

Abstract

This paper contributes new evidence and a new perspective to the study of the religious heresy known as Waldensianism in the high-medieval Languedoc, and its relationship to both orthodox authority and the 'Cathar' heresy. Although they were outlawed by Rome in 1184, Waldensians were operating openly in the Cathar lands pertaining to the viscounts of Béziers and the counts of Toulouse and Foix-with clerical complicity. This was until the Albigensian Crusade (1209-29). Its northern French army attacked Cathars and their noble supporters, but began executing Waldensians too. This paper offers a precise chronology and demography for these processes of toleration and persecution. For the first time, it reveals that from 1209, Waldensian refugees re-located beyond the warzone, fleeing to the County of Rodez, the north of the County of Quercy, and the Duchy of Gascony, and were no longer to be found in the Cathar heartlands. In doing this, it sheds light on the wider process of suppressing minority religious groups in the high middle ages, particularly their social and geographical dislocation and assimilation. It also contributes to the related historiographical debate concerning the nature of heresy in medieval Languedoc more generally.

178 words

'Sunt quadraginta anni vel circa': Southern French Waldensians and the Albigensian Crusade

Medieval Waldensians constituted an important movement of Apostolic Christianity, devoted to reforming lay religious practice. They were outlawed as heretical throughout Europe in 1184, but the quotation in the title of this paper-'It was around forty years ago'- refers to the recollections of inquisitorial witnesses in Languedoc in the mid-1240s, that Waldensians had operated openly in the region as recently as four decades previously.¹ This remarkable fact relates to the very specific circumstances and nature of their activity in Languedoc. New and re-evaluated evidence offered below indicates that a cautious toleration was the state of affairs right up to the arrival of the Albigensian Crusade, 1209-29. This was launched against lords of the region considered to be harbouring heretics whom historians usually call

Cathars, particularly in the lands pertaining to the viscounts of Béziers and the counts of Toulouse and Foix. It brought thousands of northern French warriors into Languedoc and ultimately led to the absorption of the south into the Capetian realm. The campaign considered Waldensians amongst its targets, ending the period of toleration.

This article adds weight to the suspicion of historians, that Waldensians were treated at first as posing a lesser threat to Catholic orthodoxy than did Catharism. But it draws on newly identified evidence to show that there is much more to understand about Waldensianism in Languedoc at the turn of the thirteenth century. It demonstrates that some fundamental characteristics of the southern French movement have so far been over-looked, specifically, how and when its persecution began. It sheds light on the stresses and survival strategies of a movement experiencing internal schism. It addresses the position of Waldensians within a militarised society, and outside of it, and considers the response of a religious movement under attack. It also observes the process of the acceptance of heretics by new communities, in spite of the dangers this presented. Evidence is offered of a Waldensian flight into territories in which they had not previously operated, namely, the County of Rodez, the far north of the County of Quercy, and the Duchy of Gascony. It also allows for a re-examination of the place of Waldensians in relation to Catharism. Cathars, in contrast, continued to operate in the crusade-infested regions, and whilst some certainly fled to Spain and Italy, we can also observe their large-scale internal displacement within the sorts of communities in which they had traditionally thrived.²

I

The Waldensian movement was established in the 1170s by an extremely successful merchant of Lyon, whom we know as 'Valdes'. He and a group of his peers renounced the wealth they had accumulated and adopted the absolute poverty of the Apostles, following Christ's command to preach the Word, and relying on lay charity to sustain themselves. Valdes and his followers were not explicitly criticised for giving up their worldly possessions and handing them over to the poor. However, it was illegal to preach without episcopal permission. This permission was originally forthcoming from the archbishop of Lyon. Pope Alexan-

der III also approved of them initially; at the Third Lateran Council in 1179 they were praised for their poverty and chastity, but as untrained lay people, they were instructed not to preach. This they continued to do. Suspected by some of heresy, Valdes was forced to make a profession of faith concerning the Divine, the authority of the Old and New Testaments, that of the Catholic Church and its sacraments (irrespective of the sinfulness or otherwise of the priest), and other aspects of faith which confirmed his orthodoxy. Valdes was found to be conventionally orthodox, but historians have come to understand that the movement's focus on poverty and preaching was a threat to the moral authority of the Church. The proselytising sectarians were excommunicated at Lyon in 1182 and then anathematised in 1184, along with other heresies, in a papal bull of Pope Lucius III - *Ad abolendam*. This made provision for the burning of relapsed or non-repentant heretics, and the social as well as religious marginalisation of those associated with them. Refusal to accept the need for episcopal license for preaching was specifically listed as a crime, and so this is the point at which Waldensians may be said to have become heretics universally and 'officially'. Nonetheless, they were one of the most vital and historically significant religious movements in twelfth-century Capetian France, and soon spread to Italy, Germany and Iberia, as well as Languedoc.³

The most important canon of work on the Waldensians of southern France specifically and on the sources for them, was undertaken in the later twentieth century on the Continent.⁴ Anglophone work began in earnest somewhat later.⁵ Nonetheless, little systematic attention has been paid to some important specificities of the movement in its southern French context. This is, first, because Cathars have disproportionately attracted the attention of historians. Secondly, some of the leading thinkers in the southern French Waldensian movement repented in 1207 and were reconciled with the Church in the following year, becoming the 'Poor Catholics'. We know far more about these ex-Waldensians than we do about the sectarians they abandoned. Indeed, the wider history of the Waldensians who pre-dated the Poor Catholics and remained as the secondary heretical sect in Languedoc after 1207, is largely unwritten.

This is particularly the case with regard to the experience of crusade. Pope Innocent III appealed for this military intervention largely because of the very muted clerical and lay opposition to Catharism. The crusade itself was largely unsuccessful in ridding Languedoc of Cathars, entrenching support for them on the part of the lay leaders whom it attacked and dispossessed. Because Waldensians appear alongside Cathars in the records of the medieval inquisition, we seem to have assumed that they too sustained themselves during the crusade. However, on close examination, the evidence points to a crucial rupture. Waldensians are not to be found in the areas in which they had established themselves and once lived openly. Instead, to judge from where they were to be found from 1209, they fled the heretical heartlands which they had shared with Cathars.

Before exploring the evidence for the above, it is necessary to say something about a current debate concerning the nature of high-medieval heresy in southern France more generally, because of its implications for the study of Waldensians.

II

Until around the year 2000, Catharism was usually considered to have been a dualist sect denying key tenets of Christianity. Its elite practitioners-*perfectae* and *perfecti*-asserted the existence of two gods; one good, the creator of spiritual (or 'invisible') things, and one evil, creator of material (or 'visible') things. They also denied the Incarnation and the efficacy of sacraments. Their dualism was understood to have derived from the sect of eastern European dualists called Bogomils. The sect first emerged as Catharism in the Rhineland in the 1140s, spread into northern France and, most successfully, into Italy and southern France in the 1160s. Something approaching a counter-church was established and its elite supplanted Catholic clergy, living austere lives which put the latter to shame some years before the arrival of Waldensians.⁶ Cathars were therefore a very serious threat, imperilling the souls of those who they induced to abandon the Roman Church.

Since the start of this century, a major revisionist challenge has come to the conclusion that 'Cathars' were not dualists, or even heretics, but straw men set up to serve secular and mo-

nastic agendas. The people called 'heretics' in the Occitan sources specifically were not even called Cathars and had no connection with heretics elsewhere, but were a special kind of austere holy person specific to the region and known specifically as 'good men and women'.⁷ However, most twenty-first century scholarship approaches the sources with nuanced epistemologies and methodologies. Scholars discern a grass-roots dualism with more doctrinal 'grey areas' than were perceived of it at a clerical level. Whilst Cathars used concepts such as 'bishops' and 'deacons' and administered their own versions of the sacraments, few assume that a consistent counter-theology was transmitted through a centralised heretical 'church'. Furthermore, scholars have found new evidence of Bogomil origins, of the inter-relatedness of the southern French dualists and those in Germany and Italy, and of dualist ideology which pre-dates inquisition. The accuracy and usefulness of the term 'Cathar' has been re-asserted, distinguishing the 'heretical' good men and women from thousands of other *bons omes* in Languedoc. In my own work in this area, I argue that this post-revisionism is most convincing.⁸

Although this is not the place for a detailed engagement with the revisionist literature concerning Cathars, it is relevant here. Its exponents need to explain why Waldensians chose to proselytise in Languedoc if, unlike other parts of Europe including Lyon, there was a *pre-existing* movement of orthodox lay people living the ascetic life and being revered for it. Furthermore, why do southern French Waldensian and Poor Catholic writings feature attacks on dualism so extensively if the 'good men and women' were not so very different to Waldensians in their version of Christianity?

I conclude that the sect would not have come to Languedoc if there were no 'heretics' there, merely an indigenous and orthodox movement of ascetics rather like themselves. Adam Hoose has considered the evidence in the most detail and concludes also there were indeed Cathars in Languedoc. He demonstrates that the work of Durand of Huesca (c.1160-1224), a gifted Waldensian theologian who converted back to the Roman faith with the Poor Catholics, only makes sense if there were a genuine dualist threat, which the Lyonnais heretics recognised as such. Durand's *Liber antiheresis* (1180s) is a defence of the sacraments against dualism rather than an *apologia* for his own movement. The dualism he had encountered included, rejection of the material world, belief in its creation by an evil god, Balkan

and Byzantine origins, and he called it 'Cathar'.⁹ Only the absence of recent scholarship on Durand before that of Hoose has meant that the theologian's works have not been utilised as far as they can be by Cathar scholars in refuting the revisionist case.

The Cathar debate is reflected in the scholarship on Waldensians themselves, notably, whether we should identify them as a 'movement', implying organisational structure and a generalised doctrine. But this debate pertains to Waldensians outside of Languedoc and in subsequent centuries, not to those in southern France in the decades around 1200. Both modern and medieval authors agree that the Waldensianism which entered Languedoc was directly related to that at Lyon in its central tenets and practice. They conclude that the sect in Languedoc was almost orthodox to begin with and a powerful counter-force to Catharism. As such, twenty- and twenty-first century historiography utilising modern source-critical methodologies in relation to southern France, has not found the need to approach Grado Merlo's model of 'Waldensianisms'.¹⁰

This is not to say that the sources are consistent in all details. Between 1200 and 1213, Ermengaud of Béziers, another Poor Catholic ideologue, wrote his *Contra haereticos* and a description of Cathars which also refers to the Waldensian sect. He observed of the 'sect of heretics who received the name "Valdenses" from Valdius, a citizen of Lyon', that they were called variously, ' "the Lyonists", from Lyon, "the Waldenses", after Valdes, "the Poor" because they take no thought for the morrow, and "the Sandal-shod", because they wear perforated footwear.'¹¹ Waldensians were also known as both 'Waldensians' and 'Poor Men of Lyon' to William of Puylaurens, a comparatively sober secular cleric and contemporary of events concerning heresy in the crusade period. He wrote that, 'Waldensians used to engage in vigorous disputation with the other sects.'¹² Ermengaud and William are not attempting to distinguish between two different groups of Waldensians. It is Waldensians and Cathars that they consider substantively different, such as when Ermengaud states that some heretics believed that there was 'a good God and a malign god' and that there were 'other heretics...Waldenses.'¹³ The contrast between the two sects was also noted by Alan of Lille, writing on heresy in southern France in a treatise composed sometime between 1180 and 1202.¹⁴ Similarly, William Pelhisson, the chronicler of the inquisition in Languedoc, distinguished between the historians' Cathars-his *heretici perfecti*-and Waldensians, *Valden-*

ses.¹⁵ But to the southern French, thinking, reading, discussing and working in the vernacular, Waldensians were more usually called *sabatatz*, or *ensabatatz*: ‘clog-wearers’.¹⁶ For example, the inquisition witness Peter Garcias observed that the Waldensian Peter Desplas, imprisoned in 1247, was a ‘sandal wearer’, whilst the Occitan troubadour William of Tudela and the anonymous continuator of his *Song* of the Albigensian Crusade, used both Latin and local terminology.¹⁷ Finally, Waldensians as well as Cathars were often described as being *boni homines* in inquisitorial depositions, such as in the register of the Dominican Peter Seilan, made in 1241-2.¹⁸ Because the historians’ ‘Cathars’ were referred to like this as well, we should regard it as the Latin translation of the conventional regional epithet concerning worthy status, a southern version of the more widely used urban *prudhomme*, rather than as a name for specific heretics.¹⁹ In sum, no medieval or modern author suggests that the southerners’ sandal-wearers were not the inquisitor’s *Valdenses*.

It is nonetheless worth setting out my approach to inquisition registers. They are considered as amongst the most problematic genre of sources for heresy.²⁰ Peter Seilan’s register is the earliest of a series of mid-thirteenth-century examples extant only in the seventeenth-century Doat series, in the French national library.²¹ We know a good deal about how these registers were assembled and the concepts underlying them, because this is set out in inquisitors’ manuals drawn up from the 1240s.²² The inquisitor’s questions are structured to identify and deal separately with Cathars and Waldensians, and this is reflected in the records of the trials. They can be highly formulaic as a result, and as such impose heretical stereotypes on the record. They typically begin, ‘[name and family identification], required to speak the truth about themselves and others, both living and dead, about the crime of heresy and Waldensianism...’ and typically deponents are asked a series of questions about each heresy identical to those asked in other cases. Whatever the actual words were in response to, for example, the question ‘Did you believe them to be good people and to have a good faith?’, they are recorded as, ‘She said that she considered the heretics to be good men and women and to have a good faith’, or that she did not.

The historian’s problem therefore lies in establishing, to what extent the inquisitor is shoe-horning what he actually heard into the simple categories which he expected to find. Very often, we cannot know. But depositions often contain more than a simple list of binary re-

sponses to accusations of crimes of belief and practice. Many overflow with information which does not add to the inquisitor's construction of a person's guilt or innocence, but is above and beyond his main scope. This does not remove the problem that the evidence is not unburdened of imposed meaning, nor under-scored by unequal power relationships, but Caterina Bruschi has done much to resolve this, by being explicit about the 'filters' applied to the evidence.²³ What remains as 'surplus' once the formulaic responses have been sifted out is often invaluable to the historian. These elements may have made it into the record—that is to say, precious scribal resources were allocated to them—because the inquisitor could not easily position them, or perhaps even make sense of them, but thought it best not to eliminate them for now. In relation to the *heretici*, the 'surplus' has revealed detailed evidence even of dualist ideology over and above the formulaic commonplace, 'Yes, he had heard heretics say that God did not create visible and invisible things.'²⁴

Through such sources we encounter some wonderfully specific evidence relating to various sorts of Waldensian activity. The records relating to Peter and Poncia Bacou of Montauban, in the south of the medieval diocese of Cahors, are partly formulaic. For example, Peter is recorded as saying that he 'saw Waldensians many times and gave them alms, listened to Waldensian preaching, loved them and believed that they were good men, and often gave them things'. But amongst the commonplaces, we learn that they were both present at the Waldensian *Cena*.²⁵ This was a re-enactment of the Last Supper, on Maundy Thursday each year, a ritual apparently unique to the Waldensians of southern France. Such celebrations were high-profile affairs, reported by a great many witnesses in the towns where they lived, but were not in the inquisitors' arsenal of formulaic accusations.²⁶

Furthermore, Peter 'attended a debate between heretics and Waldensians.'²⁷ Durand of Huesca's *Liber antiheresis* was intended for use in such debates.²⁸ Based on it, Christine Thouzellier suggested that the key areas under discussion were probably the uniqueness of God, the nature of Creation, fallen angels, the authority of the Old Testament, and the resurrection of the dead.²⁹ This is reflected in the testimony of the *credens* William of Broile, who assisted Cathars in discussion about the New Testament with Waldensians, and discussed creation with the dualists.³⁰

The sheer volume of entries in Doat 21 specifically, even allows us to make statistically-valid observations about Waldensian life and practice. At Montauban, eighty-one deponents apparently only associated with Cathars, whilst one hundred and thirty people admitted only to involvement with Waldensians, and thirty-five to contact with both sects.³¹

Statistical work on penances reveals even more detailed patterns. In general Waldensian supporters did not receive the harshest penalties, but those who had been involved in ritual activity did.³² We shall see that this pluralism was reflected in other types of sources too.

In sum, a consciously critical methodology arguably renders the sources only as problematic or useful as other genres medieval source which suffer from uneven coverage and reflect unequal power relationships. Whilst problematic as a genre, the depositions nonetheless offer unique opportunities to the historian, and are drawn on heavily in the following discussion of Waldensians in Southern France before the Albigensian Crusade.

III

Key to the case that there was a period during which Waldensians were tolerated in Languedoc and that *Ad abolendam* in 1184 did not mark an end to this, are depositions such as one given in the court to the inquisitor Bernard of Caux in 1244 by a woman called Pérégrine Gasc. Pérégrine was extremely well-connected, having been the servant of Eleanor of Aragon, who was the daughter of King Peter of Aragon and the wife of Count Raymond VI of Toulouse. She referred to seeing Waldensians at Moissac, near Montauban, in the home of Peter Ortola, during 'the time when the Church did not pursue Waldensians.'³³ She asserts that she had believed that they were good, and that their faith was good, until the Church had started persecuting them. Her evidence indicates that there was a definable and acknowledged point in time for this. It seems unlikely that Pérégrine was simply referring to the interval between the arrival of Waldensians in Languedoc and *Ad abolendam*. Recollections of a time before 1184 in the 1240s would have made people like Pérégrine very old. In fact, witnesses more typically recalled seeing Waldensians operating with impunity a more specific 'around forty years ago', which is the commonplace inquisitorial indication in the 1240s for, 'just before the crusade'.

This original ambivalence toward the sect on the part of the Church was surely because Waldensians came to Languedoc in the first place to combat Catharism. They opposed the more dangerous sect vociferously in text and debate in the 1180s and 90s.³⁴ Debates have been observed by historians, but not accorded their full significance in helping us to establish an accurate chronology of the remarkable toleration of Waldensians. It is this practice which goes furthest towards an explanation of clerical inactivity. Thus, from the start, Waldensians were both allies and enemies of the clergy in the specifically southern French context. Durand, from Aragon originally, and Waldensians originating in Languedoc, probably represent converts made by the original Poor of Lyon. Their initial success in the already heretical Languedoc may not have been because of their 'heresy', but because of their 'orthodoxy' as it was expressed in debates.

This is not to suggest that there was any official policy of toleration. Waldensians had their enemies. Bernard of Foucaude, writing in c. 1190 in his Praemonstratensian abbey north of Narbonne, considered Waldensians to be 'ravens wolves' and 'demon-heretics and tyrants', who must be driven from 'the folds of Christ's sheep' either by preaching or by 'the rod of discipline or strictness'. He tells us that soon after the decrees of *Ad abolendam* were made known, they were acknowledged by Archbishop Bernard-Gaucelin of Narbonne.³⁵ This should have meant the seizing, trying and execution of the heretics, and the social ruin of anyone supporting them. But *Ad abolendam* was only implemented with any success where secular rulers were opponents of heresy.³⁶ This was far from being the case in twelfth-century Southern France. Bernard of Foucaude tells us that the archbishop instead convened a synod to consider the group and merely condemned them, and even then only after first consulting with both lay and clerical notables. After *Ad abolendam*, this should not have been necessary.

The Waldensians simply continued preaching and debating, with Cathars and with representatives of the Roman Church. A disputation was arranged just before 1190 between Waldensians and Catholics. Bernard of Foucaude informs us that a neutral judge called Raymond of Deventer was approved by both parties. He ruled that they were indeed heretics. Again, nothing further appears to have happened. In fact, when Bernard calls them

‘ravaging wolves’ etc. he is explicitly bemoaning the very fact that they were *not* being seized and punished by those whose duty it was, writing of the inactivity, ‘This, indeed, is the real cause of the greater evil we have described.’³⁷

Waldensians were then summoned by King Peter II of Aragon for a debate in 1203 or 1204 with the bishop of Carcassonne and Cistercian papal legates. The king heard the evidence put forward, and like those before him, he judged the Waldensians to be heretics.³⁸ Yet he appears to have taken no further action either. Instead, *another* debate took place, in August or September 1207 at Pamiers, in the county of Foix, where both sets of heretics were being nurtured by the counts and other leading families. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, a young northern-French Cistercian who chronicled the Albigensian Crusade, says far less about Waldensians than he does about Cathars, but notes that they largely agreed with the Catholic faith. He tells us about this debate, as does William of Puylaurens. Bishop Diego of Osma evidently allowed the arbitrator to be a ‘Master Arnold’ of Crampagna, who was a Waldensian sympathiser himself. This indicates significant confidence on the bishop’s part. Indeed, Peter tells us that the clerics got the better of the sectarians, and William, that Master Arnold renounced the sect and entered Diego’s service.³⁹ This is the event at which Durand of Huesca, Ermengaud of Béziers and several other Waldensians were reconciled as the ‘Poor Catholics’, undertaking to continue to dispute with Cathars.⁴⁰ The new movement used the same powers of debate which they had previously honed as heretics, the most famous example being a disputation between the reconciled Waldensian Bernard Prim and the Cathar *perfectus* Isarn of Castres, at Laurac in 1208.⁴¹

Four official consultations and debates after *Ad abolendam* had resulted in condemnation and schism, but not one in coercive action. So, what do we know about Waldensians operating in this period in which clergy and lay rulers engaged with them rather than suppressing them?

IV

We know that just before the crusade there were many Waldensians living and preaching openly in the modern department of Aude, a region dominated by crusaders from 1209, specifically at Carcassonne, Laurac, Mas-Saintes-Puelles, Castelnaudary and Aigues-Vives. The evidence, addressed systematically by Élie Griffé, refers specifically to the period before the crusade, and includes the recollections of Raymond Huc, who often saw them actually preaching in the church.⁴² We also learn about a very visible community at Castelnaudary, from depositions given at Toulouse in 1245-6 in the court of inquisitors Bernard of Caux and John of Saint-Peter. Peter Simon's sister and mother, Aimengarda, had operated 'publicly' as Waldensians around forty years previously.⁴³ Raymond Arrufat said that he had seen Waldensians living openly *ante adventum crucesignatorum*.⁴⁴ William of Saint-Michael had seen them living there publicly.⁴⁵ Wilma Michela of Auriac revealed that that she had resided openly with Waldensians there for three years, and also that she had lived with Waldensian women-Bernarda of Pomas, Rixenda of Limoux and one called Christina- for about four years. She had done everything like them; eating and drinking, dressing, praying, and neither taking oaths or making promises.⁴⁶ Wilma was probably referring to the Waldensian *Cena* and their practice of eating meat on Good Friday. Concerning dress, Waldensians in southern France attired themselves humbly and wore sandals like those elsewhere. In other words, the evidence indicates a period in which it was safe to identify openly as or with members of the sect.⁴⁷

Béziers itself was an important centre of Waldensian activity before the crusade. Jean-Louis Biget argues that it was not the hot bed of heresy that the crusaders claimed, but that of the heretics there, Waldensians featured prominently. In 1194 viscount Raymond Roger Trencavel promised to admit 'nec hereticos vel valdenses', which Biget takes as evidence of their presence in the region and perhaps the town already. In the 1204 *Livre Noir* of Béziers, he finds five people whose names are followed by the abbreviation *val* (P. Rubeus, R. Chasaut, B. P. Faber and G. Faber de Tholosa, Stephanus de Portali and S. de Tonevo), although he notes that 'val.' quite possibly refers instead to *valladerius* or *valetus*. Biget knows that he is stretching the evidence somewhat, but even if it was not quite the case that, '(e)n 1209, Béziers est donc au premier chef une citadelle vaudois', on balance, he makes a convincing case that there had been a significant numbers of Waldensians there by 1209. This is

not least the case because, as he notes, two of the Poor Catholics—not just Ermengaud of Béziers, but also Bernard of Béziers—presumably hailed from the town. Furthermore, evidence for Waldensians in conflict with clergy, such as that noted above and below, does rather indicate that they had had quite a presence in the Béziers-Narbonne region.⁴⁸

Almost certainly, the largest centre of Waldensian activity before the crusade was at Montauban. Inquisition deponents recalled them there and in several smaller nearby centres, and they outnumbered Cathars significantly. As indicated above, something like 67 per cent of those whose sentences are recorded at Montauban admitted to dealings at some level with Waldensians. We encounter a problem, however, in that few of the sentences in the relevant inquisitorial register, that of Peter Seilan, associate dates with activities. However, the following evidence indicates that there had once been well-established and visible communities which had now collapsed.⁴⁹

At Montauban itself, no fewer than thirty people recalled having been involved in the celebrating of the Waldensian *Cena*, and they would also eat and share meat on Good Friday. The patriarch of the Carbonnel family, Peter, admitted to serving food, including meat and wine, to Waldensians ‘fifty times.’ During such a tolerant era, the Waldensian Touzla of Lavaur could be seen taking part in the building of the church of Saint-Nauphary. Waldensians could also be encountered ‘on the hill’ of *Malrazenc*, between Saint-Nuphery and Corbarieu, presumably preaching openly. This also took place at roadsides. People at Montauban bequeathed goods to Waldensians in wills in the conventional way; by Sibille of Largarde and Raymond Carbonnel, who was urged by his brother to leave them two hundred *solidi*.⁵⁰ Dealings with the sect were open and seemingly understood as legitimate, in spite of *Ad abolendam*. They were also central to the medical infrastructure of Montauban.⁵¹ Pons of la Jonquière recalled going to their hospital.⁵² Peter Biller notes the existence of further Waldensian hospitals and hospices in Languedoc and that with the need for episcopal oversight of hospitals, they must have been founded with the approval of the bishop of Cahors. It therefore had to mean that Waldensians were regarded in this context not simply as tolerable, but benign, and as such must have been before they were persecuted.⁵³ Both

Raymond Hugh and Hugh du Port of Montauban had been familiar with Waldensians as children, possibly because the sect also ran a school.⁵⁴

At nearby Moissac, in spite of the oversight of its powerful Benedictine abbey, Arnold Faber had received Waldensians 'around thirty times'. William of Bérens recalled a domestic gathered as a child. Na Algars du Villar of Montcuq rented a house to female Waldensians for two years, as Bernarda Faure of Beaucaire did for one, and 'they used to come to the house where she lived and vice versa,' indicating stability.⁵⁵ We also have numerous records from the Montauban area of the Waldensian-Cathar debates for which the sect was renowned.⁵⁶

Although such activity is indicated for the period before the crusade, the loss of Durand, Ermengard and the others must have been a huge blow to Waldensians remaining in the sect even before 1209. No comparable leading figures emerge in the sources. It must have been an acrimonious process too. Ermengaud wrote regarding his ex-colleagues, that they could not be wholly extirpated except by the secular arm, i.e. execution.⁵⁷ Yet the Poor Catholics appear to have had little if any impact on such established and flourishing Waldensian centres as those above, which they must surely have targeted. Their relationship with the Catholic Church was also strained. As late as 1209 Archbishop Berenger of Narbonne accused them of worshipping alongside Waldensians.⁵⁸ They were not the solution the Church was seeking.

V

There is no question that crusade of that same year saw Waldensians as legitimate targets. Along with the northerner Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, William of Tudela tells us that the enormous army had been raised against 'heretics and clog wearers'.⁵⁹ But crucially, in spite of very extensive evidence for the activities of the Albigensian Crusade, I find no evidence of Waldensians actually being encountered in the areas in which the crusaders campaigned, aside from Biget's speculative observations about Béziers. I suggest that their experience at Béziers in 1209 triggered more widespread panic. They are not noted in the crusader sources even for the Montauban or Castelnaudary areas, in which they were evidently well-

established 'around forty years ago'. What we have instead in such sources, is evidence that they had *gone*.

In accounting for the attack on Lavaur in 1211, William of Tudela tells us that Arnaud Amaury, its lord under the viscounts of Béziers, had taken up with Waldensians previously, but there is no indication that they were still present in 1211.⁶⁰ The anonymous continuator of the *Song* of the crusade mentions says in the context of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 that Simon de Montfort, leader of the crusaders, had *driven out* 'the heretics, the mercenaries and Waldensians.'⁶¹ The anonymous author refers to them again in the context of the great siege of Toulouse in 1217-18. But again, they are not in the town, but explicitly in *other* lands, and Toulouse, it was planned, would form a base for preaching missions against them.⁶²

From the evidence above, we can see that Waldensians were well established in the same areas in which Cathars were by the start of the crusade—from the Pyrenees in the south to Montauban in the north, and from Narbonne in the East to Toulouse in the West. But after the fall of Béziers, we do not find them being encountered in the Cathar heartlands. However, crusaders did have further dealings with Waldensians, in places to which the sect had apparently fled: Gascony to the West, the Bouriane region of Quercy to the North-West, and the Rouergue to the North. These places are where we have evidence for them between 1209 and the start of inquisition. The sources allows us a far better understanding of what Waldensians did in the crusade than either their historians or those of Waldensians have realised.

To begin with, the preaching mission planned at Toulouse during its great siege, was probably aimed at the Condomois in Gascony, to which the very first activity against Waldensians during the crusade also relates. The evidence is a charter of 4 July 1210. It was given at Toulouse by the papal legate Abbot Arnold Aimery of Cîteaux. He had been had been sent by the pope to intervene in a long-standing dispute over tithes and taxes between Condom and its Benedictine abbot Montazin of Galard. In addition to evidence relating to that dispute, the legate found another reason to support him. We hear that the archbishop of Bordeaux

had already anathematised the townspeople for disobeying the canons and encouraging in heretics. Fascinatingly, the charter asserts that these heretics were, 'mostly Waldensians.'⁶³ The legate effectively implemented *Ab abolendam*, issuing a confiscation goods and barring townspeople and their heirs from office.

Aside from being a rare, new source for Waldensians, this is interesting in other ways. First, Yves Dossat had been more literally correct than anyone could have imagined in asserting that Catharism never crossed the Garonne into Gascony. Of course, the heretics must have crossed it sometimes, certainly in Toulouse where it bisects the town. But Cathars are not actually recorded west of the Garonne, and certainly never appear to have established themselves there.⁶⁴ But Waldensians would have appeared very different from Cathars to the people of Condom and would probably have sympathised with their battle concerning the privileges of the abbey.⁶⁵

Secondly, the charter is important in that until the fourteenth century, Condom, whilst in Gascony geographically, was part of the county of Agen, which straddled Gascony, Languedoc and Aquitaine. The Agenais had been ruled directly by the counts of Toulouse since 1196, but was held by them of the kings of England as dukes of Aquitaine. Most recently, in 1200, Count Raymond VI had performed homage to King John.⁶⁶ Raymond was not in practice a target of the crusade until 1211. So, this action by the legate in 1210 was presumably with the consent of the count. Indeed, Raymond had been an ally of Abbot Montazin since the crusade began.⁶⁷ The intervention of 1210 was not with the permission of John, however. He challenged the crusade at various points until finally losing his influence in November 1215 at the Fourth Lateran, when the lands which had pertained to Toulouse were transferred to Simon de Montfort. This accounts a crusader garrison at Condom being massacred by the townspeople in 1217 in support of Toulouse during its siege.⁶⁸ It also contextualises the planned mission to heretical lands by the crusaders noted above.

Thirdly, the evidence from Condom perhaps nuances a dramatic declaration by the people of Agen itself in 1211, when the lands of Raymond of Toulouse became a target for the crusade. They apparently claimed that they would go into exile in the *Bordales* rather than be

ruled by foreigners.⁶⁹ They were probably referring to the Gascon Agenais. If so, we may have a popular rebellion that could account for Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay's curious observation in 1212 that, 'the enemies of the faith came out of Toulouse', still held then by Count Raymond, 'and made excursions into Gascony, doing whatever mischief they could. The Bishop of Comminges led some of our knights into Gascony and defended it valiantly against the enemies of the faith.'⁷⁰ 'Defending' Gascony may therefore have involved support for Abbot Montazin, still embroiled in his domestic dispute.

Finally, it is extremely significant that this newly identified source refers to heretics, 'most of whom' were Waldensians. It is well established that people like papal legates were in the habit of accusing anyone who opposed them of 'heresy', and likely that Abbot Montazin would not mind in the least if the town's leaders were accused of aiding heretics amongst their other crimes. Control of the Gascon Agenais would have pleased several powerful parties and help to surround and isolate Toulouse. But if this accusation of heresy was a fabrication, we should certainly expect to hear more about the worst of all heretics, the dualists, and not that most of the heretics were the far less dangerous Waldensians. I am unaware of any other source which relate the two sects to each other in this way. As with inquisitorial evidence, we have a 'surplus' above what is needed, and which does not suit the usual political formulation of accusations of heresy. On this basis, I consider the accusation in the 1210 charter to be important in understanding the movements of Waldensians in Languedoc.

The crusaders next encountered Waldensians in the Rouergue, in the Summer of 1214 at the town of Morlhon, just south of Rodez. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay implies that the crusaders were simply passing through the diocese, and that the inhabitants of this strongly fortified town resisted them. When it was taken, he says, 'I must record that we found seven heretics of the Waldensians sect; they were at once led to the legate and confessed their unbelief freely and fully. The crusaders seized them and burnt them with great rejoicing.'⁷¹

Again, this encounter takes some explaining. The Rouergue possibly had Waldensian communities before the crusade, because at least two of the Poor Catholics had names

originating there. Durand of Najac and William of Saint-Antonin were probably both from *castra* in close proximity to the contested borders between the Toulousain, Quercy and the Albigeois.⁷² We have further evidence for Waldensians at Saint-Antonin from Peter Seilan's witnesses Hugh du Port, whose evidence has not previously been used in relation to the shifting geography of the movement.⁷³ He admitted living with them for two months as a child. But when Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay tells us in great detail about the siege of Saint-Antonin by the crusader army in May 1212, he makes no mention of heresy.⁷⁴ The chronicler's approach to centres of heresy is such that, had it been discovered, he would most certainly have noted it. We should therefore conclude that the Waldensians had already left Saint-Antonin, and find another explanation for the siege.

This is not difficult. Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay places the blame on its viscount, Adémar-Jourdain, an 'evil and depraved knight', and his supposed collusion with the count of Toulouse in seizing the town from the Trencavel viscounts of Béziers. When the crusaders took the Trencavel lands and titles in 1209, they could legitimately set about 'reclaiming' Saint-Antonin and control the contested border region. As such, when it fell in 1212, it was entrusted to Baldwin of Toulouse, the crusading half-brother of Count Raymond.⁷⁵ Nothing in the background to the taking of Saint-Antonin implies that this was anything other than a political campaign, if an important one in terms of a coherent military strategy by Simon de Montfort for the eradication of heresy.⁷⁶

If the attacks on Saint-Antonin were part of securing the Toulousain and Albigeoise rather than seeking out heretics, what of Morlhon in 1214? It was much further to the north, there is no indication that the town was targeted *because* it contained Waldensians, and Count Henry I (1208/9-1222) of Rodez had not been accused of harbouring heretics. On the contrary, William of Tudela lists Rodez amongst the counties which had contributed crusaders to the campaigns of 1209, and a series of charters indicate that the count forming a closer and closer relationship with the crusaders.⁷⁷ Peter only tells us that the inhabitants of Morlhon resisted them. Perhaps they were trying to seize supplies or impose themselves in lodgings, which had recently made them unpopular at Cahors, amongst other towns. Or perhaps Morlhon was indeed resisting because of the Waldensians hiding there. Again, it

would seem that Waldensians had been forced to establish themselves further from the heartlands of Languedoc because of the crusade.

The third region into which Waldensians can be shown as having fled from the crusade is the Bouriane region of northern Quercy. That is to say, the diocese of Cahors lying well to the north of the river Lot and dominated by the *castrum* of Gourdon. We know about their activity there from the later evidence of inquisition witnesses appearing in front of Peter Seilan. Around forty-five people, or 34 per cent, admitted to association with *Valdenses*. The sect had won both hearts and minds. Péronne de Jean preferred them to Cathars, and Raimonda, wife of William of Goulême, appears utterly devoted to them. As well as providing continuity with the old days through debating with Cathars, the sect still had its doctors. Indeed, because of their skills they were still used by people otherwise only associating with Cathars. One doctor, Peter of les Vals, features especially prominently. We also hear of preaching by Waldensians witnessed by the people of nearby la Vigue, Laribe and Rouffilhac, and in such settlements Waldensians are very often the only sect recalled by witnesses.⁷⁸

But the depositions give an impression of a far more precarious Waldensian presence. The percentage of people admitting to having had involvement with them is half that at Montauban. They are recorded as often on the move, being accompanied from place to place for their safety, for example when they travelled with William Ricart to take part in debates with Cathars.⁷⁹ Peter of les Vals cured people in their own homes and not in hospital; people 'consulted' doctors rather than going *ad Valdenses*, and Peter of La Oleiras accompanied him on a journey for his safety.⁸⁰ There are fewer accounts of debates and they were more low-key affairs than previously, taking place secretly in homes such as those of Lady Pana of Guia and Walter of Arcambal.⁸¹ Disputations were still significant, nonetheless. Bernard Bonald of Gourdon hosted one and decided that he preferred the Waldensians to Cathars, and Peter of Verneuil had both Cathars and Waldensians *in fortia sua*, speaking to them in turn, presumably weighing up their arguments.⁸² As such, the refugees continued the work for which they had established themselves in Languedoc, but in further flung places and in a less secure environment.

I am suggesting that these Waldensian migrants—we can hardly call them ‘communities’ anymore—were of a generation following an exodus from southern Quercy in 1209. The presence of Waldensians in the south of the diocese is not asserted by the crusade’s chroniclers, who knew the region well, William of Tudela being based at Montauban for a time. The Bouriane, in contrast, must have provided a safer environment because of its distance from the crusade’s operational centres. Although its leaders took Raymond VI’s part from 1214, it was not targeted. This is not to say that Waldensians never set foot in lower or central Quercy after they fell to the crusaders, nor that the only migration north was early in the crusade. This is possibly because the region south of the Lot was not a major focus of crusader governance even after most of it fell in 1214, or after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 when it was technically ceded to de Montfort along with the other lands in the sphere of the counts of Toulouse. As a generalisation, however, there appear to have been few if any Waldensians in the places where inquisitors would have first looked for them in the 1230s. The first one we encounter was long dead.

VI

In the 1270s William Pelhisson referred his readers to the first Waldensian exhumation, which had taken place in 1231 at Toulouse. It was the body of Galvan, an archimandrite of the Waldensians. Inquisitors and others, William tells us,

‘went confidently to the house where the said heretic had died, and destroyed it utterly, and made a dung pit out of it, and they exhumed the said Galvan and took him out of the cemetery in the Villeneuve quarter where he had been buried. In a great procession they dragged his body through the town, and in a public place outside of the town they burned it.’⁸³

It is not clear when Galvan had lived, but unlike Cathars, no other Waldensians, let alone the living, are recorded as have been affected by the earliest inquests. This singular reference

indicates that the sect was a long-spent force in the Cathar heartlands by the end of the crusade.

However, we have evidence of a failed attempt in the 1230s to re-establish the sect by families of Viviers, in the parish of Saïx, near Castres. The hamlet formed a small pocket of the vast central area known as the Lauragais which was investigated in 1245-6 by Bernard of Caux and John of Saint-Pierre.⁸⁴ Raymond Biat, amongst others, was very involved in the day to day ritual and economic life of Waldensians the commonplace 'around forty years ago'.⁸⁵ But from other depositions we have evidence of more recent activity. The witness Sicarda, wife of John Cochafieu, had the Waldensians Gausbert of Las Crozes and his companion, in her own home for two nights 'six years ago or thereabouts'.⁸⁶ The revival was facilitated in particular by the Martini family. John Cochafieu himself had seen Peter Martini with Waldensians in a hut, where they preached, 'six or seven years earlier', that is, in the late 1230s.⁸⁷ Peter dated his first involvement to about 1235, but his encounter contrasts with stories about Waldensians before the crusade. Where they had preached openly on hilltops and by roadsides, he had met them hiding in the *de Rassi* forest. Then in c1239, Peter and Raymond Martini failed to protect two Waldensian women living at Castres, called 'Good Lady' and Arnalda, and they were captured.⁸⁸

This is the only example of Waldensians operating in the region affected by the crusade in the early inquisition period. However, it resulted in a previously overlooked, minor inquest, in the tiny nearby *castrum* of La Bruguière. Raymond Martini said that he had confessed some of his activity already, in c.1236, but had continued to believe Waldensians to be good people until the time when the women were taken.⁸⁹ A final record suggests a way of interpreting the evidence. In 1245, Isarna, wife of Bernard of Castanhers of nearby Hautpoul, said that she had seen Peter Boeri regularly giving Waldensians alms, again around the time when the Waldensian women were captured.⁹⁰ She noted that she had already confessed this to inquisitors at La Bruguière. In other words, the capture of the women of Castres had revealed a local network of Waldensian sympathisers and resulted in a local clampdown and an inquest. But the attempted revival of Waldensianism ended there. Wal-

densians were safest, if they were safe at all, much further from the Lauragais and Toulousain.

VII

To conclude, let return to 1241, when James Carbonnel of Montauban told Peter Seilan that he had believed Waldensians to be good people 'up until the time when the Church had condemned them.'⁹¹ On the face of it, this could refer to before *Ad abolendam*, in the event that James was very old. But other witnesses are clearer that the sect was not persecuted until the crusade. I am certainly not suggesting that no one else has considered the crusade as a pivotal moment for Waldensians in Languedoc. Rather, no one has demonstrated this using all the available sources. Doing just this has enabled us to be far more precise about the impact of the crusade than we realised.

Peter Biller has discussed houses of Waldensian women at Castelnaudary in 1206 and within a couple of years of that date. He suggests that the arrival of the crusaders drove them underground and that small, mixed double houses of Waldensian women and men allowed them to disguise themselves as spouses and siblings.⁹² This is logical if the sectarians remained and tried to conceal themselves in the region as Cathars did. But I should like to go further. Because such houses are not specifically revealed by the sources for the period from 1209, and nor were they specific to Languedoc, I suggest that Waldensians evacuated the Languedoc's heretical heartlands in 1209 instead of going underground. Walter L. Wakefield, on the other hand, suggests that like Cathars, Waldensians went to Lombardy, Spain and to 'mountain refuges' during the crusade, and 'began to return' after 1215, such that their 'preaching was heard again in the old centres of disaffection.'⁹³ But there is no direct evidence for this either. It could be that lost volumes of the register represented by Ms 609 would reveal more survivals or revivals in the 1230s like Viviers. But given the evidence we have, Waldensians, did not share the same trajectory of persecution and recovery as Cathars.

It was apparently only at Gourdon that refugees of 1209 eventually found a safe haven, and it seems likely that remarkable personalities like Peter of les Vals had either fled again or been burned by the time that the lay supporters of heresy were tried by Peter Seilan. Aside from Peter Martini's circle, the crusade put an end to Waldensians in Languedoc until the discovery in c.1300 by Jacques Fournier of a tiny group which had transplanted itself in the County of Foix.⁹⁴ The initial settlement of Waldensians in the Cathar Languedoc, their survival in the face of schism in 1207, their displacement by the crusade to the fringes of the region affected by the army of God, forms a tragic narrative. It sees them undertake a mission to support the Church in eradicating dualism, and be persecuted by those they considered allies. They were forced to become dependent on the shelter of the lords of Gourdon, who actively defended Cathars, and of the people of Condom and Morlhon, towns previously untainted by the stain of heresy but brought to the attention of crusaders as a result.

As such, the Waldensians of Languedoc occupy a unique place in the history of medieval heresy in under-explored senses. They are untypical of the wider movement in intervening against the most dangerous heresy of all, and in being destroyed along with it. They were heretics who were not heretics, and heretics used against heretics, until it became important to identify and classify all forms of religious dissent and establish exactly who was inside and outside of orthodox communion.⁹⁵ It would seem that, once they were finally persecuted, Waldensians did not have the appeal that they had had when they occupied the middle ground between unpopular aspects of Catholicism and outright dualism.⁹⁶ By 1209, the clerical and secular enemies of Catharism had finished debating with them and no longer required them in the fight for the soul of Languedoc. Fleeing from southern to northern Quercy, from the Toulousain into Gascony, and from the Lauragais into the Rouergue, perhaps to lie low until the dust settled, they did too little and too late to recover, let alone to embody the Apostolic life again in Languedoc. They had always been marginal, and although they were once an unofficial weapon deployed against Catharism, they never shook off the stigma of having been condemned in Roman legislation. Paradoxically, they were too orthodox to retain a distinctive place in the eclectic religious society of Languedoc.

12447 words without abstract and title.

¹ I am defining Languedoc as the medieval counties lying between Gascony and the Mediterranean, and from the Pyrenees to the Dordogne

² On the impact of the crusade on Cathar centres, see most recently, G. E. M. Lippiatt, *Simon V of Montfort and Baronial Government, 1195-1218* (Oxford, 2017), 169-72.

³ The major monographs on Waldensians in medieval Europe are G. Audisio, *The Waldensian Dissent: Persecution and Survival c.1170-c.1570*, trans. C. Davison (Cambridge, 1999); E. Cameron, *Waldenses: Rejections of Holy Church in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 2000); G. Merlo, *Valdesi e valdismi medievali*, 2 vols. (Turin, 1984). See also sections in M. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy. Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 2002), 70-96, 158-89. For the most recent literature on early Waldensians at Lyon, see M. Rubellin, 'Au temps où Valdès n'était pas hérétique: Hypothèses sur le rôle de Valdès à Lyon (1170–1183)' in *Inventer l'hérésie? Discours polémiques et pouvoirs avant l'inquisition*, ed. M. Zerner (Nice, 1998), 193–217; P. Tolonen, 'Medieval memories of the origins of the Waldensian movement', in *History and Religion: Narrating a Religious Past*, ed. O. Bernd-Christian et al. (Berlin/Boston, 2015), 165-187. The movement is about to become the subject of a Brill companion edited by Euan Cameron.

⁴ For the sources, A. Dondaine, 'Durand de Huesca et la polémique anti-cathare', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* (AFP), 29 (1959), 228-76 and 'Le manuel de l'inquisiteur (1230-1330)', *AFP*, 17 (1947), 85-194; J. Duvernoy's edition of the *Liber antiheresis* by Durand of Huesca in *AFP* 16 (1946). K.-V. Selge, *Die Ersten Waldenser*, vol. 1: *Untersuchung und Darstellung* (Berlin, 1967) and *Vaudois languedociens et pauvres catholique* (Toulouse, 1967); Selge with A. Patschovsky, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Waldenser*, Texte zur Kirchen- und Theologie-Geschichte, vol. 18 (Gütersloh, 1973); and C. Thouzellier, 'Le 'Liber antiheresis' de Durand de Huesca et la 'Contra haereticos' d'Ermengarde de Béziers', *Revue d'histoire Ecclésiastique*, 55 (1960), 130-41, 'Controverses vaudoises-cathares à la fin du xiie siècle', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 35 (1960), 137–139, and *Une somme anti-cathare: le Liber contra Manicheos de Durand de Huesca* (Louvain, 1964). See also the following essays in *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 2 (Toulouse, 1967), which was devoted to the subject of Waldensians in Languedoc: Y. Dossat, 'Les vaudois méridionaux d'après les documents de l'inquisition', 208-227; K.-V. Selge, 'Rencontre à Pamiers des courantes des

vaudois et dominicain (1207)', 163-94 and 'L'aile droite du mouvement vaudois et naissance des Pauvres catholiques et des Pauvres réconciliés', 227-43, M. H. Vicaire, 'Les Vaudois et Pauvres catholiques contre les Cathares (1190-1223)', 244-72. See also A. Brenon, 'Vaudoisie en Languedoc (xiie-xiv siècles)', in her *Le choix hérétique. Dissidence chrétienne dans l'Europe médiévale* (Cahors, 2006), 115-30. See also the following chapters in J. Duvernoy, *Dissidents du pays d'Oc: Cathares, Vaudois et Béguins* (Toulouse, 1994): 'Albigeois et vaudois en Quercy', 85-97; 'Albigeois et vaudois en Rouergue', 99-110; "'À l'époque, l'Église ne poursuivait pas les Vaudois": essai de chronologie du valdéisme languedocien', 153-61, and his *Inquisition à Pamiers. Cathares, juifs lépreux... devient leur juges* (Toulouse 1966), 20-32. See also C. Thouzellier's *Catharisme et Valdésisme en Languedoc à la fin du 12e et au début du 13e siècle* (Louvain, 1969).

⁵ Peter Biller has done most relating to Waldensians in the south of France: *The Waldenses, 1170-1530: Between and Religious Order and a Church* (Aldershot, 2001) and 'Interrogation of Waldensians', in *Medieval Christianity in Practice*, ed. M. Rubin (Princeton/Oxford, 2009), 231-37. Caterina Bruschi features Waldensians centrally amongst her itinerant subjects: *The Wandering Heretics of Languedoc* (Cambridge, 2009). The fortunate historian working on the northern Languedoc can paint a picture of communities in which Cathars, Waldensians, their supporters encountered each other on a daily basis: J. Feuchter, *Die städtischen Eliten von Montauban vor dem Inquisitor Petrus Cellani (1236/1241)* (Tübingen, 2007); C. Taylor, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Medieval Quercy* (Woodbridge, 2011). Euan Cameron's forthcoming edited volume will contain a chapter, 'Southern-French Waldensians' by Taylor. The most significant new scholar in the field is Adam L. Hoose: 'The *Sabatati*: The Significance of Early Waldensian Shoes, c. 1184–c. 1300', *Speculum*, 91:2 (2016), 356-373 and 'Durán of Huesca (c. 1160–1230): A Waldensian Seeking a Remedy to Heresy', *Journal of Religious History*, 38:2 (2014), 173-189. Waldensians were also encountered south of the Pyrenees in the kingdom of Aragon by the 1190s: D. Smith, *Crusade, Heresy and Inquisition in the Lands of the Crown of Aragon (c.1167-1276)*, (Leiden, 2010). It has to be said that although we have evidence for ex-Waldensians there, and of anti-Waldensian royal legislation, there is little non-circumstantial evidence of Waldensian activity specifically in Iberia in their early period, However, Waldensians were familiar to clergy at the Council of Tarragona in 1242

and feature prominently in its canons: J. Arnold and P. Biller, eds. and trans., *Heresy and Inquisition in France, 1200-1300* (Manchester, 2016), 218-29.

⁶ J. Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme*, 2 vols (Toulouse, 1976, 1979); É. Griffe, *Le Languedoc Cathare de 1190 à 1210* (Paris, 1971); B. Hamilton, *Monastic Reform, Catharism and the Crusades (900-1300)* (London, 1979); S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee* (Cambridge, 1947).

⁷ U. Brunn, *Des Contestataires aux "cathares". Discours de réforme et propagande antihérétique dans les pays du Rhin et de la Meuse avant l'Inquisition* (Turnhout, 2006); M. G. Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245-1246* (Princeton and Oxford, 2001) and 'The Paradigm of Catharism; or, the historians' illusion', in ed. Antonio Sennis, *Cathars in Question* (Woodbridge, 2016), 21-52; R. I. Moore, *The War on Heresy* (London, 2012) and, 'Principles at Stake: The debate of April 2013 in retrospect', in Sennis, *Cathars in Question*, 257-74; M. Zerner et al., *Inventer l'hérésie? discours polémique et pouvoirs avant l'Inquisition* (Nice, 1998).

⁸ Most recently, see the following chapters in Sennis, *Cathars in Question*: J. H. Arnold, 'The Cathar Middle Ages as a methodological and historiographical problem', 53-78; J. Feuchter, 'The *Heretici* of Languedoc: local holy men and women or organized religious group? New evidence from inquisitorial, notarial and historiographical sources', 112-30; B. Hamilton, 'Cathar links with the Balkans and Byzantium', 131-50; Y. Stoyanov, 'Pseudepigraphic and parabiblical narratives and elements in medieval eastern Christian dualism and their implications for the rise and evolution of Catharism', 151-76; C. Taylor, 'Looking for the 'Good Men' in the Languedoc: an alternative to 'Cathars'?', 242-56. Otherwise highly influential are J. H. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in the Medieval Languedoc* (Philadelphia, 2001); J.-L. Biget, *Hérésie et inquisition dans le midi de la France* (Paris, 2007); P. Jimenez-Sanchez, *Les Catharismes: Modèles dissidents du christianisme médiéval (xiiie-xiiiie siècles)* (Rennes, 2008); and M. Zerner, et al. *L'Histoire du Catharisme en discussion: Le 'concile' de Saint-Félix (1167)* (Nice, 2001). See also C. Taylor, 'Evidence for dualism in inquisitorial registers of the 1240s: a contribution to a debate', *History*, 98 (2013), 319-345, *Heresy in Medieval France. Dualism in Aquitaine and the Agenais, 1000-1249* (Woodbridge, 2005), and *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Medieval Quercy* (Woodbridge, 2011). The best anglophone text books are also more subtle than the revisionists allow: M.

Barber, *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in the Languedoc in the High Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. (Harlow, 2013); M. D. Lambert, *The Cathars* (Oxford, 1998).

⁹ Hoose, 'Durán of Huesca' (*passim*).

¹⁰ Most recently, Hoose concludes that Waldensians, 'while not belonging to a religious order or to a counterchurch', had a common identity and 'were linked not least by their wearing of distinctive shoes': 'The *Sabatati*', 356-7, 373, and see his 'Durán of Huesca', 175. Cf. Cameron, *Waldenses*, 1-60, 272-303 and Merlo, *Valdesi e valdism*, i. 9-25 and ii. 69-112, 137-44. For a more traditional position see Audisio, *Les Vaudois*, 15-44, 299-311 and P. Biller, 'Goodbye to Waldensianism?', *Past and Present*, 192 (2006), 3-33, which is explicitly in answer to Merlo.

¹¹ J. P. Migne *et al.* (eds) *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina (PL)* 217 vols. (Paris, 1852-1904, with 4 vols. index and 5 vols. supplementum 1958-74), cciv. 1,235-72 and clxxviii. 1823-46, translated in W. L. Wakefield and A. P. Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (Columbia NY, 1991), 230-1, 234-5.

¹² Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronique 1203-1275 (Chronica Magistri Guillelmi de Podio Laurentii)*, ed. and trans. J. Duvernoy (Paris 1976: repr. Toulouse, 1996), 24. The English translation is *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens. The Albigensian Crusade and its Aftermath*, eds and trans. W. A. Sibly and M. D. Sibly (Woodbridge, 2003), 8. See also Y. Dossat, 'A propos du chroniqueur Guillaume de Puylaurens', in his *Église et hérésie en France au xiii siècle* (London, 1982), 47-52 and 'Le chroniqueur Guillaume de Puylaurens, était-il chapelain de Raymond VII ou notaire de l'inquisition toulousaine?', in *idem*, 343-53.

¹³ Wakefield and Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, 231.

¹⁴ *Alani de Insulis De fide catholica contra haereticos sui temporis*', PL ccx. 305-430, at 377-80, translated in Wakefield and Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, 217. It is one of the most robust attacks on Valdes' followers. Euan Cameron observes that Alan was undertaking a systematic scholastic rebuttal of heresies, 'summoning up analogous arguments...in order to refute them; or, at best, he may have depicted only one wing of the early movement': *Waldenses*, 25-6, 33. See also Thouzellier, *Catharisme et Valdésisme*, 94-106. Certainly, we need to be cautious of some of Alan's more extreme insinuations, which hint that they were heading in a Donatist direction. This would never be the case with southern French Waldensians, although it did come to apply to the sect in Italy, and was always a

concern. It should be noted that Hilbert Chiu's case, that Alan never worked in the Languedoc and never met a heretic, has been refuted by Peter Biller, referring to work by Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, of which Chiu was evidently unaware: Chiu, 'Alan of Lille's academic concept of the Manichee', *Journal of Religious History*, 35: 4 (2011), 492–506; d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille: textes inédits* (Paris, 1965); Biller at <<http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/1546/>>

¹⁵ *Chronique de Guillaume Pelhisson*, ed. and trans J. Duvernoy (Paris, 1994), 42-3, 56-7.

¹⁶ Most recently on the question of Waldensian footwear, see Hoose, 'The *Sabatati*', cf. P. Biller, 'Fingerprinting an anonymous description of the Waldensians', *Texts and the Representation of Medieval Heresy*, eds P. Biller and C. Bruschi (Woodbridge, 2003), 163-207.

¹⁷ C. Léglu, R. Rist and C. Taylor, eds and trans., *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade* (London/New York, 2014), 167, 169 notes 5 and 6; Guillaume de Tudela *et al.*, *La Chanson de la croisade Albigeoise (Chanson)*, ed. and trans E. Martin-Chabot, 3 vols. (Paris, 1960-72), 1: 24 (laisse 8), 164 (laisse 68); 2: 70 (laisse 149), and 3: 34 (laisse 190).

¹⁸ J. Duvernoy, *L'inquisition en Quercy: le registre des pénitences de Pierre Cellan, 1241-1242* (Castelnaud la Chapelle, 2001), 68-9, 88-9. Jörg Feuchter is the modern authority on Peter Seilan: 'Pierre Sellan. Le pouvoir de l'inquisition à travers ses peines. Le cas de Montauban (1241)', in *Inquisition et pouvoir*, ed. G. Audisio (Aix-en-Provence, 2003), 235-255, and 'Pierre Sellan, un viellard expérimenté', in *Les inquisiteurs. Portraits de défenseurs de la foi en Languedoc (xiiiè-xive siècles)*, ed. L. Albaret (Toulouse, 2001), 41-55.

¹⁹ See Taylor, 'Looking for the "Good Men" in the Languedoc' (above).

²⁰ Here I am essentially referring to how to mine these sources effectively for evidence, rather than to the ethical issues concerning them, but the two are related: J. H. Arnold, 'The historian as inquisitor: the ethics of interrogating subaltern voices', *Rethinking History* 2 (1998), 379-86.

²¹ BnF Ms. Lat. Doat 21, fos 185r-312v. Duvernoy's edition and translation of Peter's register is reasonable. Other registers, contained in Doats 22 to 24, are accessible as imperfect transcriptions by Jean Duvernoy at the on-line repository of sources on which he was working at his death, <<http://jean.duvernoy.free.fr/text/pdf/bdecaux.pdf>>. They are currently being edited and translated by the important AHRC-funded project at the University of York: <<http://www.york.ac.uk/res/doat/>>. Some depositions are already

translated into English in Arnold and Biller, *Heresy and Inquisition*, 291-508, and in Léglu, Rist and Taylor, *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade*, 131-77. For later manuscripts, having formed part of the Dominican archive in Toulouse, see most recently, P. Biller, C. Bruschi, and S. Sneddon (eds and trans), *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth-Century Languedoc. Edition and Translations of Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282* (Leiden, 2010), 4-10.

²² On this genre and how to decode the manuals, see L. Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century. The Textual Representations* (Woodbridge, 2011), 136-8, 141-3.

²³ C. Bruschi, "'Magna diligentia est habenda per inquisitorem": Precautions before reading Doat 21-26', in Bruschi and Biller, *Texts and Repression*, 81-111.

²⁴ For example, in Taylor, 'Evidence for dualism' (above).

²⁵ Doat 21, fos 231r-v, 245v.

²⁶ Waldensians were said rather fancifully by other clergy of the region to have believed that they could transform the meat into the body of Christ. For a condemnation of this by jurists at Avignon in 1235, see Patschovsky and Selge, *Quellen zur Geschichte*, 50-4, translated in Arnold and Biller, *Heresy and Inquisition*, 215-17, at 216. For the approach to it by inquisitors at the Council of Narbonne (1243 or 1244), see Patschovsky and Selge, *Quellen zur Geschichte*, 60-9 and Arnold and Biller, *Heresy and Inquisition*, 236-49, at 247.

²⁷ Doat 21, fo. 231v.

²⁸ Hoose, 'Durán of Huesca', 177, 182.

²⁹ Thouzellier, *Hérésie et hérétiques*, 81-165 and 'Controverses vaudoises-cathares', *passim*.

³⁰ Doat 21, fo. 263v.

³¹ For statistical approaches see Taylor, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Medieval Quercy*, 160-5 and 'Southern-French Waldensians' (forthcoming, above). See also Duvernoy, *L'inquisition en Quercy*, 23, 25; M. Aussel, 'Noël 1241: Gourdon au temps de l'inquisition', *Bulletin de la société des études du Lot*, 117 (1996), 91-117; H. Barmby, 'The Punishment of Heresy in Languedoc during the Mid- Thirteenth Century' (PhD, University of Nottingham, 2017).

³² See Barmby, 'The Punishment of Heresy'.

³³ 'tunc temporis Ecclesia non persequebatur Valdenses'. The deposition was given on 29 February 1244 and is preserved in Doat 22, here at fos 30r—31r.

³⁴ Hoose, 'Durán of Huesca' (above); Smith *Crusade, Heresy and Inquisition*, 144-68.

³⁵ *Bernardi abbatis Fontis callidi ordinis praemonstratensis, Adversus Waldensium sectam liber*, PL, cciv. 793-840 (793a-5c for the debate). Bernard is partially translated in Wakefield and Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, 211-13 (quotation at 211). On Bernard, see L. Verees, 'Le traité de l'abbé Bernard de Foucaude contre les Vaudois et les Ariens', *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, 31 (1955), 5-3; Cameron, *Waldenses*, 24-5; Thouzellier, *Catharisme et Valdésisme*, 49-59, 81-93.

³⁶ Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 76.

³⁷ Wakefield and Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, at 212.

³⁸ See C. Compayré ed., *Études historiques et documets inédits sur l'Albigeois, le Castrais et l'ancien diocèse de Lavaur* (Albi, 1841), document no. 54, 227-8, translated in Arnold and Biller, *Heresy and Inquisition*, 51-2. Damian Smith prefers 1204 as the date: *Crusade, Heresy and Inquisition*, 152.

³⁹ Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *Petri Vallium Sarnaii Monachi Hystoria Albigensis* (PVC *Hystoria*), ed. P. Guébin and E. Lyon. 2 vols. (Paris, 1926-30), i. 18-19 (ch. 18); Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronique*, 49 (ch. 8). Peter is considered reliable evidence in spite of being highly partisan and not having arrived in the region until 1212. His understanding of Catharism owed much to his northern-French Cistercian roots, but for Waldensians he draws heavily of Ermengaud of Béziers.

⁴⁰ PL ccxv. 1510-13, translated Wakefield and Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, 222-6.

⁴¹ PVC *Hystoria* vol. 1, 43-4 (ch. 48); Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronique*, 48 (ch. 8). The debate at Laurac was also noted by Pons Amel, *senex notarius* of Mirevalle in 1245 in the register of Bernard of Caux and John of Saint-Peter. Part of this survives as a copy made in c.1260: Toulouse B.M. Ms. 609 (here at fo. 198r). Ms. 609 represents the only inquisitorial register surviving in medieval form. It is digitised at

<http://numerique.bibliotheque.toulouse.fr/collect/general/index/assoc//ark:/74899/B315556101_MS_000609.dir/doc.pdf> and there is a reasonable transcription at <<http://jean.duvernoy.free.fr/>>.

Extracts from Ms. 609 concerning Waldensians are translated in Peter Biller, 'Interrogation of Waldensians' and in Arnold and Biller, *Heresy and Inquisition*.

There are few other references to Waldensians in the document. Most deponents mention

them only to say that they had had nothing to do with them: fos 12v, 13r, 20r, 20v, 21r, 42r, 82a, 143r, 171r, 183v, 186v, 191r, 219r, 253v. Several depositions which do indicate them are cited and translated in Biller, 'Interrogation of Waldensians', 232-3 and appear also on the York Doat project website. See also Cameron, *Waldenses*, 34-5, 50-5; M.-H. Vicaire, 'Recontre à Pamiers des courants vaudois et dominicain (1207)', *CF* 2, 163-73 and 'Les Vaudois et Pauvres catholiques contre les Cathares (1190-1223), in *CF* 2, 244-72; K-V Selge, 'L'aile droite du mouvement vaudois', (above); Griffe, *Le Languedoc Cathare*, 112-13 incl. note 12, 260.

⁴² '[d]e tempore quadraginta anni vel circa': Doat 23, fo. 118r; *Le Languedoc Cathare de 1190 à 1210*, 59-60, 112-13, 177-8, 260.

⁴³ 'existentes publice apud Castrum novum, et per aliam terram': Ms. 609, fo. 252v, trans. P. Biller, 'Interrogation of Waldensians', 232.

⁴⁴ 'vidit hereticos et Valdenses publice apud Castrum novum Darri': Ms 609, fos 250v-1r.

⁴⁵ 'quando publice manebant in terra' (Ms. 609, fo. 252v).

⁴⁶ Ms. 609, fo. 96 r-v; Biller, 'Interrogations of Waldensians', 232; Arnold and Biller, *Heresy and Inquisition*, 406.

⁴⁷ Some depositions from the town are misdated. Michael Verger of Issel supposedly gave alms to the sect when they were singing and reading in the same church with clerics 'twenty-five or thirty years ago' (Ms. 609, fo. 96 r-v; Biller, 'Interrogations of Waldensians', 232; Arnold and Biller, *Heresy and Inquisition*, 406). Peter Gauta apparently told inquisitors in 1245 that he had seen Waldensians staying openly at Mas-Saintes-Puelles a rather vague 'over twenty years ago.' ('...vidit plures h(eticos) et Valdenses publice stantes apud Mansum, et sunt xxv anni et amplius': Ms 609, fo. 12v). Such activity cannot date to the crusade period.

⁴⁸ 'Béziers, citadelle de l'hérésie?' in *En Languedoc au xiiiè siècle. Le temps du sac de Béziers*, ed. M. Bourin (Perpignan, 2010), 49-62, at 50 note 5, 54-6, 57, 58, 61. He notes that 'val.' Could easily refer instead to a profession such as *valladerius* or *valetus*.

⁴⁹ Most recently on the location of Waldensians within society at Montauban, see Taylor, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition* 7-10, 46-76, 122-151, and for an outline of inquisition in Quercy, *ibid.* 113-21. The most in-depth study of society at Montauban is Feuchter, *Die städtischen Eliten von Montauban* (above).

⁵⁰ Doat 21, fos. 71, 71r-v, 234r-v, 237v-8r, 241v-2r, 242r, 255v-6r, 257v; Taylor, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition*, 11, 207.

⁵¹ In this activity they emerge from the sources 'in a blaze of light', to P. Biller: '*Curate infirmos*. On Quercy, see 52-9 (quotation at 53). See also W. Wakefield, 'Heretics as physicians in the thirteenth century', *Speculum* 57 (1982), 328-31. See examples at Doat 21, fos 242r, 266r, 268r-v.

⁵² 'ad Valdenses et in hospitali': Doat 21, fo. 249r-v.

⁵³ Biller, '*Curate infirmos*', 56, and in personal correspondence.

⁵⁴ Doat 21, fo. 234r-v, 255r, 265r-v.

⁵⁵ Doat 21, fos. 219r, 228v, 285v, 296r.

⁵⁶ Doat 21, fos 219v-220r, 231 r-v, 234r-v, 254r, 263r-v.

⁵⁷ Wakefield and Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages*, 230, 235.

⁵⁸ *PL*, ccxvi. 73c-74c.

⁵⁹ *PVC Hystoria*, i. 18-19 (ch. 18); *Chanson*, i. 24 (laisse 8): 'Co fan sobre·ls eretges e sobre·ls sabatatz'.

⁶⁰ *Chanson*, i. 164 (laisse 68).

⁶¹ *Chanson*, ii. 70 (laisse 149). The translation is, *The Song of the Cathar Wars. A History of the Albigensian Crusade*, trans. J. Shirley (Aldershot, 1996), 79.

⁶² *Chanson*, ii. 70 (laisse 149).

⁶³ 'hereticorum... maxime qui Valdenses dicuntur'. Arnold Amaury's sentence was pronounced at Toulouse 4 July 1210. The charter, in Archives municipales de Condom, Recueil de Larcher, is reproduced in J. Gardère, *Histoire de la seigneurie de Condom et de l'organisation de la justice dans cette ville* (Condom, 1902), appendix iv, 264-9, with the quotation at 264 (and see 23 and note 1).

⁶⁴ Yves Dossat's observation is explored in his 'Catharisme en Gascogne', in *idem.*, *Eglise et hérésie en France au xiiiè siècle* (London, 1982), 149-68. His assertion supported in C. Taylor, *Heresy in Medieval France*, 141-61.

⁶⁵ This was a conflict in which the crusaders intervened again. At the Council of Pamiers in 1212 de Montfort allowed the townspeople to appeal over the abbot's head and 'ad curiam Agennensem': Gardère, *Histoire de la seigneurie de Condom*, appendix v, 270-6, with the

quotation at 273 (and see 8). On the 'general court' see C. Taylor, 'The general court of the Agenais revisited. An innovation of the Albigensian Crusade', forthcoming in *Nottingham Medieval Studies*.

⁶⁶ On the political situation concerning the Agenais, see Taylor, *Heresy in Medieval France*, 148-9.

⁶⁷ *Chanson*, i. 30 (*laisse* 10).

⁶⁸ For the Agenais and the crusade, see Taylor, *Heresy in Medieval France*, 187-214, 223.

⁶⁹ *Chanson*, i. 152 (*laisse* 61).

⁷⁰ 'hostes fidei, a Tolosa egressi, discurrere ceperunt per Vasconiam et facere mala, quecumque potuerunt': PVC *Hystoria*, ii. 64-5 (ch. 365). The translation is PVC, *History*, 171.

⁷¹ 'Nec silendum quod ibi invenimus septem hereticos de secta illa que Valdensium dicebatur, qui statim ad legatum adducti, suam incredulitatem plene et plane sunt confessi; quos nostri arripientes peregrini, cum ingenti gaudio conbusserunt' (PVC *Hystoria*, ii. 207-8, ch. 513); PVC *History*, 231. The legate was probably Robert of Courson (Lippiatt, *Simon V of Montfort*, 94).

⁷² de Gournay, *La Rouergue*, 394 note 171. It was once incorrectly thought that Durand of Huesca himself was from the Rouergue: Smith, *Crusade, Heresy and Inquisition*, 138-9.

⁷³ Above.

⁷⁴ PVC *Hystoria*, ii. 12-16 (chs 313-16).

⁷⁵ PVC *Hystoria*, ii. 12-13 (ch. 313); PVC *History*, 152 (quotation), 122 note 21, 140 note 64, and 152 note 54 (on the viscount's family); *Chanson*, i. 2-6 (*laisse* 1) and ii. 252-6 (*laisse* 114). See also Bousquet, *Le Rouergue*, 144, 407, 409, 411 and Taylor, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition*, 94-5.

⁷⁶ This agrees with the account of de Montfort given in Lippiatt, *Simon V of Montfort* (*passim*.) and Barber, *The Cathars*, 122-3.

⁷⁷ *Chanson*, i. 38 (*laisse* 13). See de Gournay, *La Rouergue*, 4, 396-7 and unpublished transcriptions of charters in the appendix to G. E. M. Lippiatt, 'Simon V of Montfort: The Exercise and Aims of Independent Baronial Power at Home and on Crusade, 1195-1218' (D.Phil, University of Oxford, 2015). I am very grateful to Dr. Lippiatt for this evidence.

⁷⁸ Doat 21, fos 190v, 190r-v, 192v, 198r, 201v, 203v, 205v, 206v, 208r, 208r-v, 211v; Taylor, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition*, 132, 134, 157, 177-8, 197-8, 165-7.

-
- ⁷⁹ 'Duxit Valdenses ad hereticos ad disputandem': Doat 21 fo. 208v.
- ⁸⁰ Doat 21, fos 189r, 194v, 202r, 203v, 201r, 204v, 207v. On visits from Waldensian doctors see Biller, *'Curate infirmus,'* 56.
- ⁸¹ Doat 21, fos 194v, 195v, 196v-7r, 203v.
- ⁸² Doat 21, fos 201r, 202r.
- ⁸³ *Chronique de Guillaume Pelhisson*, 42-4.
- ⁸⁴ The depositions are all recorded in fos 249r-50r of Ms. 609, and some are translated in Biller, 'Interrogation of Waldensians', 232-3.
- ⁸⁵ '...sunt XL anni vel circa...Et fuit eodem tempore': Ms 609, fo. 249r.
- ⁸⁶ '...sunt VI anni vel circa': Ms 609, fo. 249r.
- ⁸⁷ '...sunt VI anni vel circa...Et sunt VII anni qd primo': Ms 609, fo. 249r.
- ⁸⁸ MS 609, fos. 249r-250r.
- ⁸⁹ Ms 609, fo. 249r-v.
- ⁹⁰ Ms 609, fo. 234v.
- ⁹¹ 'usque ad tempus quo Ecclesia condemnavit eos': Doat 21, fo. 234v.
- ⁹² 'The Preaching of the Waldensian sisters', 135-7.
- ⁹³ *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition, 1100-1250* (Berkeley, 1974), 132.
- ⁹⁴ Our interest should be peaked, however, by these claiming to have had contact with Waldensians in Gascony and the Rouergue. See J. Duvernoy, *Inquisition à Pamiers*, 20-32, 'Les Vaudois', 28, and 'Albigeois et vaudois en Rouergue', 102-4; Cameron, *Waldenses*, 78-95; Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 158-63; S. Shahar, *Women in a Medieval Heretical Sect: Agnes and Huguette the Waldensians* (Woodbridge, 2001). Jack Baigent is undertaking a PhD on this group at the University of Nottingham.
- ⁹⁵ See R. I. Moore's analysis of the origins and nature of medieval persecution in *The Formation of the Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250*, 2nd edn (Malden, MA/Oxford, 2006).
- ⁹⁶ A point made also in Cameron, *Waldenses*, 70, 87, 95.