopée* II 149. For the connection between John and de Strépy see Taylor, 'Pope Innocent').

⁴⁸¹ *Rot. lit. claus.*, II, 126; *Documents Illustrative of English History of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, ed. H. Cole, London, 1844, 258-9; *Hystoria*, II, 113-4 note 5.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*; *Documents*, Cole, 262.

⁴⁸³ *Rot. lit. claus.* I 164; PVC *Hystoria* II 134 note 2.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*; Rymer's *Foedera* I, 175.

⁴⁸⁵ *Chanson* II 40-1; *Annales prioratus de Dunstaplia* in *Annales monastici*, II, ed. H.R. Luard, RS, 1865, 39; *Annales monasterii de Waverleia*, in *ibid.*, III, 280.

⁴⁸⁶ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stephenson, RS, 1875, 164 and 168.

being arranged by Geoffrey Neville.⁴⁸⁷ The two Raymonds were then expelled from England by the papal legate, bishop Nicholas of Tusculum.⁴⁸⁸

In 1214 John involved himself directly against the crusade. Since February, whilst preparing to engage the French in Poitou, he had been based at La Rochelle, and from there he took his army to La Réole, remaining there from 13 to 16 April.⁴⁸⁹ As we have seen, his proximity caused the crusader garrison at Marmande to surrender, and on 15 April he sent down river a force under Geoffrey Neville and possibly also Savary de Mauléon.⁴⁹⁰ John was unable to give the support which he had promised to Neville at Marmande, and in June the crusade was able to begin to reoccupy the Agenais. The crusaders also believed John to have promised support for the town of Casseneuil, besieged from 28 June, although this did not arrive either.⁴⁹¹

John's continued neglect of the Agenais from June into July was prompted by several factors. Most obviously, on 2 July his army was routed by the French royal army in Poitou. In addition, his activity with regard to the crusade had been noticed by the papal legate Robert de Courçon. As noted above the legate had been with the crusaders in April, but he had left its ranks to preside over the council of Bordeaux of 25 June. To this he had summoned John, who failed to appear.⁴⁹² The legate evidently pursued him further, this time successfully, for in a letter of 6 July to de Courçon John promised neutrality with relation to the dioceses of Agen and Cahors.⁴⁹³ In addition the legate sent twenty thousand *sous* to de Montfort for the war effort in John's name, although the money did not come from John's own coffers.⁴⁹⁴ At some point later in July, the legate travelled a short distance down-river from the siege at Casseneuil to

⁴⁸⁷ *Rot. lit. pat.* I 106 and 108. John's itinerary gives us the location of the court (unpaginated in Hardy, T. D., *A Description of the Patent Rolls*, London, 1835).

⁴⁸⁸ *Annales... Waverleia*, 280.

⁴⁸⁹ John's itinerary and *HGL* VI 446.

⁴⁹⁰ De Mauléon is mentioned at Marmande in Chaytor, H. J., *Savaric de Mauléon: Baron of Troubadours*, Cambridge, 1939, 27.

⁴⁹¹ *PVC* 198-202; *HGL* VI 446.

⁴⁹² *Concilia* XXII 931-4; Rymer's *Foedera* I, 186-7; *PVC Hystoria* II 216-7 note 1; Dickson, M. and C., 'Le cardinal Robert de Courçon: sa vie', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age*, 9 (1934), esp. 85-116 and 141; Baldwin, J., *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chantor and his Circle*, 2 vols., Princetown, New Jersey, 1970, I, esp. 19-25 and II, 7-15.

⁴⁹³ Rymer's *Foedera* I, 188.

the abbey at Saint-Livrade, all the more friendly since one of the lords of the town, Pons Amanieu had done homage to de Montfort in April at Penne, receiving the property of his heretical relative Guillaume in return.⁴⁹⁵ There the legate issued a charter granting to de Montfort rights to the conquered lands of the Agenais, Quercy, Albigeoise and the county of Rodez.⁴⁹⁶ It was in this context that the nobility of the Agenais did homage to the crusader in late August 1214.

However the legatine activity was apparently undertaken without reference to Rome or to Peter of Benevento, the official papal representative in the Languedoc, who was at this point in Spain. De Courçon had embarked on this course of action in December 1212 when the council of Montpellier, which he had convened, unofficially elected de Montfort as count of Toulouse and recommended him to the Pope.⁴⁹⁷ A letter was then sent from the papal *curia*, on 18 January 1213, to the same churchmen in which it was pointed out that John, as Duke Richard's successor, was owed homage for Jeanne's dowry lands from whoever held them. The pope also made it clear that no decisions regarding possession of lands in the Languedoc would be taken until the Lateran Council.⁴⁹⁸

In the light of this de Courçon's activity requires explanation. It is likely that he perceived that John's actions, by strengthening the southern hand and thus perpetuating the war, touched upon the success of the planned crusade to the Holy Land. Like the Pope, he saw conflict in Europe as a major obstacle to its success and between September 1213 and 1215 he attempted to arbitrate between John and Philip Augustus. Thus in the summer of 1214 he involved himself in the Agenais. It is certain that he played a constructive and diplomatic role in securing the peace between the kings of France and England in the period immediately after Bouvines.⁴⁹⁹ Indeed, he was able to achieve this by first weakening John's hand in the Languedoc. However,

⁴⁹⁴ In August John ordered that the money paid to de Montfort be recouped from the townspeople of La Réole and paid back to the archbishop of Bordeaux who, by implication, had supplied it (*Rot. lit. claus.*, II, 171; *Hystoria*, II, 216-7 note 1).

⁴⁹⁵ *L'épopée* II 258 and see chapter 4..

⁴⁹⁶ Molinier, *Actes* 85; *HGL* VI 451 and VIII 653-5.

⁴⁹⁷ *Concilia* XXII 936-7; Dickson and Dickson, 'Le Cardinal', 101.

⁴⁹⁸ *PL* CCXVI 739; *L'épopée* II 64; Sumption, *Albigensian*, 177.

⁴⁹⁹ Dickson and Dickson, 'Le cardinal', 105-8; Baldwin, *Masters*, I, 21-2.

whilst de Courçon undoubtedly felt duty bound to continue the anti-heretical work of his absent colleague Peter of Benevento, he had neither his tact nor his knowledge of the situation.⁵⁰⁰ Having neutralised John with regard to the Agenais and Quercy, he initiated a crusade into other lands pertaining to the duchy of Aquitaine. In this way he almost managed to provoke another military response by John: during the siege of Casseneuil, perhaps between 20 and 25 July, Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay tells us that John was at Périgueux receiving refugee soldiers who had fled the re-conquered Agenais (which, we are told made him the object of scandal and compromised his reputation).⁵⁰¹ The chronicler is clear that John's actions were prompted by a desire to relieve the Agenais and thereby avenge his nephew, dispossessed of his mother's dowry.⁵⁰² This was not John's plan, however, for his presence in Périgord could never constitute more than a threat. John was wiser than to actually engage the army of God directly, and by the time it attacked Périgord he had retreated to the Atlantic to nurse the many wounds his ambition had sustained that summer.

King John and Philip Augustus, 1209-14

By the start of the crusade in 1209 all parties could have anticipated that the wars of John and Philip might also have implications for the south. Indeed, in May 1208 the French king had quarrelled with Raymond VI because of a visit he made to Otto of Brunswick, enemy of Philip and ally of John.⁵⁰³ If John wished to intervene in the Languedoc in his own interests and those of the house of Saint-Gilles, his activity in this context must be understood in relation to his major concern in these years, his war against the King of France. In the early stages of the crusade, it would have suited John well if Philip had joined its ranks. To have his enemy fighting on two fronts could only increase John's chances of success in Normandy and Anjou. Indeed, in spring 1213 Philip and Prince Louis had to choose between intervention in the Languedoc

⁵⁰⁰ He was noted for lack of diplomacy in many other situations (see sources for the legate above and Mayer, H., *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham, Oxford, 1972, 206).

⁵⁰¹ PVC 199-200. John's presence at Périgueux is not attested by charters and does not appear in his itinerary, although its silence about his location between these dates makes it quite feasible (see also PVC *Hystoria* II, 215-6 note 4; HGL VI 446-8).

⁵⁰² PVC 199-200.

⁵⁰³ HGL VI 271.

and a planned invasion of England.⁵⁰⁴

But John, in a sense, was also fighting on two fronts, strategically improbable as this seems to modern historians. His visit to La Réole and capture of Marmande has caused the most confusion. M. Roquebert asks 'allait-il s'engager dans l'affaire albigeoise?', and is inclined to answer negatively, pointing to the difficulty of choosing conflict on both the Gascon and Poitevin borders. K. Norgate assumed that John's manoeuvres from La Rochelle in April 1214 were part of the wars in the north of France, designed 'to baffle Philip and to ascertain the extent of his own resources in the South'. Even Ch. Higounet does not explain the presence of John's garrison in the Agenais. W. L. Warren has added that 'the chroniclers are not at all clear about John's operations from La Rochelle'.⁵⁰⁵

J. Gillingham at least makes a connection between John's manoeuvres and the crusade.⁵⁰⁶ M. Roquebert does suggest that John considered something of a show-down with the crusaders, perhaps even at the request of his brother-in-law, and J. Sumption follows him in this. But neither sees any deliberate strategy here, only vain posturing.⁵⁰⁷ Yet from an Agenais perspective, it appears quite simply that 'Jean-sans-Terre s'était rendu en vain en 1214 dans l'Agenais pour le secourir'.⁵⁰⁸ And, whilst it may be true that Anglo-Norman chroniclers are unclear what was going on, those of the Albigensian Crusade are far from ambiguous. The war's main apologist states clearly that John's activity was in opposition to the crusade and in defence of his family interests in the Agenais, and that Geoffrey Neville raised his banner at Marmande to defy the crusaders. From a French perspective, William the Breton makes a direct connection between the wars of John and Philip and the power struggle in the Languedoc, saying that Bouvines was fought against the allies and defenders of the

⁵⁰⁴ News that the papacy had suspended the crusade had not reached Paris, whilst the pope had declared the excommunicate John's throne vacant. In the event, the French navy was destroyed by the count of Flanders (Warren, *John*, 202-5).

⁵⁰⁵ *L'épopée* II 257-8; Norgate, *John Lackland*, 198; Higounet, *Marmande*, 8; Warren, *John*, 218 and see 219. C. Dutton takes more or less the same view as Norgate (*Aspects*, 46-7 and see 55-8).

⁵⁰⁶ Gillingham, *Angevin*, 78.

⁵⁰⁷ *L'épopée* II 258; Sumption, *Albigensian*, 176.

⁵⁰⁸ Cassany-Mazet, *Annales... Villeneuve*, 54.

Albigensian heretics.⁵⁰⁹

Thus it seems John was indeed active on two fronts, in fact in two wars, as part of the same strategy. Having lost the northern territories of the Angevin Empire since 1204 he was now hedging his bets. He was in danger of losing Poitou, but by early 1214 had secured the homage of the counts of Toulouse for their county and for the Agenais. If they succeeded in their own battle against the northern French he would have access to an Occitan empire comprising Gascony, the Agenais, and the Toulousain. This could occur whether or not he managed to secure Poitou and recover Normandy, even though these were his most immediate concerns and to which he devoted most of his resources. In garrisoning Marmande John was an overlord acting in defence of his vassal Raymond VI.

And yet he never sought actual confrontation with the crusaders. As a strategic priority this would have proved foolish, weakening him both militarily, before marching his army to Poitou, and politically, in terms of his relationship with Rome. Indeed, it is important to note that it was Neville's standard, not that of John, which appeared on the tower at Marmande. Therefore he did not linger on the borders of the Agenais, let alone enter it in person, but took his army north into Poitou after causing the defection of the Garonne towns. John was in fact reminding the French both in the north and in the Languedoc of his claims in the south, recently renewed as a result of the homages received from Raymond and his son. Indeed, 'Geoffrey de Neuville... avait ostensiblement arboré sa bannière au sommet du donjon, comme pour rappeler aux Croisés que la bastide que Richard Coeur-de-Lion avait fondée trente ans plus tôt, était toujours de mouvance anglaise'.⁵¹⁰ There is no more convincing context for the stationing of a garrison at Marmande under one of his most important officials than that John intended, if able, to hold it for himself or his vassals and in-laws.

John's enemies take the Cross.

It should also be noted that John had many personal enemies who took part in the

⁵⁰⁹ PVC 194 and 198-9; William the Breton, *Philippide* in *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, ed. H.F. Delaborde, 2 vols., Paris, 1882-5, II, 229; and see Duby, G., *The Legend of Bouvines*, trans. C. Tihanyi, Cambridge, 1990, 130-1 and 151.

⁵¹⁰ *L'épopée* II 277.

crusade, disinclining him further towards it. The most significant amongst these was of course the Montfortist faction. The crusade's commander had been heir to the earldom of Leicester, but in the early years of the century John had dispossessed English nobles who also held lands in France. De Montfort still used his Leicester title until at least 1217.⁵¹¹ However from 1204 he had moved very firmly into the French sphere, and from 1209 his territorial ambition, that of his wife's family the Montmorencys, and at least the eldest two of the couple's three sons Amaury, Guy and Simon, were inseparable from the success of the crusade.⁵¹²

Three more of John's enemies had also taken the cross. Hugh de Lacy, co-lord of Meath, had been aided in his ambition in Ireland by John and given the newly created earldom of Ulster in 1204, but had since fallen from royal favour and been dispossessed.⁵¹³ He presumably headed for the Languedoc, but there is a problem with dating this. William of Tudela places Hugh with the crusade at Carcassonne in 1209 and states explicitly that he stayed with it when other nobles returned to the North.⁵¹⁴ However sources for the British Isles are quite clear that Hugh's flight was in 1210.⁵¹⁵ What is certain is that de Lacy remained close to de Montfort from the time of his arrival.⁵¹⁶ Also in the camp was William des Roches. He had supported Arthur in 1199, been briefly reconciled with John in 1200, and rebelled in 1202. By 1209 he was one of the most important allies of the French king in the conquered Anjou and Poitou.⁵¹⁷ In 1211 the crusaders were also joined by Walter Langton, brother of Archbishop Stephen. He was captured on the borderlands of Foix and exchanged for southern prisoners.⁵¹⁸ Thus John's political enemies were conquering and gaining the lands of his vassals and, in the case of de Montfort in the Agenais, were usurping his authority

⁵¹¹ Doat CXXV 110r-112v. Amaury de Montfort used it from 1220 (*ibid.*, 139r-140r).

⁵¹² For discussion of the involvement of the de Montfort and Montmorency families see *L'épopée*, esp. references cited in Taylor, 'Pope Innocent'.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*, and Otway-Ruthven, J., *A History of Medieval Ireland*, 2nd edn., London, 1980, 52-7 and 80-86; Painter, *King John*, 46-7; Holt, *Magna Carta*, 108 and 203-4.

⁵¹⁴ *Chanson* I 92-3 and note 4.

⁵¹⁵ *Annales Cambriae*, ed. J. Williams, RS, 1860, 66-7; *Annales de Margam* in *Annales monastici*, I, 30; *Annales Dunstaplia*, in *ibid.*, III, 32; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, II, 530.

⁵¹⁶ See references in Taylor, 'Pope Innocent'.

⁵¹⁷ G. Dubois, 'Recherches sur la vie de Guillaume des Roches, sénéchal d'Anjou, du Maine et du Touraine', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 30 (1869), 32 (1871) and 34 (1873); Gillingham, *Angevin Empire*, 55, 66-7, 69 and 73. For his crusade involvement see most importantly PVC 39 and *Chanson* II 282-4.

⁵¹⁸ PVC 102-3.

where he was the acknowledged suzerain.

John and Pope Innocent III

When the crusade began England had been under an interdict for almost a year because of John's refusal to accept Stephen Langton as archbishop of Canterbury.⁵¹⁹ Thus if John ever considered promising support for the crusade in order to win again the favour of Rome, this would not have been straightforward. In addition, the lands of Raymond VI were protected by the Church from June 1209 to 1211, and so John would have had to send troops down the Rhône to join the attack on the lands of the Trencavel viscounts of Béziers. This was unthinkable, for it would have subjected his army to the authority of the French, not least to de Montfort. In any case, in reality John was less than distraught about the excommunication. When he did begin to consider involvement in the Languedoc it was from political not religious motives.

From the summer of 1212 his position was very difficult. He faced a baronial conspiracy in England and the Dunstable annalist indicates that the rebels wanted to put Simon de Montfort himself on the throne.⁵²⁰ Rumours were also circulating that the pope was about to release John's vassals from their fealty. At the same time in Europe a papal, Capetian and Hohenstaufen alliance was emerging.⁵²¹ John had no choice but to make his peace with the pope and on 15 May 1213 surrendered to him the realms of England and Ireland, receiving them back as fiefs and promising to take part in the proposed Fifth Crusade.⁵²²

Suddenly his relationship with Rome changed. Pope Innocent treated him as though he believed the change of heart to be entirely genuine. He warned the barons and the clergy of England against any actions which would undermine John and withdrew his support for the planned Capetian invasion.⁵²³ However, before and after John's submission, even during the days in which it took place, there is evidence that the king

⁵¹⁹ Since 24 March 1208 (*PL* CCXV 1422-3).

⁵²⁰ *Annales Dunstaplia* in *Annales monastici*, III, 33. This source dates the rebellion to 1210, however. See also Holt, J. C., *Magna Carta*, 2nd edn, Cambridge, 1992, 226.

⁵²¹ Turner, *King John*, 166-7.

⁵²² *Rot. chart.*, 195; Potthast, *Regesta*, I, no. 4776; Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, ed. R. G. Hewlett, 3 vols., RS, 1886-9, I, 145; Sayers, J., *Innocent III: Leader of Europe, 1198-1216*. London/New York, 1994, 72, 80, 84-6.

⁵²³ Potthast, *Regesta*, nos. 4774-5 and 4777.

was considering intervention in the Languedoc. On 13-15 May, that is to say in the same period as negotiating his own surrender to Rome with the papal *nuncio* Pandulf, he was exchanging ambassadors with Raymond of Toulouse and King Peter of Aragon. John had great financial problems in 1213.⁵²⁴ These limited but did not rule out aid, for he gave readily enough later that winter. But he could in no way be seen to be helping Count Raymond in the spring. His own embassy to the southerners in August surely confirmed that, as a new vassal of Rome, he could not give them the support he would undoubtedly have liked to give and which could have proved decisive at Muret.

By the winter of 1213/14 John did feel able to act, if covertly. The financial help he gave at this time to his Toulousain kin was relatively discreet, although the legate Nicholas of Tusculum suggested that an extended stay by the Toulousains would not be wise. Likewise, John's motive in intervening in the Agenais in the spring was concealed from many by his war against Philip. But Robert de Courçon saw what was happening. The legate has been called 'le docile instrument des ambitions de Montfort'. This charge, like the complaints of contemporary chroniclers at his interference in French ecclesiastical affairs, has a 'myopic quality' when his actions are contextualised by his concern for reform and orthodoxy.⁵²⁵ Weakness of character was not behind de Courçon's encouragement of the attack on Périgord in 1214, during the Peace under which the Languedoc had been placed.⁵²⁶ Like the pope, the legate was a believer in the war that could impose peace and papal authority. Where they differed was that the legate wanted to settle affairs in the Languedoc, not suspend them.⁵²⁷ Unlike the pope, he wished this war to continue over the summer of 1214 in order to put de Montfort in as strong a position as possible. John and the house of Saint-Gilles were forced to wait until the autumn of 1215 for the fate of the Agenais and the Toulousain to be decided. In the meantime, John had to maintain his good relationship with the Pope if his own opinion on the matter was to be taken into consideration.

⁵²⁴ Turner, *King John*, 171-2.

⁵²⁵ *Annales Waverleia*, 275-7; *L'épopée* II 296 (quotation); Powell, J. M., *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213-1221*, Philadelphia, 1986, 35-6 (quotation).

⁵²⁶ Cf Sumption, *Albigensian*, 172-178; *L'épopée*, II, 256-9 and 285-9.

⁵²⁷ Dutton, *Aspects*, 98-105, and see 187-7.

It has to be said that the rebellion of the English barons in 1215 could only help John in this matter. In March and April the pope had written to them stating that they must show loyalty to the king, not least because on 4 March John finally took the cross and promised to aid the Holy Land. The pope also wrote to various English churchmen expressing his surprise that so few of them were aiding the king against the barons. On 24 August he denounced and annulled *Magna Carta* and ordered the barons to withdraw it. By the autumn John's secular enemies had been excommunicated, Stephen Langton had been suspended, and the papal vassal was very much in favour at Rome.⁵²⁸

In addition, John's enemies in France were not all thought well of at the papal *curia* by this time, for in spring 1215 de Montfort had declared himself count of Toulouse against the pope's wishes, and Prince Louis had accepted his homage for the county. Montauban was the last significant town in the Languedoc to hold out. In June it too submitted and there on 8 June de Montfort received the submission of two Agenais lords, Itier de Villebroy and Guiraud Cabrols. Also in June, Géraud, count of Armagnac and Fezensac and viscount of Fézensaguet did homage de Montfort for his lands in Gascony, excepting those which he held from the Archbishop of Auch, in return for Mauvezin in Bigorre. Although Géraud had never performed homage directly to John, the duke's authority was not taken into consideration, as had been the case also in the Pyrenées and Agenais. Indeed, the crusade's commander entered Gascony again and on 25 September at Condom he enfeoffed Eudes de Montaut with Gramont in Lomagne.⁵²⁹ Southern France was not the place which Pope Innocent had intended it to be on the eve of the Fourth Lateran Council.

And yet the Montfortist grip on lands in which John had an interest did not go entirely unchallenged. In late September he learned that Bernard de Cazenac had recovered Castelnaud, which dominated the junction of the Dordogne and the Céon. The

⁵²⁸ *Letters ... Innocent III*, 167-70, 272-3 and 1026; Potthast, *Regesta*, I, nos. 4990-1; *Concilia*, XXII, 1070 and 1076; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, II, 633-4; Warren, *King John*, 224-45; Holt, *Magna Carta*, 196.

⁵²⁹ *HGL*, VIII, 665; Molinier, *Actes*, 107 and 115; Acte de reddition à Simon de Montfort de deux seigneurs de l'Agenais, ed. M. R. Mazieres, *Mémoires de la Société des Arts et Sciences de Carcassonne*, 4: 6 (1970), 99-100; PVC 215; *L'épopée* II 297-344, esp. 338.

crusaders besieged it successfully, although de Cazenac again escaped.⁵³⁰ The defiance of this *routier* was the last serious resistance to de Montfort's authority before he sent his brother Guy to represent him at Rome.

iii. Occitan and English interests at the Fourth Lateran Council of November 1215⁵³¹

Crusader sources tell us that before the council Count Raymond had sent his son to England again to take advice from his uncle John.⁵³² John was apparently furious at the threat to the family lands. He paid for the young Raymond's transport and sent letters of recommendation for the Toulousains to be delivered to the pope.⁵³³ It is clear that further strategies were worked out for the council in order to give the son, if not his father, a chance of asserting his rights to Toulouse and also the Agenais. We are told that the young Raymond made a favourable impression on the pope, not least because of the eighteen year-old's illustrious lineage.⁵³⁴

To help his case, John himself had sent two trusted advocates. They were the Cistercian Hugh, abbot of Beaulieu in Hampshire, and Walter Gray, bishop of Worcester, who was to be elevated to the archiepiscopal see of York at the council.⁵³⁵

⁵³⁰ PVC 215; Escande, *Périgord*, 95-6.

⁵³¹ For the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council see Mansi XXII 953-1086. For the business regarding Toulouse and the Agenais see *ibid.*, 1069-70; *Chanson* II 40-89; PVC 215-17; anon., *Histoire*, 160-3. See also the account from the Giessen codex (Kuttner, S. and García y García, A., 'A new eyewitness account of the Fourth Lateran Council', *Traditio*, 20 (1964), 124-5, lines 44-59 and commentary 138-43). The relative merits of the various accounts are discussed in *ibid.*, 138. The latter account is regarded by Kuttner and García y García as a reliable source for the sentence passed; although it lacks the background knowledge of the anonymous *Chanson* author or of Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay, both of whom were also present, it is comparatively less partisan in tone. Nonetheless they regard the *Chanson* as authoritative in its descriptions of the tortuous process by which the Pope reached his decision. See also *HGL* VI 469-75, esp. 473-5. For the role of the English representatives see *L'épopée*, II, 373-5 and Cheney, *Innocent III*, 395-6. The papal judgement on the matter was also published in a bull of 14 December 1215 (*Pothast Regesta* I, no. 5009). See also Tillmann, *Innocent III*, esp. 238-40.

⁵³² *Chanson* II 40-1 and footnote 3; William of Puylaurens 98-9; anon., *Histoire*, 156; *HGL* VI 458.

⁵³³ Anon., *Histoire*, 156. This is the only source to give us detailed information about John's response to his nephew's visit in 1215. The reference in the anonymous source is perhaps derived from the *Chanson* author's claim that the English churchmen carried a letter from John (see below). According to this anonymous source the young Raymond then went to meet his father in Rome. The anonymous *Chanson* author and William of Puylaurens tell us that the young Raymond travelled from England to rejoin his father in Provence, having crossed the Languedoc with great difficulty and in secret in the company of Arnaud Topina, a prominent citizen of Agen. The young Raymond, William of Puylaurens tells us, was disguised as Arnaud Topina's servant (William of Puylaurens, 98-9; *Chanson* II 41 note 3).

⁵³⁴ *Chanson* II 42-3 (and see also III 262-3).

⁵³⁵ For the relationship of these churchmen with John see Taylor, 'Pope Innocent'.

On 14 November Gray presented the case for Saint-Gilles in legal terms: the Agenais was the dowry of the young Raymond's dead mother Jeanne and therefore his to inherit, even if the pope judged the lands of his father forfeit. This was apparently because in 1196 the marriage contract had stipulated that if Jeanne died and in the case of the 'mort civile' of Raymond, which would be the case if the council condemned him, her entire dowry would pass to her heir.⁵³⁶ The bishop argued that this agreement had been confirmed by Rome. Therefore, even if the judgement went against Raymond VI and granted Toulouse to de Montfort, there was no basis for preventing Jeanne's son from taking possession of the Agenais. The pope made it known that this case on behalf of the young Raymond was indeed valid. Things were going well. Hugh of Beaulieu then presented the pope with letters from John, a vassal who loved his lord 'with an ever constant heart', pleading clemency on behalf of his nephew with regard also to the lands of Toulouse.⁵³⁷ The pope also agreed that it would be unjust to deny the young Raymond his Toulousain inheritance, even if it were to be taken from his father.

However the bishops of the Languedoc voiced their outrage at the pope's liberality towards the Toulousains, and they were supported by the new archbishop of Auch, Garsias de l'Ort (1214/5-1225), a great contrast to his predecessor. Indeed, the *Chanson* author tells us that they followed the harassed pope into the Lateran gardens, where he had retired to think the matter over, and threatened rebellion. The pontiff then returned to the council and announced his decision: all the conquered territories, not least the Toulousain and the Agenais, were to go to de Montfort. Indeed, he included also the unconquered towns of Toulouse and Montauban. In compensation, at least according to the *Chanson*, he declared that the lands were not necessarily permanently lost to the young Raymond. He suggested that de Montfort should guard his undeserved prize well, saying 'let him keep it if he can, for if any of it is taken from him I will not help him to get it back'.⁵³⁸ Thus the county of Toulouse and the Agenais

⁵³⁶ See chapters 4 and 6.

⁵³⁷ *Chanson* II 76-7 (quotation).

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, 78-9, see also 58-61. Only the traditional family lands of St. Gilles of which the crusaders were not actually in possession were given to the young Raymond, most importantly the marquisate of Provence.

were granted to de Montfort, as a fief of the French king.⁵³⁹

Accounts excuse this apparent miscarriage of justice by emphasising that the pope was unable to carry the council with him, so strong was the feeling against the house of Saint-Gilles and for de Montfort, amongst the French bishops especially.⁵⁴⁰ We are told that the pontiff was forced to act very much against his will. But Innocent III was a great pragmatist. What he wanted for the Languedoc was stable orthodox rule. He also wanted the kings of France and England to go on crusade to the Holy Land. These things were only possible with the Languedoc, France and England at peace. In recognising the justice of the young Raymond's claim, he understood what lay behind the support from England. The house of Saint-Gilles was firmly in John's pocket. John, having lost his lands in northern and central France, had his eyes on an Occitan Empire, with the alod of Gascony as its cornerstone. Since 1213 he had been binding Raymond VI and especially the young Raymond ever more closely to him. The pair had become dependent on him financially and had performed homage to him for the Agenais and perhaps Toulouse, assuming they could recover them with his help.

John has thus been portrayed as one of the 'vultures' represented at the Fourth Lateran, picking over the bones of the forfeited lands of the Languedoc, his ambassadors sent there to press for his personal claim to the Agenais.⁵⁴¹ But this is not the strategy which he pursued through his envoys at Rome, and there is little indication that the astute pope thought John to be purely self-serving in the matter. Nonetheless, Pope Innocent knew that John had submitted to his authority in 1213 pragmatically, from a position of weakness. It is not in fact the case that since John's submission in 1213 the pope 'regarded his new vassal with the same unrealistic indulgence that he had shown before the Canterbury crisis'.⁵⁴² Pope Innocent understood John's motives only too well, for in late 1213, after his homage, he had warned him against any further disobedience and persecution of the Church.⁵⁴³ The possession by Saint-Gilles of the

⁵³⁹ Not as a fief of Rome as de Montfort had wished (Eyewitness account, Kuttner and García y García, lines 54-55 and commentary 142-3).

⁵⁴⁰ For example, the Pope 'could not control the self-interest of those who had already made the south of France a battle-ground' (Cheney, *Innocent III*, 396).

⁵⁴¹ Sumption, *Albigensian*, 179.

⁵⁴² Turner, *King John*, 170.

⁵⁴³ *Selected Letters ... Innocent III*, 169-70.

Languedoc, still infested with heresy, would pose an on-going threat to orthodoxy and thus a diversion from the reconquest of the Holy Land. In addition, John's personal ambition in the Languedoc meant perpetual war in France. The pope would not allow his vassal to go down that road and, in the context of his concern for peace and orthodoxy probably felt he had little choice but to depose Raymond VI formally and even disinherit his son.

Yet the Pope, having denied John's wishes for southern France, continued to support his vassal in England against the barons and Capetian invasion until his own death on 21 May the following year. Unknown both to him and to John, who died himself after a long illness in late 1216 during an invasion of England by Prince Louis, the wars in the Languedoc were not at an end.⁵⁴⁴

iv. Rebellion and a return to war, 1216-1229

In the fighting which marked a revival of confidence in the Languedoc, the towns and nobility of the Agenais and the Gascon Pyrenees had a limited but important role. Like the rest of Occitania under northern rule, they faced a dire choice when things began to go the way of Saint-Gilles again after the death of Simon de Montfort in 1218. From that point onwards the less powerful sought to attach themselves to masters who would neither destroy them nor be themselves destroyed, leaving their allies helpless again. The fate of the people of the Agenais was once again played out in the context of the developing territorial power of the Capetian state and the claims of the Plantagenet king of England to western France. It makes most sense to describe their fortunes in the broad chronological framework of the Albigensian wars and diplomacy between the Fourth Lateran Council and the 1229 Peace of Paris, and to allude along the way to the influence of Henry III of England and his rivals in France. The fate of the people of Quercy once again affected the towns, nobles and heretics of the Agenais. The story of the lords of the Gascon Pyrenees is described in less detail, as it

⁵⁴⁴ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, II, 654-7; *Selected Letters ... Innocent III*, 172-7; Painter, *Reign*, 349-77; Cheney, *Innocent III*, 391-2; Tillmann, *Innocent III*, 85 and 288 note 61; Sayers, *Innocent III*, 184-5. John's death on 19 October 1216 changed matters for the Capetians and the English rebels. Although they had the upper hand to begin with, they could not ultimately disinherit the child Henry, not least because of the presence of the legate Guala who transformed the defence of the kingdom into a quasi-crusade. Prince Louis was forced to sue for peace in September 1217 (Carpenter, D.A., *The*

has been thoroughly explored elsewhere.⁵⁴⁵

1216-1225: The defeat of the crusade

After the settlement of the Fourth Lateran Council de Montfort could not afford to wear his new title complacently because Count Raymond and his son soon began to organise again against him. On 11 May 1216, for example, the consuls of Agen were told to raise an army to be commanded by Guillaume-Arnaud de Tantalou, Raymond's titular seneschal in the Agenais.⁵⁴⁶ The young Raymond had won back Beaucaire in the eastern Languedoc by August and his father moved to raise an army in Aragon. However, Guy de Montfort, Simon's brother, had arrived with an army in June, which Hugh de Lacy joined.⁵⁴⁷ This was used to strengthen control of the Gascon Pyrenees. In April 1214 Gaston de Béarn had died and the viscounty was now held by his brother, Guillaume-Raymond de Moncade. Gaston's daughter Petronilla, heiress to the county of Bigorre, was married to Nuño Sanchez of the Aragonese royal family. In November 1216 the archbishop of Auch forcibly divorced the couple at the request of the de Montforts and Petronilla was married to Simon's son Guy. This was met with fury in Aragon where Raymond VI was recruiting. Sanchez and Moncade resisted for a time at Lourdes, but the possession of Bigorre and occupation of stretches of the Pyrenean Garonne by the crusaders was a great blow for the southerners.⁵⁴⁸

However, Raymond's attempts to raise a new army were very successful and on 13 September 1217 it entered and re-occupied Toulouse. By the time the crusaders began to besiege the town it also contained contingents led by Bernard of Comminges and his family and by Bertrand-Jourdain de l'Isle, son-in-law of Count Raymond. During the course of the siege, which lasted until the death of de Montfort on 25 June 1218, many other Gascons arrived including Arnaud de Lomagne, Roger de Montaut and Arzieu

Minority of Henry III, London, 1990, 1-49, esp. 13-14, 29-35; Sayers, J., *Papal Government and England during the Pontificate of Honorius III (1216-27)*, Cambridge, 1984, 162-7.

⁵⁴⁵ A detailed chronology and discussion of this period of the crusade can be found in *HGL* VI and more analytically, in *L'épopée* III and Higounet, *Comminges*, I. Good summaries exist in *Sumption, Albigensian*, 119-225 and Evans, *Albigensian*, 307-24.

⁵⁴⁶ *Chartes...Agen* vi.

⁵⁴⁷ *Chanson* II 121; *PVC* 218-19.

⁵⁴⁸ *Chanson* II 256-7; *HGL* VI 149; Higounet, *Comminges*, I, 100-2 (and see 108-16 for the succession to Bigorre after Guy's death in 1226); Dossat, 'Comminges', 120-1; *Sumption, Albigensian*, 189-90; *L'épopée* II 261 and III 49-51, 86-7, 95-6.

Montesquiou de l'Armagnac.⁵⁴⁹ *Faidits* from the Agenais also arrived, commanded by Hugues d'Alfaro and Guillaume-Arnaud de Tantalou, amongst them Guillaume Amanieu of Sainte-Livrade, dispossessed for believing in the heresy, as noted above, and Bertrand and Guitard de Marmande. From Quercy the besieged included Bernard de Montaigu, probably a kinsman of Arnaud de Montaigu, the crusader of 1211, who was soon to change sides himself. Also in evidence in the town were Hugues de Lamothe, Déodat de Barasc, who had defected from the Montfortist party, and Araimfré de Montpezat.⁵⁵⁰

As mentioned above, Bernard de Cazenac set about raising an army from Quercy and Périgord with the help of defectors from the northern side including viscount Raymond of Turenne, Arnaud de Montaigu and the co-lords of Gourdon.⁵⁵¹ In the winter, Philip de Landreville, de Montfort's seneschal for the Agenais, took hostages at Montauban to attempt to neutralise this threat. A force from Toulouse joined the townspeople in an attempt to free them, but the French held the town. De Cazenac was more successful and entered Toulouse with his reinforcements around Easter 1218. With him was the Gascon viscount Vezeian of Lomagne, who also held Auvillars in the Agenais, and whose son Espan was amongst the besieged.⁵⁵²

Archbishop Garcias of Auch was asked to aid the crusaders during this siege of Toulouse. He was especially involved in advising de Montfort how to ensure his access to Gascony, by building a new town dominating the westward route out of the town.⁵⁵³ Walter Langton was again present, in a force recruited by Alice de Montfort, involving himself in strategic decisions regarding the suburb of Saint-Cyprien.⁵⁵⁴ Hugh de Lacy was also in the camp.⁵⁵⁵ Interestingly, an Agenais noble was apparently also in the besieging army, Anissant de Caumont, lord of Saint-Barthélemy and son of Nompar de

⁵⁴⁹ *Chanson* III 120-1; *L'épopée* III 95-6 and 99-123.

⁵⁵⁰ *Chanson* III 302-3 and 308-13; *L'épopée* II, 275; Barrère, *Histoire*, I. 363.

⁵⁵¹ The pope wrote to these lords on 13 January 1218 requiring them to cease aiding the enemies of the crusade (*RHF* XIX 648; *L'épopée* III 111-2 and 122-3; Sumption, *Albigensian*, 196).

⁵⁵² *Chanson* III 60-1, 138-41 and 308-9.

⁵⁵³ *Chanson* II 294-5 and III 36-7.

⁵⁵⁴ *Chanson* III 106-7 and 122-5; Sumption, *Albigensian*, 196.

⁵⁵⁵ *Chanson* II 202-3 and 292-3, and III 22-3, 74-7, 84-5, 172-3 and 188-9.

Caumont.⁵⁵⁶ However, amongst the besiegers were also less enthusiastic Gascons, obliged to be present by their previous submissions, who apparently rejoiced when things were going the way of the Toulousains. Amongst them was probably Géraud, count of Armagnac, and a group of Gascons sent as security for the co-operation of Bernard-Jourdain de l'Isle, who had threatened to defect.⁵⁵⁷

De Montfort's son Amaury was elected to lead the crusade after his father's death and the raising of the siege of Toulouse, but he had little of his predecessor's success. Soon, Bernard of Comminges was able to re-occupy his county, chasing the crusaders along the Garonne and into Astarac where they were surprised and defeated in battle. Aiding Bernard were non-Commingeois Gascons. Some, such as Espan de Lomagne, Roger de Montaut and Raymond-At d'Aspet had involved themselves previously against the crusade in the Languedoc, but others such as Bernard de Marestaing of l'Isle Jourdain were involved against the northerners for the first time.⁵⁵⁸ Other southerners defeated the crusaders, with whom Hugh de Lacy was again present, at Baziège in early 1219. This army included Bernard of Comminges, Bertrand Jourdain de l'Isle, Hugues d'Alfaro and Hugues de Lamothe of Montauban.⁵⁵⁹

In part because Amaury was able to secure Moissac and control much of Bas-Quercy, the Agenais was divided in its response to the revival. Count Raymond and Amaury de Montfort both entered the region in the autumn of 1218 to win its co-operation. Many important towns elected to declare for Raymond. These included Clairac, Marmande, Aiguillon and also Condom, which had been garrisoned from an unknown date. The French garrisons of the latter three towns were massacred in the process.⁵⁶⁰ Pons Amanieu of Sainte-Livrade, who had benefited from his relative Guillaume Amanieu's dispossession for heresy, now defected to the southern side.⁵⁶¹ But these defections did not include Agen itself, where the party of the bishop had been in the ascendancy since

⁵⁵⁶ Barrère, *Histoire*, I, 204. The source for this is uncited, but his presence seems possible because Nomparr and Bégon de Caumont witnessed the homage of Etienne de Ferréol to Amaury de Montfort on 8 October (see below).

⁵⁵⁷ *Chanson* III 24-5; *L'épopée* III 111-2 and see below.

⁵⁵⁸ *Chanson* III 236-51; *L'épopée* III 146-9 and see also 86.

⁵⁵⁹ *Chanson* III 262-5; *HGL* VI 529.

⁵⁶⁰ *L'épopée* III 150; Barrère, *Histoire*, I, 364. In the late winter of 1221 Moissac was easily re-taken, having been left ungarrisoned by Amaury de Montfort (*L'épopée* III 212-3).

⁵⁶¹ *Chanson* II 298-9 note 3, and III 256-7 inc. note 1.

his return in 1217.⁵⁶² Etienne Ferréol of Tonneins also became an ally of the crusade. He was enfeoffed at Gontaud with Montastruc, which had easily succumbed to the crusaders, on 8 October.⁵⁶³

The most famous event in this period was a protracted and terrible siege of the rebels at Marmande, which Amaury undertook from December 1218 and whose course again reflects the broader conflict between the Plantagenets and Capetians and their respective allies. Marmande had learned how important its strategical position was, between English Gascony and whoever controlled the Toulousain, and it had prepared accordingly with Gascon allies. The town's defence was thus led by Count Centulle of Astarac, son-in-law of Bernard of Comminges and part of the crusader army himself until he defected in 1218, and Guillaume-Arnaud de Tantalou.⁵⁶⁴ Vézian and Espan de Lomagne were amongst the southerners, as were a Quercinois force including Aramfré Montpezat, and the recently dispossessed Agenais lord Gaston de Gontaud.⁵⁶⁵ Also inside was Arnaud de Blanquefort, probably of an Agenais seignury north of Fumel.⁵⁶⁶ Guillaume Amanieu, *credens* and *faidit* of Sainte-Livrade, was also present, as was his brother Pons.⁵⁶⁷

During the siege Raymond sent embassies both to Paris, to plead for recognition as count of Toulouse, and to England, to alarm the court that a crusader force being raised by Prince Louis might invade Gascony and take it from the minor Henry III.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶² *La Chanson* III 234-5; *L'épopée* III 59 and 145; Samazeuilh, *Histoire*, I, 259-60 and see chapter 6.

⁵⁶³ At the same time Pons Amanieu was forbidden from entering Montastruc because of his treachery, although his connection with Montastruc is unclear (Molinier, *Actes* 168; *L'épopée* III 150; Samazeuilh, *Histoire*, 158 and 274).

⁵⁶⁴ *Chanson* III 252-61 and 282-91; *L'épopée* III 164. Centulle was a vassal of Simon de Montfort and his ambassador at Saint-Lizier in 1216, where he obtained the homages of Tinhos, lord of Castillon-en-Couserans and his two sons. He performed homage to Raymond VI in 1218 (Molinier, *Actes* 138; Dossat, 'Comminges', 123-4; Sumption, *Albigensian*, 204). Before the treaty of 1229 he made his peace with the king and anticipated receiving control of the Agenais from him. The treaty of Paris gave it to Raymond, and Centulle received compensation (*HGL* VIII, 895-6; *L'épopée* III 420).

⁵⁶⁵ *Chanson* III 139 note 5; *L'épopée* III 154.

⁵⁶⁶ *L'épopée* III 153.

⁵⁶⁷ *Chanson* II 298-9 note 3, and III 256-7 inc. note 1; Molinier, *Actes* 168.

⁵⁶⁸ *Diplomatic Documents Preserved in the Public Records Office, 1101-1272*, ed. P. Chaplais, London, 1964, 34; Sumption, *Albigensian*, 203; Carpenter, *Minority*, 153. The French were using as justification the argument that the lands in France that had pertained to Henry's father were forfeit since 1204. However it is noted that the status of Gascony as an allod is not recorded anywhere in diplomatic relating to the regency (*ibid.*, note 1, cf. Chaplais, 'Le Traité', cited in chapter 4).

This seemed all the more likely because Geoffrey Neville reported that Elie Ridel was apparently in danger of losing lands in Bergerac to Louis' army.⁵⁶⁹ Louis' arrived at Marmande in June and was met by William des Roches' whose contingent had travelled via Bordeaux down the Garonne, almost resulting in the surrender of La Réole.⁵⁷⁰ The terrified people of Marmande did submit, and its inhabitants - men, women and children, probably several thousand people - were ruthlessly massacred. Almost certainly amongst them were the tragically reconciled Amanieus, for the only known survivors were Centulle of Astarac and Guillaume-Arnaud de Tantalou.⁵⁷¹

Aquitainians were again amongst the crusaders. They included a 'Jean de Lomagne' and Amanieu V d'Albret, who was placed in charge of the fallen town and thus increased his family's influence in the Agenais considerably.⁵⁷² Part of the crusader army was led by Bishop Pons of Saintes, who had argued that Centulle should be put to death with the rest of the townsfolk.⁵⁷³ Archbishop Garsias, however, took the southern part for once, arguing that the count and his men, people of his own archdiocese, should be spared, as they were not heretics.⁵⁷⁴ He was supported by William des Roches, whose argument that Centulle should be traded for the crusader Foucaud de Berzy, imprisoned at Toulouse, won the day.⁵⁷⁵

There can be no question of the crusaders believing that the entire town of Marmande was heretical. Like the massacre at Béziers in 1209, this attack was intended to panic the Languedoc and result in its submission, especially that of Toulouse, after only a limited campaign. In this objective Louis was unsuccessful and he was forced to besiege Toulouse from 17 June to 1 August, ultimately unsuccessfully. We learn from the *Chanson*, which ends during this siege, that Hugues de Lamothe was again amongst its defenders with fellow Quercinois Déodat and Arnaud de Barasc.

⁵⁶⁹ *Diplomatic*, Chaplais, 38 and 48-50; Carpenter, *Minority*, 153-4. Carpenter implies that Neville had only just been appointed seneschal of Gascony and Poitou.

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid.*; *L'épopée* III 161.

⁵⁷¹ *Chanson* III 252-61 and 282-91; *L'épopée* III 164.

⁵⁷² *Chanson* III 255; Marquette, 'Les Albret', 308.

⁵⁷³ *Chanson* III 282-3 and 286-7.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 288-9.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 282-3 and 290-1; William of Puylaurens, 112-3 (although the chronicler neglects to mention the terrible massacre that accompanied the sparing of these two nobles); *L'épopée* III 145, 151-5, 163-6, 172.

Guillaume-Arnaud de Tantalou and Hugues d'Alfaro were also present, as were Bernard de Comminges and two of his cousins, Espan de Lomagne and the brothers Bertrand-Jourdain and Bernard-Jourdain de l'Isle, the latter of whom had evidently left the crusaders.⁵⁷⁶ Bernard de Marestaing and Roger de Montaut, fully committed to the southern cause since the crusaders invaded their Gascon homeland, guarded the barbican called *Pertus*.⁵⁷⁷

After the defeat of Marmande furious arguments erupted within Agen. The city had been increasingly Montfortist since 1212 and especially since 1217, but by 1221 was nonetheless still divided. It almost admitted Amaury's soldiers, but eventually it was Raymond who won the town over, promising amnesty for the Montfortists, a large southern garrison, and further privileges for the town.⁵⁷⁸ By spring 1222 Amaury's position throughout the Languedoc was untenable because most of the lands of the Midi were again in southern hands. He was persuaded by the legate Romanus of St. Angelo to submit to Capetian ambition and hand his few possessions in the Languedoc, and his titular comital title, to the French crown. In addition, Pope Honorius III offered King Philip financial inducements to send a force to make his claim on Toulouse real. Yet Philip still refused to crusade. His motives are unclear, but he probably feared making more enemies in southern France to add to those in Poitou and Gascony. In addition, the death of Raymond VI in August 1222 meant that the highly popular and capable young Raymond was the one now facing dispossession, a prospect unjust and provocative enough in 1215 to have induced large-scale rebellion.⁵⁷⁹ Thus Amaury, left to shift for himself, was forced to surrender virtually all of his southern property, including Penne d'Agenais, with his few other possessions protected by a truce. When this elapsed in March 1224 the Toulousains reoccupied the rest.

This was a month before a truce between Prince Louis and Henry III was also due to elapse. The pope had been urging a renewal of this latter truce in order to allow Louis to crusade in the south. The English wanted the truce also, to preserve Gascony and

⁵⁷⁶ *Chanson* III 302-17. The poet does not claim that 'English' people but 'Angevins' were in Louis' army, cf the mis-translation of *Angevi* in Shirley, *Song*, 189 and *Chanson* III 262.

⁵⁷⁷ *Chanson* III 313.

⁵⁷⁸ *HGL* VIII 748-9 and 753-55; *Agen...Chartes*, xii and xiii; Sumption, *Albigensian*, 205-6; *L'épopée* III 207-8.

what remained to them of Poitou. But they also feared the crusade, which threatened Plantagenet claims to the over-lordship of Toulouse, which were asserted again in this context. Louis, brilliantly, saw his chance: he both raised an army to invade the Languedoc and rejected the truce, leaving open the opportunity of a later invasion of Poitou. However the primary interests of both the English and Capetians were thwarted when Raymond and the pope were temporarily reconciled. Louis turned his army instead against Poitou. By mid-July it was lost and, but for the defiant stance taken by Bordeaux and Bayonne, Gascony too might have fallen.⁵⁸⁰

Still Louis looked to extend French influence to the Midi, which would make the conquest of Gascony still possible. With the help of the pro-Capetian legate Romanus, he was able to persuade Amaury to cede his inherited claims in the Languedoc to him in 1225, by which time he was king of France. A royal crusade was declared. As a pre-requisite to this, Raymond VI was excommunicated by the legate and a truce imposed on the English. But the allies had already anticipated this outcome and had made a secret pact that summer. Indeed, Henry had sent his brother Richard of Cornwall to aid the defence of Gascony and to keep an army ready there to help the Languedoc.⁵⁸¹ Thus, when the royal crusade mustered at Bourges in May 1226 it looked as though the war would at last involve a king of England openly. But at the last minute Henry's opposition was neutralised by three factors: a warning from Pope Honorius in late April, threatening Henry with excommunication if he interfered; Richard of Cornwall's assessment that English help would not be needed in any case; and an astrologer's prophetic opinion that Louis would die as a result of the crusade.⁵⁸²

1226-1229: The victory of the Capetians

In June 1226 the royal army, including the Poitevins Hugh of Lusignan and Savary de

⁵⁷⁹ Sumption, *Albigensian*, 205-6; Higounet, *Comminges*, I, 103.

⁵⁸⁰ *Diplomatic*, Chaplais, 136-7 and 139; Sumption, *Albigensian*, 210-12; Carpenter, *Minority*, 344, 349, 355, 358 and 370-5; *L'épopée* III 234 and 283-4; Higounet et al., *Histoire de Bordeaux*, III, 41-5.

⁵⁸¹ Rymer's *Foedera* I, 277 and 281; Petit-Dutaillis, Ch., *Étude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII*, Paris, 1894, 518-20; Evans, *Albigensian*, 316; Sumption, *Albigensian*, 212; Carpenter, *Minority*, 375-8; *L'épopée* III 286-7.

⁵⁸² *HGL* VI 602-3; Sumption, *Albigensian*, 212-6; *L'épopée* III 317-18.

Mauléon, marched down the Rhône, and Raymond was left to his own devices.⁵⁸³ Some allies, including the town of Agen, remained loyal. Indeed, an even stronger and mutually beneficial alliance had been struck between Raymond and the people of Agen on 21 or 22 May of that year, referring to the fact that the two parties would make common cause against the crusade and the king of France.⁵⁸⁴ However Louis took Avignon after a three-month siege and, rather than face invasion again, the desperately war-weary Languedoc submitted with the exception of Toulouse. Bertrand de Gourdon had regretted his defection to the southern party in 1218 and performed homage to de Montfort again on 25 May. In 1226 he was forced to further clarify his position by submitting to Louis.⁵⁸⁵ Even Bernard V of Comminges, count since his father's death in February 1225, made his peace with Louis at Avignon in late summer 1226.⁵⁸⁶

The death of Louis on the return journey to Paris raised southern hopes again briefly over the winter of 1226-7. Etienne Ferréol defected to the south, although he was soon killed in fighting.⁵⁸⁷ Some Agenais towns returned to the southern party and defied Louis' deputy Humbert of Beaujeu (whose predicament was made worse by the diversion of French forces into Poitou in response to a rebellion by Hugh of Lusignan). A campaign in 1228 managed to secure more towns for the south, including Castelsarrassin, and when it was taken it was given to Bernard de Cazenac.⁵⁸⁸ But the regency of Louis' queen, Blanche of Castille, was a strong one and royal enemies in the south as well as the north, including rebel barons encouraged by Henry III, were forced into submission. With relative stability in the north Raymond had to sue for peace and, in Paris on 12 April 1229, in exchange for the lifting of his excommunication, he formally submitted.⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸³ Hugh had allied with Louis as a pre-requisite to the conquest of Poitou. Savary de Mauléon had defected from the English side in 1225, when Poitou was lost, and was placed in charge of La Rochelle by Louis (*L'épopée* III 303, 336 and 349; Sumption, *Albigensian*, 216).

⁵⁸⁴ *Chartes...Agen*, xvii; *HGL* VIII 835-6; Sumption, *Albigensian*, 217; *L'épopée* III 324-5. Roquebert notes the importance of this: the last royal military intervention in the Languedoc had been an expedition into the Agenais (*ibid.*).

⁵⁸⁵ Doat CLIII 93r-v and *Layettes* II 1760 (for 1218); *HGL* VIII 704-6 and *L'épopée* III 305 (for 1226).

⁵⁸⁶ Higounet, *Comminges*, I, 111-12; *L'épopée* III 262, 335-6 and 350.

⁵⁸⁷ William of Puylarens, 132-3; Samazeuilh, *Histoire*, 158 and 274.

⁵⁸⁸ William of Puylarens, 132-3; Doat XXII 9v; *L'épopée* III 366-7 and see chapter 6.

⁵⁸⁹ Sumption, *Albigensian*, 222-3.

The terms of the Treaty of Paris were punitive indeed for the house of Saint-Gilles.⁵⁹⁰ Pope Gregory IX had succeeded Honorius in 1227, and he gave the legate Romanus the power to exact numerous concessions. They included a promise to aid the church in rooting out heresy, although there is no evidence that Raymond had any religious qualms about complying with this. In order to preclude any chance of further rebellion, the walls of various castles and towns were to be destroyed, including Casseneuve, Pujols, Agen, and Auvillars in the Agenais, and Montcuq and the towns of Bas-Quercy. Raymond lost many lands in the Languedoc and was obliged to perform homage for the others to the French crown. In one act this ended centuries of political independence by the counts of Toulouse and deprived the king of England of overlordship of the Agenais, acknowledged through homage in 1214 and recognised by Innocent III in the letter sent to the bishops of the Languedoc in 1213. But most appalling of all to the southerners was the betrothal of Louis' son Alphonse to Jeanne of Toulouse, Raymond's heir. Jeanne had already been promised to a son of Hugh of Lusignan in 1224 when Raymond, apparently panicked by his uncertain status, had chosen to hedge his bets by making an alliance with an enemy of Henry III. This betrothal was forcibly ended by Romanus.⁵⁹¹ Intrinsic to this part of the agreement was the stipulation that Raymond's lands would be inherited by Alphonse, through Jeanne, if Raymond had no male heir, and in the case of Toulouse this would happen even if Raymond did have a son. Thus only the lands in the eastern Languedoc and Provence would remain to the house of Saint-Gilles after Raymond's death. However, until that time, he would live as count of Toulouse and hold the lands pertaining to that title, an opportunity which neither he nor the Languedoc, utterly exhausted by two decades of warfare, could refuse.

v. Conclusion

The English were no position to undermine the Franco-Papal party either. During the minority of Henry III and into the 1220s, England was strongly influenced by the papal legates Guala and Bishop Pandulf of Norwich. The papal agenda they worked to was remarkably similar to that the start of the century: the limiting of the Anglo-French

⁵⁹⁰ The articles of the treaty are contained in *HGL* VIII 878-94 and in *L'épopée* III 386-414. Archbishop Garcias of Auch was also present at Paris.

conflict, which they did by protecting English interests and thus deterring French aggression, and the organisation of a crusade to recover the Holy Places. Therefore, aside from a few periods of conflict in 1224-7, England and France were bound by truces which would have been undermined by overt aid to Toulouse. In addition, the English hopes to regain control in Poitou had been irrevocably shattered by a successful French invasion during the summer of 1224, and also by an alliance with the Lusignan party, now including Henry's mother Isabella of Angoulême. Queen Blanche of France, acting as regent for her son Louis IX after his father's death in 1226, managed not only to save the Capetian line at this vulnerable time but also seriously to weaken the position of Richard of Cornwall, brother of the English king, sent to secure Gascony. Indeed, if anything, it was the English who needed Toulousain help in this period. However the Lusignans, no more loyal as vassals of Capetian Poitou than they had been of the Plantagenets, continued in their support of Saint-Gilles into the 1240s. But the English shrank from crossing the papacy. Apart from hoping that a Toulousain alliances with James I of Aragon and the Emperor Frederick II might restore the Languedoc to its former independence, Henry III had to be content with limiting his interest in southern France to the allod of Gascony.⁵⁹²

Important 'international' affairs will be noted in more detail in the following chapters, and so will the state of the heresy in the Agenais and neighbouring Quercy since the start of the wars. Before this, however, we should conclude by noting various political features of the local lordships which give a context to the transition between the state of affairs in 1209 and that of 1249. First, we should note patterns in the motives and allegiances of the lords and towns of Quercy. The townspeople of Bas-Quercy, for example, were amongst the bravest of the crusade, submitting to the north only when resistance was hopeless. Cahors, in contrast, features scarcely at all in our narrative. Because of its pro-crusader stance it was most typically a place of peace. Most interesting though, is the shift of allegiance witnessed amongst the lordships of central and Haut-Quercy. In the 1209-1211 period especially, we see them hurry to declare their support for the crusade. And why not? To do otherwise would have meant losing

⁵⁹¹ *Chronicon Turonense*, in *RHF* XVIII 307 and 314; Evans, *Albigensian*, 316.

⁵⁹² A good summary of these developments can be found in Powicke, M., *The Thirteenth Century: 1216-1307*, 2nd. edn., Oxford, 1962 (1991 paperback edn.), 80-103.

their lands when they had never been heretical. Thus their political support sprang from their religious allegiance, and in this they followed their bishop. But in 1214 and most especially from 1217-18 they began responding negatively to the humiliations inflicted on the Languedoc, a state of affairs to which they, by their early collaboration, had contributed. The defection of the lords of Mondenard, Lolmie and Castelnaud-Montratier in the former year, and those of Gourdon, Montaignu and Barasc from the time of the second siege of Toulouse, did not happen as part of a general revival in southern confidence but were in fact a major cause of it. In the following chapter we will see that this shift in loyalty affected another change, one of confessional indifference and even allegiance to the heresy, most notably on the part of Bertrand de Gourdon who, by the end of the crusade of 1226, was leading a double life as a vassal of the French crown and protector of the most notorious heretics.

In the Agenais, in contrast, we can discern no clear pattern of allegiance or identity. Indeed, the Albigensian wars, although their impact is neglected in the work of both T. Bisson and J. Clémens, show most clearly the deep complexities of the identity, or rather identities, of the region. It was not divided between Catholic and heretic any more than the rest of the Languedoc was, for the Catholic Agenais lords of Albret, Lomagne, Sainte-Livrade and townspeople of Agen found themselves on different sides. The Gascon Agenais, south of the river and Catholic to the core, was not entirely pro-Crusade, nor was the Languedocian Agenais entirely opposed to it. For whilst Albret collaborated, Condom, whose orthodoxy was never in question, massacred its northern occupiers. Whilst Saint-Livrade was home to the crusaders, other towns on the Lot resisted. Indeed, as we have seen the Catholics of Agen were themselves in dispute about which side to take throughout much of the crusade, and the same is surely true for less well documented towns. Nor did 'heretical' towns of the Lot resist or suffer more than the 'Catholics' of the Garonne: witness the frequent horrors experienced at both Marmande and Casseneuil. We find several Agenais lords apparently acting as allies of the crusade, for example Anissant de Caumont, and some, like Hughes de Rovinha himself, forced to submit and probably to perform homage to de Montfort. Etienne Ferréol, on the other hand, appears to have embraced the

crusader cause for a time and been one of that handful of trustworthy southerners placed in charge of the property of their dispossessed countrymen. Thus no simple model of loyalty or identity can be demonstrated in the period 1209-29. Each town and lordship appears to have shifted for itself and, where it could, judged its own chances of success by the fate of its neighbours. The lord of Albret alone appears to have remained firmly northern in his allegiance, and in 1219 managed to extend his territory to the right bank of the Garonne as a direct result. As with the Aquitainians Savary de Mauléon, the Lusignans and the viscounts of Turenne, there were factors more worldly and immediately pressing than religious doctrine behind his allegiance.⁵⁹³

Although Catholic Gascony was itself very divided in its initial response to the crusade, most of it remaining passive and unwilling to stand in the way of the army of God, the Albrets contrast starkly with the reaction of the vast majority of Gascons when the duchy itself was actually invaded. But Gascons did not only fight in their own defence on their own soil. We see, most notable amongst many, the lords of Comminges, Béarn and Astarac active in the Languedoc as part in a strategic plan for a generalised Occitan resistance. Indeed, although Gascony and its English masters were still to play a part in the affairs of Toulouse after 1229, as will be discussed in chapter six, it was perhaps fortunate for the duchy that the French contented themselves with the prize of the Languedoc for the time being. Had they wished to make moves to invade Gascony again, they had been provided with many excuses for doing so.

⁵⁹³ B. Guillemin suggests that d'Albret wanted from the start to use the crusade to pursue his interests in the Agenais, which conflicted with those of the count of Toulouse ('Le duché', 61).

Chapter 6: The Cathar Diocese of the Agenais, 1207-1249

i. The Cathar diocese during the crusade

The Cathar bishop Vigouroux de la Bacone

After the initial foundation of the Cathar bishopric of the Agenais in the 1170s and the appointment of Raymond de Casalis as its bishop, we know of no other heretical bishop there until the early 1220s. Whilst it is true of Vigouroux de la Bacone that 'il émerge de la demi-obscureté qui, en général, enveloppe les représentants de l'albigéisme', inquisitorial sources in particular are not lacking in references to him. Y. Dossat identified Vigouroux's origins. The name Bacone is Gascon/Toulousain, specifically from l'Isle Jourdain, between Auch and Toulouse, which pertained to the house of Saint-Gilles. Dossat proposes that the name Vigouroux is a family name from the region of the forest of *la Bacona*. It should also be noted that a hamlet bearing the name Vigouroux lies three kilometres due south of modern Casseneuil, the town which we suspect was the seat of the Cathar bishopric of the Agenais. Dossat has also given us 1233 as the date of his death.⁵⁹⁴

A problem presents itself when we attempt to trace the career of Vigouroux as bishop of the heretics of the Agenais.⁵⁹⁵ When questioned in 1244 after the fall of his castle of Montségur, seigneur Raymond de Péreille told the Inquisitors that fifteen years or so earlier, i.e. c.1229, the fortress had been the site of an important ceremony. The Cathar bishop of Toulouse, Guilhabert de Castres, had ordained one 'Tento', about whom nothing else is known, as Cathar bishop of the Agenais and that Vigouroux de la Bacone had been made his *filius major*.⁵⁹⁶ The account is problematic because two other sources say that Vigouroux was already Cathar bishop of the Agenais by 1223 at the latest. Firstly, 1222/3 is the date attributed to the *Liber Contra Manicheos*, written by the Waldensian convert Durand de Osca, in which Vigouroux is designated bishop

⁵⁹⁴ Dossat, Y., 'Un évêque Cathare originaire de l'Agenais: Vigouroux de la Bacone', in *ibid.*, *Eglise et Hérésie en France au XIIIe Siècle*, London, 1982 (quotation at 623). See also Griffe, *Le Languedoc... 1209-29*, 176-7 and Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme*, II, 264.

⁵⁹⁵ Discussed in Dossat, 'Un évêque Cathare', 633-9; Hamilton, 'Saint-Felix', 45-49; *L'épopée* I 99 and III, 162-4.

⁵⁹⁶ Doat XXII 226v. Tento might have been German in origin, his name perhaps being a corruption of *Teuto* (Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme*, 272). Each Cathar bishop had a *filius major* and a *filius minor*. Typically the former would become bishop on the old bishop's death, and the *filius minor* would become *filius major*.

of the Agenais.⁵⁹⁷ Secondly, the papal legate Conrad von Urach, cardinal bishop of Porto, an ally of the crusade in the Languedoc since 1217, stated in 1223 that a certain Barthélémy of Carcassonne had been sent into the Agenais by a new 'pope' of the Cathars, a heresiarch in Bosnia, in order to achieve the resignation of the Cathar bishop *Vigorousus de Bathona* and that after he had convinced Vigouroux to resign, at a Cathar council at Pujols, just south of Villeneuve-sur-Lot, the latter retired to the Toulousain and Barthélémy took over the running of his church.⁵⁹⁸

It seems unlikely that Vigouroux had been made *filius major* of the Agenais after he had been made its bishop. Y. Dossat concludes that the Doat scribe was mistaken in transcribing Raymond de Péreille's statement that Vigouroux was ordained *filius major* fifteen or so years before 1244, and that the lord of Montségur must have given a much earlier date, before 1223. He supports this with the fact that the events de Péreille describes immediately before this account took place closer to thirty years ago.⁵⁹⁹ He points also to possible problems with the dating of another eye-witness account of the Cathar hierarchy at Montségur, which he says are mistakes by the Inquisition scribe contained in the testimony of Bérenger de Lavelant.⁶⁰⁰ This witness says that he saw Guilhabert de Castres, his *filius major* Bernard de Lamothe and *filius minor* Jean Cambiare, and also Hugues de la Bacone, *filius major hereticorum Agenensium*, Pons Guilhabert, heretical deacon of Villemur, and bishop Ténto when they came in c.1232 to suggest that the castle act as a special refuge for the leaders of the heretical church. In other words, whether or not he was ordained bishop before 1223 or in 1229, by c.1232 he is again called *filius major*. Dossat suggests that just as the inquisition's scribe must have mistakenly written *Hugonis* instead of *Vigorousus*, he also wrote the wrong date, and that a more likely one for the event is 1219, further evidence that Ténto's episcopacy preceded that of Vigouroux.⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁷ *Une Somme anti-Cathare, le Liber Contra Manicheos de Durand de Huesca*, ed. C. Thouzellier. Louvain, 1964, esp. 36-8 for the dating, and 76-8 for the reference to *Vigorousi de Bachona*.

⁵⁹⁸ The manuscript is discussed in Dossat, 'Un évêque', 635-7. Good texts exist in *TNA* I 901-3 and *Concilia*, XXII, 1201 and 1204-6. There is a translation of the relevant section in *Christian Dualist Heresies*, 264. See also Duvernoy, *La Catharisme*, II, 70-1 and 263. Barthélémy was in all probability Barthélémy de Nalaretta, or Lauressa, known to have had a house at Laure and at Montoulieu, both in Aude and near Carcassonne, between 1220 and 1227 (*ibid.*, 264; Dossat, 'Un évêque', 637-9).

⁵⁹⁹ Dossat, 'Un évêque', 633-4.

⁶⁰⁰ Doat XXIV 43v-44v.

⁶⁰¹ Dossat, 'Un évêque', 634-5.

This is one way of resolving the mystery, but concentrating on the dating of evidence ignores the significance of the content of the legate's testimony. B. Hamilton is certain both that Vigouroux was a bishop before he was *filius major* and that the dates given in Raymond de Péreille and Béréngar de Lavelant's testimonies are correct. This thesis rests on evidence for a schism amongst the Cathar churches of the Languedoc. Dossat himself has noted of dualists that 'la validité des ordinations faisant souvent l'objet de contestations'.⁶⁰² The issue was one of great importance; unless heretication was performed by a heretic who had led 'a good life', i.e. was him or herself in a perfected state at the time of death, a convert's own *consolamentum* was invalid. The Bogomil church had experienced a schism before c.1150 between absolute and moderate dualists, essentially between the churches of Drugunthia and Bulgaria. In the 1170s, as discussed in chapter four, the absolute dualist Bogomils had converted the heretics in France to their faith. By as early as c.1180 the Cathar church of 'France' was already in schism with the southern absolutists, having reverted to the moderate *Ordo* of Bulgaria, and at about that time part of the Lombard church, the church of Bagnolo, was also in schism with the Lombard Albanenses, who remained absolutist.⁶⁰³

B. Hamilton takes Conrad von Urach's statement as evidence that this schism had spread into the Languedoc by the early 1220s: in the context of the lessening of crusader control of the region and the weakened state of the Cathars, the Bosnian moderates attempted to take control of the southern French churches, and Vigouroux was himself converted and reconsoled into the moderate *Ordo*. This schism was apparently very short-lived, for we hear little else concerning it after 1223, and it has been noted that Barthélémy of Carcassonne was typically to be found back in Laure and Montolieu from c.1225-27, not in the Agenais.⁶⁰⁴ What took place in 1229 at Montségur, therefore, was Vigouroux's *reconsolamentum* in the absolute *Ordo*, made possible through the able diplomacy of Guilhabert de Castres, whose position as Cathar bishop of Toulouse made him head of all the Languedocian churches, as he set

⁶⁰² Hamilton, 'Saint-Felix', 47; Dossat, 'Un évêque', 633.

⁶⁰³ *Christian Dualist Heresies*, 250-3; Hamilton, 'Saint-Felix', 32-3 and 45; Moore, R. I., 'Nicétas. Emissaire de Dragovitch. a-t-il traversé les Alpes?', *AM* 85 (1973), 85-90.

⁶⁰⁴ Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme*, II, 264.

about reviving the absolutist church in southern France.⁶⁰⁵ Tento, it would appear, was a little known compromise candidate for the bishopric of the Agenais, and the deposed Vigouroux de la Bacone, as *filius major*, was set to reclaim his diocese in due course.

An important piece of evidence for this theory is the context in which the copy of the Saint-Felix document used by Guillaume Besse was written.⁶⁰⁶ Describing the establishment of the Cathar churches of southern France in the 1170s, it was copied from the original on 14 August 1223 for Peter Isarn, Cathar bishop of Carcassonne, by his *filius minor* Peter Pollan. The document used and partially transcribed by Besse was in three parts; a history of the elections and ordinations of Cathar bishops at Saint-Felix, a sermon by Nicetas to the Cathars of Toulouse delivered on a different date, and a description of the boundaries of the heretical dioceses of Toulouse and Carcassonne drawn up before the history. Peter Pollan brought these sources together in 1223, the context being the revival of the Cathar churches in the Languedoc in this period when the crusade appeared to have failed, and, most importantly for our understanding of the career of Vigouroux de la Bacone, the threat of a resurgence of moderate dualism, for it was only one month before this that Conrad d'Urach had described the activities of Barthélémy of Carcassonne in the Agenais.⁶⁰⁷

This theory is very convincing and receives further support from the fact that Inquisition witness Arnaud de Villemur describes Vigouroux as *filius major* when stating that he preached at Queille in c.1232.⁶⁰⁸ In addition, on one occasion Vigouroux was turned away from the seigneurial castle of Gourdon by one of its heretical co-lords, Bertrand. Although we cannot date this incident, 1223 is likely for we hear that the heretic had *in societate sua* Barthélémy de Carcassonne and that Bertrand refused to welcome him either.⁶⁰⁹ If so it seems likely that this journey to the isolated but important community at Gourdon was undertaken in the context of the meeting at Pujols at which Vigouroux had been converted. So it seems that Bertrand was making a distinction between the two types of heresy. If the attempted conversion

⁶⁰⁵ Hamilton, 'Saint-Felix', 43-9.

⁶⁰⁶ See also chapter 4.

⁶⁰⁷ Hamilton, 'Saint-Felix', 26-8, 42 and 51-3.

⁶⁰⁸ Doat XXII 160v.

⁶⁰⁹ Doat XXI 186v. See below for heresy at Gourdon.

of the community at Gourdon to moderate dualism was unsuccessful, better luck was apparently had at Montcuq, on the boundary between the Agenais and central Quercy, for we hear that the *credens* Durand Pairet of Montcuq, heavily implicated in heretical affairs, admitted to having been in Laure at the house of Barthélémy de Carcassonne where he assisted at an important gathering of seventy heretics.⁶¹⁰

It is possible to place references to Vigouroux de la Bacone in many locations throughout the Languedoc into the chronology of a career as outlined above. As suggested in chapter four, the Cathars of the Agenais were closely involved with the heretics of Bas-Quercy, and Vigouroux spent a good deal of time there. At least twice in c.1213 he was at Raymond Grimoard's house in Castelsarassin, as testified by Pons Grimoard, who on one occasion was himself given the kiss of Peace by the heretic.⁶¹¹ The same witness also places him and his *socius* at Moissac in c.1213 at the home of Falquet de Saint-Paul.⁶¹² A Cathar *perfectus* typically travelled with a long-standing companion, but although we hear of Vigouroux's *socius* several times he is never named. Guillaume Faber de Pechermer also encountered Vigouroux at Castelsarrasin c.1218 in the home of the Campairan family.⁶¹³

Vigouroux was in the Agenais at Castelmoron, where Y. Dossat has shown that property was in his name, in c.1220, when the knight Guillaume de Castillon visited him and his *socius*.⁶¹⁴ Another mention of his home was made by Bertrand de Rupe de Monteruguo at his trial at Montcuq in 1241, although we are not given its location.⁶¹⁵ Vigouroux did not spend much time in Quercy or the Agenais between 1223 and 1228, as we might expect from the contents of Conrad d'Urach's letter. Nonetheless, Othon de Beretges, *bailli* for Raymond VII at Moissac and Montcuq, was accused of failing to apprehend the heretic in spite of seeing him on at least three occasions at Castelsarrasin in c.1224; twice at the house of Arnaud de Bressols with his *socius* and

⁶¹⁰ Doat XXII 220v-21r. See also Dossat, 'Un évêque', 638.

⁶¹¹ Doat XXII 36r-v and 40r-41v (for the latter see also Griffe, *Le Languedoc...1209-29*, 176-7).

⁶¹² Doat XXII 36r-v.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*, 4v. See also Dossat, 'Un évêque Cathare', 629 and Griffe, *Le Languedoc...1209-29*, 176.

⁶¹⁴ Bibliothèque de Toulouse, ms. 609, 109v (cited in Dossat, 'Un évêque', 625 note 5, and in Duvernoy, *La Catharisme*, II, 264).

⁶¹⁵ Doat XXI 219r-v.

also at the home of the Pechermers.⁶¹⁶

In 1228, by which time the schism was certainly over, Castelsarrasin was retaken by Raymond VII. It should not surprise us to find Vigouroux de la Bacone active in the newly optimistic Bas-Quercy. Guiraud Guallard stated in 1243 that he had seen him on three occasions in c.1228; at Moissac on the quayside, about to be led into a house of Guillaume Faber and twice at the home of Arnaud de Bressols at Castelsarrasin, once with Bernard de Lamothe. On each occasion he is in the company of the most important families of heretical supporters in Bas-Quercy.⁶¹⁷ Vigouroux, still only a *perfectus* again in 1228, was very possibly reasserting himself in the region in the context of the work of Guilhabert de Castres to re-establish absolute dualism throughout the Languedoc.

We have a handful of other references to the heretic which are non-specific about dates, but which probably relate either to before 1223 or to 1228. Na Berèges of Castelsarrasin testified that he was in the house she shared with her husband Othon.⁶¹⁸ Two other accounts are from Moissac; Na Aurimunda heard him preach and Na Cuidalz de Goire offered him hospitality and 'adored' him (the customary way for *credentes* to acknowledge the status of *perfecti*).⁶¹⁹ We also have an account of Vigouroux from outside Bas-Quercy in this period at a Cathar meeting at Toulouse in c.1228.⁶²⁰

We have a handful of accounts of Vigouroux in central Quercy, in the area around Montcuq, seen by people who were questioned there in the 1240s. None of these indicate dates. They may relate to his period of allegiance to the moderate *Ordo*, for there is other evidence for such activity at Montcuq as we have seen. However, this would contradict Conrad d'Urach's statement that he had retired to the Toulousain, so

⁶¹⁶ Doat XXII 44v- 45r. See also Griffe, *Le Languedoc...1209-29*, 176; Albe, *L'Hérésie...en Quercy*, 10; Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme*, II, 265.

⁶¹⁷ Doat, XXII 13v-14r, 14r-v, 16r-v, 20r-v and 21r-v. The Inquistors apparently found this witness' evidence problematic. Two of the above references are repeated accounts of the same event but with different dates ascribed. In addition, he says that Vigouroux was again at Castelsarrassin in c.1235 (*ibid.*, 19r-v), although he was almost certainly dead by then.

⁶¹⁸ Doat XXII 43r.

⁶¹⁹ Doat XXI 290r-v and 295r-v.

⁶²⁰ Doat XXIV 2v.

they may be rare records of his activity after being re-ordained *filius major*. One of Montcuq's Cathar sympathisers, Bertrand de Rupe, was well acquainted with Vigouroux, sending heretics to his home at some point by him, perhaps at Castelmoron, and meeting him at Moissac to escort him through Quercy.⁶²¹ Another witness, François Clergue, escorted Vigouroux and his *socius* specifically around the Montcuq area, once from *La Costa* to *Prinhac*, and put his own property at the heretics' disposal whilst they were there.⁶²² He also took him wine, bread, fruit and oil on behalf of a *credens* Guillelmasa and held for a time a book and also money, which he gave to Guillaume de Bausfan at the heretic's request.⁶²³ Vigouroux and his *socius* were also welcomed into the home of Geralda and Gausbert de la Costa to preach, perhaps led there by François Clergue, and Gausbert d'Arcmei of Montcuq was introduced to Vigouroux via a messenger.⁶²⁴

Guiraud Guallard places the heretic again in Bas-Quercy in and around c. 1231, although this sighting, like another for the same year, may be wrongly dated.⁶²⁵ In 1232, as we have seen, the heretical see of Agen was deemed to be too dangerous and Tendo and Vigouroux moved to Montségur under the protection of its lord.⁶²⁶ This was no doubt as a result of the adherence of Count Raymond VII to the Treaty of Paris, which involved action against the Cathars the destruction of the most important towns and fortresses in the Agenais, leaving its heretics very vulnerable. This is not the last we hear of Vigouroux, however. At some point, probably in the early 1230s soon after his removal to Montségur, he was active in the lands of Toulouse and Foix; at Calmont, Dun and Montgiscard.⁶²⁷ Although there are anomalies in the dating of these sightings, it seems likely that they all refer to the same preaching tour, as they describe similar events and involved some of the same people. Y. Dossat agrees that 1230-1 is a likely date for the sightings, given Vigouroux's removal to Montségur and likely death in 1233.⁶²⁸ In addition, as already mentioned, Arnaud de Villemur heard him preach at

⁶²¹ Doat XXI 219r-v.

⁶²² *Ibid.*, 219v-20r.

⁶²³ *Ibid.*, 219v-20r.

⁶²⁴ *Ibid.*, 222r and 225r-6v.

⁶²⁵ Doat XXII 18v and see above.

⁶²⁶ Doat XXIV 43v-44v.

⁶²⁷ Doat XXII 153r-v, 221v-222r (and see Dossat, 'Un évêque', 631 and note 7).

⁶²⁸ *Ibid.*, 630-.

Queille, near Mirepoix, in c. 1232.⁶²⁹ Pierre-Guillaume d'Arvinha was at the same meeting and involved in providing the heretic and his *socius* with hospitality, for which he was rewarded with the gift of a hat.⁶³⁰

It has been stated that Vigouroux was still active perhaps as late as 1236.⁶³¹ But it seems more likely that he died in 1233, when Aubri de Trois-Fontaines reports that the *magnus princeps hereticorum Vigorosus de Baconia* was burned, along with other heretics, at Toulouse, perhaps at the instigation of Raymond VII.⁶³² He is referred to in this source as a heretical bishop, however. This implies that he had been consecrated as the successor to his bishop, Tendo, during the lifetime of the latter, as was common.⁶³³ He was possibly executed following the arrest of important Cathars in 1232 at Montségur, whilst Tendo was still bishop.⁶³⁴

The changing geography of the Cathar diocese of the Agenais

The Agenais

The lack of Inquisitorial sources for the Agenais make it impossible to gain an accurate picture of the heresy there during the period of the crusade. However, it would seem from secular and crusading sources that there were still heretics in the region soon after the crusade in the Agenais of 1209 and that the crisis no more permanently traumatised the heretics of the region than it did those of Villemur or Bas-Quercy, as will be shown.

Little if any action was taken against heresy along the Garonne in this period. The crusading dynamism of Arnaud de Rovinha makes it unlikely that this was the result of neglect, and it seems more probable that Catharism was still relatively weak along the

⁶²⁹ Doat XXII 160v.

⁶³⁰ Doat XXIV 242r-243v.

⁶³¹ Lea, H. C., *A History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols, New York, 1888, II, 22-3; Borst, A., *Die Katharer*, Stuttgart, 1953, 234-5. See also discussion of Guiraud de Guallard's testimony above.

⁶³² Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, *MGH SS XXIII* 931. Yves Dossat agrees with this date and makes the link with Raymond VII's persecution of heretics (Dossat, 'Un évêque', 631-2).

⁶³³ Hamilton, 'Saint-Felix', 48; Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme*, I, 238.

⁶³⁴ As argued by Dossat ('Un évêque', 632-3) based on William of Puylaurens' account an arrest of leading heretics in the mountains (William of Puylaurens, 154-5, and see Doat XXIV 46r-v).

river and that the heretical presence at its towns was limited to through-traffic.⁶³⁵ In contrast, we have far more evidence for the heresy and for heretically sympathetic families along the Lot and also for Tonneins, at the meandering confluence of the two rivers.

We know a little about the heretical life at Casseneuil in the crusade, mostly about another member of the family of its defender Seguin de Balenx. Inquisitorial sessions in Quercy reveal that on unspecified occasions at Casseneuil Hartmanda de Balenx had been the close associate of the heretics. She had listened to them preaching, adored them, and believed them to be good men and to be saved. She gave them bread, wine, cider, fish and cakes and had one time sent blankets to them at a house where they were staying and she had also eaten with them and shared bread which they had blessed. Most importantly, she was responsible for escorting them in their journeys through the Agenais, taking them at least once from *Pradasol*, which she says lay near Casseneuil, and to a place she calls *Colorsach*. Although some members of her family remained at Casseneuil, as will be noted below, Hartemanda moved to the Gourdon region where she was found to be a *credens* and given a sentence, the severity of which perhaps indicates the significance attached by the Inquisitors to her activities.⁶³⁶ Of the lord of Casseneuil, Hugues de Rovinha, we hear little after his town fell in 1214, although in 1218, presumably as a *faidit*, he witnessed an agreement, underwritten by his brother bishop Arnaud, regarding a debt owed by Philippe de Landreville, de Montfort's seneschal for the Agenais, to several townspeople of Agen in 1218.⁶³⁷

I have offered evidence that Casseneuil was the seat of the Cathar diocese in the Agenais by 1209. However in 1212, after the fall of Penne, much of the Agenais was occupied by northern soldiers, forcing the submission of Hugues de Rovinha. This meant that the town and its Cathars were saved from outside intervention for another two years, but the town fell in 1214 as we have seen and its heretics were burned. After this, it is not possible to establish the continuation of heretical activity there.

⁶³⁵ For example see Doat XXI 239v.

⁶³⁶ Doat. XXI, 216r. Hartemanda was sent to St. Gilles, to Compostella, to St. Sauveur, St. Denis and Canterbury and instructed to spend three years in the Holy Land. It is one of the most severe sentences passed against a repentant *credens* in Quercy.

⁶³⁷ *Agen... Chartes*. ix.

Indeed, the transferral of the revenues of Casseneuil to Prouille after 1214 implies the ongoing presence of Catholic authority. If it was still the seat of the Cathar bishop, it was so only in theory.

We have however noted the close association of Vigouroux de la Bacone with Castelmoron-sur-Lot in the 1220s, where he owned property and received *credentes*. He was not the only heretic there in the period of the crusade, for many other people had their property confiscated by the Inquisition before 1237.⁶³⁸ We also have a reference to a heretic *Gairaldus de Castelmeiran* who stayed at the home of Pierre de Noye at Castelsarrasin *en route* to Moissac, probably in the 1220s.⁶³⁹ In addition, we should note that the town did not receive the attention of the Crusade. I suggest, therefore, that Castelmoron may have been the centre of the Cathar diocese under Vigouroux, but that heretical operations from there were more covert and successful than they had been under the unfortunate Casseneuil.

We know that heretics were still welcome at Tonneins in this period, for the witnesses B. del Loc, Isarn Pontonier and B. Nauta admitted that they had ferried them there along the Garonne from their own town of Moissac.⁶⁴⁰ It is unclear whether the evidence refers to the de Rovinha's town of Tonneins-Dessus or the Ferréol's Tonneins-Dessous, as we have little other evidence about either town in this period after the attack of 1209. We do know a little of their seigneurial families. We have noted that Étienne de Ferréol of Tonneins-Dessous was one of the many Agenais lords to be involved on both sides in the crusade. It seems likely that Raymond-Bernard de Rovinha of Tonneins-Dessus fell foul of the crusade at some point, for as part of the armistice of 1224 he was promised back property which had been taken from him. This restoration was in part initiated by his kinsman bishop Arnaud.⁶⁴¹ The de Rovinhas remained at Tonneins and at Casseneuil into the period of the Inquisition and beyond.⁶⁴² However we learn little of any further involvement in the religious conflicts which beset the Agenais.

⁶³⁸ Arch. Nat. JJ 24B, 63r-v (cited in Dossat, 'Un évêque', 624). See also below.

⁶³⁹ Doat XXII 27v-28r.

⁶⁴⁰ Doat XXI 305r and 293r.

⁶⁴¹ HGL VIII 779-80.

⁶⁴² See below.

Finally, we have noted that there was a Cathar council at Pujols in 1223, so was there also a heretical community there? B. Hamilton says that Conrad d'Urach's evidence suggests that the Cathar see was being administered from there under the absolute dualists.⁶⁴³ However, we only have evidence of the triumph of the moderate *Ordo* at Pujols. Because we lack other references to heresy there in the period of the crusade I suggest that the town was chosen for the council in part because of practicality. It was a fortified hill top town and easily accessible to heretics in the Agenais, being situated on the Roman route from Périgueux to Agen and close to the Lot.⁶⁴⁴ If my suspicion that there was no significant Cathar presence at Pujols is correct, the town was also neutral territory for this conference. In addition, I think we have another reference to the Pujols council. The *credens* B. Raimos told the Inquisition that he was hired to accompany a Cathar to Pujols. He does not say when, but tells us the *perfectus* was attending a large gathering of heretics taking place there.⁶⁴⁵

Villemur

Of the heretical life of Bas-Quercy and its borderland with the Toulousain, inquisitorial records reveal much more. Villemur, as we know, was evacuated in 1209 but after this was again settled by Cathars and their supporters.⁶⁴⁶ So much so that we hear that by about 1213 its hundred or so inhabitants were virtually all either heretics or *credentes*.⁶⁴⁷ Just as the evidence of Arnaude de Lamothe shows the link between the heretical community at Villemur and those of Bas-Quercy before 1209, that of the witness Bernarda Targuier, originally of Castelsarrasin, does so for the period after. Bernarda and her sister Guillelma were raised as *credentes* and were sent to Villemur where they lived at a house of heretics run by Na Unauda, wife of Arnaud Calvera. They were hereticated there in c. 1213 and Bernarda then lived at Corbarieu, just south of Montauban on the road the Villemur, for four months. She was later reconciled to

⁶⁴³ *Christian Dualist Heresies*, 264 and Hamilton, 'Saint-Felix', 47-8

⁶⁴⁴ For the military potential of Pujols see Tholin, 'Notes sur la féodalité', *RA* 25 (1898), 147-8 and *idem.*, 'Causeries', 517-28.

⁶⁴⁵ Doat XXI 286r.

⁶⁴⁶ E. Griffe describes the heresy at Villemur in this period (*Le Languedoc...1209-29*, 178-80) but in terms of a continuation of heretical practice from 1209 (see *ibid.*, *Le Languedoc...1190-1210*, 89 and *Le Languedoc...1209-29*, 178). The evidence of Arnaude de Lamothe and Guillaume Tudela (see chapters 4 and 5) and the patterns of recruitment of female heretics in the town (below) would seem to disprove continuity.

the Church by Bishop Fulk of Toulouse, after which she married the *credens* Pons Gran of Castelsarrasin and moved back to her native town.⁶⁴⁸

Bernarda's evidence about Unauda Calvera's reminds us of Arnauda de Lamothe's reminiscences of the youthful community of female charges at the *perfecta* Poncia's just a few years earlier. We should perhaps view Unauda's house for women in c. 1213 as a replacement for that formerly run by Poncia for, although the two were almost contemporary, we know that the Cathars of Villemur, and presumably Poncia with them, had fled in 1209. Thus we should see the heretication of Bernarda and her sister in 1213 as part of a process by which the hundred or so inhabitants of Villemur, perhaps a mixture of new settlers and returnees, attempted to revive the heresy in the dark days of the crusade. This they apparently did in part by recruiting children from Castelsarrasin. A visit by Unauda and her *socia* to Bas-Quercy to meet with important heretical families, and visits by others between c. 1218 and c. 1226, may have played a part in this.⁶⁴⁹

However, at the same time as its heretical strength grew again, the town of Villemur began to reorientate itself into its more natural Toulousain context. Villemur and its families always had as much of a Toulousain as a Quercinois orientation, as discussed in chapter four, but this change occurred most immediately in the context of the marriage of lord Arnaud *Razigot* of Villemur to Na Comptor of Saverdun in the early years of the century.⁶⁵⁰ Other heretical families of the Villemur region which were associated with Arnaud *Razigot* likewise became more southern in orientation, and thus after 1220 we find few remaining connections between the heretics of Villemur and Bas-Quercy.⁶⁵¹

⁶⁴⁷ Doat XXII 2r-v.

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 1v-3r, 15v-16r, 22r-v, 23r, 41v-42r.

⁶⁴⁹ Doat XXII 3r, 9v-10r, 23r and 27v-28r.

⁶⁵⁰ The family's connections with Saverdun in this period is outlined in *L'épopée* II, 351-2, 365-6, III 96, 120, 156-7, 170, 172-4, 184, IV 110 and 122. See also *HGL* VIII 493, 578 and 864; Doat XXII 4v-5r, 9v-10r, 27v-28r, 51v-53v and 125v-126r, and XXIII 85v and 119r-v; *La Chanson* II 38-9, and III 308-9. See also Dossat, 'Un évêque', 631 and Limouzin-Lamothe, *Commune*, 469, 493 and cartulary item 91.

⁶⁵¹ I disagree with E. Griffe on this point, who states that the opposite is true (*Le Languedoc...1209-29*, 178-9). See for example evidence relating to the Helias family (Doat XXII 52r-57v); to lesser families of Villemur (*ibid.*, 46v-52r, 53v-54r, 54r-55r, 56r, 58r-v, 59r, 62v and 63r); and to the lords of Tauriac (*ibid.*, 49v, 52r, 58r-v, 59v-60r, 61v, 62v, 62v-63r, and 64v).

Bas-Quercy

The survival of Catharism in Bas-Quercy is most impressive, given not only the weakening of links with the Toulousain but also the fall of Moissac and the submission of Castelsarrasin in 1212, not liberated until 1228, and the transferral of the remaining autonomous town, Montauban, to de Montfort by Pope Innocent III in 1215. At Castelsarrasin, as at Casseneuil in 1212, recognition of crusader authority in 1212 meant the avoidance of property confiscation by the northerners, and thus the survival of the heresy in private homes. Indeed, from the wealth of documentation for Castelsarrasin we can see that the heretics still had quite a high profile in the town in spite, presumably, of the presence of crusaders at points during these sixteen years and even of a northern garrison at times.⁶⁵² One explanation for this is that the crusaders apparently failed to govern Quercy very closely: apparently neither side had a *sénéchal* for the region in place for much of the 1220-30 period.⁶⁵³ Whatever the reason, Castelsarrasin was the most important heretical community in Bas-Quercy.

Pons Grimoard and his wife Arnauda were the 'first couple' of Castelsarrasin. Arnauda attended heretical gatherings until at least 1228. Pons was important to the heretical community not least as Count Raymond's *seneschal* for Quercy, from 1234. It was more likely in this capacity rather than in his heretical one that he met with the *faidit* Raymond de Cazenac of Périgord at Castelsarrasin in 1228, when the latter took control of the town for Raymond VII, as noted in chapter five, although the account points to the heretical sympathies of both by this time. We also have information about many other Grimoard family members, some of whom were mentioned in chapter four. Raymond Grimoard, Pons' uncle, was an active supporter of the heretics for years and was himself hereticated in 1213 at Corbarieu in the company of other *credentes* of Castelsarrasin. He met with other heretics, including Bernard de Lamothe, in 1218, but was reconciled to the Catholic Church sometime after this. The *perfectus* Pierre Grimoard was still adhering to the faith around c.1218, as was his son Raymond-Bernard. We do not hear of either of them again, and Na Berètges, wife of Pierre and

⁶⁵² As suggested in Griffe, *Le Languedoc...1209-29*, 175.

⁶⁵³ See AD Lot F. 97, 98, 104 and 105.

Raymond-Bernard's mother, is mentioned after that date without her immediate kin.⁶⁵⁴

Pons Grimoard's cousin Pros, married to Johannes de Cavelsaut, became one of the most active female *credentes* in the community, attending heretical meetings throughout the period of the crusade both at her father's house and very frequently at Guillaume Faber's. As early as c.1218 she had female heretics at her own house behind the market place at Castelsarrasin. They included Unauda, the *perfecta* of Villemur, and Pros' own hereticated daughter Raimunda. Also in attendance at this time were Pros' servant Passiona and friend Petrona de Cahors.⁶⁵⁵

The Cavelsauts belonged to a major Cathar family. Four members, Hugh, Guillaume, Pons and Bernard are identified as *perfecti* in inquisitorial documents referring to the later years of the crusade. Bernard is not referred to as hereticated by 1213 when he, Pros and Bertranda, wife of Hugh, were at a large heretical meeting in Castelsarrasin, but Pons and Bernard, who I suspect were brothers, were both hereticated by c.1218, in which year Guiraud Guallard saw them preaching to the rest of their family in an upper room at Johannes de Cavelsaut's. The pair are mentioned almost always together up to c.1225. Hugh de Cavelsaut was *credens* by c.1213 when he and Johannes de Cavelsaut attended the heretication of Raymond Grimoard, and was still so in c.1225 when he was at the Fabers with Bernard de Lamothe. He was hereticated by c.1228, just before he died.⁶⁵⁶

Another family related to the Grimoards by marriage was that of Na Berètges, noted in chapter four as wife of the heretic Pierre Grimoard, both important *credentes*. Jordan de Berètges appears to have been the most actively heretical family member, discussing theological issues on several occasions. Featuring regularly in depositions is Othon de Berètges, Na Berètges's brother and the *bailli* of Raymond VII for Moissac who failed

⁶⁵⁴ Doat XXII 9v-10r, 15r-16r, 21v, 22v, 23r, 23v-24r, 37v, and 43r. E. Griffe suggests that the heretication of Vital away from home was the result of the occupation of Castelsarrasin mentioned above (*Le Languedoc... 1209-29*, 175) but Corbarieu does appear to have been a significant centre in its own right (see above and below). See also Passerat, 'Cathares', 155-6.

⁶⁵⁵ For references de Raimunda de Cavelsaut see Doat, XXII, 17r-v, 19v-20r, 20r, 23r, 23v, 24v, 28r-v. For the other women see *ibid.*, 9v-10r, 15v-16r, 22v and 23r.

⁶⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 11r, 14r, 15r-v, 19v-20r, 21r-v, 21v, 28v, 34r-v, 35r, 37r and 38r (Hugh); *ibid.*, 4r, 15r-v, 22v, 37r and 40r (Guillaume); *ibid.*, 6r, 17r, 19v-20r, 22v, 24r, 24v and 35v (Bernard); *ibid.*, 4r-v, 15r, 17r, 19v-20r, 22v, 24r, 24v and 58v-59r and Griffe, *Le Languedoc... 1209-29*, 177 (Pons).

to apprehend Vigouroux de la Bacone in c.1224.⁶⁵⁷ We also have information about the Gran family into which Bernarda Targuier married after being reconverted to the Catholic faith. We hear from the knight Guiraud Guallard that she and Pons Gran had two sons, one of them called Guillaume, who, intriguingly, were apparently both in England by 1243.⁶⁵⁸

The Fabers of the Castelsarrasin suburb of Pechermer were by now a mixture of heretics, *credentes* and Catholics. Guillaume Faber de Pechermer was the head of the family by 1222 at the latest and heretics, not least Vigouroux de la Bacone and Bernard de Lamothe, were reported at the house by Inquisition witnesses throughout the 1220s as well as at his property at Moissac, where Vigouroux was welcomed in 1228.⁶⁵⁹ Guillaume had at least three siblings. His brother Arnaud was possibly a heretic by the time of the crusade and ran a household by 1213. His sister Geralda was a *credens* and was at one of the meetings with Bernard de Lamothe at Guillaume's house, as was his other sister Guillelma, although Guillelma was apparently fervently Catholic and never adored the heretics. Guillaume Fabers's wife Bernarda was also a loyal Catholic, according to her husband.⁶⁶⁰

The de Brassols family of Castelsarrasin also remained central to the heretical life of Bas-Quercy.⁶⁶¹ Almost all family members of whom we know were *credentes* and were at Arnaud de Brassols' house in c.1224 and c.1228 with Vigouroux de la Bacone.⁶⁶² They include Aimeric de Brassols and two brothers Arnaud and P. Much evidence again comes from Guiraud Guallard, who admitted having attempted to protect the family when previously questioned, by Guillaume Arnaud in the 1230s because they had helped him so much in his own heretical faith.⁶⁶³ Arnaud appears to have been the

⁶⁵⁷ Doat XXII 4v-5r, 5v-6r, 10r and 37r-v (Jordan); *ibid.*, 13v-14r, 20v-21r, 43r and 45r (Othon).

⁶⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 15v and 22v-23r.

⁶⁵⁹ Doat XXII 2r, 11r-v, 16r-v, 17r, 23r, 23v, 28v, 36r, 44r (Arnaud); *ibid.*, 34v-35r and 47r-v (Geralda); *ibid.*, 9v-10r (Bernarda).

⁶⁶⁰ For references to Bernarda see *ibid.*, 9v-10r and 17r. We also know of another family member, Raymond, who had heretics and leading believers at his house in c.1226 (*ibid.*, 16v). For references to other family members see *ibid.*, 14r-v, 18r and 19r-v (Na Grazida); 11r, 11v-12r, 13v-14r, 40v (Rostanh); 34r-v and 38r ('P.' and Aimeric).

⁶⁶¹ They may also have had a branch at Montpezat-de-Quercy, for a certain Bernarda wife of 'B. de Brazolz' was convicted there in 1242 (*ibid.*, 307v).

⁶⁶² See above.

⁶⁶³ *Ibid.*, 18r.

head of the family, owning the house and a vineyard, and associated often with other family leaders, Guillaume Faber de Pechermer and Pons Grimoard in the 1220s. We also know that Aimeric travelled to Toulouse on heretical business in c.1219 with Guillaume Faber de Pechermer and Raymond-Guillaume de Beretges, and that he influenced Pons Grimoard's decision to remain faithful to the heretics.⁶⁶⁴

The inquisition at Moissac revealed heretical activity by a huge number of families in the town over the preceding decades, although almost all of it is very hard to date accurately. The most significant is that of the seigneurial family. In c.1224 the lady of Moissac and her daughter Na Ondrada entertained Bernard de Lamothe, and Ondrada's two sons Bertrand and Arnaud-Guillaume also adored him.⁶⁶⁵ The Saint-Paul family of Moissac continued in the heresy and Pons Grimoard was at a meeting at their house in c.1213 at which Vigouroux de la Bacone was present.⁶⁶⁶ We have also seen that Vital Grimoard, Guillaume Faber de Pechermer, and Othon de Berètges formed a connection between the communities at Castelsarrasin and Moissac, the former two owning property at Moissac used for lodging heretics and holding meetings, and the latter living at Castelsarrasin whilst being Raymond VI's *bailli* for Moissac.⁶⁶⁷ Much of this evidence again comes from Guiraud Guallard, something of an acolyte of Vital Grimoard.⁶⁶⁸

The most sizeable community of female heretics in Bas-Quercy would appear to have been at Montauban. The *perfecta* Joanna d'Auvione was at the centre of activity. She was supported with food by Raimunda Salinera and she and her heretical associates were received, fed and adored at the homes of a Fabrissa and Guillelma de Sapiac, the latter of whom told the Inquisition that she had been a *perfecta* of the town herself, had been reconciled by the bishop of Cahors, but had lapsed to the status of *credens*. Fais de Sapiac also told the inquisitors that she knew of many male and female heretics in the town. Another woman, Petronilla, had been hereticated twenty years prior to her

⁶⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 2r-v, 4v-5r, 8r, 10r, 11r, 18r, 19r-v, 20r-v, 31r-v and 45r-v and *HGL*, VIII, 1147 (Arnaud de Brassols); Doat XXII, 20v-21r, 35r-v ('P.');

⁶⁶⁵ Doat XXIII 266r.

⁶⁶⁶ Doat XXII 36r-v.

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 16r-v and 23b.

⁶⁶⁸ *Ibid.* and *ibid.*, 18r.

deposition of 1241 and had lived as a *perfecta* for three years, but had escaped punishment because she had been reconciled by bishop Fulk of Toulouse.⁶⁶⁹

Near the town to the south, as noted, Corbarieu was an important Cathar site. To the north, just as before 1209, the de Lamothe family were still heretical, implied essentially by their activity in later decades.⁶⁷⁰ During the crusade one of them, Hugues, fought in the army of Raymond VI in 1217-19.⁶⁷¹ Another, Géraud, apparently the brother of Bernard de Lamothe, was also a heretic and spent time in Lombardy.⁶⁷²

The start of the revival

Much of the above evidence, relating as it does to secret meetings with heretics and their covert accommodation, shows that although the heresy was in no way destroyed by the crusade its adherents were made wary. Indeed, with the exception of a community to be discussed next, the heretics of the northern Languedoc did not attempt to spread the heresy further until the crusader presence lessened. Thus we find that the efforts of Guilhabert de Castres in the 1220s really came to fruition in our region only after the Peace of 1229. This change and the reasons for it will be discussed below with the inquisitorial evidence which reveals it. First, however, it remains to examine briefly its precursors, the influence of the seigneurial family of Gourdon, of a peripatetic member of the Cathar hierarchy at work in Bas-Quercy, and most immediately to identify the earliest heretical activity in central Quercy.⁶⁷³

The new heretical population of Montcuq

Montcuq had suffered much in the previous decades. It lies where the Agenais meets central Quercy, above the river valley of the Barguelonne, quite easily accessible from the Garonne at modern Lamagistère. That is to say, it would have represented an ideal

⁶⁶⁹ Doat XXI 240r-42r, 244v and 268r-v.

⁶⁷⁰ See below.

⁶⁷¹ *Chanson* II 298-9 and III 86-7, 92-3, 262-3 and 308-9.

⁶⁷² Toulouse ms 609, 43r and 45r (cited in *L'épopée* III 364).

⁶⁷³ M. Roquebert explains the expansion of the heresy into central and upper Quercy in terms of evacuations of the Toulousain during the fighting (*L'épopée* I 96-99). I feel this is not the whole picture. Quercy, especially between Cahors and Bas-Quercy, was attacked and occupied many times and was no safe haven. The evidence indicates that the southern partisans north of the river Tarn were not heretical supporters until later. In fact heretics are not mentioned there in the period before 1229 except at Montcuq.

point of entry into the central Quercy area by heretical missionaries with support in the Agenais, as had perhaps been proved by the moderates in c.1223 when, as noted, a *credens* of Montcuq was apparently supporting their cause and another was at work in the home town of Barthélémy de Carcassonne. It is possible that Vigouroux de la Bacone's many visits to Montcuq relate to before 1228 and to his moderate period. In addition, another believer, Guillaume Varrers, interviewed at Montcuq, stated that as well as receiving heretics in his own home he too had been active in Aude, escorting heretics from Montolieu to Toulouse. This witness also sounds like someone who might have been influenced by the schism; not only was he connected with Barthélémy of Carcassonne's town Montolieu but he admitted to having given the nature of his faith careful consideration, wavering at times between different beliefs, being hereticated himself, although into what *Ordo* we do not know, and being educated enough to make use of a heretical book with which he was presented at this ceremony.⁶⁷⁴ It thus appears that a moderate enclave of sorts may have formed at Montcuq.

On the other hand, other families of the area had heretical sympathies almost certainly with the absolute *Ordo*. Jeanne de Lolmie, later convicted at Montauban from where there is no evidence of the moderate *Ordo*, was probably of the Lolmie family of Montcuq implicated in the murder of Baldwin of Toulouse, and Othon de Berèges, *bailli* also for Montcuq by the 1220s, was a known absolutist *credens*.⁶⁷⁵ Indeed, in heretical terms this town was quite eclectic by 1229, for we find much support for Waldensians, including mention of a debate between adherents of that sect and Cathars.⁶⁷⁶ However, a path was being paved for a more concerted effort to implant Catharism in the Montcuq region.

The seigneurial family of Gourdon in Quercy

Until their lands and those of their neighbours were terrorized by the crusade, the seigneurial family of Gourdon was amongst those actively Catholic families of Quercy. Géraud de Gourdon was a member of the cathedral clergy at Cahors.⁶⁷⁷ As we have

⁶⁷⁴ See above and Doat XXI 221r-v.

⁶⁷⁵ For their evidence see below.

⁶⁷⁶ Doat XXI 217v-19r, 221v-2v, 225v.

⁶⁷⁷ Albe, *L'Hérésie ... en Quercy*, 19.

seen, Bertrand de Gourdon crusaded in 1209 and made and renewed his homage to the de Montforts in 1211, 1217 and also in 1218. However, in the latter year he was criticised by Rome for aiding the southern army. By the time he was forced to submit to the royal crusade, in 1226, he was not only a southern partisan but was also tolerant to the heresy, if not a *credens* himself, for he allowed Cathars to preach in Gourdon and even to establish a heretical community in his town. He was, as noted, involved enough with the heresy to take sides in the heretical schism of 1223. By 1229 the town of Gourdon contained the major heretical community in Haut-Quercy, and when the Peace was signed many of its *perfecti* left the town for safety accompanied by *credentes*.⁶⁷⁸

Where did they go? We might speculate that the exodus was more constructive than mere flight. The Gourdon heretics were perhaps proselytising in other Quercinois towns where they would be protected, for by c.1229 we can establish seigneurial links between the leading family of Gourdon and towns in central Quercy in which the inquisitors were to later find heretical communities. This evidence is extensive. In 1241 at Sauveterre, lying between Castelnaud-Montratier and Montcuq, a Guiraud de Gourdon admitted that he had previously received heretics on his property where he was blessed by them, adored them and listened to them preach.⁶⁷⁹ This is very likely the same Guiraud de Gourdon who in 1230 had ceded to Raymond VII property not only at Sauveterre but at three other locations - significantly at Montcuq, twenty-seven kilometers to the south at Mondenard, and also at *Montemaccistum* - and who held land at Montaigut, ten kilometers west of Montcuq, which he had also ceded to the count by 1248.⁶⁸⁰ In 1241 a Fortanier de Gourdon was also associated with Mondenard.⁶⁸¹ Thus we find that the family had influence both in Gourdon, where it had already encouraged the heretics, and in central Quercy before 1229, specifically in and around Montcuq where Cathars had been working to implant the heresy. Not least,

⁶⁷⁸ Doat XXI 189r, 199r and 201v; Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme*, 268.

⁶⁷⁹ Doat XXI 226v-7r. Giraud de Gourdon is not to be confused with the *perfectus* of the same name, whose title relates to the Gourdon estate at Caraman, of which town he was Cathar deacon (see Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme*, II, 260 and *L'épopée* I 387 and 391, III 95, 171, 174, 179, 324 and 365-6, and IV 115, 122-3 and 186; Griffe, *Le Languedoc...1209-29*, 177 and note 13).

⁶⁸⁰ The ceding of the first three properties is referred to in *HGL* VIII 1957. In 1247 the Montaigut property was given as a fief to Arnaud de Montaigut (*ibid.*, VIII 2004).

⁶⁸¹ As well as St.Cirq-Lapopie, just east of Cahors (AD Lot F. 126 and 428).

we should note that the testimonies of Hartemanda de Balenx, Pierre de Penne and P. de Casseneuil indicate that *credentes* of the Lot valley in the Agenais were in touch with those at Gourdon and also Montcuq.⁶⁸²

Bernard de Lamothe, a frequent visitor to the region

Turning our attention back to Bas-Quercy, amongst those most responsible for maintaining the influence of the heresy there was Bernard de Lamothe, originally a *perfectus* of Montauban, then Cathar deacon of Lanta from c.1223, and by c.1225/6 *filius major* of Guilhabert de Castres at Toulouse.⁶⁸³

Few witnesses recall his activity in the early years of the Crusade, although his relative Arnaude recalled that in c.1214 he was at Montauban with his *socius* Guillaume Solier and family members.⁶⁸⁴ In fact, although the Lamothes remained at Montauban, there are few accounts of the heretic or his *socius* in that town, and apart from Arnaude's few can be easily dated.⁶⁸⁵ He was however preaching at Corbarieu at some time around 1213-15 according to Bernarda Targuier.⁶⁸⁶

In fact the heretic was far more closely associated with the community of Castelsarrasin, especially in the years 1218-19. There he and his *socius* met with heretical and secular leaders, most notably Raymond and Vital Grimoard, also Johannes, Pons, Pros and Raimunda de Cavelsaut, and Unauda of Villemur on one of her visits to the town. Such meetings were a mixture of closed conferences and public preachings in private homes. On one occasion he debated with two Catholic priests. We also have an account of the heretic and his *socius* with Vigouroux de la Bacone at Castelsarrasin at the home of minor *credentes* the Campeirans in c.1218.⁶⁸⁷

⁶⁸² See above and below.

⁶⁸³ It has been suggested by E. Griffe that he may have originally been from Moissac, although I am not sure what the evidence is for this (*Le Languedoc...1209-29*, 175-7). For his activity elsewhere in the Languedoc see *L'épopée* I 241 and IV 113-4; Griffe, *Le Languedoc...1209-29*, 163, 165, 181, 184, 187 and 204; and Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme*, I, 261-2. Many accounts relate to the heretic also at Villemur (Doat XXI 278r, and XXII 46v-47r, 48v, 50r, 50v, 58r-v, 62v and 65v, and XXIII 260r). See also chapter 4.

⁶⁸⁴ Doat XXIII 7r.

⁶⁸⁵ See Doat XXI 233r and 278v, in the latter of which Guillaume Solier is alone.

⁶⁸⁶ Doat XXII 2v.

⁶⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 4r-v, 16v, 23r, 23v-24r, 28v and 36v; Griffe, *Le Languedoc...1209-29*, 177.

When the life of the heretical church in the Languedoc began to revive in the central 1220s under Guilhabert de Castres, Bernard de Lamothe was instrumental in his plans.⁶⁸⁸ Amongst this work was activity in Bas-Quercy, again specifically at Castelsarrasin and its *environs*. In c.1223 and c.1225 he was visiting and preaching at the Faber household in Pechermer, at Na Pros de Cavelsaut's in c.1223, and visited with minor families of believers, most notably the Sanches, on occasions between 1223 and 1228. Accounts also refer to meetings at Castelsarrasin between Bernard de Lamothe and Bernard de Cazenac hosted by Pons Grimoard, who attests that they happened in c.1225. 1228 would appear to be the real turning point in the revival of the church in Bas-Quercy after the occupation, a process naturally at its most dynamic after the recapture of Castelsarrasin in that year. It should not surprise us to find Bernard de Lamothe at Castelsarrasin around that time; at the Faber household with de Cazenac again, now lord of the town as appointed by the count, at the home of Arnaud de Brassols, close to its hospital, and preaching to many of the town's leading families at a meeting also attended by Guillaume Salomon, Cathar deacon of Toulouse. The last account of Bernard de Lamothe in Bas-Quercy is in c.1231, the year before his death, being entertained again in the home of Arnaud de Brassols.⁶⁸⁹

Conclusion: The heretical societies of the Agenais and Bas-Quercy by c.1229

It is clear that many important families were involved in the heresy and that, being politically powerful and having material resources, they were at the forefront of both its defence and promotion. These families of our region are not well documented dynasties. For example, the Rovinhas of Tonneins-Dessus, by 1229 probably dispossessed of Casseneuil, emerge from near total obscurity largely through the written documentation of other secular and religious parties and not from their own administrative, territorial or religious initiatives (although in Bishop Arnaud's case this may have as much to do with the destruction of the diocesan archive, as noted in chapter one). Such families nonetheless appear to have dominated their towns in the

⁶⁸⁸ For his activity in c.1223-6 as Guilhabert de Castres' envoy see sources cited above and also Hamilton, 'Saint-Felix', 49-51.

⁶⁸⁹ Doat XXII 4v-5r, 9v-10r, 13v-14r, 14v, 15v-16r, 19v, 20r-v, 20v-21r, 21r-v, 21v, 22r-v, 23v-24r, 35r, 36r-v and 45r-v, and XXIII, 265r; Griffé, *Le Languedoc...1209-29*, 177; Passerat, 'Cathares', 160. See also Doat XXII 15v-16r for a meeting at Castelsarrasin with another set of important heretics, not from the Bas-Quercy region. They are Saturninum, Pons Dairois, and Pons Gilhabert. The meeting is not dated, however, and so it is difficult to know what significance to attach to it.

Agenais, with families like the Balenxs in their service. However, unlike the nobles more loyal to the bishops, discussed below, the lords of Casseneuil and Tonneins were not in practice beholden to the bishop-count of Agen as a result of his limited comital authority. Elsewhere in the countryside, other castellans, of whom we have even fewer records, operated apparently independently of higher authority until they allied against the crusade or submitted to it, when they are mentioned in administrative and chronicle sources as noted in chapter 5.

Bas-Quercy is even less clearly hierarchical and even more 'Languedocian', in that a meaningful distinction between noble and non-noble is almost impossible. The clearest picture of social composition comes from Castelsarrassin. Aside from the Grimoards, implicated in the political life of the south more widely and constituting the heretical aristocracy of their town, the Faber family of Pechermer and the de Bressols, de Berèges and de Cavelsauts emerge as the most important families because they were landowners. It was on their property heretics were most frequently protected and in whose houses they most commonly preached. However a middle range of related families, including the Targuiers, Audeberts, Mazelers, Grans, Campeirans and Sanches, do not appear to have operated in a significantly different religious sphere. Not least, from the association of the Sanches with Bernard de Lamothe and the Campeirans with Vigouroux de la Bacone it seems that hosting heretical meetings usually fell to the more major families because they had larger and more suitable property rather than because they especially dominated religious practice. The *perfecti* were in principle blind to social status, and in practice were fed and accommodated by a cross-section of *credentes*. Having said this, it is frequently the leading families who are to be found in conference - rather than simply in religious practice or sharing meals - with leading heretics. It would appear, predictably, that the politically and economically powerful and better connected families were most relied on in the strategical plans of the heretics in their times of crisis and renewal.

The less important families, with more limited geographical and political connections, emerge from the history of early thirteenth-century southern France only because of the relatively socially inclusive nature of inquisitorial documents. They were called upon and often paid, both directly by the heretics and by the powerful protectors of

heretics, to act as guides, boatmen and messengers, and to provide and carry food to heretics in hiding. They thus had a specific economic relationship to the heresy, but appear no less devoted to it than its wealthy benefactors. Some more of these lesser *credentes* will be identified below, in the context of a summary look at the heretical life of the region until the end of our period. First, the secular life of the Agenais will be discussed in the period after 1229.

ii. The Agenais after the Peace of Paris

The secular society

The Languedoc saw relative peace after 1229 for over a decade. Then in 1241 Raymond VII rebelled again, supported, amongst others, by count Roger-Bernard of Foix and the Aquitainians Hugh of La Marche and Arnaud Othon of Lomagne, whose family held Auvillars in the Agenais, and other lords and nobles of the Agenais, those loyal to the Catholic Church and otherwise. However, the alliance was short lived, for Raymond was forced to besiege the count of Foix at Penne d'Agenais, the last conflict of the Albigensian wars in the Agenais, and to fight a battle against the royal army which he lost. Another truce was agreed in consultation with Rome and the allies submitted to the Crown in June 1242. In addition, on 28 May that year at Avignonet, the inquisitors Guillaume-Arnaud and Etienne de Narbonne had been murdered, sparking off another short-lived insurrection in the Languedoc. Heavily implicated in the murder was Raymond VII's *bailli* for Castelsarrassin, Raymond d'Alfaro, son of the count's illegitimate half-sister Guillelmette and Hugh d'Alfaro, Raymond VI's seneschal for the Agenais. The implication was credible not least because Hugh was now the governor of Avignonet. Although the murder went effectively unpunished and Count Raymond's lands were placed under Roman protection in 1245, he had been unsuccessful, either through force against France or by appeals to the Pontiff in 1243, in getting the terms of the Peace of Paris overturned. Raymond VII died on 27 September 1249 without producing a son, and so the Toulousain and Agenais passed to Jeanne and Alphonse, count of Poitiers since 1241, in spite of protest also by Henry III of England. Under Jeanne and Alphonse the Agenais was at peace and was to experience relative prosperity; Raymond d'Alfaro was rehabilitated and became seneschal for the Agenais, which was from then on administered through division into fifteen *baillis*, and many of its towns received charters and existing charters

renewed.⁶⁹⁰

But the town of Agen itself had in fact been steadily improving its position throughout the first half of the century. It had won protection for its loyalty and concessions with regard to franchises, collection of duties and elections of magistrates from Raymond VI in 1212, and confirmation of its customs, as well as amnesty resulting from its action in the war, from both Amaury de Montfort and Raymond VI in 1221, and from Raymond VII in 1226. In 1242 the commune, whilst providing an army for the count's war with France as it was obliged to do, also persuaded Raymond VII to pay for the rebuilding of its own ramparts. In March 1243 Agen conformed to a general submission to the French Crown by the towns of the Languedoc, but this time too was able to negotiate relative autonomy in terms of economic and judicial affairs, confirmed by Alphonse as count of Toulouse.⁶⁹¹

During the upheavals of the first half of the thirteenth century the towns of the Garonne ensured their economic survival with agreements to act in mutual accord and protection, also in conjunction with towns in Bas-Quercy.⁶⁹² As Ch. Higounet has shown, we can tell much about the social composition and prosperity of the towns at this time from the lists of consuls who took oaths to the crown in 1243. We learn, for example, that after the execution of its inhabitants in 1219 Marmande received an influx of recent immigrants from as close as Tonneins and Pujols to as far away as Périgord and the Toulousain. Artisan, notarial, merchant and bourgeois families were now amongst Marmande's population of probably well over one thousand people, 248 families being listed.⁶⁹³

⁶⁹⁰ Sources for the political history of the Agenais in general terms from 1229 into the early 1250s: *HGL* VI esp. 543, 586-808 and 753-5, and VIII 1087, 1113-5, 1153-7, 1261 1854, and other documents as cited; *Layettes* II 1777, 3045, 3048, 3166, 3169 and 3171; William of Puylaurens. 166-9. See also Samazeuilh, *Histoire*, 274-94; Guignard, *Histoire*, 107-29; Baumont, Burias, *et al.*, *Histoire d'Agen*, 51-76; Bisson, 'General Court', 1-19; Ducom, i, 205-6, 211-14, 263, 272 and 287; Lea, *Inquisition*, II, 35-41 and Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme*, II, 281-6; Sumption, *Albigensian*, 237-8. Raymond d'Alfaro was a hostage during the 1229 negotiations in Paris (*HGL*, VIII, 893).

⁶⁹¹ *Agen...Chartes*, x-xiii; Doat CXVII 219r-21v; *Enquêtes* 64-70; *HGL* VIII 1952 and 1955. See also Ducom, i, 205-11, 265-7 and see ii, 231-2, and see also *ibid.* 142-55 and 167-74, 202-10 for the workings of the commune in detail. See also Ourliac, 'Coutumes', 243-4. For the submissions of 1243 see *HGL* VIII 1118-20.

⁶⁹² *Agen...Chartes*, xiv-xviii and xxxi.

The bishops of Agen did not fare as well in the Peace as did the towns and were further marginalised politically and economically. In the first instance this was brought about by the count. On 18 April 1217, in the church of Saint-Caprais, Bishop Arnaud was forced to divide the *comitalia* with Simon de Montfort as count of Toulouse. In practice, this meant that the responsibility for the maintenance of public order in the county (i.e. control of the region) was to be shared between them, as were the proceeds of justice at Agen, the bishop's half to be held of de Montfort as a fief. The right to mint was also now only held in fief. In short, only the bishop's ecclesiastical powers and privileges in the diocese were not undermined by the new count.⁶⁹⁴ In 1224 and 1228 he was forced into similar agreements with Raymond VII, and the comital rights of the bishops had been almost entirely eroded by the end of our period. The bishops were also undermined by the consuls of the commune of Agen, who ceased to perform homage to the bishop. Significantly, the bishops were excluded from either participating in or convening the *Cour d'Agenais*.⁶⁹⁵

Although the *Cour* was in existence in 1212 and operated in the 1220s, the earliest curial session for which records survive was in 1232, and it would seem to be after the Peace of Paris that it operated regularly.⁶⁹⁶ By the mid-1230s it was very powerful, controlling some rights to minting, public order and justice.⁶⁹⁷ In fact, the powers of the bishops, held since 1217 only as a fief from the count of Toulouse, were taken from them by the counts and granted to the *Cour*.⁶⁹⁸ For example, the bishops' right to mint *Arnaudines* did not even include the ability to change the weight and composition of coins by 1232, when bishop Géraud II (1231-2) had to gain permission to do so from the *Cour*. In 1234 bishop Raoul de Pins (1233-5) had to promise the *Cour* that he would leave the coinage unchanged and allow the townspeople of the Agenais to choose themselves how to regulate the economy.⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹³ HGL VIII 1118-20; Higounet, *Marmande*, 8-9; Ricaud, *Marmande*, 36.

⁶⁹⁴ Doat CXVII, 217r-18v; GC II 431-2; HGL VI 502-3; Tropamer, *Coutume d'Agen*, 156 and 169.

⁶⁹⁵ HGL VI 586; Ducom, esp. i, 206-7, 294-321; Samazeuilh, *Histoire*, 259 and 270; Tropamer, *Coutume d'Agen*, 157-60; Bisson, 'General Court', 6.

⁶⁹⁶ *Agen...Chartes*, xiv, xxxi and xxxii; Tropamer, *Coutume*, esp. 28, 30 and item 3; Clémens, 'Cour', 73. See also discussion in chapter 4.

⁶⁹⁷ Ducom, i, 199-213, 298 onwards and ii, 229-30.

⁶⁹⁸ Clémens, 'Cour', 73-5.

⁶⁹⁹ *Agen...Chartes*, xxiv; HGL VIII 303; Ducom, i, 299-307.

We must ask ourselves why the counts were empowering the people of the Agenais at the expense of the bishop. The explanation may lie in what I suspect were the real origins of the *Cour*. I feel certain that the role of the crusade has been under-estimated in providing a context for the creation of the *Cour*. Indeed, Simon de Montfort could have been its original architect, not the dukes of Aquitaine or the house of Saint-Gilles as T. Bisson and J. Clémens argue.

The earliest evidence pointing to this is the first mention of the *Cour*, in 1212. At Pamiers, in the presence of churchmen including the bishop of Agen and the archbishop of Bordeaux, de Montfort issued general customs for the lands he had conquered. At the same gathering, he dealt with a dispute between the inhabitants of Condom and their abbot. The plaintiffs, the people of Condom, were given leave to appeal *ad curiam Agennensem*.⁷⁰⁰ It would have been around the same time, or perhaps as late as 1215 when he legally took possession of Agen as count of Toulouse, that de Montfort would have become aware of the extensive secular powers which the bishop held in his diocese. This must have seemed anomalous to a baron of the Ile de France and an obstacle to his own control and exploitation of the region. The crucial event was therefore probably on 14 May 1217, the forced surrender by bishop Arnaud of the powers which the *Cour* later held, and their partial return to him by de Montfort as count of Toulouse in the form of a fief.

Thus the bishop had to renounce his right to control the *comitalia* and accept that he held it conditionally and even temporarily, for 'the *pariage* of 1217 created a new situation and gave new rights to the count [and marked] the decline of the privileges of the bishop'.⁷⁰¹ It thus seems to me that the creation of the *Cour* was the brain-child of the highest secular authority in the Agenais in this period, and did not have its origins in its local traditions after all. It was apparently conceived of in or just before 1212, and the necessary powers needed to make it viable acquired in 1217. But why was it created, when these powers could have been wielded directly by de Montfort himself as count?

⁷⁰⁰ HGL, VI, 396-7; Clémens, 'Cour', 72; Samazeuilh, *Agenais*, 187.

I suggest that it was the logical institutional conclusion to the problem of authority in the Agenais which had emerged over the preceding centuries. The crusader occupation of the region during the years 1209-17 had revealed the difficulty of governing this sprawling, divided and politically fickle land. Garrisoning the Agenais had only had limited effect in securing its co-operation and was never a stable solution for French. Arnaud de Rouvray had never proved himself an able politician or commander, was understandably hated after 1209, and was not well suited to execute secular authority in this crucial but volatile region on behalf of de Montfort. The best government for the Agenais, de Montfort perhaps realised, was neither a clerical nor an alien one but the people of the Agenais themselves, made loyal through the granting of self-governing powers and privileges. And what better powers to grant them than the secular authority held by the loathed bishop Arnaud?

Further indication that de Montfort and no previous authority was the engineer of the *Cour* lies in the fact that on 11 May 1217, only three days before the bishop's homage to de Montfort, Raymond of Saint-Gilles wrote to 'honoratis et karissimis amicis sui (*sic*) maiori et consulibus et omnibus aliis probis hominibus Agenni' to support a rising against the bishop and other clergy of the Agenais. He does not mention of the *Cour*, the logical context in which this rebellion would happen had he recognised the *Cour* himself.⁷⁰²

This is not to say that the *Cour* became an institution in 1217. Its development was certainly disrupted by de Montfort's death the following year and there is little indication of its activity in the next decade or so. But whatever the exact origins of the *Cour*, documentation shows that it was regularly convened by the count and his representatives from the 1230s.⁷⁰³ Perhaps Raymond VII understood the political vision of the crusade's leader and sought to implement it. The *Cour* certainly served the needs of future counts of Agen and Toulouse, including their need to have the region willingly accept their authority. On the one hand, the voluntary centralisation of judicial and military organisation made it easier for first Raymond VII and then the crown to

⁷⁰¹ Ducom, i, 265.

⁷⁰² Agen...*Chartes*, vii.

draw the towns, villages and nobles of the Agenais into oaths of loyalty and military service: the general army was summoned by a single command in 1241; oaths were taken to the two parties via summonses from Raymond in 1241 and then by Louis IX's representative in 1243; and by the time of its convocation by Alphonse in 1249 the *Cour* was a body with royal approval.⁷⁰⁴ On the other hand, as a relatively united body which was militarily indispensable to the defence of comital lands, it ensured a degree of autonomy for its nobles as well as concessions for its towns. For example, it seems likely that Raymond VII had to get approval from the *Cour* for levies on the towns of the Garonne to pay off his debts and improve communications just as the bishop needed its approval to alter coinage.⁷⁰⁵

This latter point should not imply that the bishop had lost all support amongst the nobility. The leading vassals of bishops Géraud II, Raoul de Peyrines, Arnaud IV de Galard (1235-45), Pierre de Reims (1245-8) and Guillaume II (1248-63/4) were still the lords of Boville, Clermont-Dessus, Fossat and Madaillan and Fumel. These remained loyal during the Albigensian wars and beyond. But as before the wars, the native lords of the region were still relatively minor and were overshadowed by the powerful Catholic Gascon lords Amanieu VI d'Albret and the viscounts of Lomagne. These held Agenais fiefs of the counts of Toulouse on the left bank of the Garonne, at Meilhan and Auvillars respectively, and attended the *Cour* in respect of other Agenais possessions, but still do not appear closely associated with the bishops of Agen.⁷⁰⁶

The actively rebellious lords of the Agenais acted pragmatically in the shifts of political power of the 1240s. In May 1242 Guillaume Ferréol of Tonneins-Dessous, Amanieu d'Albret and other lords did homage to the count. However, as result of the southern defeat those same lords did homage to the crown in 1243, as did Bernard de Balenx of

⁷⁰³ See Bisson, esp. 3-20, in which the sources for the *Cour* mentioned above are also discussed, with different conclusions.

⁷⁰⁴ *HGL* VIII 1118-20 (and see also 1952); *Layettes* III 3833. See also Bisson, 'General Court', esp. 2-3, 6, 18-20 and 30.

⁷⁰⁵ *Agen... Chartes*, xxxii and xxxiii. See Bisson, 'General Court', 39; Higounet, *Marmande*, 11.

⁷⁰⁶ Bisson, 'General Court', 9; Marquette, 'Albret', 304-9; Guignard, *Histoire*, 126; Tholin, 'Notes sur la féodalité', i, 50 and iv, 68-71. See confirmations of the Albret possession in *HGL* VIII 1860 and 1977. The viscounts of Lomagne held Auvillars since 1215 at the latest, when viscount Veszian made concessions and donations to Grandselve with the approval of his sons Odo and Espan at Agen, and

Casseneuil, Arnaud de Montaigut, Raimond de Pujols, Gaston and Vidal de Gontaud and Arnaud de Montpezat, and also Bernard, Aimery, Hugues and Autinier de Rovinha (lords of Tonneins-Dessus and, interestingly, also Auterive and again of the de-fortified Casseneuil, presumably returned to the family in 1229).⁷⁰⁷

If the political position of the Catholic bishop was weak with regard to the laity, especially after 1228, so was that of its clergy and religious. As a group they were excluded from the *Cour d'Agenais* until 1271.⁷⁰⁸ Few records of donations or foundations exist for the period and those that took place affected the Catholic left bank of the Garonne.⁷⁰⁹ Count Raymond alienated other churchmen too. There was a priory at Mas-d'Agenais by 1224, and in 1235 its prior appealed to Rome against the seizure of seigneurial rights in the town by the count, which Raymond only returned under duress as part of the truce of 1242.⁷¹⁰ Raymond's relationship with the local clergy improved a little in the year of his death, 1249, in which he very successfully attacked heresy in the town, as described below, and the *Couvent de Paris*, or *Les Jacobins*, was founded, a process presided over and fostered by the inquisitor Bernard de Caux, a native of the Agenais.⁷¹¹

The Inquisitorial period, the 1230s and 1240s

The Inquisition in the Agenais and Quercy

The Medieval Inquisition, initiated with the purpose of discovering and prosecuting heretics and their believers and supporter, was staffed initially by the Dominicans. From its activities in the heretical diocese of the Agenais we learn much about the extent and nature of Cathar activity there over the preceding decades and also gain a picture of the geographical spread and strength of the heresy in the 1230s and

the were confirmed as fief-holders by Raymond VII in 1249 (*ibid.*, VIII 1854). Viscount Arnaud-Othon appears to have been alienated from the *Cour* by the same year (*ibid.* 2005).

⁷⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, VIII 1119; Guignard, *Histoire*, 119.

⁷⁰⁸ Bisson, 'General Court', 14.

⁷⁰⁹ For example to Nomdieu (AD Lot-et-Garonne E. suppl. 2745 (II.1), 1-3).

⁷¹⁰ *HGL* VIII 1856; Guignard, *Histoire*, 118.

⁷¹¹ Doat, CXVII, 222r-3v. See Douais, *Frères Prêcheurs*, 282-5; Baumont, Burias, *et al.*, *Histoire d'Agen*, 68-71, Verger, *et al.*, *Agen*, 47. See also Dossat, Y., 'Une figure d'inquisiteur, Bernard de Caux', in *CF* 6 (1971) (hereafter: Dossat, 'Bernard de Caux'), 269 and *ibid.*, L'inquisiteur Bernard de Caux et l'Agenais', in *ibid.*, *Eglise et Hérésie* (hereafter: Dossat, 'L'inquisiteur') esp. 78-9.

Pierre Seilha and Guillaume Arnaud were named as inquisitors for the Catholic dioceses of Cahors and Toulouse in 1231 and began their enquiry in 1233, interviewing suspects in Quercy until 1239 aided by Guillaume Pelhisson, the major chronicler of this early period of the Inquisition in the south of France. Many of the heretics summoned by the Inquisition in Bas-Quercy were originally unmasked by the *perfectus* Raymond Gros, convicted at Toulouse in 1237.⁷¹³ In 1241 Pierre Seilha was still continuing this work at Montauban. Then for the years 1241-2 we have evidence of seven hundred and twenty four sentences passed by a peripatetic court sitting at Gourdon, Montcuq, Sauveterre, Beaucaire, Montauban, Moissac, Montpezat, Montaut and Castelnau-Montratier. Little of this evidence is detailed or investigative, being hurriedly gathered during a period of grace in which the townspeople were allowed to come forth voluntarily. The inquisitors Bernard de Caux and Jean de Saint-Pierre were then active in the dioceses of Agen and Cahors from 1243-5. The evidence they amassed is the most detailed and useful for studying the heretics of the region, for lengthy statements survive from trials at Agen, Bas-Quercy and Cahors. Unfortunately, as noted previously, little of this information relates directly to the Agenais, or to the Cahorsin for that matter, for the heretics tried were almost all of Bas-Quercy and the northern Toulousain.

Raymond VII and the fight against heresy in the 1240s

From the outset Raymond VII was not happy to accept the authority of the Dominicans in his lands. When Othon de Berèthes, his *bailli* at Moissac and Montcuq, was tried in 1244 we learn from his testimony that he was instructed by the count to obstruct the inquisitors in the 1230s, disputing their judicial authority and forbidding

⁷¹² It is not my purpose here to give a detailed account of the Inquisitorial processes in the region under discussion, nor an analysis of sentences passed. This has been very thoroughly done elsewhere in the works from which the following summary has been derived. For sources see BN mss. Lat. Doat (as cited); *Documents... de l'Inquisition*, Douais, esp. vi-xxii, cxliv-clxvi, ccx-ccxxiii; *Layettes* III 3877; *HGL* VI 57-8, VII *Ordonnance* 419, and VIII 1313-4; Guillaume Pelhisson, *Chronique*, esp. 13-42. For analysis see Dossat, Y., 'Bernard de Caux', and 'L'inquisiteur'; Lea, *History*, II, esp. 16-38; Hamilton, *Inquisition*, esp. 61-5; Albe, E., *L'Hérésie... en Quercy*; Duvernoy, *La Catharisme*, II, 267-73 and 353-5; Roquebert, M., *Les Cathares de la chute de Montségur aux derniers bûchers, 1244-1329*, Paris, 1998, 115-26 and as cited below; Passerat, 'Cathares', esp. 152-5.

⁷¹³ Lea thinks that it may have been Raymond Gros who led the Inquisitors to Vigouroux de la Bacone (*Histoire*, II, 21-3).

anyone convicted from accepting their penance.⁷¹⁴ The Pope was eager to keep the peace as well as to eradicate heresy. Thus in 1235 Pierre Seilha was removed from the Toulousain and confined to operations in Quercy and between 1238 and 1241 Gregory IX suspended the Inquisition at comital insistence. Bishop Arnaud IV de Galard of Agen supported Raymond's objections to Bernard de Caux, and the Languedocian Inquisition as a whole was removed from the control of the mendicants by Innocent IV in 1248 and put under the control of Bishop Guillaume II of Agen.⁷¹⁵

This is not to say that the count was sympathetic to the heresy. A condition of his peace with the church in 1229 had been his co-operation in undermining the heresy and this intent was reaffirmed on 2 May 1233.⁷¹⁶ The count in fact showed every sign of wanting to continue this policy, but on his own terms, not those of the Dominicans. Thus Pons Grimoard's successor, Arnaud de Tantalou, seneschal for the Agenais under Raymond VI, was co-operative with the Catholic authorities on Raymond VII's behalf, enacting the confiscations at Castelmoron in 1237. Raymond himself agreed to launch the first attack on the castle stronghold of Montségur in the Pyrenees in 1241, and many soldiers from his lands, not least his *sénéchaussé* of the Agenais and Quercy, were recruited into the royal armies which besieged the fortress in 1243-4.⁷¹⁷ When suing for peace in 1242 he agreed to extirpate heresy in his own lands in the presence of Bishop Raymond-Bernard du Fossat of Agen, and in 1243 initiated an Inquisition under his own control in the dioceses of Agen and Cahors, staffed by clergy of his own choosing, to the satisfaction and with the support of Arnaud IV de Galard.⁷¹⁸ The not insignificant scale of this inquisition is indicated by later documents relating to it, noted below. It continued into the second half of the decade, a letter of 1248 from Innocent IV to Agen's new bishop, Pierre of Reims, indicating that he wished the bishop to

⁷¹⁴ Doat XXII 45v-46r; Lea, *History*, II, 37-8.

⁷¹⁵ *Spicilegium* IV 265; *HGL* VI 57-8; Dossat, 'Bernard de Caux', 266-8 and 'L'Inquisiteur', 75; Lea, *Inquisition*, II, 16-17 and 24-6. The exact reason for the pope's acquiescence in 1238 is not known but it seems most probable that he feared an alliance between Raymond VI and the Emperor Frederick II (Hamilton, *Inquisition*, 62).

⁷¹⁶ Doat LXXV 226r-23r. Although he had been cooperative with the Cistercians in the matter of revenue raised in the Agenais since 1231 (*HGL*, VIII, 1961).

⁷¹⁷ *Spicilegium* III 621; *L'épopée* VI 327-350, 357, 379-81, 391-2 and 396-7.

⁷¹⁸ Doat XXXI 40r-v; *HGL* VI 737-8, and VIII 1088-9. See also Lea, *History*, II, 39; Samazeuilh, *Agenais*, 281-2; Guignard, *Agenais*, 119; and Dossat, 'L'Inquisiteur', 75.

support the count's offensive against the still flourishing heresy in the town.⁷¹⁹

Although this comital-episcopal inquisition was probably far from routinely active, its most dramatic act showed that Raymond was as fervent as the inquisitors about destroying the heresy, and that he could do it without their help: William of Puylaurens reports the burning of eighty relapsed *credentes* at a spot nearby Agen called *Béoulaygues* in 1249.⁷²⁰

iii. The heretical diocese from 1229

The new geography of the heresy in the Agenais and Quercy

We find from inquisitorial documents, both mendicant and comital, that the geographical scope of Catharism in the region under discussion had significantly changed by end of the 1240s. In the Agenais it survived along the Lot and apparently increased along the Garonne. The community at Gourdon, whose members left the town in 1229, perhaps to preach in central Quercy, was refounded by the 1240s. The heretics of Bas-Quercy increased in confidence after 1228. Finally, partly as a result of these other factors, absolute dualism expanded successfully into central Quercy for the first time.

Heretical families and the spread of the heresy

The Agenais

If depositions made at Agen are uninformative about the heretics and believers of the region, those collected as a result of the capture of Montségur in 1244 are likewise uninformative about the existence or whereabouts of a Cathar hierarchy from the Agenais.⁷²¹ Tendo and Vigouroux, we know, had removed themselves there in 1232, but we hear little more of them or even if a hierarchy for the Agenais existed after the early 1230s. However from other sources than inquisitorial depositions it is possible to identify many heretics who lived in the Agenais in the years leading up to 1249 and

⁷¹⁹ *HGL* VIII 1240-1. For discussion of this in the context of the strategy of Pope Innocent IV in dealing with tensions between the bishop of Agen and the inquisitors see Roquebert. *Les Cathares...1244-1329*, 182-5, 169, 182-6, 196-7 and 205-7.

⁷²⁰ William of Puylaurens, 184-5; *HGL* VIII 1981; Hamilton, *Inquisition*, 65; Guillemain, 'Le duché', 59.

⁷²¹ Noted in Lea, *History*, II, 40-1. Capul suggests that the famous *perfectus* Jean Cambiaire became *filius major* for the Agenais after Vigouroux according to the deposition of Raymond de Pereille ('Notes', 11) but I am sure this is a misreading of the source.

beyond.⁷²² Under Raymond VII the properties of Elie Auque, Colombe Denovar, Guillaume Astorg, Guillaume Engas and Guillaume de Toulouse were confiscated, all at unknown locations in the Agenais.⁷²³ Two of those burnt at Agen in 1249 may have been Vital d'Artigues and Giraude de Lamegia, for they were certainly executed at some time by order of Raymond VII at Agen.⁷²⁴ Another was possibly Elie d'Aigrefeuille, inhabitant of Agen in 1227 whose possessions were later granted to Sicard d'Alaman, which we know about because in 1253 he compensated Elie's wife Marie de Lacassagne for the portion representing her dowry.⁷²⁵ Heretics apparently still even lived at Agen after 1249. They included Arnaud Pairol, Guillaume Baudès and the brothers Elie and Gaucelm de Clèves.⁷²⁶

At Marmande Gaillarde Marty also had his possessions confiscated by Raymond VII.⁷²⁷ There is evidence that heretics were again at Gontaud in the period: in 1253 Guiraude, wife of Stephen Dealas of the town, recovered possessions which had been confiscated earlier from her heretical husband.⁷²⁸ In 1289 Pierre Badouin of Gontaud regained possessions earlier confiscated by Bernard de Caux.⁷²⁹ Bernard Gasc of Gontaud was apparently in contact with heretics of the Languedoc who had fled to Lombardy in fear of the Inquisition.⁷³⁰ Vital d'Artigues, burnt at Agen, was originally from the town.⁷³¹ Finally, in 1270 Marie d'Anduze (countess of Périgord and viscountess of Lomagne, through which she gained her interests in the Agenais) held property seized earlier from heretics of Gontaud and nearby Hautefeuille and Fauillet.⁷³²

⁷²² Much of this work has been done by Yves Dossat, see esp. 'Catharisme', 161-9 and 'L'inquisiteur', esp. 78, in which most of the heretical incidents in the Agenais below are cited (these sources were also consulted by me except where stated).

⁷²³ BN ms. Lat. 9019, 35.

⁷²⁴ *Layettes* IV 5600 and AD Lot F. 121 9r (Vital); Arch. Nat., JJ 24B, 66v (Giraude) (cited in Dossat, 'Catharisme', 161).

⁷²⁵ *Un Cartulaire et divers actes des Alaman*, eds. Cabié and Mazens, Toulouse, 1882, 18 (cited in Dossat, 'L'inquisiteur', 77, and see also *ibid.*, 'Catharisme', 163 and 166).

⁷²⁶ Arch. nat. JJ 24b, 64r-v (cited in Dossat, 'Catharisme', 166-7); Molinier, *Correspondance*, I, 455 and 93.

⁷²⁷ Arch. nat. JJ 24B, 61v-62r (cited in Dossat, 'L'inquisiteur', 77 and 'Catharisme', 162).

⁷²⁸ *Agen... Chartes*, xlix; Dossat, 'L'inquisiteur', 77.

⁷²⁹ *Rôles Gascons*, 3 vols., ed. C. Bémont, Bordeaux, 1885-1906, II, 355-6.

⁷³⁰ Doat XXVI 2v (cited in Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme*, II, 308).

⁷³¹ Dossat, 'Catharisme', 162-3.

⁷³² Tholin, G., 'Documets relatifs à l'Agenais', *AHG* 35 (1900), 12-14.

We learn a little more of the activities of the Tonneins families in this period. In 1242 a Raymond-Guillaume de Tonneins, possibly of the Ferréol family judging by his Christian name, was involved in the insurrection following Avignonet.⁷³³ In the same year Guillaume de Ferréol, co-lord of Tonneins-Dessous and Grateloup, and who had rights in other towns including Gontaud, fought with fifty men-at-arms at Taillebourg for Henry III and also witnessed various documents relating to the Anglo-Toulousain alliance of that period, including in 1239 a treaty between Gaston de Gontaud and Elie Rudel of Bergerac.⁷³⁴ We know that he had probably tolerated the heresy for in 1270 he complained to the Alphonsin officials of loss of revenues resulting from the condemnations of some of his men for the heresy.⁷³⁵ Another inhabitant of the region, Etienne Bouc, was condemned sometime before 1269.⁷³⁶ The de Rovinha family appear to have become associated with viscounts of Lomagne by 1243, for in the same year an Arnaud de *Roviniano* and his brother Gaston de Lomagne are listed as the men of the count of Toulouse.⁷³⁷ In 1251 a Hugues and a Bernard de Rovinha appear amongst the witnesses of the homage of Arnaud-Othon de Lomagne to Alphonse of Poitiers at Agen.⁷³⁸

The valley of the Lot, especially Castelmoron, was still the main Agenais foyer for heresy. From the document by which Y. Dossat identifies Vigouroux de la Bacone with Castelmoron, we know of ten other people whose property, confiscated by Raymond VII because of their heresy, was bought by a Raimond Talon of Castelmoron in 1237. They are Elie Bertrand, Ponce de Serment, Vigouroux du Bosc del Comte, Gaillarde and Seignoret de Faget, Pierre Aym, Raimond Isarn, Bernarde Brunet, Audiarde del Polenc and Bernis de Mirepoix.⁷³⁹ A Bertrand, father of Bertrand and Savari de Castelmoron, also had his goods confiscated.⁷⁴⁰ A *credens* Hugues de Castelmoron held land not only in this town but at neighbouring Casseneuil and Saint-

⁷³³ Doat XXIV 155v.

⁷³⁴ AD Lot F. 105; Lagarde, *Notes... Tonneins*, 38; Dossat, 'Catharisme', 163 note 99.

⁷³⁵ *Enquêtes* 338.

⁷³⁶ Molinier, *Correspondance*, II, 236.

⁷³⁷ HGL VIII 1264.

⁷³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1291.

⁷³⁹ The charter, of 1269, confirms Raimond in these possessions. It is Arch. Nat. JJ 24B. 63r-v (cited in Dossat, 'Un évêque', 624, 'L'inquisiteur', 77-8, and 'Catharisme', 164.

⁷⁴⁰ Molinier, *Correspondance*, II, 1511.

Livrade.⁷⁴¹

Whilst the heretical community at Casseneuil had clearly been decimated, we still find the Balenx family amongst the Agenais *credentes*. A Raimond-Bernard de Balenx, who had been amongst the lords of the Agenais taking oaths to King Louis in 1243 and who witnessed a letter of Raymond VII to Arnaud Othon, viscount of Lomagne in 1249, had his Casseneuil property confiscated because of his belief in the 1240s.⁷⁴² Another heretic of the town was Arnaud Bertin.⁷⁴³

A heretic burnt before 1257, called Pons Vigouroux, held property at Sainte-Livrade, near which lies the hamlet also bearing the name Vigouroux.⁷⁴⁴ The heresy was still strong at Villeneuve-sur-Lot in the years leading up to the Inquisition, encountered there by Ademar Einard as he told the inquisitors at Gourdon in 1241.⁷⁴⁵ Gausbert de Clusel told the inquisitors at Moissac that he had taken heretics to Montflanquin, our only reference to heretics in this town between the Lot and Gourdon.⁷⁴⁶

Although I have suggested that Pujols did not have a heretical community by 1223 this changed later on, for in 1270 the *consuls* of neighbouring Villeneuve wanted to use stones from the homes of the condemned for new building works.⁷⁴⁷ At Penne d'Agenais Raymond VII also undertook confiscations, but later returned some confiscated goods to the heirs of the condemned.⁷⁴⁸ In documentation relating to the affair, we learn that members of the Nouaillac, Marty and Pelicier families were implicated in the heresy, the latter possibly members of the important family of the same name at Agen.⁷⁴⁹

Bas-Quercy

As discussed above, our information for Bas-Quercy originates not only in the area but

⁷⁴¹ Arch. nat. JJ 24b, 68v (cited in Dossat, 'Catharisme', 164).

⁷⁴² HGL VIII 1119 and 1254; *Enquêtes* 245 and note 7; Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme*, 302.

⁷⁴³ Dossat, 'Catharisme', 164.

⁷⁴⁴ In 1270 it yielded a reveue of 15 livres which Alphonse of Poitiers used to found a chapel (AD Lot F. 111, 9r and see Dossat, 'Catharisme', 164-5).

⁷⁴⁵ Doat, XXI, 205v.

⁷⁴⁶ Doat, XXI, 293r-4r. This reference is undated but seems likely to refer to this period of expansion.

⁷⁴⁷ *Enquêtes*, 312; Dossat, 'Catharisme', 165.

⁷⁴⁸ Dossat, 'Catharisme', 165-6.

also from trials in Toulouse, Agen and Cahors, and it indicates the survival of the heresy well beyond 1229. Pons Grimoard, Raymond VII's *seneschal* for Quercy, first admitted his activity and belief to Guillaume Arnold on 29 March 1235. His case provides the earliest surviving inquisitorial document, a letter of penitence, dated the following year. After Castelsarrassin was retaken in 1228 he and Othon de Berèges the *bailli* for Moissac and Montcuq, played what must have been an important supporting role in the revival of the heresy and its extension into central and upper Quercy.

Pons Grimoard was said to be frequently in the company of important *perfecti*. Charged specifically with allowing the *perfectus* Guillaume de Caussade to escape from his custody at *Loseler* (also known then as Beaucaire, and as modern Lauzerte) he was sentenced to make four pilgrimages.⁷⁵⁰ This penance had been completed by 1244 when Pons and Othon de Berèges gave statements to the Inquisitors. Pons was dismissed, but Othon was convicted of letting Vigouroux de la Bacone escape from his custody in the 1220s.⁷⁵¹ Another *credens* who continually ran risks on behalf of the heretics in this difficult period was Guillaume Faber, harbouring the *perfectus* Raimond Imbert of Moissac and receiving a one hundred *livre* fine for allowing him to escape.⁷⁵²

The women of Castelsarrassin also continued in the heresy. Arnalda Grimoard, Pons' wife, was present in the town in 1244 when she was implicated by the testimony of Na Berèges.⁷⁵³ Na Pros de Cavelsaut continued to defy the Catholic authorities as late as c.1233 to c.1239. In addition to hosting various heretical meetings attended by both sexes, her house was still home to her heretic daughter Raimunda and used as a covert lodging for other *perfectae* in whose protection and service she worked closely with other local *credentes*, most notably her servant Passionam and her friends Aurimunda de Serra and Petrona de Cahors, and also the latter's son and daughter.⁷⁵⁴ One of the latest accounts of these women together is at the meeting with Vigouroux de la

⁷⁴⁹ Arch. Nat. J 1031 A, 11 (cited in Dossat, 'L'inquisiteur', 78).

⁷⁵⁰ The letter is copied in Doat XXII 38v-40r, and see *ibid* 32-44 for his evidence. See also HGL VIII 1016; *L'épopée* IV 254-7; Albe, *L'Hérésie ... en Quercy*, 10 and 20.

⁷⁵¹ Doat XXII 32-45 and see above.

⁷⁵² Doat XXII 8r; *L'épopée* IV 179.

⁷⁵³ Doat XXII 42v-44r.

⁷⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 7v, 17r-v, 17v, 20r, 24v and 28v.

Bacone in 1228 or the early 1230s.⁷⁵⁵ Aurimunda was hereticated herself on the point of death in c.1240, at which time she was still keeping the company of Petrona and Pros.⁷⁵⁶

One of the most important trials associated with the town was in 1243 as part of an investigation into the murders at Avignonet the previous year. Jean Vital told that shortly after the murders the heretic Stephen Mazeler arrived in Castelsarrassin where Guillaume Audebert had initiated a celebration, along with Guillaume Faber de Pechermer and Pons de Montmirat. Guillaume Audebert sang Stephen *sirventes*, songs with satirical lyrics, in this case including a grisly description of the death of the friars.⁷⁵⁷

At Montauban we find less detailed evidence, but still gain a picture of a strong heretical presence, for in the week before Ascension 1241 two hundred and fifty four people were convicted, eighty five of them women.⁷⁵⁸ Raimond d'Archa told of how as a boy his heretical mother used him as a messenger and errand runner for her and her associates.⁷⁵⁹ Jeanne de Lolmie, possibly originally of Montcuq, was also condemned.⁷⁶⁰ In 1244 Arnauda de Lamothe, having returned to her native town after years of evading the authorities, made her famous deposition.⁷⁶¹ Also still in the locality were other de Lamothes; a Guillaume Bernard, who had adored heretics with his mother, and a B. de Lamothe, both convicted as *credentes*.⁷⁶² The heresy continued in the town into the 1250s.⁷⁶³

Although the Inquisition appears to have effectively undermined the heretical presence in the monastery of Belleperche, as discussed in chapter four, a heretical community

⁷⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 19r-v.

⁷⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 17v and 25r.

⁷⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 11r-v. See Bec, P., *Nouvelle Anthologie de la Lyrique Occitane du Moyen Age*, Poitiers, 2nd. edn., 1970, 122-3; Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme*, II, 281.

⁷⁵⁸ Doat XXI 229-82. See also Albe, *L'Hérésie ... en Quercy*, 17. Many were also involved with the Waldensian heresy.

⁷⁵⁹ Doat XXI 289r-v.

⁷⁶⁰ AD Lot F.106; Albe, *L'Hérésie ... en Quercy*, 17 note 2.

⁷⁶¹ See chapter 4.

⁷⁶² Doat XXI 233r-v.

⁷⁶³ AD Haute-Garonne ms. Lat. 202. 106 (cited in Blaquièrre, H. and Dossat, Y., *Confessions Inédites de Catharisme Quercinois*, CF 3, 264-6).

remained in the abbey town of Moissac. In 1234-39 two hundred and ten people were burned and in Ascension week 1241 the Inquisition convicted ninety nine people, including forty three women.⁷⁶⁴ However, some heretics of Moissac were amongst those who fled for Lombardy, including Raimond Imbert, who had narrowly escaped capture on the property of Guillaume Faber de Pechermer in 1239.⁷⁶⁵ Of those who remained we learn that the Falquet de Saint-Paul family were still very influential in the heretical life of the town.⁷⁶⁶

Gourdon

Gourdon was the first heretical centre in the northern Languedoc to be targeted by the Inquisition, during Advent week 1241 and again in the following year. The seigneurial family, as noted above, were also very influential in central and Haut-Quercy. Thus they were of great use to the heretics. Bertrand de Gourdon, originally a crusader, admitted having received heretics, although his son Fortanier appears to have been the most active Cathar sympathiser.⁷⁶⁷ Just as Bertrand had changed political sides, in 1241 Guillaume de Gourdon, as co-lord of Gourdon and lord of Salviac in Périgord, did homage to Raymond VII but transferred his loyalty to the French king the following year.⁷⁶⁸ Fortanier de Gourdon remained a vassal of Raymond VII, at least until 1244.⁷⁶⁹

That the extent of the heresy in the Gourdon area was great is evident from the passing of two hundred and nineteen sentences against all sections of the urban and rural population, including a priest.⁷⁷⁰ We also find at Gourdon a *credens* P. de Casseneuil who had given leeks and scallions to the heretics and who had also been entrusted with a heretical book from which he had read.⁷⁷¹ The presence of heretical sympathizers originating in the Agenais in one of the newer heretical centres in Quercy was possibly

⁷⁶⁴ Doat XXI, 282v - 306r and AD Lot F. 106. See also Albe, *L'Hérésie ... en Quercy*, 17.

⁷⁶⁵ Doat XXII 8r and XXV 298r; Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme*, 304; *L'épopée* IV 179.

⁷⁶⁶ Doat XXI 291-5, and XXII 18v; Albe, *L'Hérésie ... en Quercy*, 17; *L'épopée* IV 237-8, 254, 257, 258-9 and 276.

⁷⁶⁷ Doat XXI 186r-v, 195r-v, 197r, 199v-200r. Further discussion of the Inquisition at Gourdon at its sources may be found in Albe, *L'Hérésie ... en Quercy*, 12- 39.

⁷⁶⁸ AD Lot F. 98; *HGL* VI 735-6 and 1242, and VIII 1119 and 1980.

⁷⁶⁹ AD Lot F. 123.

⁷⁷⁰ Doat XXI 199r-v.

far from coincidental, as we shall see.

Central Quercy

The Inquisition in central Quercy took place in Lent 1242.⁷⁷² By this time the process of heretical conversion, begun at Montcuq, had been very successful, for eighty four people were convicted. The family of Saint-Genies - Guillard, Bernard, Bertrand and his wife Na Finas - and Guillaume, lord of the manse at Laborda, were amongst its most important *credentes*.⁷⁷³ We also find more émigrés from the Agenais, Hartemanda Balenx, discussed above, and also a Pierre de Penna. He associated extensively with Cathars and gives us one of the fullest accounts of heretical theology to be found in the Quercy documentation.⁷⁷⁴ If, as I believe, the conversion of Montcuq took place through its connections with Gourdon, the Agenais and Bas-Quercy, it seems not unreasonable to speculate that his name might refer to near-by Penne d'Agenais rather than Penne d'Albigeoise. As E. Albe has also noted, testimonies from Montcuq often refer to families from the region lying between the two towns.⁷⁷⁵

At Sauveterre, where both Cathars and Waldensians had been preaching openly, lying between Montcuq and Castelnau-Montratier, the Inquisition convicted five people, amongst them its lord Guiraud, also of Gourdon.⁷⁷⁶ Immediately after this seven people were convicted at Beaucaire, or *Loseler*. Most of them were part of a community established by the *perfectus* Guillaume de Caussade, possibly Cathar deacon of Quercy, under the protection of the castellan, probably also called Guillaume. Guillaume de Caussade had left his family's estates in eastern Quercy for the heretical life by 1233, in which Pons Grimoard saw him and his *socius* at *Loseler* at the home of P. de Belfort, but he was possibly newly arrived there then, for Pons says that P. did not know them to be heretics.⁷⁷⁷

⁷⁷¹ Doat XXI 194r and 202v-203r. For literacy amongst the Cathars, including discussion of this and other heretics of our region, see Biller, P., 'The Cathars of the Languedoc and written materials', in Biller and Hudson, *Heresy and Literacy*, 61-82, esp. 77-8.

⁷⁷² These inquisitorial documents are also contained in AD Lot F. 106.

⁷⁷³ Doat XXI 214r, 222r and 226r-v.

⁷⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 217r-v.

⁷⁷⁵ Albe, *L'Hérésie ... en Quercy*, 14 and notes 11-13.

⁷⁷⁶ Doat, XXI 227v-8r; Dossat, 'L'inquisiteur', 75; Albe, *L'Hérésie ... en Quercy*, 15.

⁷⁷⁷ Doat XXII 37r, 41r, 219r-v and 228r-9v. For the possible identity of the castellan see *ibid.*, 226v-7r. See also Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme*, II, 264 note 43 and 284-5 and note 35. where the case for his status as deacon is made. See also Albe, *L'Hérésie ... en Quercy*, 15-16. Caussade itself was a

The Inquisitors then convicted twenty two people at Montpezat-de-Quercy. The town had been a focus of support for the southern party during the crusade and, when captured and occupied by the crusaders its *faidits*, notably Aramfré de Montpezat of its seigneurial family, had continued to act against the de Montforts from other bases as noted in chapter five. Etienne de Montpezat made a donation to the southern cause in 1224 of almost all his possessions. After the Peace of 1229 Bertrand de Montpezat and Geralda, wife of G. A. de Montpezat, supported the heretics, although we hear no more of Aramfré. Members of the Cabanolas family were also important *credentes*, providing Cathars with money.⁷⁷⁸ The inquisitor Pierre Seilha then travelled to Montaut, where Arnaud de Rupe, who had read a heretical book, and a landowner S. Sobressen were amongst those convicted.⁷⁷⁹

In spite of the important role played in the crusade by its castellan Ratier de Castelnaud, the seigneurial family of Castelnaud-Montratier, sometimes called Castelnaud-Hélène, do not emerge as fervently Catholic, not apparently continuing the pattern of family donations to Beaulieu of earlier generations.⁷⁸⁰ The town under their governorship yielded eleven convictions. Amongst the most interesting activity there was that of heretical doctors. Guillaume de la Mota was cured of an illness by one. Petronilla de Fabrica had them cure her son, and then her husband, perhaps in payment, did work for them. One of the most extensively implicated *credentes* was woman, Bigordana.⁷⁸¹

iv. Conclusion

Though the evidence from central Quercy is not at all detailed it is possible to make some assertions about the way in which the heresy was transmitted there. It seems that

heretical centre into the 1250s (*ibid.*, pièces justificatives i, 40 and *Confessions inédites de Catharisme Quercinois*, CF 3, 259-98). G. Passerat places the community of Beaucaire under the jurisdiction of the Cathar bishop of Albi ('Cathares', esp.149-50). Certainly there is a strong case for an overlap of influence there but, as noted in chapter 4 for Bas-Quercy. I do not think it is possible, or especially useful, to see the heretics of Quercy under the rigid jurisdiction of any one Cathar diocese. Both Pons Grimoard, as *sénéchal*, and the Inquisitors certainly related to Beaucaire in a Quercinois context.

⁷⁷⁸ Doat XXI 306r-8v; *HGL* VI 583-4. For convictions in central Quercy see also Albe. *L'Hérésie ... en Quercy*, 16.

⁷⁷⁹ Doat. XXI, 309-10.

⁷⁸⁰ For which see AD Lot F. 365.

⁷⁸¹ Doat XXI 310r-12v.

it spread into the region after the Peace of Paris - although slightly earlier in the case of Montcuq - from Gourdon in the north, from the Agenais Lot, from Bas-Quercy and from eastern Quercy, within the sphere of the Cathar church of Albi.⁷⁸² Just as it may well have been the case that conversions in and around Montcuq and at Sauveterre took place with the active support of the lords of Gourdon associated with those towns, as discussed above, it is possible that the spread of heresy to Castelnaud-Montratier happened likewise, for its seigneurial family also made alliances with Gourdon.⁷⁸³ We can safely assume that the political connections made by Othon de Berètges between the *baillis* of Moissac and Montcuq either facilitated transmission to the latter town or at least encouraged its tolerance by the Montcuq authorities. The presence of a heretical member of the Lolmie family of Montcuq at Montauban, noted above, may also have been part of this process. Not least, we have seen evidence from both before and after 1229 to suggest that first Vigouroux de la Bacone and then Agenais heretical sympathisers were both in central Quercy and connected with Gourdon.

Why the spread of the heresy into central-Quercy did not extend into the Cahorsin itself or into north-eastern Quercy can probably be explained in part by its more Catholic orientation, as noted previously. Two key figures were responsible for maintaining the orthodoxy of these regions. Bishop Guillaume de Cardillac not only crusaded against centres of heresy but took initiatives to prevent Catharism ever entering Cahors, founding a Dominican convent there in 1226. He was also one of the initiators of an organisation based at Roc-Amadour, the remit of which was the detection of heretical subversion within monastic houses. The other architect of this movement was viscount Raymond IV of Turenne.⁷⁸⁴ If the viscount had reservations about the crusade, he clearly had none about the need to assert orthodoxy in north-eastern Quercy, in which his family were amongst the most important lords.

That such action was still necessary is illustrated by the continuation of patterns of infiltration of religious houses by heretics in lower, central and upper Quercy. Such

⁷⁸² See note on Caussade above.

⁷⁸³ AD Lot F. 365 and 366.

⁷⁸⁴ Albc. *L'Hérésie ... en Quercy*, 1-6.

attempts by Cathars were now being challenged by the monks and the perpetrators reported to the Inquisition, as we have seen at Belleperche. Nonetheless, when the Inquisition visited Montpezat in 1241 Raymonda de Mazerac, prioress of the Augustinian monastery of Lativia near Castelnau-Montratier, was discovered to have been a heretic for four or five years.⁷⁸⁵ Near to Gourdon the towns of Linars contained an ostensibly Catholic convent in which the heresy was firmly implanted and protected by its lord Ranulphe de Golesme and other members of the family, lords of Milhac, until they were discovered.⁷⁸⁶

Thus, although the Cathars in Quercy survived the crusade and even increased in number in its aftermath in some areas to the south and west of Cahors, the combined efforts of orthodox laymen such as the viscount of Turenne, Raymond VII, the bishop of Cahors and the Inquisition were successful finally in exposing and extirpating the heresy, for we hear of few further incidents after the mid-1240s.⁷⁸⁷ There is evidence that in the 1260s the leading families of Castelsarassin were actively Catholic and making concessions to Grandseve.⁷⁸⁸

In contrast, bishop Arnaud de Rovinha of Agen, full of crusading zeal and anger at the protectors of heretics in the Agenais, lacked the vision of his colleague at Cahors. Only towards the end of our period did the bishops of Agen work with the count of Toulouse and the Dominicans to establishing coherent organisations for the detection and eradication of heresy, and also the elimination the causes of the heresy through the promotion of a more dynamic religious life.

Thus, in c. 1250 Rainier Sacconi estimated that the Cathar church of Agen had been all but destroyed.⁷⁸⁹ This was something of an exaggeration. From 1252 Alphonse of Poitiers' officials, most notably Jacques Dubois, were still dealing with heretics and new excommunications and confiscations were enacted into the 1270s, including at

⁷⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 16 and Doat XXI 307a.

⁷⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 188r-v, 193v and 211v; Duvernoy. *Le Catharisme*, I, 208 and II, 258; Bordes. *Périgord*, 87-8.

⁷⁸⁷ A handful of heretics were also discovered by the Inquisition in western Quercy in the 1270s (Albe. *L'Hérésie ... en Quercy*, 23).

⁷⁸⁸ HGL VIII 1869.

⁷⁸⁹ Rainerius Sacconi, 70; Lea. *Inquisition*, II, 49.

Agen itself and in the towns of the Lot.⁷⁹⁰ They included the confiscation of income from the oven at Casseneuil from a heretic Hugues of Castelmoron, and its transference in c.1270 to count Archembaud of Périgord, new husband of Marie d'Anduze who received property at Gontaud at the same time.⁷⁹¹ Heretics appear to have remained also at Tonneins at least until 1264, when Arnaud de Tremoleto of the town had his goods confiscated.⁷⁹² There is possibly evidence of an important Cathar in the Agenais as late as c.1310, for the register of the inquisitor Jacques Fournier notes a Raimond de Castlenau of the Agenais, otherwise known as Raimond de Toulouse, who, afraid of capture, sent his nephews to Catalonia, entrusting to them sixteen thousand gold florins.⁷⁹³ Although the heresy survived in a debased form in the Pyrenees by this date, the isolated nature of this account, not to mention the unbelievably large amount of money involved, make me reluctant to concede that there were still significant numbers of Cathars active in the Agenais. I am inclined to think that by c.1280 the Inquisition had undermined the security of the heretical faith where the Crusade had not, and that the more pastorally dynamic Catholicism of the friars served to fill the void left by the exiled and executed *perfecti* in the Agenais and Quercy as it did throughout most of the Languedoc.

v. Postscript - the Agenais from 1249 to 1279

Before making more general conclusions about the subject of dualism in Aquitaine, I should like to conclude some themes relating to the society of the Agenais and its place in the power struggles in the Midi which were introduced in previous chapters. I have argued that Rainier Sacconi was incorrect in his assertion that the heretical diocese of Agen had been destroyed by c.1250. Nonetheless, he is right in identifying a stronger and more active adherence to Catholicism there than had hitherto been the case. This is expressed particularly through the forceful work of local Dominicans from 1249 at Agen and by friars minor at Marmande, where the *Couvent des Cordeliers* was

⁷⁹⁰ For example HGL VII *Ordonnance* 420; Molinier, *Correspondance*, I 493 and II 1513; *Enquêtes*. 245; Dossat, 'Catharisme', 166-7; Capul, 'Notes', 13.

⁷⁹¹ Molinier, *Correspondance*, II, 2118 and see above.

⁷⁹² *Enquêtes*, 338 and note 6; Molinier, *Correspondance*, I, 440; Dossat, 'Catharisme', 163;

Capul, 'Notes', 7 and 13.

⁷⁹³ Register of Jacques Fournier (1318-25), Vatican Library ms. Lat. 4030, II, 59 and 484 (cited in Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme*, II, 326 and 351).

established in 1265.⁷⁹⁴ By c.1255 Agen was even deemed a suitable place for pilgrimage for repentant heretics.⁷⁹⁵ At some point in the thirteenth century a very ancient church of Agen which had apparently been destroyed by Vikings was rebuilt as the chapel of Notre-Dame du Bourg.⁷⁹⁶ It strikes me that the Catholic revival mid-century might offer a likely context for this. The Dominican convent at Agen was to be the burial place of the native-born inquisitor Bernard de Caux, at his own request, when he died on 26 November 1252. In 1281 his body was translated to allow for building work and found, according to Bernard Gui, to be almost intact, a miracle met with great enthusiasm by the people of Agen.⁷⁹⁷

But if the Agenais became more fervently Catholic from mid-century, it was less than willing to submit to French rule. In 1249 when Raymond VII died Alphonsin officials summoned the *Cour d'Agenais* but could not persuade its representatives, especially those of Agen itself, to swear allegiance to their new lord. The *Cour* argued, amongst other things, that the Agenais belonged to Jeanne of Toulouse, not her husband Alphonse, as the granddaughter of Jeanne of England whose dowry the county had been, and pointed out that the region had come to expect a certain amount of self-government. This, says T. Bisson, was the Agenais expressing itself as a 'political community'. However we should note that when the officials approached the people of Penne and Marmande separately they agreed to swear, and that Agen itself soon did likewise.⁷⁹⁸ Alphonse and Jeanne died within a few days of each other in August 1271 and Toulouse passed to Philip III of France. On this occasion the Agenais did homage to its new lord along with Quercy and the Toulousain.⁷⁹⁹

⁷⁹⁴ Ricaud, *Marmande*, 8 and 43.

⁷⁹⁵ Bishop Bartholemew of Cahors (1250-73) gave letters of remission to a heretical woman from Moissac, N. Affalx, who made such a pilgrimage as part of her sentence (Albe, *L'Hérésie ... en Quercy*, 21 and *pièces justificatives* iv, 43). I have not observed it on penitential itineraries before this date.

⁷⁹⁶ Verger, *et al.*, *Agen*, 45.

⁷⁹⁷ Bernard Gui, *De fundatione et prioribus conventuum provinciarum tolosanae et provinciae ordinis praedicatorum*, ed. P. A. Armagier, Rome, 1961, 109-111 (cited in Roquebert, M., *Les Cathares, de la chute de Montségur aux derniers bûchers, 1244-1329*, Paris, 1998, 120-1).

⁷⁹⁸ Philip, treasurer of Saint-Hilaire de Poitou, wrote to Alphonse, whose chaplain he was, of the problems he had encountered in the Agenais. The letter is published in Boutaric, E., *Saint-Louis et Alphonse de Poitiers*, Paris, 1870, 69-77 (cited in Roquebert, *Cathares... 1244-1329*, 199-202). See also Guignard, *Histoire*, 119 and 125-6; Samazeuilh, *Histoire*, 159 and 284-7; Bisson, 'General Court', 19-20.

We should also conclude the examination of the place of the Agenais within the broader conflicts taking place in south-western France.⁸⁰⁰ The intervention of the French in 1229 sounded the death knell in the Languedoc for the house of Saint Gilles and for English influence there. Count Raymond attempted to negate the terms of the Peace of Paris, and he was aided by Henry III, who engaged the French in Poitou in 1230 with the help of Peter Mauclerc of Brittany, and again in 1241 when Alphonse was invested with Poitou by his brother King Louis IX of France. But Henry's humiliating defeat meant that Poitou also was irretrievably lost.

In 1249, as we have seen, Raymond died and Toulouse and the Agenais passed to the French crown. From now on authority in the Midi would be contested between the kings of France, England, Aragon and Castile. But the failure to recover Poitou and the loss of Toulouse and the Agenais to the French was not the only cause for concern for the English in southern France. Gascony was granted in 1249 to Henry's son Edward as an appanage, but dissent there was mounting. It was aimed primarily at the English representative at Bordeaux, Simon de Montfort, third son of the crusader and governor of Gascony from 1248-52. Amongst the Gascons' objections to his rule were their claims, which proved partially justified, that he would be as ruthless and avaricious as his father had been in the Languedoc.⁸⁰¹ From the late 1240s Archbishop Gerard de Malemort, factions in Bordeaux and major Gascon lords, most importantly Gaston de Béarn, allied against England with the kings of Navarre, Aragon and Castile, the latter still claiming Gascony as princess Eleanor's dowry.⁸⁰²

By late 1254 Gascony was at last secured and its most immediate and enduring enemies, Alphonse of Castile and Gaston de Béarn, had been reconciled with the

⁷⁹⁹ Published as *Saisimentum comitatus tholosani*, ed. Y. Dossat, Paris, 1966.

⁸⁰⁰ Except where otherwise cited, this summary of political events is taken from Maddicott, J.R., *Simon de Montfort*, Cambridge, 1994, 107-24; Powicke, M., *Henry III*, I 221-3, 231-4; and Trabut-Cussac, J. P., *L'administration anglaise en Gascogne sous Henry III et Edward I, de 1254 à 1307*, xxvi-xli, 18-21 and 59-61.

⁸⁰¹ He was the third son of de Montfort and Alice de Montmorency and was probably with them at various points during the Albigensian Crusade. For a time he was constable of France for the regent Queen Blanche but, after receiving back his family's lands in Leicestershire from the English crown. by 1231, he was dismissed. Thus the de Montfort family moved back into the English sphere. His role in Gascony and the baronial rebellions in England is well documented. See Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, inc. 3-9 for his early life and 110 for the criticism of the Gascons.

⁸⁰² Roger of Wendover, 355-86; Ellis, *Gaston de Béarn*, 398.

English. However, the proximity of French power to the north and east of Aquitaine meant that the crown would always face the threat of rebellions and alliances between Gascon rebels and the Capetians or Castilians. This situation played an important part in encouraging the English towards a settlement with France over the issue of authority in the region with regard both to Gascony and the Agenais. Truces between the two kings were agreed until 1259 and in that year, through the Treaty of Paris, Henry III renounced his claim to Normandy, Anjou and Poitou and offered homage for Gascony. It was also agreed that if Jeanne of Toulouse died childless the Agenais would revert to the English.⁸⁰³ This latter provision was amongst the few English gains in 1259. The clause technically became active in 1271, although the English did not receive the Agenais until 1279, through the Treaty of Amiens. Thus the county of Agen, whose ownership had been disputed since the Early Middle Ages, became, for the time being, English, for as long as the kings of England could hold Gascony.

⁸⁰³ Roger of Wendover, 440; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, IV 225, 477-82 and 506, and V 509-10. The allodial status of Gascony would be raised as an issue again by English lawyers during the Hundred Years War.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

In part I of this thesis I have argued that accounts of religious heresy in early eleventh-century Aquitaine are describing dualist heresy. Reading them in the context of what we know about Aquitanian society and eastern-Europe in the Millennial period make this hypothesis perfectly plausible. Thus the following appears to be true.

Aquitaine in the period from the 990s to the 1030s was, to generalise, a society experiencing great social upheaval. Land in the countryside fell into private hands, essentially those of the castellans. Those dominating the new rural order did not consider themselves accountable to public authority. This was the case especially with regard to their treatment of the peasantry, whom they enserfed, and the monasteries, which they theoretically protected but in practice menaced. The abbey and bishops reacted against this with appeals to the duke for protection, at the same time voicing the complaints of the poor about their plight. The poor grew disillusioned with the resultant movement, the Peace of God, and to an extent with saints' cults for, at the end of the day, their situation was worsened in this period rather than ameliorated. They were greatly in need of explanations for and relief from their oppression. In the same period some people at least were made aware, through contacts with churchmen and monks, of the Apocalyptic significance of the period and events through which they were living.

Around the same time, in the Balkans, Bogomil heretics were meeting western pilgrims travelling east to Jerusalem, some of whom were affected by the tendencies I have described above. Bogomils had already successfully infiltrated Orthodox monasteries and declared their intention to spread their belief throughout Christendom. From the sources it seems that they concealed themselves within the body of foreign traffic travelling east to west. They were therefore able to enter western monasteries and cathedral chapters and to spread their ideas amongst the Aquitanian populace. Thus they attempted to provide an explanation for evil and human suffering in this period when such issues were at the forefront of the minds of Aquitanians. The sources insist these heretics were 'Manichees' and from another part of the world.

I have argued that this case can be made using the Aquitanian and Balkan evidence alone. However, when what I believe to be the equally compelling evidence of dualism in other western sources is taken into account, we have a picture of organised Bogomil missions to the west over a period of several decades.

Dualist heresy in the west seems to have died out in the second half of the eleventh century. This was perhaps as a result of weakened contact between east and west, the passing of the Millennial era, and the growth of clerical and monastic reform, including at parish level. The combination of reformed monasticism and an actively orthodox secular elite in Aquitaine also goes some way to providing an explanation of why dualism could not gain a foothold in the duchy in the twelfth century, in which the authorities proved able to channel and contain religious dissent.

Dualism probably re-emerged in the west around the time of the earliest crusades, very likely as a result of them. The evidence suggests that dualists may have been present in the Agenais, more Languedocian in orientation than most of Aquitaine, in the 1150s. By the 1170s they were present in such numbers as to warrant the establishment of a Cathar diocese there. Although we lack the wealth of sources available for Catharism in other parts of the Languedoc, we can tell that the Lot valley was the major foyer of heresy in the Agenais, whilst the Garonne towns and the Gascon Agenais remained essentially orthodox.

The region did not respond uniformly to the heresy because it was not politically or culturally homogenous. Indeed, it seems to me that the creation of the *Cour d'Agenais* was an attempt by the crusaders to encourage stability in a region where it was lacking, rather than being a Plantagenet or Toulousain response to an inherent sense of regional identity. In one of the most extreme examples of discord in the region, we find that two members of the same family, Hughes de Rovinha, lord of Casseneuil, and Bishop Arnaud of Agen, his brother, were amongst the leading protagonists in the religious and military conflict, on different sides.

It was probably Casseneuil that was the seat of the first Cathar bishopric in the Agenais, and chronicle evidence attests to its importance. In 1214 it fell to the

crusaders, and from that time we find most heretical activity at Castelmoron-sur-Lot, as revealed by secular documentation. Certainly we find most references to Vigouroux de la Bacone, Cathar bishop of the Agenais in the 1220s, at Castelmoron. Vigouroux was involved in a schism between absolute and moderate dualists which originated in the Balkans. We have no evidence of a Cathar hierarchy for the Agenais after the early 1230s, and if it existed it was probably in hiding at Montségur. However, the Inquisitors found heretics in the region into the 1240s, Raymond VII discovered and executed heretics in the Agenais until his death in 1249, and Capetian administrative records continue to refer to heretics identified in the Agenais even into the 1270s. These heretical communities were still concentrated along the Lot but we learn that by the late 1240s there were heretics in communities also along the Garonne.

Although the Agenais towns attacked in 1209, in a crusade which I suspect was largely initiated by bishop Arnaud of Agen, were home to many heretics, the geographical spread of the heresy was not the major factor determining the operations of the Albigensian Crusade in this region. Military considerations are more in evidence, as the French sought to eliminate resistance to their control of the Garonne and to enforce the lasting allegiance of the fickle Agenais towns and lords. For much of the crusade, such authorities as submitted to the French were left largely in peace. Ironically, therefore, it was when castellans like Hughes de Rovinha chose to do homage to the crusade's leaders, which he did in 1212, thus keeping their castles and towns, that they were of most use to the heretics. These needed secure places in which to 'ride out' the war, which they found at Casseneuil in 1212, and new centres in which to establish heretical enclaves when the crusader presence lessened, which they did at Castelmoron and in Quercy from the 1220s. It was in such places that the Inquisitors discovered them.

However, as noted, a rising number of heretics were identified along the Agenais Garonne, after the Inquisition had left the region, most notably those executed in 1249 but also into the 1270s. This is harder to account for as the river towns, always relatively orthodox, could not have been considered a safe-haven for heretics under Raymond VII, the inquisitor Bernard de Caux, or bishops Arnaud IV and Guillaume II. Perhaps the relapsed *credentes* burned at Agen by Raymond VII in 1249 had first been

identified by his extensive inquest of 1243 or by that of the Dominicans, and had since chosen to defy the orthodox religious authority just as Agen would soon defy the Capetians, as noted in chapter six. The absence of detailed inquisitorial records will always leave such *lacunae* in our understanding of the transmission of heresy in the Agenais.

The heretics of the Agenais were also very closely involved with those of Bas-Quercy. It seems that from there with the help of Vigouroux de la Bacone and Raymond VII's heretical officials Pons Grimoard and Othon de Berèges, and from the heretical towns of the Agenais Lot with the help of the Cathar converts of Gourdon, new centres of heresy were established in central and Haut-Quercy in the later years of the crusade. I found far more evidence for the heretics of Quercy than it was appropriate to include in this thesis. It is possible to construct genealogies spanning several generations for those of Bas-Quercy, and to discuss urban and aristocratic social contexts for the heresy in greater detail than has been done previously. I hope to undertake work along these lines in the future.

I also hope I have established that the Albigensian crusade was not only a war between France and the Languedoc. The rulers of Gascony and Aquitaine had had a tense relationship with the counts of Toulouse since the Early Middle Ages and rights to Toulouse and the Agenais had long been contested between them. The Plantagenet dynasty managed to resolve this conflict by drawing the Toulousains into relationships of dependency, most effectively since 1196. The Albigensian Crusade obstructed King John as he attempted to increase this Aquitanian influence in the Languedoc. Crusade leaders were unashamed about attacking the Aquitanian frontier from Périgord to the Pyrenees, exploiting the fact that the papacy was less than well-informed by its legates about the geographical spread of the heresy. John aided and supported Toulouse and used his position as over-lord of the Agenais to dislodge the crusader presence as far west as Marmande in 1214. He considered greater intervention in the conflict on behalf of his Occitan kinsmen and vassals, but was restrained by his need to contain the more immediate French threat to Poitou and by his vulnerable position with regard to Rome.

Other Aquitanians also took sides in the conflict, for the duchy was no more united in

response to the crusade than was the Agenais. Some acted in defence of Occitan independence, some in defence of that same orthodoxy which shaped the Aquitainian resistance to heresy, and yet others with a view to establishing themselves territorially in a newly Catholic Languedoc. Entirely absent in the motivations of Aquitainians was the protection of heretics. And by the late 1240s, and certainly by 1279 when the Agenais was returned to the English, we find the motivations of the Agenais nobles and townspeople to be as actively Catholic as those of the Plantagenet authorities under whose rule they again found themselves.

Bibliography

i. Manuscript sources

Bibliothèque Nationale de France:

BN mss. Lat. Fonds Doat. esp. XXI-XXV (inquests into heresy in the Languedoc).

BN ms. Lat. 1745, esp. 31r lines 1-29 (letter of Héribert).

BN ms. Lat. 2469 (sermons of Adémar of Chabannes).

BN ms. Lat. 5652 (charter naming members of the Gascon ducal family).

BN ms. Lat. 5926, 1-141 (*Gamma* version of Adémar of Chabannes' chronicle).

BN ms. Lat. 9019, 35r-v (act of Raymond VII of Toulouse against heretics).

BN ms. Lat. 12763-8, esp. 223v-224v (charter of Hugh of Lusignan c. 1073-78/9).

BN ms. Lat. 18363 (cartulary of abbey of Solignac).

BN ms. nouv. acq. Lat. 1560 (cartulary of abbey of Obazine).

Arch. Dépt. Lot:

Série F. (Documents relating to families, abbeys, secular clergy and secular administration and Inquisition): cahiers nos. 97-106, 111-2, 119, 121, 125-6, 129, 146, 163, 171, 175-7, 189, 191, 198-200, 204, 218-9, 260-4, 268, 308, 318, 341, 346, 349-53, 365-6, 367-70, 377-8, 388, 401, 423-30, 450, 455-6, 469, 499, 501-2 and 513.

Arch. Dépt. Lot-et-Garonne:

Série AA. (Secular acts etc. relating to the commune of Agen, 1197-1789): ms. AA4.

Série E. Suppl. (Secular and clerical acts etc. relating to arronds. of Agen, Nérac, Marmande and Villeneuve): mss. nos. 195, 327, 665, 690-1, 1077-8, 1178, 1859, 1917, 2745, 2906, 3043, 3416, 3481, 3663 and 3794.

Série G. (Parishes and regular clergy): ms. 8.

Arch. Dépt. Gironde:

Série E. Suppl. (Secular and clerical acts etc. relating to arronds. of La Réole, Monségur and Libourne): mss. 2770-4, 2906-7, 3247, 3968-9 and 4771.

Série G. (Relating to archdiocese of Bordeaux): mss. Lat. 334-6

Arch. Communales de Cahors:

Arch. mun. de Cahors mss. chartes. nos. 9, 13, 29, 31-3, 36-42.

Bibliothèque Municipale de Bordeaux:

Ms. 745, 16r-v (Cartulaire de Bigorre - eleventh-century homage of viscount Centulle of Béarn and count of Bigorre to King Alfonso of Aragon).

Mss. 769-70 (Grand Cartulaire de la Sauve-Majeure).

ii. Works of reference

- Atlas de la France de l'an Mil*, eds. M. Parisse et J. Leuridan, Paris, 1994.
- Atlas historique de la France*, ed. A. Longnon, Paris, 1912.
- Atlas of the Crusades*, ed J. Riley-Smith, London, 1991.
- Betgé-Brezetz, A., *Guide des archives de la Gironde*, Bordeaux, 1973.
- Burias, J., *Guide des archives Lot-et-Garonne*, Agen, 1972.
- Bibliographie généalogique, héraldique et nobiliaire de la France. Dès origines à nos jours*, ed. G. Saffroy, 5 vols., Paris, 1968-88.
- Bibliographie générale des cartulaires françaises*, ed. H. Stein, Paris, 1907.
- Cambridge Illustrated Atlas of Warfare in the Middle Ages, 768-1487*, ed. N. Hooper, and M. Bennett, Cambridge, 1996.
- Catalogue des chartes des franchises de la France, II: Les chartes de franchises de Guienne et de Gascogne*, ed. M. Gouron, Paris, 1935.
- Chronologie des archevêques, évêques et abbés de l'ancienne province ecclésiastique d'Auch*, ed. A. Clergeac, Paris/Auch, 1912.
- Cottineau, L.-H., *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, 3 vols., Mâcon, 1935-70.
- Dictionary of National Biography; From the Earliest Days to 1900*, eds. L. Stephen *et al.*, London, 1921-
- Dictionnaire de biographie française*, eds. J. Balteau *et al.*, Paris, 1935-
- Dictionnaire de la noblesse*, 3rd edn., eds. de la Chenaye-Desbois *et al.*, 19 vols., Paris, 1969 (reprint of 1868-76 edn.).
- Dufourcet, E., *Catalogue raisonné des vicomtes de Dax, BSAB* (1879).
- Gadille, J., *Guide des archives diocésaines françaises*, Lyons, 1971.
- Hardy, T. D., *A Description of the Patent Rolls*, London, 1835 (including King John's itinerary, unpaginated).
- Index actorum Romanorum pontificum ab Innocentio III, I: 1198-1261*, ed. B. Barbiche, Paris, 1975.
- Inventaire des archives municipales de Cahors, I:1*, ed. E. Albe, Cahors (n.d).
- Inventaire sommaire des archives: Basses-Pyrénées*, ed. P. Raymond, Paris, 1863-74.
- Inventaire sommaire des archives communales et hospitalières de Moissac*, eds. C. Dumas de Raully and A. Gandilhon, Montauban, 1906.
- Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales: Gers*, eds. P. Parfouru and R. Pagel, Auch, 1924.
- Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales: Gers, séries G and H*, ed. A. Tarbouriech, Auch, 1867-1948.

Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales: Gironde, série E supplément, eds. G. Ducaunnès-Duval and J. A. Brutails, 4 vols., Bordeaux, 1898-1908.

Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales: Lot-et-Garonne, à 1790: supplément série E, eds. M. Crozet, G. Bosvieux and G. Tholin, 2 vols., Agen, 1885-1932.

Knowles, D. *et al.*, *The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales*, Cambridge, 1972.

Knowles, D. and Neville Hadcock, R., *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales*, 2nd. edn., London, 1971.

Maréchal, M., *Guide des archives de Landes*, Mont-de-Marsan, 1979.

Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, ed. F. L. Cross, 3rd edn., London, 1997.

Polge, H., *Guide des archives du Gers*, Auch, 1975.

le comte de Saint-Sand, *Généalogies périgordines*, 2nd edn., Bergerac, 1914.

Séguy, J., *Atlas linguistique et ethnographique de la Gascogne*, 3 vols., Toulouse, 1954-6.

Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae, ed. P. B. Gams, 3rd edn., Leipzig, 1931 (there is a later edition to which I did not have access [Graz, 1957]).

Tables chronologiques des diplômes, chartes, titres et actes imprimés, ed. L. Bréquigny, 8 vols., Paris, 1769-86.

The Times Atlas of World History, ed G. Barraclough, revised edn., London, 1988.

iii. Primary sources in print

Acta pontificorum Romanorum inedita, ed. J. Pflugk-Harttung, 3 vols., Tübingen/Stuttgart, 1881-6.

Acta Sanctorum, ed. J. Bolland *et al.*, 61 vols. -, Brussels/Antwerp/Paris, 1965- (reprint of 1643- original).

Acte de reddition à Simon de Montfort de deux seigneurs de l'Agenais, ed. M. R. Mazieres, *Mémoires de la Société des Arts et Sciences de Carcassonne*, 4: 6 (1970), 99-100.

Adémar of Chabannes, *Chronicon*, ed. J. Chavanon, Paris, 1897.

Adémar of Chabannes, Sermones, *PL CXLI* 115-124.

Adso of Moutier-en-Der, *Libellus de Antichristo*, trans. in ed. J. Wright, *The Play of Antichrist*, Toronto, 1967, 100-110.

Aimo, *Vita Sancti Abbonis*, *PL CXXXIX* 375-414.

Albert of Aix, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, *RHC Occ.* IV.

Andreas, *Vita altera B. Roberti de Arbrisselo*, *PL CLXII* 1043-58.

Andrew of Fleury, *Vita Gauzlini abbatis Floriencis monasterii*, eds. R.-H. Bautier and G. Labory, Paris, 1969.

Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter, Harmondsworth, 1969.

- Annales Cambriae*, ed. J. Williams, RS, 1860.
- Annales Engolismenses*, MGH SS IV.
- Annales Lemovicensis*, MGH SS II.
- Annales monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, 5 vols., RS, 1864-9.
- Annales ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, ed. J. Mabillon, 6 vols., Paris, 1703-39.
- Anselm of Alessandria, *Tractatus de hereticis*, in ed. A. Dondaine, *La Hiérarchie cathare*, AFP 20 (1950), 308-24.
- Anselm of Liège, *Gesta pontificum Leodiensium*, in MGH SS VII.
- Archives municipales d'Agen, chartes première série (1189-1328)*, eds. A. Magen and G. Tholin, Villeneuve-sur-Lot, 1876.
- L'Art de vérifier les dates de faits historiques*, ed. Saint-Allais, vols. IX and X, Paris, 1818.
- Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, in MGH SS XXIII.
- Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, CCL XL.
- Augustine, *De haeresibus*, CCL XLVI, 290-345.
- Baudri of Dol, *Vita primi B. Roberti de Arbrissello*, PL CLXII 1043-58.
- Benedict of Peterborough, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, RS, 1867.
- Biographies des Troubadours*, eds. J. Boutière and A. H. Schutz, Toulouse, 1950.
- Book of Saint Foy*, trans. P. Sheingorn, Philadelphia, 1995.
- Capitularia regum Francorum*, eds. A. Boretius and V. Krause, 2 vols., MGH Legum Sectio II, 1881 and 1890.
- Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Beaulieu en Limousin*, ed. M. Deloche, Paris, 1859.
- Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Berdoues*, ed. l'abbé J.-J. Cazauran, The Hague, 1905.
- Cartulaire de l'abbaye cardinale de la Trinité de Vendôme*, ed. Ch. Métais, 5 vols., Vannes, 1893-1904.
- Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Cadouin*, ed. J.-M. Maubourgnet, Cahors, 1926.
- Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Cellefrouin*, ed. E. Brayer, BPH 1940-41.
- Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Condom, Spicilegium*, II.
- Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques en Rouergue*, ed. G. Desjardins, Paris, 1879.
- Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Gimont*, ed. l'abbé Clergeac, Paris/Auch, 1905.
- Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Grace Nôtre-Dame ou Charron-en-Aunis*, ed. L. Meschinet de Richemond, AHSa 11 (1883).
- Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Amant-de-Boixe*, ed. A. Debord, Poitiers, 1982.
- Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Croix de Bordeaux*, ed. P. Ducaunnès-Duval, AHGi 27 (1892).

- Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Cybard d'Angoulême*, ed. P. Lefranq, Angoulême, 1930.
- Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Cyprien de Poitiers*, ed. L. Rédet, *AHP* 3 (1874).
- Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Etienne de Baigne en Saintonge*, ed. R. Cholet, Niort, 1868.
- Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Etienne de Vaux de l'ordre de Saint-Benoît*, ed. T. Grasilier, Niort, 1871.
- Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Jean d'Orbestier*, ed. L. de la Boutetière, *AHP* 6 (1877).
- Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Jean de Sorde*, ed. P. Raymond, Pau, 1873.
- Cartulaire de l'abbaye d' Uzerche (de Xe au XIVe siècles)*, ed. J.-B. Champéval, Tulle, 1901.
- Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Vigeois (954 -1167)*, ed. M. de Montégut, Limoges, 1907.
- Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Nôtre-Dame de Saintes de l'ordre de Saint Benoît*, ed. Th. Grasilier, Niort, 1871.
- Cartulaire de l'aumônerie de Saint-Martial de Limoges*, ed. A. Leroux, *Documents Historiques de la Marche et du Limousin*, II, Limoges, 1885.
- Cartulaire de l'église collégiale de Saint-Seurin de Bordeaux*, ed. A. Brutails, Bordeaux, 1897.
- Cartulaire de l'église d'Angoulême*, ed. I. Nanglard, Angoulême, 1910.
- Cartulaire de l'évêché de Poitiers, ou 'Grand Gauthier'*, ed. L. Rédet, *AHP* 10 (1881).
- Cartulaire de Sainte-Foi de Morlaàs*, ed. L. Cadier, *Bulletins de la Société des Sciences, Lettres et Arts de Pau*, 2:13 (1884).
- Cartulaire de Saint-Jean-d'Angély*, ed. G. Musset, 2 vols., *AHSA* 30 (1901) and 33 (1903).
- Cartulaire de Saint-Vincent de Lucq*, eds. L. Barrau-Dihigo and R. Poupardin, Pau, 1905.
- Cartulaire du prieuré d'Aureil*, ed. G. de Senneville, *BSAHL* 48 (1900), 1-289.
- Cartulaire du prieuré de Sainte-Geneviève de Fronsac*, ed. J. de la Martinière, *AHGi* 38 (1903).
- Cartulaire du prieuré de Saint-Pierre de La Réole*, ed. C. Grellet-Balguerrie, *AHGi* 5 (1864).
- Cartulaire du prieuré de Saint-Nicholas de Poitiers*, ed. L. Rédet, *AHP* 1 (1872).
- Cartulaire du prieuré de Saint-Nicholas de Royan*, ed. A. Dupré, *AHSA* 19 (1891).
- Cartulaire saintongeais de l'abbaye de la Trinité de Vendôme*, ed. C. Métais, *AHSA* 22 (1893).
- Cartulaires des abbayes de Tulle et de Roc-Amadour*, ed. J. B. Champéval, Brive, 1903.
- Cartulaire des Bénédictines de Saint-Savin de Lavedan*, ed. C. Durier, Tarbes, 1800.

- Cartulaires du Bas-Poitou*, ed. P. Marchegay, Les Roches-Baritaud, 1877.
- Cartulaires du chapitre de l'église métropolitaine Sainte-Marie d'Auch (Cartulaires Noir et Blanc)*, ed. C. La Cave La Plagne-Barris, *AHGi* 2:3 and 2:4 (both 1899, cited as i and ii).
- Catalogue des actes d'Henri Ier Roi de France (1031-60)*, ed. F. Soehnée, Paris, 1907.
- Catalogue des actes de Simon et Amaury de Montfort*, ed. A. Molinier, Paris, 1874.
- Charte d'Almodis, comtesse de La Marche, en faveur de l'abbaye de l'Esterps (12 Novembre 1098), ed. G. Babinet de Rencogne, *BSAHCh* 4 (1864), 409-14.
- Charte de Pierre, évêque de Limoges, administrateur de l'évêché de Périgueux de l'an 1101, ed. G. Babinet de Rencogne, *BSHAP* 55 (1928), 156-60.
- Chartes, chroniques et mémoriaux pour servir à l'histoire de la Marche et du Limousin*, eds. A. Leroux and A. Bosvieux, Tulle, 1886.
- Chartes de l'abbaye de Nouaillé de 678 à 1200*, ed. P. Monsabert, *AHP* 49 (1936).
- Chartes de Fontevraud concernant l'Aunis et La Rochelle*, ed. P. Marchegay, Paris, 1858.
- Les Chartes de franchises de Poitou*, ed. M. Dillay, Paris, 1927.
- Chartes du Limousin antérieures au XIIIe siècle*, ed. A. Leroux, Tulle, 1900.
- Chartes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Charroux*, ed. P. de Monsabert, *AHP* 39 (1910).
- Chartes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Maixent*, ed. A. Richard, 2 vols., *AHP* 16 and 18 (both 1886).
- The Charters of Duchess Constance of Brittany and her Family, 1171-1221*, ed. J. Everard and M. C. E. Jones, Woodbridge, 1999 (forthcoming).
- Chartier du monastère de Sarlat*, ed. G. Marnier, *BSHAP* 11 (1884).
- Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World, c.650-1405*, eds. trans. and annotation, B. and J. Hamilton, Manchester/New York, 1998.
- Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, 4 vols., *RS*, 1884-9.
- Chronicon Aquitanicum*, *MGH SS* II.
- Chronicon S. Andreae Castri-Cameracesii*, *MGH SS* VII.
- Chronique de Saint-Maixent, 751-1140*, ed. and trans. J. Verdon, Paris, 1979.
- Chroniques de Saint-Martial de Limoges*, ed. H. Duplès-Agier, Paris, 1874.
- Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*, eds. P. Marchegay and E. Mabilie, Paris, 1899.
- Chroniques ecclésiastiques du diocèse d'Auch*, ed. L. C. de Brugèles, Toulouse, 1746.
- Chronique dite Saintongeaise*, ed. A. de Mandach, Tübingen, 1970.
- Concilia*, ed. J. D. Mansi, introduction and 53 volumes, Graz, 1960-61 (reprint of *idem.*, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 53 vols., Venice, 1759-98).

- Conventum inter Guilemum Aquitanorum comes et Hugonem Chiliarchum, ed. J. Martindale, *EHR* 84 (1969), 528-48.
- Conventum (vers 1030): un précurseur aquitain des premières épopées*, eds., trans. and intro. G. Beech, Y. Chauvin, and G. Pons, Geneva, 1995.
- Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandicae*, ed. P. Fredericq, Ghent, 5 vols., 1899-1902.
- Correspondance administrative d'Alphonse de Poitiers*, ed. A. Molinier, 2 vols., Paris, 1894-1900.
- Cosmas the Priest, *Traité contre les Bogomiles*, eds. and trans. H. C. Peuch and A. Vaillant, Paris, 1945.
- Coutûme d'Agen*, ed. H. Tropamer, Bordeaux, 1911.
- Coutûmes d'Agenais, ed. P. Ourliac, *AM* 74 (1962), 241-53.
- Coutûmes de l'Agenais, I: Les coutumes du groupe Marmande*, ed. P. Ourliac and M. Gilles, Montpellier, 1976.
- Coutûmes de La Réole, ed. Imbart de la Tour, *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux*, (1893) 221-63 and (1884) 99-119.
- Coutûmes, privilèges et franchises de la ville d'Agen*, ed. A. Moullie, Agen, 1850.
- De Antiquis legibus liber...cronica maiorum et vicecomitum Londoniarum, 1188-1274*, ed. T. Stapleton, London, 1846.
- Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. N. P. Tanner, 2 vols., London, 1990.
- Diplomatic Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1101-1272*, ed. P. Chaplais, London, 1964.
- Documentos Aragoneses de los siglos XI y XII*, ed. L. del Arco, Saragossa, 1947-8.
- Documents Illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, ed. H. Cole, London, 1884.
- Documents historiques Bas-Latins, Provençaux et Français concernant principalement la Marche et le Limousin*, eds. A. Leroux et al., 2 vols., Limoges, 1883-5.
- Documents pour l'histoire de l'église de Saint-Hilaire de Poitiers (768-1300)*, ed. L. Rédet, *MSAO* 14 (1847) and 15 (1852) (cited as i and ii).
- Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Croix de Poitiers*, ed. P. de Monsabert, *RM* 9-10 (1913-14).
- Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de la Trinité de Mauléon*, ed. E. Ledain, *AHP* 20 (1889).
- Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Inquisition dans le Languedoc*, 2nd edn., ed. C. Douais, Paris, 1977.
- Documents relatifs à l'histoire de la maison de Turenne*, ed. A. Vaissiere, *BSHAC* 7 (1885), 310-402.
- Dhuoda, *Manuel pour mon fils*, ed. and trans. P. Riché, 2nd. edn., Paris, 1991.

- Enquêtes administratives d'Alphonse de Poitiers, arrêts de son parlement tenu à Toulouse et textes annexes, 1249-71*, eds. P. F. Fournier and P. Guébin, Paris, 1959.
- Etudes sur les origines de l'Inquisition*, ed. H. Maisonneuve, Paris, 1942.
- Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia Dogmatica*, PG CXXVIII to CXXXI.
- Ex Anonimi chronici ... ab initio mundi ad annum MCLX RHF XII* 118-121.
- Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe, London, 1848-9.
- Foedera, conventiones, litterae...publica.*, eds. T. Rymer *et al.*, 22 vols., London, 1704-34 (there is a 1816-30 edn. but I have not had access to the volume most relevant to this thesis, vol. I: i).
- Fragments du chartulaire du monastère de Paunat (Dordogne)*, eds. R. Poupardin and A. Thomas, *AM* 13 (1906).
- Fulbert of Chartres, *The Letters and Poems*, ed. F. Behrends, Oxford, 1976.
- Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, ed. and trans. H. S. Fink and F. R. Ryan, Knoxville Tennessee, 1969.
- Gallia christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*, ed. D. Sainte-Marthe *et al.*, 16 vols, Paris, 1744-1877.
- The Gascon Register*, ed. G. P. Cuttino, 2 vols., London, 1975-6.
- Gascon Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1307-1317*, ed. P. Chaplais, London, 1962.
- Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Chronica*, Labbé II, 279-342.
- Gerard of Cambrai, *Acta Synodi Atrebatensis*, *PL* CXLII, 1269-1312.
- Gerard of Cambrai, *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. L. C. Bethmann, *MGH SS VII*.
- Gervais of Canterbury, *Opera historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., *RS*, 1879-80.
- Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill, London, 1962.
- Gesta Treverorum: additamentum et continuatio prima xx*, *MGH SS VIII*.
- Gregorius Barhebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, eds. J. B. Abbeloos and T. J. Lamy, Leuven, 1872.
- Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, *RHC Occ IV*.
- Guibert de Nogent, *Histoire de sa vie (1053-1124)*, ed. G. Bourgin, Paris, 1907.
- Le Guide du pèlerin de Saint-Jaques de Compostelle*, ed. and trans. J. Vielliard, 3rd edn., Mâcon, 1963.
- Henry Knighton, *Chronicon*, I, ed. J. R. Lumby, *RS*, 1889.
- Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, ed. trans. and annotation W. L. Wakefield and A. P. Evans, New York, 1991.
- Histoire de la Guerre des Albigeoise (anon.)*, *RHF XIX* and *HGL VIII*.
- Histoires des conciles*, trans. C. J. Héfele and H. Leclerc, 22 parts in 11 vols., Paris, 1907-73.

- Histoire générale de Languedoc*, eds. C. de Vic and J. Vaissète (and revised by A. Molinier), 16 vols., Toulouse, 1872-1904.
- Historia monasterii Sancti Severi*, X, eds. P.-D. du Buisson and A. Lugat, Aire-sur l'Adour, 1876 (reprint of 1681 edn.).
- Historia perigrinorum euntium Jerosolymam*, *RHC Occ* III.
- Historia pontificum et comitum Engolismensis*, ed. J. Boussard, Paris, 1957.
- Hugh the Poitevin, *Historia Vizeliacensis Monasterii*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, Turnhout, 1975
- Jerome, *De Antichristo in Daniele*, *CCL XLVIII*.
- Julius Caesar, *The Gallic Wars*, ed. and trans. T. E. Page, Cambridge Mass., 1952.
- Landulphi senioris Mediolanensis historiae libri quatuor, ii, 27, in ed. L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Bologna, 1900, IV, ii, 67-69.
- Layettes du trésor des chartes*, eds. A. Teulet *et al.*, 5 vols, Paris, 1863-1909.
- Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) Concerning England and Wales*, eds. C. R. and M. G. Cheney, Oxford, 1967.
- Le Livre d'Agenais*, ed. G. P. Cuttino, Toulouse, 1956.
- Livre des coutumes de Bordeaux*, ed. K. Barckhausen, Bordeaux, 1890.
- Le Livre des hommages d'Aquitaine*, ed. J. P. Trabut-Cussac, Bordeaux, 1959.
- Le Livre d'Or de Bayonne*, ed. l'Abbé Bidache, Pau (n.d.).
- Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, 7 vols., RS, 1872-83.
- Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. F. H. Madden, 3 vols., RS, 1866-9.
- Les Miracles de Nôtre-Dame de Roc-Amadour au XIIe Siècle*, ed. and trans. E. Albe (with new introduction and notes by J. Rocacher), 2nd edn., Toulouse, 1997.
- Monumenta Bambergensis*, ed. P. Jaffé, Berlin, 1869.
- Monumenta conventus Tolosani ordinis fratrum praedicatorum*, ed. J. J. Percin, 2 vols., Toulouse, 1693.
- Notitiae duae Lemovicensis de praedictione crucis in Aquitania, *RHC Occ* V 350-3.
- Nova bibliothecae manuscriptorum...collectio*, ed. P. Labbé, 2 vols., Paris, 1657.
- Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. V. G. Berry, New York, 1948.
- Ordo ad Benedicendum ducem Aquitaniae*, *RHF* XIII.
- Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols., Oxford, 1969-80.
- Patrologia cursus completus, series Graeco-Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols., Paris, 1857-66.
- Patrologia cursus completus, series Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne (and continuators), 217 vols., Paris: 1852-1904 (and 4 vols. index and 5 vols. supplementum 1958-74)
- Paul of Chartres, *Gesta Synodi Aurelianensis*, *RHF* X 536-9.

- Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Histoire Albigeoise*, eds. and trans. P. Guebin and H. Maisonneuve, 1951.
- Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Hystoria Albigensis*, ed. P. Guebin and E. Lyon, 2 vols., Paris, 1926-30
- Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, eds. and trans. W. A. and M. D. Sibly, Oxford, 1998.
- Peter of Sicily, *Historia Manichaeorum qui et Pauliciani dicuntur*, *Travaux et mémoires*, 5 (1970).
- Petites chroniques du moine de Saint-Cybard*, ed. P. de Fleury, Angoulême, 1882.
- Pierre de Maillezais, *Chronique*, *RHF* X.
- Le plus ancien cartulaire de Saint-Mont (Gers) (XIe - XIIIe siècles)*, ed. C. Samaran, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 110 (1952).
- Rainerius Sacconi, *Summa de Catharis et Pauberibus de Lugduno*, in ed. A. Dondaine, *Un Traité Néo-Manichéen du XIIIe Siècle: Le Liber du Duobus Principiis*, Suivi d'un Fragment de Rituel Cathare, *AFP* Rome, 1939, 64-78.
- Ralph Ardens, *Speculum universale*, ed. Th.-J. Gründel, Munich, 1961.
- Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stephenson, RS, 1875.
- Ralph Glaber, *The Five Books of the Histories*, eds. and trans. J. France and N. Bulst, Oxford, 1989.
- Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. J. H. and L. L. Hill, Philadelphia, 1968.
- Robert of Torigny, in *Chronos..SHR*, IV.
- Recueil des actes d'Henri II, roi d'Angleterre, concernant les provinces françaises et les affaires de France*, 3 vols. in 2, eds. L. Delisle and E. Berger, Paris, 1916-27.
- Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste*, eds. H.-F. Delaborde and Ch. Petit-Dutaillis *et al.*, 4 vols., Paris, 1916-1979.
- Recueil des actes relatifs à l'administration des rois d'Angleterre en Guyenne au XIIIe siècle*, ed. Ch. Bémont, Paris, 1914.
- Recueil des annales Angevines et Vendômoises*, ed. L. Halphen, Paris, 1866.
- Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, eds. A. Bernard and A. Bruel, 5 vols., Paris, 1876-1903.
- Recueil des chartres de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire*, eds. M. Prou and A. Vidier, Paris, 1900.
- Recueil des documents concernant la commune et la ville de Poitiers*, eds. E. Audouin and P. Boissonnade, 5 vols., Poitiers, 1923-8.
- Recueil des historiens des croisades: historiens Occidentaux*, 5 vols., Paris, 1844-95.
- Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. M. Bouquet (revised L. Delisle), 24 vols., Paris, 1738-1904.

- Recueil des textes et d'analyses concernant le chapitre de Saint-Pierre de Dorat*, ed. J. de Font-Réaulx, *BSAHL* 72 (1927), 250-370.
- Regesta Honorii Papae III*, ed. P. Pressutti, Hildesheim, 2 vols., 1978 (reprint).
- Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum 1198*, eds. P. Jaffé *et al.*, 2nd. edn., Leipzig, 1885-88.
- Regesta pontificum Romanorum inde ab a. post Christum natum 1198 ad a. 1304*, ed. Potthast, A., 2 vols., Berlin, 1957.
- Die Register Innocenz III*, eds. O. Hageneder *et al.*, Graz, 1968-
- Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, ed. L. A. Muratori, Bologna, 1900.
- Responsa ad consula Bulgarorum*, PL CXIX.
- Richard the Poitevin, *Chronicon*, *RHF* VII 258-9, X 263-4, XI 285-6 and XII 411-17.
- Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols., RS, 1868-71.
- Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. R. G. Hewlett, 3 vols., RS, 1886-9.
- Rôles Gascons*, 3 vols., ed. Ch. Bémont, Bordeaux, 1885-1906.
- Rotuli chartarum in Turri Londinensi*, I:1 (1199-1216), ed. T. D. Hardy, London, 1837.
- Rotuli litterarum clausarum*, ed. T. D. Hardy, 2 vols., London, 1833-44.
- Rotuli litterarum patentium*, I, ed. T. D. Hardy, London, 1835.
- Rotuli Normanniae, 1200-1205, necnon de anno 1417*, ed. T. D. Hardy, London, 1835.
- Royal and other Letters Illustrative of the Reign of Henry III*, ed. W. W. Shirley, 2 vols., London, 1862-66.
- Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq *et al.*, Rome, 1957-
- Sancti Stephani Lemovicensis cartularium*, ed. J. de Font-Réaulx, *BSAHL* 69 (1922).
- Sainte-Eutrope et son prieuré*, ed. L. Audiat, *AHSA* 2 (1875).
- Saisimentum comitatus tholosani*, ed. Y. Dossat, Paris, 1966.
- Select Charters from the Beginning to 1307*, ed. W. Stubbs, 9th edn., Oxford, 1913.
- Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III, concerning England (1198-1216), ed. and trans. C. R. Cheney and W. H. Semple, London, 1953.
- Sigiberti Gemblacensis chronographia: Continuatio Praemonstratensis*, *MGH SS* VI.
- Une Somme anti-Cathare, le Liber Contra Manicheos de Durand de Huesca*, ed. C. Thouzellier, Louvain, 1964.
- The Song of the Cathar Wars*, trans. A. Shirley, Aldershot, 1996.
- Spicilegium*, ed. L. d'Achery, 2 vols., Paris, 1723.
- Suger, Abbot of Saint-Denis, *Vita Ludovici Grossi*, ed. A. Molinier, Paris, 1887.
- Testimonia minora de quinto bello sacro*, ed. R. Röhricht, Geneva, 1882.

- Theophylact, Patriarch of Constantinople, Letter to Tsar Peter I of Bulgaria, in V. N. Sharenkoff, *A Study of Manichaeism in Bulgaria with Special Reference to the Bogomils*, New York, 1927, 63-5.
- Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, ed. E. Martène and U. Durand, 5 vols., Paris, 1717 (reprint New York, 1968).
- Vetera analecta*, ed. J. Mabillon, Paris, 1723.
- Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplisissima collectio*, eds. E. Martène and U. Durand, 9 vols., New York, 1968 (reprint of Paris, 1724-33).
- Vie de Saint Léonard solitaire en Limousin: ses miracles et son culte*, trans. and annotation F. l'abbé Arbellot Paris, 1863.
- Vitae* of St. Bernard of Clairvaux in *PL* CLXXXII to CLXXXV.
- Vita* of St. Leonard of Noblat, *AS* III.
- Vita s. Martialis prolixior*, ed. L. Surias, in *De probatis sanctorum vitis*, VI, Cologne, 1618, 365-74.
- Vita* of Saint Symeon the Hermit, *AS* VI.
- Walter of Coventry, *Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., RS, 1872-3.
- Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. T. Wright, London, 1850
- William the Breton, Philippide and Chronique in *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, ed. H. F. Delaborde, 2 vols., Paris, 1882-5.
- William, duke of Aquitaine, *Les Chansons*, ed. A. Jeanroy, Paris, 1913.
- William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum*, ed. N.E.S.A Hamilton, 2 vols., RS, 1870.
- William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols., RS, 1887-89.
- William of Newburgh in *Chronos...SHR*, I and II.
- William of Poitiers, *Gesta Willelmi*, ed. R. Foreville, Paris, 1952.
- William of Puylaurens, *Chronique*, ed. J. Duvernoy, 2nd. edn., Toulouse, 1997.
- William of Tudela *et al.*, *La Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise*, ed. and trans. E. Martin-Chabot, 3 vols., Paris, 1960-72.
- William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, *RHC Occ.* 1.

iv. Secondary works

- Agathange de Paris, P., 'L'origine et la fondation des monastères de clarisses en Aquitaine au XIIIe siècle', *Collectanea Fransiscana*, 25 (1955), 5-52.
- Albe, E., *L'Hérésie Albigeoise et l'Inquisition en Quercy*, Paris, 1910.
- Albe, E., *Les Marchands de Cahors à Londres au XIIIe siècle*, Cahors, 1908.

- Andrieu, J., *Histoire de l'Agenais*, Marseille, 1976.
- Anglade, J., *La Bataille de Muret (12 Septembre 1213) d'après la Chanson de la Croisade*, Toulouse-Paris, 1913.
- Angold, M., *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204*, London/New York, 1984.
- Angold, M., *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081-1261*, London, 1995.
- Arbellot, l'abbé F., *Les Chevaliers limousins à la Première Croisade (1096-1102)*, Paris, 1881.
- Arbellot, l'abbé F., *Les Ermites du Limousin*, Limoges, 1885.
- Arcere, L. *Histoire de la ville de La Rochelle et du pays d'Aunis*, 2 vols., La Rochelle, 1756-7.
- Asad, T., 'Medieval heresy: an anthropological view', *Social History*, 11 (1986), 345-62.
- Aubrun, M., *L'Ancien diocèse de Limoges des origines au milieu du XIe Siècle*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1981.
- Aubrun, M., 'Le Prieur Geoffrey de Vigeois et sa chronique', *RM* 58 (1974), 313-26.
- Auzais, L., *L'Aquitaine Carolingienne, 778-982*, Paris, 1937.
- Bachrach, B. S., *The Anatomy of a Little War*, San Francisco/Oxford, 1994.
- Bachrach, B. S., *Fulk Nerra, the Neo-Roman Consul, 970-1040*, Berkeley, California, 1993.
- Bachrach, B.S., 'The Pilgrimages of Fulk Nerra, count of the Angevins, 987-1040', in eds. T. F. X. Noble and J. J. Contreni, *Religion, Culture and Society in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of Richard Sullivan*, Kalamazoo, 1987, 205-17.
- Bachrach, B. S., 'A study in feudal politics: relations between Fulk Nerra and William the Great, 995-1030', *Viator*, 7 (1976), 111-22.
- Bachrach, B., 'Towards a reappraisal of William the Great, Duke of Aquitaine (995-1030)', *JMH* 5 (1979), 11-21.
- Baldwin, J. W., *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chantor and his Circle*, 2 vols., Princetown New Jersey, 1970.
- Baluze, E. (ed), *Histoire généalogique de la maison d'Auvergne*, Paris, 1706.
- Baradat de Lacaze, C., *Nérac: Fondation, coutumes, privileges et autre documents historiques*, Paris, 1887.
- Barrère, l'abbé J., *Histoire religieuse et monumentale du diocèse d'Agen depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*, 2 vols., Agen, 1855-56.
- Barrière, B., 'Les abbayes issues de l'érémitisme', *CF* 21 (1986), 71-105.
- Barrière, B., 'The Cistercian convent of Coyroux in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *Gesta*, 31 (1992), 76-82.
- Barstow, A. L., *Married Priests and the Reforming Clergy*, New York, 1982.
- Barthélemy, D., *L'ordre seigneurial, XIe-XIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1990.

- Barthélemy, D., 'La mutation de l'an mille, a-t-elle en lieu?', *Annales*, 47 (1992) 797-777.
- Barthélemy, D., *La mutation de l'an mille, a-t-elle en lieu?: servage et chevalerie dans la France des Xe et XIe siècles*, Paris, 1997.
- Barthélemy, D., *La société dans le comté de Vendôme de l'an mil au XIVe siècle*, Paris, 1993.
- Barthélemy, D., 'Sur les traces du comte Bouchard: dominations châtelaines à Vendôme et en France vers l'an Mil', in Parisse and Barral I Altet, *Le Roi de France*, 99-110.
- Baumont, S., Burias, J. *et al.*, *Histoire d'Agen*, Toulouse, 1991.
- Bautier, R.-H., *The Economic Development of Medieval Europe*, trans. H. Karolyi, London, 1971.
- Bautier, R.-H., 'L'hérésie d'Orléans et le mouvement intellectuel au début du XIe Siècle', in *Actes du 95e congrès Nat. des Soc. Sav.: Reims*, Paris, 1975.
- Bec, P., *Les interférences linguistiques entre Gascon et Languedocien dans les parlers du Comminges et Couserans*, Paris, 1968.
- Bec, P., *Nouvelle anthologie de la lyrique Occitane du Moyen Age*, 2nd edn., Poitiers, 1970.
- Becquet, J., 'Chanoines réguliers en Limousin au XIIIe siècle: sanctuaires régularisés et dépendances étrangères', *BSAHL* 101 (1974), 67-111.
- Becquet, J., 'Collégiales et sanctuaires de chanoines séculiers en Limousin aux Xe-XIIe siècles', *BSAHL* 103 (1976), 76-106.
- Becquet, J., 'La mort d'un évêque de Périgueux à la Première Croisade: Reynaud de Thiviers', *BSHAP* 87 (1960), 66-69.
- Becquet, J., 'Les évêques de Limoges aux Xe, XIe et XIIe siècles', *BSAHL* 105 (1978) 79-104 and 106 (1979) 85-114.
- Beech, G. T., *A Rural Society in Medieval France: The Gâtine of Poitou in the 11th and 12th Centuries*, Baltimore, 1964.
- Beitscher, J. K., 'Monastic reform at Beaulieu 1031-1095', *Viator*, 5 (1974), 199-210.
- de Bellecombe, A., *Aide-mémoire pour servir à l'histoire d'Agenais*, Auch, 1899.
- Bémont, Ch., 'Les institutions municipales de Bordeaux au Moyen Age: La mairie et la jurade', *Revue Historique*, 123 (1916), unpaginated copy.
- Beresford, M., *Newtowns in the Middle Ages: Town Plantation in England, Wales and Gascony*, London, 1976.
- Bert, A., *Monographie de Saint-Vincent du Mas*, Agen, 1924.
- Besly, J., *Histoire des comtes de Poitou et des ducs de Guyenne*, 2nd edn., Paris, 1982.
- Betgé-Brezetz, *et al.*, *La Société féodale en Bordelais, Xe-Xve siècles*, Bordeaux, 1966.
- Bienvenu, J. M., *L'étonnant fondateur de Fontevraud, Robert d'Arbrissel*, Paris, 1981.

- Biller, P., 'The Cathars of the Languedoc and written materials', in Biller and Hudson, *Heresy and Literacy*, 61-82.
- Biller, P., 'William of Newburgh and the Cathar mission to England', in *SCH Subsidia* 11 (1999) (forthcoming).
- Biller, P. and Hudson, A. (eds.), *Heresy and Literacy, 1000-1530*, Cambridge, 1994.
- Biron, R., *Précis d'histoire religieuse des anciens diocèses de Bordeaux et de Bazas, Bordeaux*, 1925.
- Bisson, T. N., *Assemblies and Representation in Languedoc in the Thirteenth Century*, Princetown, 1964.
- Bisson, T. N., 'The feudal revolution', *PP* 142 (1994), 6-42.
- Bisson, T. N., 'The general court of the Agenais in the thirteenth century', in *idem.*, *Medieval France*, 3-30.
- Bisson, T. N., *Medieval France and her Pyrenean Neighbours*, London/Ronceverte, 1989.
- Bisson, T. N., 'The organised peace in southern France and Catalonia (c.1140-1233), in *idem.*, *Medieval France*, 215-36.
- Blaquiere, H. and Dossat, Y., *Confessions Inédites de Catharism Quercinois*, *CF* 3, 259-98.
- de Bladé, J. F., 'Géographie politique de sud-ouest de la Gaule franque au temps des rois d'Aquitaine', *RA* (1895), 47-63, 114-25 and 193-213.
- de Bladé, J. F., 'Notice sur le vicomté de Bézaume, comté de Bénauge, vicomtés de Bruilhois et d'Arvilars et le pays de Villandraut et de Cayran', *RA* 78 (1877), unpaginated copy.
- de Bladé, J. F., 'Les origines du duché de Gascogne', *RSASAA* 2: 13 (1897), unpaginated copy.
- de Bladé, J. F., *La Vasconie cispyrénéen jusqu'à la mort de Dagobert Ier*, Le Puy, 1891.
- Bloch, M., *Feudal Society*, trans. L. A. Manyon, 2 vols., Chicago, 1961.
- Blöcker, M., 'Zur häresie im 11. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte*, 73 (1979), 307-17.
- Bois, G., *La mutation de l'an mille. Lournand, village mâconnaise de l'Antiquité au féodalisme*, Paris, 1989.
- Bois, G., *The Transformation of the Year 1000: The Village of Lournand from Antiquity to Feudalism*, trans. J. Birrell, New York, 1992.
- Boissonade, P., 'Administrators laïques et ecclésiastiques Anglo-Normands en Poitou à l'époque d'Henri II Plantagenêt (1154-1189)', *BSAO* 3: 5 (1919), 156-90.
- Boissonade, P., 'Les premiers croisades françaises en Espagne. Normands, Gascons, Aquitains and Bourguignons (1018-32)', *Bulletin Hispanique*, 36 (1934), 5-28.
- Bolton, B., 'Mulieres Sanctae', in ed. S. M. Stuard, *Women in Medieval History*, Philadelphia, 1976, 141-58.

- Bolton, B., 'Philip Augustus and John; two sons in Innocent III's vineyard?', *SCH* 9 (1991), 113-34.
- Bonde, S., *Fortress Churches of Languedoc; Architecture, Religion and Conflict in the High Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1994.
- Bonnaud-Delamere, R., 'Fondament des institutions de paix au XIe siècle', *Mélanges Louis Halphen*, Paris, 1951.
- Bonnaud-Delamere, R., 'Légende des associations de la Paix', *BPH* 1936-7, 47-65.
- Bonnassie, P., *La Catalonia du milieu du Xe Siècle à la fin du XIe: croissance et mutations d'une société*, Toulouse, 1975-6.
- Bonnassie, P., *Le Catalogne au tournant de l'an Mil: croissance et mutations d'une société*, Paris, 1990.
- Bonnassie, P., 'L'espace Toulousain', in Zimmerman, *Les Sociétés Méridionales*, 107-45.
- Bonnassie, P., *From Slavery to Feudalism in South-Western Europe*, Cambridge, 1991.
- Bonnassie, P., 'Les paysans du royaume franc au temps d'Hugues Capet et Robert le Pieux (987-1031)', in Parisse and Barral I Altet, *Le Roi de France*, 117-29.
- Bonnassie, P., 'Survie et extinction du régime esclavagiste dans l'Occident du haut Moyen Age, IVE-XIe siècle', *CCM* 28 (1985), 307-43.
- Bonnassie, P. and Landes, R., 'Une nouvelle hérésie est née dans la monde', in ed. M. Zimmerman, *Les Sociétés Méridionales*, 435-59.
- Bonnaud-Delamere, R., 'Les institutions de paix en Aquitaine au XIe Siècle', *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, 14 (1961), 147-52.
- Bordes, M. et al., *Histoire de la Gascogne, des origines à nos jours*, Roanne, 1982.
- Bordes, R., *En Périgord: l'hérésie Cathare*, Eglise Neuve d'Issac and Castelnau le Chapelle, 1996.
- Borst, A., *Die Katharer*, MGH SS XII.
- Boudon de Saint-Amans, J.-F., *Histoire ancienne et moderne du département de Lot-et-Garonne depuis l'an 56 avant Jésus-hrist, jusqu'en 1814*, I, Agen, 1836.
- Bournazel, E., 'Mémoire et parenté: le problem de la continuité dans la noblesse de l'an Mil', in Parisse and Barral I Altet, *Le Roi de France*, 111-16.
- Bounoure, G., 'La lettre d'Héribert sur les hérétiques Périgourdins', *BSHAP* 120:1 (1993), 61-72.
- Bourin, M., *Villages Médiévale en Bas Languedoc: Genèse d'une sociabilité (Xe - XIVe Siècles)*, Paris, 1987.
- Boussard, J., *Le Gouvernement d'Henri II Plantagenet*, Paris, 1956.
- Boutruche, R., *Une société provinciale en lutte contre le regime féodal: l'alleu en Bordelais et en Bazadais du XIe au XVIIIe Siècle*, Rodez, 1943.
- Boutruche, R., *Seigneurie et féodalité*, Paris, 1959.

- Brenon, A., *Les Femmes Cathare*, Paris, 1992.
- Breuils, A., *Saint Austinde Archevêque d'Auch (1000-1068) et la Gascogne au Xie siècle*, Auch, 1895.
- Brown, 'The tyranny of a construct: feudalism and historians of Medieval Europe', (reprinted in eds. L. K Little and B. H. Rosenwein, *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings*, Oxford, 1998, 148-69 (originally in *American Historical Review*, 79 (1974), 1063-88).
- Brown, P., *The Cult of Saints: its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, Chicago, 1981.
- Browning, R., *Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire*, London, 1975.
- Bull, M., *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: the Limousin and Gascony c.970-1130*, Oxford, 1993.
- Burias, J., 'La guerre des Albigeoise et l'administration d'Alphonse de Poitiers', in Baumont, Burias et al., *Histoire d'Agen*, 51-76.
- Cabannes, L. E., *Notice historique sur la ville de Castelmoron*, Agen, 1886.
- Cabié, E., 'La Salvetat-sur-Garonne, théâtre de l'un des combats de la guerre des Albigeoise', *RG* 1885, 201-8.
- Callahan, D. F., 'Ademar of Chabannes, Apocalypticism and the Peace Council of Limoges of 1031', *RB* 101 (1991), 32-49.
- Callahan, D. F., 'Adémar de Chabannes et la Paix de Dieu', *AM* 89 (1977), 21-43.
- Callahan, D. F., 'The Peace of God and the cult of the saints in Aquitaine in the tenth and eleventh centuries', in *Peace of God*, 80-103.
- Callahan, D. F., 'The sermons of Ademar of Chabannes and the Cult of St. Martial of Limoges', *RB* 86 (1976), 251-95.
- Callahan, D. F., 'William the Great and the monasteries of Aquitaine', *Studia Monastica*, 19 (1977), 321-42.
- Campagne, M., *Notes et documents sur les paroisses de Saint-Pierre de Nogaret et Saint-Martin de Bistauzac au diocèse du Agenais*, Bergerac, 1902.
- Capul, M., 'Notes sur le Catharisme et la Croisade des Albigeois en Agenais', *RA* 90 (1964), 3-14.
- Carpenter, D., *The Minority of Henry III*, London, 1990.
- Cassany-Mazet, A., *Annales de Villeneuve-sur-Lot et de son arrondissement*, Agen, 1846.
- Cassany-Mazet, A., *Histoire de Villeneuve-sur-Lot depuis sa fondation jusqu'à la réunion des États Généraux en 1789*, Villeneuve-sur-Lot, 1879.
- Cassio-Rivière, D., 'Les origines de l'abbaye de la Trinité de Poitiers', *BSAO* 3: 4 (1955), 49-73.
- Castaing-Sicard, M., 'Donations toulousains du Xe au XIIIe Siècles', *AM* 70 (1948), 27-64.
- Cate, J.-L., 'A gay crusader', *Byzantion*, 16 (1942-3), 503-26.

- Cate, J.-L., 'The Crusade of 1101', in ed. K. M. Setton *et al.*, *A History of the Crusades*, 5 vols., Philadelphia, 1955, II, 277-324.
- Caubet, J., *Histoire de Tonneins des origines à 1870*, Tonneins, (n.d).
- Chaplais, P., 'Le Traité de Paris de 1259 et l'inféodation de la Gascogne allodiale', *MA* 61 (1955), 121-37.
- Chauliac, A., *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Croix de Bordeaux*, Paris, 1910.
- Chaumie, J., *De quelques commanderies de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem en Agenais: Sauvegnas et la Temple de Breuil (1235-1350)*, Agen, 1935.
- Chaytor, H. J., *Savaric de Mauléon, Baron of Troubadours*, Cambridge, 1939.
- Cheney, C.R., *Innocent III and England*, Stuttgart, 1979.
- Cheney, C.R., *The Papacy and England*, Aldershot, 1982.
- Cheyette, F., 'Suum cuique tribuere', *French Historical Studies*, 6 (1970), 287-99.
- l'abbé Cirot, *Histoire de l'abbaye et congrégation de Notre-Dame de la Grande-Sauve, ordre de Saint-Benoît, en Guienne*, 2 vols, Bordeaux, 1844.
- Clémens, J., 'La coutume d'Agen au XIVe siècle', *RA* 113 (1986), 303-11.
- Clémens, J., 'L'espace coutumier d'Agen au Moyen Age', *RA* 109 (1982), 3-19.
- Clémens, J., 'La maison de Béarn et les Plantagenêts dans la diocèse d'Agen durant la seconde moitié du XIIIe siècle', in C. Desplat, *Terre et hommes du Sud*, 201-212.
- Clémens, J., 'Les origines de la cour générale de l'Agenais', *Actes du 110e congrès national des Soc. Sav.: Montpellier* (section d'histoire médiévale et de philologie, iii) Paris, 1986, 69-80.
- Clémens, J., 'Les Oscidates campestres', *RA* 107 (1980), 91-6.
- Clément, Dom A., 'Conrad d'Urach, légat en France et en Allemagne', *RB* 22 (1905), 232-43 and 23 (1906), 62-81 and 373-91.
- Cohn, N., *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, 3rd. edn., London, 1990.
- Collins, R., *The Basques*, Oxford, 1986.
- Congar, Y., 'Arriana haeresis comme désignation du néo-manichéisme au XIIIe siècle', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologique*, 43 (1959), 449-61.
- Cowdrey, H. E. J., 'The Peace and Truce of God in the Eleventh Century', *PP* 46 (1970), 42-67.
- Crozet, R., *Villes d'entre Loire et Gironde*, Paris, 1949, 39-78.
- Cursente, B., 'Le Gascogne', in Zimmerman, *Les Sociétés Méridionales*, 257-293.
- Cursente, B., *Les Castelnaux de Gascogne Médiévale*, Bordeaux, 1980.
- Cursente, B., 'L'Evêché de Gascogne et ses Evêques (977-1059)', in *Actes du 104e congrès Nat. des Soc. Sav.: Bordeaux* (section philologique et historique, ii), Paris, 1981, 131-44.
- Cursente, B., *Des hommes et des maisons: La Gascogne médiévale (XIe-XVe siècle)*, Toulouse, 1998.

- Darnalt, J., *Remonstrance...faicte en la Cour de la Seneschauce...d'Agenois...*
Antiquités de l'Agenais, Paris, 1606.
- Davids, A. (ed.), *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millennium*, Cambridge, 1995.
- Debord, A., 'The castellan revolution and the Peace of God in Aquitaine', in *Peace of God*, 165 -183.
- Debord, A., 'Castrum et castellum chez Ademar de Chabannes', *Archéologie Médiévale*, 9 (1979) 97-113.
- Debord, A., *La Société laïque dans les pays de la Charente: Xe-XIIIe Siècles*, Paris, 1984.
- Deffontaines, P., *Les Hommes et leur travaux dans les Pays de la Moyenne Garonne (Agenais et Bas Quercy)*, Lille, 1932.
- Degert, A., 'L'Evêché de Gascogne', *RG* (1900), 5-23.
- Delaruelle, E., 'The crusading idea in Cluniac literature of the eleventh century', in ed. N. Hunt, *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages*, Conneticut, 1971, 191-216.
- Delarun, J., 'Robert of Arbrissel et les femmes', *Annales*, 39 (1984), 1140-60.
- Delarun, J., *Robert d'Arbrissel, fondateur de Fontevraud*, Paris, 1986.
- Deloche, M., *Les archiprêtres de l'ancien diocèse de Limoges depuis le XIIe Siècle jusqu'en 1790*, Limoges, 1898.
- Delort, R. ed., *La France de l'an Mil*, Paris, 1990.
- Delrieu, J. B., *Notice religieuse sur Penne et sur Nôtre-Dame de Peyraguade à Penne*, Agen, 1844.
- Delrieu, J. B., 'Les puits de Richard-Coeur-de-Lion à Penne', *RA* 1 (1874), 181-9.
- Delvit, P. et al., *Garonne, de la rivière à l'homme*, Toulouse, 1998.
- Delzollies, G., *Tonneins*, Hossegor, 1933.
- Désiré, B., *Les Anglais en Guyenne: l'administration anglaise et le mouvement communal dans le Bordelais*, Geneva, 1975.
- Desplat, C. (ed.), *Terre et hommes du sud, hommage à Pierre Tucoo-Chala*, Pau, 1992.
- Dickson, M. and C., 'Le cardinal Robert de Courson: sa vie', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age*, 9 (1934), 53-142.
- Dondaine, A., 'L'origine de l'hérésie Médiévale: à propos d'un livre récent', *Revista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 6 (1952), 47-78.
- Dondaine, A., *Le hiérarchie Cathare en Italie*, *AFP* 20 (1950).
- Dossat, Y., 'Catharisme et Comminges', in *idem.*, *Eglise et hérésie*, 117-28.
- Dossat, Y., 'Catharisme en Gascogne', in *idem.*, *Eglise et hérésie*, 149-68
- Dossat, Y., 'Le chroniqueur Guillaume de Puylaurens était-il chapelain de Raymond VII ou notaire de l'inquisition toulousaine?', in *idem.*, *Eglise et hérésie*, 343-53.

- Dossat, Y., *Eglise et hérésie en France au XIIIe siècle*, London, 1982.
- Dossat, Y., 'Un évêque Cathare originaire de l'Agenais: Vigouroux de la Bacone', in *idem.*, *Eglise et hérésie*, 623-39.
- Dossat, Y., 'Une figure d'inquisiteur, Bernard de Caux', in *idem.*, *Eglise et hérésie*, 47-52.
- Dossat, Y., 'L'inquisiteur Bernard de Caux et l'Agenais', in *idem.*, *Eglise et hérésie*, 75-79.
- Dossat, Y., 'A propos du chroniqueur Guillaume de Puylaurens', in *idem.*, *Eglise et hérésie*, 47-52.
- Dossat, Y., 'A propos du concile Cathare de Saint-Felix: Les Milingues', *CF* 3 (1968), 201-14.
- Dossat, Y., 'Les restitutions de dîmes dans le diocèse d'Agen pendant l'épiscopat de Guillaume II (1247-63)', in *idem.*, *Eglise et hérésie*, 549-64.
- Douais, C., *Les Albigeois, leurs origines, action de l'église au XIIe siècle*, Paris, 1879.
- Douais, C., *Les frères prêcheurs en Gascogne au XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, Paris/Auch, 1885.
- Drinkwater, J. F., *Roman Gaul*, London, 1983.
- Dubois, G., 'Recherches sur la vie de Guillaume des Roches, sénéchal d'Anjou, du Maine et de Touraine', *Ecole de la bibliothèque des chartes*, 30 (1869) 377-424, 32 (1871) 88-145 and 34 (1873), 502-41.
- Dubourg, P., *Monographie ou histoire du prieuré et de la ville de Layrac depuis le XIe siècle jusqu'à XIXe siècle*, Agen, 1896.
- Dubourg-Noves, P., *Forteresses et résidences des comtes d'Angoulême dans leur capitale*, Angoulême, 1981.
- Duby, G., *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. M. Postan, London, 1977.
- Duby, G., *The Early Growth of the European Economy*, trans. H. B. Clarke, Ithaca/New York, 1974.
- Duby, G., *Hommes et structures du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1973.
- Duby, G., *Hommes et structures du Moyen Age: recueil d'articles*, Paris, 1963.
- Duby, G., *The Legend of Bouvines*, trans. C. Thanyi, Cambridge, 1990.
- Duby, G., *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West*, trans. C. Postan, London, 1968.
- Duby, G., *La société au XIe et XIIe siècle dans la région Mâconnaise*, 2nd edn., Paris, 1971.
- Duby, G., *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, trans. A. Goldhammer, Chicago, 1980.
- Duby, G., *Medieval Marriage*, trans. E. Forster, Baltimore, 1978.

- Ducom, A, 'Essai sur l'histoire et l'organisation de la commune d'Agen jusqu'au traité de Brétigny (1360)', *RSASAA* 2: 11 (1889), 161-322 (cited as i) and 2:12 (1891-3), 133-234 (cited as ii).
- Duhamel-Amado, C., 'Les pouvoirs et les parents autour de Béziers [980-1100]', in *Cadres de vie et société dans le Midi médiéval. Homage à Charles Higounet*, *AM* 102 (1990), 309-17.
- Dutton, C. M., *Aspects of the Institutional History of the Albigensian Crusade, 1198-1229*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1993.
- Duhamel-Amado, C., 'L'alleu paysan a-t-il existé en France méridionale autour de l'an mil', in ed. R. Delort, *La France de l'an Mil*, Paris, 1990, 142-62.
- Dunbabin, J., *France in the Making: 843-1180*, Oxford, 1985.
- Dupuy, J.-G., *Chronique de Bazas*, ed. E. Piganeau, *AHGi* 15 (1874).
- Duvernoy, J., *Le Catharisme, I: La Religion des Cathares*, Toulouse, 1976
- Duvernoy, J., *Le Catharisme, II: L'Histoire des Cathares*, Toulouse, 1979.
- Ebersolt, J., *Orient et Occident: Recherches sur les Influences Byzantines et orientales en France avant de et pendant les croisades*, 2nd edn., Paris, 1954.
- Eche, G., 'Le développement topographique d'Agen aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles', *Actes du congrès de la fédération des Soc. Sav. de Villeneuve-sur-Lot*, Villeneuve-sur-Lot, 1962, 133-50.
- Esquieu, M. et al., *Agenais Occitan 1050-1978*, Villeneuve-sur-Lot, 1978.
- Edouard, J., *Fontevrault et ses monuments*, 2 vols., Paris, 1873-4.
- Edwards, P., *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe*, Philadelphia, 1980.
- Ellis, J., *Gaston de Béarn: A Study in Anglo-Gascon Relations (1229-1290)*, D.Phil thesis, Oxford University, 1952.
- Emmerson, R. K., *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, Seattle, 1981.
- Emmerson, R. K. and McGinn, B. (eds), *Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, Ithaca/London, 1992.
- Erdmann, C., *The Origins of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart, Princeton, 1977 (first published in German in 1935).
- Escande, J. J., *Histoire de Périgord*, 2nd edn., Sarlat, 1955.
- Escande, J. J., *Histoire de Sarlat*, Sarlat, 1903.
- Esquieu, M. et al., *Agenais Occitan, 1050-1978*, Villeneuve-sur-Lot, 1978.
- Evans, A. P., 'The Albigensian Crusade', in K.M. Setton et. al., *History of the Crusades*, 5 vols., Philadelphia, 1962, II, 277-324.
- Eyton, R. W., *Court, Household and Itinerary of King Henry II*, London, 1878.
- Faucher, J., 'Contribution à l'histoire de la vicomté de Turenne', *BSHAC* 60 (1938), 61-94.
- Favreau, R., *Histoire de Poitiers*, Toulouse, 1985.
- Favreau, R., 'Les débuts de la ville de Loudun', *BSAO* 5: 2 (1988), 165-82.

- Favreau, R. and Camus, M. T., *Charroux*, Poitiers, 1989.
- Faye, M., 'Notice sur le monastère de Montazai, de l'ordre de Fontevraud', *MSAO* 20 (1853), 89-128.
- Fichtenau, H., *Heretics and Scholars in the High Middle Ages, 1000-1200*, trans. D. A. Kaiser, Pennsylvania, 1998.
- Fliche, A., 'Urbain II et la Croisade', *Revue de l'Histoire de l'Eglise de France*, 13 (1927), 289-306.
- Focillon, H., *L'An Mil*, Paris, 1984.
- Fossier, R., 'Les mouvements populaires en Occident au XIe Siècle', *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres; comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1971*, Paris, 1972, 257-69.
- Fouracre, P. and Gerberding, R. A., *Late Merovingian France, History and Hagiography, 640-720*, Manchester, 1996.
- François, M.(ed.), *Le Livre des Miracles de Notre-Dame de Rocamadour*, Rocamadour, 1973.
- Frassetto, M., *The Sermons of Adémar of Chabannes and the Origins of Medieval Heresy*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Delaware, 1993.
- Freedman, P., *The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia*, Cambridge, 1991.
- Galbraith, V. H., *Kings and Chroniclers*, London, 1982.
- Garaud, M., *L'Abbaye Sainte-Croix de Talmond en Bas-Poitou, c.1049-1250*, Poitiers, 1914.
- Garaud, M., *Les Châtelains de Poitou et l'avènement du régime féodal, XIe et XIIe siècles*, Poitiers, 1964.
- Garaud, M., *Essai sur les institutions judiciaires du Poitou sous le gouvernement des comtes indépendants, 902-1137*, Poitiers, 1910.
- Gardelles, J., *Les Châteaux du Moyen Age dans la France du sud-ouest. La Gascogne anglaise de 1216 à 1327*, Geneva, 1972.
- Gardere, J., *Histoire de la seigneurie de Condom et de l'organisation de la justice dans cette ville*, Condom, 1902.
- Garrouste, M., et Trabut-Cussac, J. P., *Penne d'Agenais, son histoire*, Villeneuve-sur-Lot, 1961.
- Gaussin, P.-R., 'Les communautés féminines dans l'espace Languedocien de la fin du XIe à la fin du XIV siècle', *CF* 23 (1988), 299-332.
- Gaussin, P.-R., 'Y a-t-il eu une politique monastique de Plantagenêt', *CCM* 29 (1986), 83-94.
- Geary, P. J., *Before France and Germany*, Oxford, 1988.
- Génicot, L., 'L'érémisme du XIe siècle dans son contexte économique et social', *Atti della Settimana Internazionale di Studio Mendola*, 7 (1974), 374-402.

- Gerberding, R. A., *The Rise of the Carolingians and the 'Liber Historiae Francorum'*, Oxford, 1987.
- Gibson, M. T. and Nelson, J. (eds.), *Charles the Bald, Court and Kingdom*, London, 1990.
- Gillingham, J., 'Adémar of Chabannes and the history of Aquitaine in the reign of Charles the Bald', in eds. M. Gibson and J. Nelson, *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, Oxford, 1981, 3-14.
- Gillingham, J., *The Angevin Empire*, London, 1984.
- Gillingham, J., *Richard I*, 2nd edn., London, 1989.
- Girard, R. P., 'Les Dominicains à Agen', *RA* 90 (1964), 105-13.
- Goetz, H.-W., 'Le Paix de Dieu en France autour de l'an Mil: fondements et objectifs, diffusion et participants', in Parisse and Barral I Altet, *Le Roi de France*, 131-45.
- Grégoire, H., 'Autor des Pauliciens', *Byzantion* 11 (1936), 610-14.
- Gransden, A., *Historical Writing in England, 550-c.1307*, London, 1974.
- Griffe, E., *Les Débuts de l'aventure cathare en Languedoc*, Paris, 1969.
- Griffe, E., *Le Languedoc Cathare, 1190 à 1210*, Paris, 1971.
- Griffe, E., *Le Languedoc Cathare au Temps de la Croisade, 1209-29*, Paris, 1973.
- Griffe, E., *Le Languedoc Cathare et l'Inquisition, 1229-1329*, Paris, 1989.
- Guenée, B., *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiévale*, Paris, 1981.
- Guerreau, A., review of Bois, *La mutation*, *MA* 96 (1990), 519-37.
- Guibert, L., *Le consulat du château de Limoges*, Limoges, 1895.
- Guignard, M., *Histoire de l'Agenais des origines du XV siècle*, 2 vols, Agen, 1941.
- Guillemain, B., 'Le choix des évêques en Aquitaine XIIIe-XVe siècles' in *Actes du 104e congrès des Soc. Sav.: Bordeaux* (section de philologie et d'histoire jusqu'à 1610, ii), Paris, 1981, 47-58.
- Guillemain, B., 'Le duché d'Aquitaine hors du Catharisme', *CF* 20 (1985) 57-71.
- Guillemain, B., *Le Diocèse de Bordeaux*, Paris, 1974.
- Guillemain, B., 'Les origines des évêques en France au XIe et XIIIe siècles', in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della 'societas christiana' dei secoli XI-XII (Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali, 7)*, Milan, 1974, 374-407.
- Guiraud, J., *Histoire de l'Inquisition au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1938.
- Guiter, H., 'Limites linguistiques dans la région bordelaise' in *Études sur la Gascogne au Moyen Age*, XI, Paris, 1981, 59-67.
- Hajdu, R., 'Castles, castellans and the structure of politics in Poitou, 1152-1271', *JMH* 4 (1978), 27-53.
- Hallam, E., *Capetian France: 987-1328*, London, 1980.
- Hallam, E., 'Henry II as a founder of monasteries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 28 (1977), 113-32.

- Hamilton, B., 'The Albigensian Crusade', in *idem.*, *Monastic Reform*, 1-40.
- Hamilton, B., 'The Armenian Church and the Papacy' in *idem.*, *Monastic Reform*, 61-87.
- Hamilton, B., 'The Cathar council of Saint Félix reconsidered,' in *idem.*, *Monastic Reform*, 23-53.
- Hamilton, B., 'The city of Rome and Eastern churches in the Tenth Century', in *idem.*, *Monastic Reform*, 5-26.
- Hamilton, B., *The Medieval Inquisition*, London, 1981.
- Hamilton, B., 'The origins of the dualist church of Drugunthia', in *idem.*, *Monastic Reform*, 115-24.
- Hamilton, B., 'Wisdom from the east: the reception by the Cathars of Eastern dualist texts', in Biller and Hudson, *Heresy and Literacy*, 38-60.
- Hamilton, B. and Mc Nulty, P. A., 'Orientale lumen et magistra latinitatis: Greek influences of western monasticism (900-1100)', in *ibid.*, *Monastic Reform*, 181-216.
- Havet, J., 'L'hérésie et les bras séculier au moyen âge jusqu'au XIIIe siècle', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 41 (1880), 498-507.
- Head, T. and Landes, R., (eds.), *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, Ithaca/London, 1992.
- Hérault, A., *Histoire de Châtelleraut*, 4 vols., Châtelleraut, 1927.
- Herlihy, D., 'Did women have a renaissance? A reconsideration', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 13 (1985), 1-22.
- Higounet, Ch., 'A propos de la fondation du prieuré de La Réole', *Actes du Millénaire de la Fondation du Prieuré de La Réole*, Bordeaux, 1980, 8-11.
- Higounet, Ch., 'Bastides et frontières', *MA* 4: 3 (1948), 113-131.
- Higounet, Ch., 'Les bastides du sud-ouest', in *L'Information historique*, Paris, 1946, 28-35.
- Higounet, Ch., *Bordeaux Pendant le Moyen Age*, Bordeaux, 1963.
- Higounet, Ch., 'Les chemins Saint-Jacques et les sauvetés de Gascogne', in *Paysages et villages neufs*, 207-14.
- Higounet, Ch., *Le comté de Comminges de ses origines à son annexion à la Couronne*, 2 vols., Toulouse/Paris, 1949.
- Higounet, Ch., *Le Développement urbain et le rôle de Marmande au Moyen-Age*, Agen, 1952.
- Higounet, Ch., 'En Bordelais: principes castella tenentes', in ed. P. Contamine, *La Noblesse au Moyen Age*, 11e-15e Siècles, Paris, 1976, 97-104.
- Higounet, Ch., *Mouvements de populations dans le Midi de France du XIe-XVe siècle*, Paris, 1953.
- Higounet, Ch., 'Nouvelle approche sur les bastides du sud-ouest aquitain', in *idem.*, *Paysages et villages neufs*, 347-54.

- Higounet, Ch., *Paysages et villages neufs de Moyen-Age; recueil d'articles de Ch. Higounet*, Bordeaux, 1975.
- Higounet, Ch *et al.*, *Histoire de l'Aquitaine*, Toulouse, 1971.
- Higounet, Ch. et Marquette, J.-B., 'Les origines de l'abbaye de Saint-Sever, révision critique' *Saint-Sever, millénaire de l'abbaye*, Poitou, 1986.
- Higounet, Ch., Renouard, Y. *et al.*, *Histoire de Bordeaux*, 3 vols., Bordeaux, 1962-5.
- Higounet-Nadal, A., *Histoire de Périgueux*, Toulouse, 1983.
- Hill, J. H. and Hill, L. L., *Raymond IV Count of Toulouse*, Westport, Connecticut, 1980 (reprint of 1962 edn.).
- Holt, J. C., 'Aliénor d'Aquitaine, Jean sans Terre et la succession de 1199' in *CCM* 29 (1986), 95-100.
- Holt, J. C., *Magna Carta*, 2nd edn, Cambridge, 1992.
- Hutchinson, C. A., *The Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, Kalamazoo, Mich, 1989.
- Humbert-Vicaire, M., 'L'action de Saint Dominique sur la vie régulière des femmes en Languedoc', *CF* 23, 219-40.
- Imbert, H., *Histoire de Thouars et du Pays Thouarsais*, Marseille, 1976.
- Imbart de la Tour, P., *Les élections épiscopales dans l'église de France du IXe au XIIe siècle*, Paris, 1891, 253-5 and 364)
- Imbart de la Tour, P., *Les paroisses rurales du IVe au XIe siècles*, 2nd edn., Paris, 1979.
- Ivanov, J., *Livres et Legendes Bogomiles*, trans. M. Ribeyrol, Paris, 1976.
- James, E., *The Franks*, Oxford, 1988.
- James, M. K., *Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade*, Oxford, 1971.
- le Jan, R., *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc*, Paris, 1995, 35 and 213.
- de Jaurgain, J., *La Vasconie*, 2 vols., Pau, 1898-1902.
- Jeanroy, A., *Jongleurs et troubadours Gascons des XIIe at XIIIe siècles*, Paris, 1923.
- Jeanroy, A., *La Poésie lyrique des troubadours*, 2 vols., Toulouse, 1935.
- Jesse, W. S., 'Robert d'Arbrissel: Aristocratic patronage and the question of heresy', *JMH* 20 (1994), 22-35.
- Johnson, P.D., *Prayer, Patronage and Power: the Abbey of La Trinité in Vendôme, 1032-1187*, New York, 1981.
- Jones, M. C. E., review of Barthélemy, D., *La mutation de l'an mille, a-t-elle en lieu?*, in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 6 March 1988, 26.
- Julian, C., 'Notes sur Aquitaine', *RG* (1902), 5-11.
- Kay, R., 'The Albigensian twelfth of 1221-3: An early chapter in the history of papal taxation', *JMH* 6 (1980), 307-15.
- Kelly, A., *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings*, Massachusetts, 1992.
- Knowles, C. H., *Simon de Montfort*, London, 1965.

- Kuttner, S. and García y García, A., 'A new eyewitness account of the Fourth Lateran Council', *Traditio*, 20 (1964), 115-78.
- Labande, E.-R., 'Situation de l'Aquitaine en 1066', *BSAO* 8 (1966), 339-63.
- Labénazie, B., *Annales d'Agen*, Agen/Paris, 1886 (reprint of eighteenth-century edn.).
- Labouche, H., *Sainte-Colombe-en-Bruilhois*, Agen, 1936.
- Lacoste, J., 'Le château de Nérac', *RA* 4 (1877), 193-8.
- Laffont, E., *Villeneuve-sur-Lot*, Hossegor, 1933.
- Lagarde, A., *Notes historiques sur la ville de Tonneins*, Agen, 1882.
- Lagarde, L. F., *Recherches historiques sur la ville et les anciennes baronnies de Tonneins*, Agen, 1833.
- Laharie, M., 'Évêques et société en Périgord du Xe au milieu du XIIIe siècle', *AM* 94 (1982), 343-68.
- Lambert, M. D., *The Cathars*, Oxford, 1998.
- Lambert, M. D., *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus*, London, 1977.
- Lambert, M. D., *Medieval Heresy: Popular movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1992.
- Landes, R., 'Between the aristocracy and heresy: popular participation in the Limousin Peace of God, 994-1033', in *Peace of God*, 184-218.
- Landes, R., 'Lest the millennium be fulfilled: apocalyptic expectation and the pattern of western chronology, 100-800', in eds. W. Verbeke et al., *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology*, 137-211.
- Landes, R., 'The dynamics of heresy and reform in Limoges: a study of popular participation in the Peace of God (994-1033)', *Historical Reflections/ Reflexions historiques*, 14 (1987), 487-503.
- Landes, R., *Relics, Apocalypse and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989-1034*, Cambridge, Mass./London, 1995.
- Landes, R., 'L'accession des Capétiens: une reconsidération des sources', in eds. D. Iogna-Prat and J.-C. Picard, *Religion et culture autour de l'an Mil: Royaume Capétien et Lotharingie*, Paris, 1990.
- Landes, R., 'Millenarismus absconditus', and 'Sur les traces du Millennium: La via negativa', in *MA* 98 (1992), 355-77 and 99 (1993), 1-26.
- Lataillade, J. B., 'Catharisme en Comminges, Couserans et Armagnac', *Revue de Comminges*, 86 (1973), 212-6.
- Lauzun, P., 'Les hôpitaux de la ville d'Agen', *RA* 19 (1892) 200-91.
- Lea, H. C., *A History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols, New York, 1888.
- Lecler, A., 'Les Limousins aux croisades', *BSAHL* 47 (1899), 74-89.
- Leclercq, J., *Women and Saint Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. M.-B. Saïd, Kalamazoo, Mich., 1989.

- Le Jan, R., *Familles et pouvoir dans le monde franc (VIIe-Xe siècle)*, Paris, 1995.
- Lekai, L. J., *The Cistercians*, Kent Ohio, 1977.
- Lemarignier, J.-F., 'La dislocation du *pagus* et le problème des *consuetudines*. *Mélanges Louis Halphen*, Paris, 1951, 401-10.
- Lemarignier, J.-F., *Le Gouvernement royal au premiers temps Capétiens*, 987-1108, Paris, 1965.
- Lemarignier, J.-F., *et al.*, 'Political and monastic structures in France at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh Century', in ed. F. L. Cheyette, *Lordship and Community in Medieval Europe*, New York, 1975, 100-27.
- Lemarignier, J.-F., Gaudemet, J. and Mollat G., 'Les institutions ecclésiastiques en France de la fin du Xe au milieu du XIIe siècle', in eds. F. Lot and R. Fawtier, *Histoire des institutions Français au Moyen Age*, 5 vols., Paris, 1962-5, III, 1-139.
- Lemoine, J., *Toponymie du Languedoc et de la Gascogne*, Paris, 1975.
- Lepargneur, J., *L'Eglise Notre Dame de Marmande*, Marmande, 1970.
- Lewis, A. R., *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society, 718-1050*, Austin Texas, 1965.
- Lewis, P.A., 'Mortgages in the Bazadais and Bordelais', *Viator*, 10 (1979), 23-38.
- Leyser, H., *Hermits and the New Monasticism: A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe, 1000-1150*, London, 1984.
- Leyser, K., *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe*, ed. T. Reuter, London, 1994, 2 vols.
- Ligou, A., Passerat, G., *et al.*, *Histoire de Montauban*, Toulouse, 1992
- Limouzin-Lamothe, R., *La Commune de Toulouse, 1120-1230*, New York, 1954.
- Little, L. K. and Rosenwein B. H. (eds.), *Debating the Middle Ages: Issues and Readings*, Oxford, 1998.
- Lloyd, S., 'Political crusades' in England, c.1215-17 and c.1263-5', in ed. P. W. Edbury, *Crusade and Settlement*, Cardiff, 1985.
- Lobrichon, G., 'The chiaroscuro of heresy: early eleventh-century Aquitaine as seen from Auxerre', trans. P. Buc, in *Peace of God*, 80-103.
- Lobrichon, G., *La religion des laïcs en Occident, XIe-XVe siècles*, Hachette, 1994.
- Lodge, E., *Gascony under English Rule*, London, 1926.
- Lot, F., 'L'Evêché de Bayonne', in *Mélanges Louis Halphen*, Paris, 1936-59.
- Lot, F., *Rescherches sur la population et la superficie des cités remontant à la period Gallo-Romain*, Paris, 1950.
- Lot, F., and Halphen, L., *Etudes de la règne de Charles le Chauve*, Paris, 1909.
- Luchaire, A., *Etudes sur les actes de Louis VII*, Paris, 1885.
- Luchaire, A., *Innocent III*, 6 vols. in 3, Paris, 1905-8.
- Mackay, A., *Spain in the Middle Ages*, London, 1977.

- Mackinney, L.C., 'The people and public opinion in the eleventh-century peace movement', *Speculum*, 5 (1930), 181-206.
- MacMillan, R., *Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries*, New-Haven/London, 1997.
- Marboutin, J. R., *Notes historiques sur la juridiction de Lafox et la paroisse de Saint-Christophe*, Agen, 1911.
- Marquette, J.-B., 'Les Albret en Agenais (XIe siècle-1366)', *RA* 98 (1972), 301-11.
- McNamara, J. A., 'Victims of progress: women and the twelfth century', in eds. K. Glente and L. Winther-Jensen, *Female Power in the Middle Ages*, Copenhagen, 1989, 26-37.
- Maddicott, J.R., *Simon de Montfort*, Cambridge, 1994.
- Magnou-Nortier, E., 'The enemies of the peace: reflections on a vocabulary, 500-1100', in *Peace of God*, 58-79.
- Magnou-Nortier, E., 'Formes féminines de vie consacrée dans les pays du Midi jusqu'au début du XIIe siècle', *CF* 23 (1988), 193-216.
- Magnou-Nortier, E., 'Fidélité et féodalité méridionales d'après les serments de fidélité, Xe - début XIIe siècle', *AM* 80 (1968), 457-84.
- Magnou-Nortier, *Foi et Fidélité: recherche sur l'évolution des liens personnels chez les francs du VIIe au IXe siècle*, Toulouse, 1976.
- l'Abbé Maratu, 'Giraud, évêque d'Angoulême', *BSAHCh* 4: 4 (1864), unpaginated copy.
- de Marca, P., *Histoire de Béarn*, Pau, 1894, 2nd. edn.
- Markus, R., 'Living within sight of the End', in proceedings of conference on Time, York, 1999 (forthcoming).
- Marsac, M., 'La châtelainie et les seigneurs de Moncuq', *Bulletin de la Société Historique et Archéologique du Périgord*, 98:2 (1971), 89-98.
- Martindale, J., '“Cavalaria et Orgueil”: Duke William IX of Aquitaine and the Historian', *Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, 2 (1990), 87-116.
- Martindale, J., 'His special friend? The settlement of disputes and political power in the Kingdom of the French: Tenth to mid-Twelfth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6: 5 (1995), 21-59.
- Martindale, J., *The Origins of the Duchy of Aquitaine and the Government of the Counts of Poitou, 902- 1137*, unpublished D.Phil thesis, Oxford, 1965.
- Martindale, J., 'Peace and war in early eleventh-century Aquitaine', *Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, 4 (1992), 147-76.
- Martindale, J., 'Succession and politics in the romance speaking world, c.1000-1140', in eds. M. C. E. Jones and M. Vales, *England and her Neighbours 1066-1453: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais*, London/Ronceverte, 1989, 19-41.
- Mayer, H., *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham, Oxford, 1972.
- McGinn, B., 'Apocalypticism in the Middle Ages: An historiographical sketch', *Medieval Studies*, 37 (1975), 252-86.

- McGinn, B., *Visions of The End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1979.
- Micheau, J., 'Le développement topographique de Saintes au moyen Age', *BPH* 1961, 24-36.
- da Milano, Ilarino, 'Le eresie popolari del secolo XI nell'Europa occidentale', *Studi Gregoriani*, 2 (1947), 43-89.
- Mollat, M., *The Poor in the Middle Ages*, New Haven, 1986.
- Molinier, C. M., *L'Inquisition dans le Midi de France*, New York, (n.d. but originally Paris 1880).
- Momméja, J., 'Sénéchaux de Quercy', *RSASAA* 2: 8, 232-3.
- Monfar y Sors, D. Diego, *Historia de los Condes de Urgel*, I (in *Collección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*, general editor D. Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró, 9), Barcelona, 1853.
- Monluzun, J. J., *Histoire de la Gascogne depuis les temps les plus recules jusqu'à nos jours*, 6 volumes in 3, Auch, 1846-50.
- Monoyer, J., *Essais d'histoire et d'archéologie*, II: *Les Villages de Houdeng, Goenies, Strépy*, 2nd edn., Mons, 1875.
- Moore, R. I., *The Birth of Popular Heresy*, London, 1969.
- Moore, R. I., 'Duby's eleventh century', *History*, 69 (1984) 36-49.
- Moore, R. I., 'Family, community and cult on the eve of the Gregorian reform', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5: 30 (1980), 49-69.
- Moore, R. I., *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, Oxford, 1987.
- Moore, R. I., 'Literacy and the making of heresy, c.1000 - 1150', in Biller and Hudson, *Heresy and Literacy*, 19-37.
- Moore, R. I., 'Nicétas, Emissaire de Dragovitch, a-t-il traversé les Alpes?', *AM* 85 (1973), 85-90.
- Moore, R. I., *The Origins of European Dissent*, London, 1977.
- Moore, R. I., 'Postscript: The Peace of God and the social revolution', *Peace of God*, 308-326.
- Moore, R. I., 'Saint Bernard's mission to the Languedoc in 1145' *Bulletin of the IHR*, 47 (1974), 1-10.
- Mouillé, A., 'Le comté d'Agenais au Xe siècle: Gombaud et son évêché', *RSASAA* 2:4 (1875), 136-70.
- Mousnier, M., *La Gascogne Toulousaine au XIe-XIIe siècles*, Toulouse, 1997.
- Mousnier, M., 'Grandselve et la société de son temps', *CF* 21 (1986), 107-26.
- Mousnier, M., 'Implantations monastiques et encadrement des populations en Gascogne Toulousaine dans la première moitié du XIIe Siècle', in *Actes du 115e congrès nat. des Soc. Sav.: Avignon*, Paris, 1991 (unpaginated copy).
- Mullinder, A., *The Crusading Expeditions of 1101-2*, PhD. thesis, Swansea, 1996.

- Mundy, J. H., *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse 1050-1250*, New York, 1954.
- Musset, L., 'La renaissance urbaine des Xe et XIe siècles dans l'Ouest de la France', *Mélanges E.R. Labande*, Poitiers, 1974, 563-75.
- Mussot-Goulard, R., 'La Gascogne', in Zimmerman, *Les Sociétés Méridionales*, 295-326.
- Mussot-Goulard, R., *Les princes de Gascogne (768-1070)*, Lectoure, 1982.
- Mussot-Goulard, R., 'Remarques sur les textes relatifs à la fondation du monastère de Saint-Orens à Auch', in Desplat, *Terre et hommes du Sud*, 79-82.
- Musy, J., 'Movements populaires et hérésies au XIe siècle en France', *Revue Historique*, 253 (1975) 33-76.
- Nelson, J., *Charles the Bald*, London, 1992.
- Nelson, J., 'Society, theodicy and the origins of heresy', *SCH* 9 (1972), 65-77.
- Nelson, J., 'Dispute settlement in Carolingian west Frankia', in idem., *The Frankish World*, 51-74.
- Nelson, J., *The Frankish World, 750-900*, London, 1996.
- Nelson, J., 'Ninth-century knighthood: the evidence of Nithard', in Carolingian west Frankia", in idem., *The Frankish World*, 75-87.
- Noailiac, J., *Histoire du Limousin et de La Marche*, Paris, 1931.
- Noiroux, J.M., 'Les deux premiers documents concernant l'hérésie aux Pays-Bas', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 49 (1954) 842-55.
- Norgate, K., *England Under the Angevin Kings*, 2 vols., Edinburgh/London, 1887.
- Norgate, K., *John Lackland*, London, 1902.
- Noulens, J., *Maisons historiques de Gascogne, Guienne, Béarn, Languedoc et Périgord*, 2 vols, Paris, 1865 and 1866.
- Obolensky, D., *The Bogomils*, Cambridge, 1948 (reprinted Twickenham, 1972).
- Obolensky, D., 'Papa Nicetas: A Byzantine dualist in the land of the Cathars', *Howard Ukrainian Studies*, 7 (1983), 489-500.
- O' Callaghan, J. F., *A History of Medieval Spain*, Ithaca/London, 1975.
- O'Leary, S., *Arguing the Apocalypse: A Theory of Millennial Rhetoric*, New York, 1994.
- Ourliac, P., 'Note sur les coutumes successorales de l'Agenais', *Annales de la Faculté de Droit d'Aix*, 63 (1950), 253-8.
- Ourliac, P., *Les pays de Garonne vers l'an Mil*, Toulouse, 1993.
- Otway-Ruthven, A. J., *A History of Medieval Ireland*, 2nd edn., London, 1980.
- Pacant, M., *Louis VII et les élections épiscopales dans le royaume de France*, Paris, 1957.
- Pagès, E., *Histoire religieuse de la paroisse de Saint Côme dans le cadre de l'histoire nationale et universelle*, Nérac, 1948.

- Painter, S., 'Castellans of the plain of Poitou in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Speculum*, 31 (1956), 243-57.
- Painter, S., 'The lords of Lusignan in the 11th and 12th Centuries', *Speculum*, 32 (1937), 27-47.
- Painter, S., 'The houses of Lusignan and Châtelleraut, 1150-1250', *Speculum*, 30 (1955), 374-84.
- Painter, S., *The Reign of King John*, Baltimore, 1949.
- Papy, L., *La côte atlantique, de Loire à la Gironde*, 2 vols., Bordeaux, 1941.
- Parisse, M. and Barral I Altet, X. eds., *Le Roi de France et son royaume autour de l'an Mil*, (Proceedings of the Colloque internationale CNRS Hugues Capet 987-1987, Paris-Senlis 22-25 June 1987), Paris, 1992.
- Parisse, M., 'Qu'est-ce que la France de l'an Mil?', in ed. R. Delort, *La France de l'an Mil*, Paris, 1990, 29-48.
- Passerat, G., 'Cathares en Bas-Quercy: entre l'église de l'Agenais et celle de l'Albigeoise', *Europe et Occitanie: les Pays Cathares*, (Actes de la Cinquième Session d'Histoire Médiévale organisée par le Centre d'Etudes Cathares/René Nelli), Carcassonne, 1992, 149-65.
- Paterson, L., *The World of the Troubadours*, Cambridge, 1993.
- Le Patourel, J., *Feudal Empires: Norman and Plantagenet*, ed. M. C. E. Jones, London, 1984.
- Paul, J., *L'Eglise et culture en Occident IXe-XIIe siècles*, 1 vol. in 2, Paris, 1986.
- Paxton, F. S., 'The Peace of God in modern historiography: Perspectives and trends', *Historical Reflections/Refléxions historiques*, 14 (1987), 385-404.
- Peters, E., *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe*, Philadelphia, 1980.
- Petit-Dutaillis, Ch., *Les Communes françaises, caractères et évolution des origines au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1947.
- Petit-Dutaillis, Ch., *Étude sur la vie et la règne de Louis VIII*, Paris, 1894.
- Peuch, L., *Histoire de la Gascogne*, Auch, 1914.
- Plieux, A., 'Rescherches sur les origines de la ville de Condom', *RA* 1 (1874), 385-95.
- Poly, J.-P., *La Provence et la société féodale (879-1166)*, Paris, 1976.
- Poly, J.-P. and Bournazel, E., *The Feudal Mutation, 900-1200*, trans., C. Higgitt, New York/London, 1991.
- Poly, J.-P. and Bournazel, E., *La Mutation Féodale: Xe - XIIe siècles*, Paris, 1980.
- Porter, J. M. B., *Compelle Intrare: Monastic Reform Movements in Twelfth-Century Northwestern Europe*, PhD thesis, University of Nottingham, 1997.
- Powell, J. M., *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213-1221*, Philadelphia, 1986.
- Powicke, M., *Henry III and the Lord Edward*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1947.
- Powicke, M., *Stephen Langton*, Oxford, 1928.
- Powicke, M., *The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307*, 2nd. edn., Oxford, 1991.

- Raison, L., and Niderst, R, 'Le mouvement érémitique dans l'Ouest de la France (fin Xe - début XIIe siècles)', *Annales de Bretagne*, 55 (1948), 1-46.
- Ramm, H. G., 'The tombs of Archbishop Walter de Gray (1216-55) and Geoffrey de Ludham (1258-65) in York Minster, and their contents', *Archaeologia*, 103 (1971), 101-47.
- Ramsey, J. H., *The Angevin Empire*, London, 1903.
- Remensnyder, A. G., 'Pollution, purity and peace: an aspect of social reform between the late 10th Century and 1076', in *Peace of God*, 280-307.
- Reynolds, S., *Fiefs and Vassals*, Oxford, 1994.
- Rezak, B. B., 'Women, seals and power in medieval France', in eds. M. Erler and M. Kowaleski, *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, Athens Georgia/London, 1988, 61-82.
- Richard, A., *Histoire des comtes de Poitou, 779-1204*, 2 vols., Paris, 1903.
- Ricaud, A., *Marmande*, 2nd ed., Bordeaux, 1975.
- Riché, P., *Les Grandeurs de l'an Mille*, Paris, 1999.
- Riley-Smith, J., 'Family traditions and participation in the Second Crusade', *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers, New York, 1992, 101-108.
- Riley-Smith, J., *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131*, Cambridge, 1997.
- Röhricht, R., *Studien zur Geschichte des fünften Kreuzzuges*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1874-78.
- Roquebert, M., *L'épopée Cathare*, 4 vols., Toulouse, 1970-89.
- Roquebert, M., *Les Cathares de la chute de Montségur aux derniers bûchers, 1244-1329*, Paris, 1998.
- Rosenwein, B., 'Feudal war and monastic peace: Cluniac Liturgy as ritual aggression', *Viator*, 2 (1971), 129-57.
- Runciman, S., 'The crusade of 1101', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 1 (1951), 3-12.
- Runciman, S., *The Medieval Manichee*, Cambridge, 1947.
- Runciman, S., *The Crusades*, 3 vols., 5th edn, London, 1991.
- Russell, J. B., *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1965.
- Russell, J.B., 'Les Cathares de 1048-54 à Liège', *Bulletin de la Société d'Art et d'Histoire du diocèse de Liège*, 42 (1961), 1-8.
- Samaran, C., *La Gascogne dans les registres du Trésor des Chartres*, Paris, 1966.
- Samazeuilh, J. F., *Histoire de l'Agenais, du Condomois et du Bazadais*, 2 vols., Auch, 1846-47.
- Sargent, S., 'Religious responses to social violence in 11th Century Aquitaine', in *Historical Reflections/Réflexions historiques*, 12: 2 (1985), 219-40.
- Sayers, J. E., *Innocent III: leader of Europe, 1198-1216*, London/New York, 1994.

- Sayers, J. E., *Papal Government and England During the Pontificate of Honourable III*, Cambridge, 1984.
- Schmidt, C., *Histoire et doctrine de la secte Cathares ou Albigeoise*, 2 vols., Paris/Geneva, 1849.
- Schmittlein, R., *Avec César en Gaul*, Paris, 1970.
- Sémichon, E., *Le Paix et la Trêve de Dieu*, Paris, 1857.
- Sénac, R.-A., 'Essai de géographie et d'histoire de l'évêché de Gascogne (977-1059)', *BPH* 1983, 11-25.
- Sénac, R.-A., 'L'évêché de Gascogne et ses évêchés (977-1059)', in *Actes du 104e congrès des Soc. Sav.: Bordeaux (section de philologie et d'histoire jusqu'à 1610, ii)* Paris, 1981, 131-144.
- Serret, E. G., *Monographie de l'église de Moirax*, Tonneins, 1889.
- Serret, J., *Livre d'or des élections consulaires et de l'administration municipale d'Agen depuis l'année 1222 jusqu'à 1909*, Agen, 1909.
- Serret, J., *Les Sénéchaux, préfets et magistrats municipaux d'Agen depuis les temps anciens jusqu'à nos jours*, 1 vol. in 8 parts, Agen, 1886.
- Sharenkoff, V.N., *A Study of Manichaeism in Bulgaria with Special Reference to the Bogomils*, New York, 1927.
- Shaw, I.P., 'The ecclesiastical policy of Henry II on the Continent', *Church Quarterly Review*, 151 (1951), 137-55.
- Shepherd, J., 'Aspects of Byzantine attitudes and policy towards the West in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in Howard-Johnson, J. D. (ed.), *Byzantium and the West, c.850-1200*, Amsterdam, 1988, 67-118.
- Simmons, L. N., 'The abbey church at Fontevraud in the later Twelfth Century: anxiety, authority and architecture in the female spiritual life' *Gesta* 31: 2 (1992), 99-107.
- Smith, J., 'Robert of Arbrissel: Procurator mulierum' in ed. D. Baker, *Medieval Women*, Oxford, 1978, 175-84.
- Solt, C. W., *The Cult of Saints and Relics in the Romanesque Art of South-western France and the Impact of Imported Byzantine Relics and Reliquaries on Early Gothic Reliquary Sculpture*, PhD. dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1977.
- Stoyanov, Y., *The Hidden Tradition in Europe*, Arkana, 1994.
- Stubbs, W., *The Constitutional History of England*, vol. 1, 5th edn., Oxford, 1891.
- Studd, R., 'The marriage of Henry of Almain and Constance of Béarn', in eds. S. D. Lloyd and P. R. Cross, *Thirteenth Century England*, .III, Woodbridge, 1991.
- Sumption, J., *The Albigensian Crusade*, London, 1975.
- Tabacco, G., *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy*, trans. R. B. Jensen, Cambridge, 1989.
- Taviani, H., 'Le mariage dans l'hérésie de l'an mil', *Annales Economies Sociétés Civilisations*, 32 (1977), 1074-89.

- Taylor, C., 'Pope Innocent III, John of England and the Albigensian Crusade (1209-1216)', in ed. J. C. Moore, *Pope Innocent III and his world*, (Proceedings of 1997 conference, New York) Aldershot, 1999 (forthcoming).
- Tellenbach, G., *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Centuries*, trans. T. Reuter, Cambridge, 1993.
- Tholin, G., 'Causeries sur les origines de l'Agenais', *RA* 22 (1895-1896), 140-62, 433-50 and 516-28.
- Tholin, G., 'Notes sur la féodalité en Agenais au milieu du XIIIe siècle', *RA* 23 (1896), 45-58 and 537-46 (cited as i); 25 (1898), 144-56, 171-8 and 257-65 (cited as iii); and 26 (1899), 62-78 (cited as iv). I have been unable to view what should be 'ii': volume 24 (1897).
- Tholin, G. and de Bellecombe, A., *Abrégé de l'histoire des communes du département de Lot-et-Garonne, arrondissement d'Agen*, Auch, 1900.
- Thomas, G.-L. *Les Comtes de La Marche de la maison de Charroux (Xe siècle - 1177)*, Paris, 1928.
- Thompson, E. A., 'The conversion of the Visigoths to Catholicism', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 4 (1960) 4-35.
- Thomson, J. A. F., *The Western Church in the Middle Ages*, London, 1998.
- Thompson, S., 'The problem of Cistercian nuns in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries', *SCH Subsidia* 1 (1978), 227-52.
- Thouzellier, C., *Catharisme et Valdésisme en Languedoc à la fin du XIIe et au début de XIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1966.
- Thouzellier, C., 'Hérésie et croisade au XIIe Siècle', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 49 (1954) 855-72.
- Thouzellier, C., *Un Traité Cathare Inédit du début du XIIIe Siècle*, Louvain, 1961.
- Tillman, H., *Pope Innocent III*, trans. W. Sax, Amsterdam/New York/London, 1980.
- Timball, P., *Un Conflit d'annexion au Moyen Âge: L'application de la coutume de Paris au Pays Albigeoise*, Toulouse/Paris, 1949.
- Töpfer, B., 'The cult of relics and pilgrimage in Burgundy and Aquitaine at the time of the monastic reform', in *Peace of God*, 41-57.
- Trabut-Cusac, J.P., *L'Administration Anglaise en Gascogne sous Henri III et Edouard I - de 1254-1307*, Paris and Geneva, 1972.
- Trezeguet-Luxembourg, R., *Une bastide du roi d'Angleterre: Villefranche-du-Queyran*, Paris, 1972.
- Tucoo-Chala, P., *La Vicomté de Béarn et le problème de sa souveraineté des origines à 1620*, Bordeaux, 1961.
- Tucoo-Chala, P. (ed.), *Histoire de Pau*, Toulouse, 1989.
- Turner, King John, London, 1994.
- Venarde, B.L., *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890-1215*, Ithaca/London, 1997.

- Verbeke, W., Verhelst, D., and Welkenhuysen, A. (eds.), *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, Leuven, 1988.
- Verdon, J., 'Le monachisme en Poitou au Xe siècle', *Revue Mabillon*, 59 (1978), 235-53.
- Verdon, J., 'Les moniales dans la France de l'Ouest au XIe et XIIe siècles', *CCM* 19 (1976), 247-64.
- Verdon, J., 'Recherches sur les monastères féminines dans la France du Sud au IXe-XIe siècles', *AM* 88 (1976), 117-38.
- Verger, L., et al., *Agen: Hier et aujourd'hui*, Agen, 1964 (1979 reprint).
- Vicaire, M. H., 'L'action de Saint Dominique sur la vie régulière des femmes en Languedoc', *CF* 23 (1988), 217-40.
- Vicaire, M. H., *Saint Dominique et ses frères: évangile ou croisade?*, Paris, 1967.
- Vicaire, M.H., *Histoire de Saint Dominique*, Paris: 1957, I,
- Wade-Labarge, M., *Gascony, England's First Colony, 1204-1453*, London, 1980.
- Wands, F. T., *The Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture of Saint Caprais in Agen*, PhD. dissertation, Yale University, 1982.
- Warlop, E., *The Flemish Nobility Before 1300*, 2 parts in 4 vols., Kortrijk, 1975-6.
- Warren, W.L., *King John*, 3rd edn., New Haven/London, 1997.
- Wightman, W. E., *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy, 1066-1194*, Oxford, 1966.
- Wilson, J., *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, Warminster: 1977.
- White, S.D., *Custom, Kinship and Gifts to Saints: The Laudatio Parentum in Western France, 1050 - 1150*, Chapel Hill Carolina, 1988.
- White, S., 'Feuding and peace-making in the Touraine around the year 1100', *Traditio*, 42(1986), 195-265.
- White, S., 'Pactum legem vincit et amor iudicium, the settlement of disputes by compromise', *American Journal of Legal History*, 22 (1978), 281-308
- White, S., review of Barthélemy, D., *La société dans le comté de Vendôme de l'an mil au XIVe siècle*, Paris, 1993, in *Speculum*, 71 (1996), 116-20.
- White, S., review of *Le Conventum*, G. Beech et al., *Speculum*, 72 (1997), 429-31.
- Wolff, P., *Histoire de Toulouse*, Toulouse, 1958.
- Wolff, P., 'La noblesse Toulousain: essai sur son histoire médiévale', in ed. P. Contamine, *La Noblesse au Moyen Age, 11e-15e siècles*, Paris, 1976, 154-74.
- Wolff, P., 'L'Aquitaine et ses marges' in *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, 1, ed. W. Braunsfels, Düsseldorf, 1966, 269-306.
- Wolff, P., *Regards sur le Midi médiéval*, Toulouse, 1978.
- Wolff, P., *Voix et images de Toulouse*, Toulouse, 1962.
- Wolff, R.L., 'How the news was brought from Byzantium to Angoulême; or, the pursuit of a hare in an ox cart', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 4 (1978), 139-89.

Wood, I., *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450-751*, London/New York, 1994.

Zimmerman, M. (ed.), *Les Sociétés Méridionales autour de l'an Mil*, Paris, 1992.

