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D. PHIL
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**THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE ITALIAN
AND SOUTHERN FRENCH CATHARS, 1170-1320**

The aim of this thesis is to answer two questions, namely why Southern French Cathars chose to flee to Italy when persecuted in the early thirteenth century and secondly to assess the extent to which Catharism was a 'universal church'.

The first three chapters deal with the separate arrivals of Catharism in Italy and Southern France from the Byzantine Empire. The growth of Catharism's different characteristics in each place is observed, both before and after the mission to both areas of Nicetas, the Byzantine dualist. Subsequent chapters deal with economic, political and cultural links between Southern France and Italy, and the development of Catharism in both areas.

The assault by the Inquisition led to the flight of many Cathar perfecti and supporters from Languedoc. Communities of Languedocian Cathars built up within the context of the wider Languedocian community in north Italy. Subsequently there were Southern French Cathars at Cuneo, Alessandria, Pavia, Cremona, Piacenza, Sirmione and there was an unsuccessful attempt to establish a community in the kingdom of Sicily. A recognisable history of these communities can be traced, beginning in Cuneo in the 1240s and ending with the fall of Sirmione in 1276. Within this period there were some limited examples of cooperation between Southern French and Italian Cathars in north Italy.

The penultimate chapter deals with the participation of Southern French and Italians in the revival of Catharism in both areas, which was organised from Piedmont in the period 1290-1320. There follows a brief comparison of the doctrine, ritual and lifestyle of the two sects and how, in the case of the Languedocian Cathars, these were affected by the period in Italy.

The conclusion drawn is that economic, cultural and political considerations largely dictated the Languedocian Cathars' choice of refuge and that, although there was an element of universalism in the heresy, regional differences were more important. The sources used are mainly Inquisition material, and in addition, chronicles, charters, notarial documents and the vidas of the troubadours.

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The problem which initially inspired this thesis is illustrated by a glance at the map. Why did the Cathars of Languedoc, when persecuted by the Inquisition, choose to flee east across the Alps into Italy? After all, had they crossed the Pyrenees and turned west, they would have reached Castile, which was free from the inquisitors.

This leads to the wider question of the extent to which was Catharism a 'universal' Church. We know that its Catholic opponents wrote as if it were. There are several famous pieces of evidence, such as the account of the Council of Saint-Félix or the offer of help from Cremona to Montségur, which suggest that the heresy had aspirations to universality. However, little work has been done to assess whether such aspirations found their way into the lives of ordinary communities of Cathars.

THE AIMS

The central part of this thesis is a history of the Southern French Cathars in Italy, tracing the locations of their communities, the careers of their leading figures and the motives behind their movements. Such attention is paid to the Southern French heretics because their Inquisition depositions offer the best documented example of a community

of Cathars from one region in Europe active in another area, and one which had its own native Cathar sects. Consequently, some idea of the extent of cooperation between the different groups of Cathars can be gained. These depositions cannot be used on their own and the degree of cooperation achieved can only be measure in the context of the wider contacts between the two societies. For this reason, the economic and cultural relations between Southern France and Italy have also been consulted. Finally, the records of Southern French and Italian Cathar communities must be set in the context of their respective heretical traditions and for this reason the characteristics of the Catharism taught and practised in each area has been considered.

THE STATE OF KNOWLEDGE

Catharism lends itself easily to two types of study: the universal overview or detailed study, usually of the sect in one town or the career of one individual. Both have been used in this work. Of the former type, the books of Jean Duvernoy, R. I. Moore and R. Manselli should be singled out as particularly useful for the themes considered. However, the specific literature on the relationship between Southern French and Italian Cathars is, to the best of my knowledge, limited to one article. This is E. Dupré-Theseider's 'Le catharisme languedocien et l'Italie' in Cahiers de Fanjeaux, vol. 3, (1968), 299-316.

Most of the sources used are well known, and these comprise volumes of the Doat Collection, particularly volumes 25 and 26, other Inquisition depositions from Languedoc and Italy and the inquisitorial expense accounts from north Italy. The Doat volumes are a particularly rich source of information. In addition, chronicles, the 'Summae' of inquisitors, archive material and the vidas of the troubadours have been consulted.

SYNOPSIS

Catharism was brought to Western Europe from Constantinople, along the Danube valley. The first outbreaks of the heresy occurred in the Low Countries, Germany and northern France. A study of Italian society shows that there was already a rich tradition of religious dissent, transmitted mostly over the Alps into Lombardy via the trade routes from Germany. Heresy also entered Southern France from the north, along trade routes, but from northern France. Once established in the two areas, Catharism rapidly developed, but with differing characteristics. In Languedoc the emphasis was on the lifestyle of the perfecti and the strength of their links with the community. In Italy, although lifestyle was important, doctrine played a much larger role, and the Cathar sect provided a challenge rather than an alternative to the Catholic Church.

Nicetas' mission briefly unified the Cathar sects in Italy, Languedoc and Southern France at the Council of

Saint-Félix. Nicetas had a profound effect on the heretics in both areas, and was remembered as a spiritual leader long after the event. He also introduced absolute dualism to replace the moderate dualism prevalent in Southern France and Italy. However, in Languedoc, his mission formed an isolated incident and absolute dualism did not take root. In Italy, Nicetas was the first of a number of emissaries from Byzantine dualists and the doctrinal and personal disputes these emissaries engendered led to the fragmentation of the Italian sect. Therefore, when the first Cathars fled from Languedoc to Italy, in the late 1220s, they had little in common with the native Italian Cathars.

The second and third chapters put these developments in context. There were few economic links between Southern France and Italy in Nicetas' time and the Italian merchants had only just started to develop trade with the Southern French coast. The second half of the twelfth century and early part of the thirteenth saw the development of the Southern French ports and their close links with Genoa and Pisa, culminating in the Southern French merchants establishing themselves in Italian towns. However, this economic development was confined to the coast and inland, the Southern French economy was still much less advanced. At the same time, political developments brought the Southern French into Italy, chiefly through the diplomatic missions surrounding the Albigensian Crusade. Cultural

links also started to expand as the first troubadours looked for patronage in Italy. There was probably no direct link between troubadours and heresy, but they may have unlocked the door to Italian patronage to the Southern French in general.

With the introduction of the Inquisition into Southern France the flow of Cathar refugees increased and the first Languedocian community was established at Cuneo. At the same time, the Italian Cathars were also under pressure. There is evidence that they became centred in the north east of the peninsula and in Tuscany. The reason why Italian and Southern French Cathars did not develop a relationship in this period is fairly straightforward: they rarely met! Some of the few examples of such early meetings include the accommodation offered to some Languedocian Cathars by a Piacenzan layman and, on a different level, the arrangements made for heretics at Cremona to help those of Montségur. The second incident may be connected with this attempt by Raymond VII to disown his troublesome heretical supporters.

Throughout the 1250s and early 1260s, the Southern French Cathar communities in Italy continued to grow and to establish themselves, particularly in the towns of west Lombardy, notably Alessandria, Pavia, Cremona and Piacenza. These communities of heretics supported themselves mostly through weaving and moneylending and probably formed part of larger Languedocian communities in these towns. Despite their growth, the Cathar groups were still vulnerable and

were dependent on the protection of Ghibelline signori to prevent the influence of the Inquisition. This protection was probably unwitting, for the most part, but Oberto Pelavicino seems to have taken a more active interest. In an attempt to counteract this vulnerability and establish a safer refuge, the Languedocian heretics ventured into the kingdom of Sicily, but were expelled by King Manfred.

Two significant developments mark the start of cooperation between the Southern French and Italian Cathars in this period. The first was the weakening of the Languedocians' ties with their home towns and communities. This was partly as a result of the Inquisitions' activities in Southern France, and partly due to the growth of the Southern French communities in Italy. The second evidence suggesting the beginnings of cooperation between the heretics from the Italy and Languedoc is the emergence of a small group of believers from both areas at Genoa, served by a Languedocian perfecti.

The collapse of Ghibelline power in the years 1265-70 badly affected the Languedocian Cathar communities in Italy and within ten years of the invasion of Charles of Anjou, these communities disappear. However, a group of Cathars from these towns appears at Sirmione, the redoubt of the Italian Cathars' from Romagna and the Veneto and from evidence of this group, some measure of cooperation had obviously been reached with Italian Cathars. It is not clear whether the Italian Cathars were Albanenses or

Bagnolenses.

With the fall of Sirmione in 1276, Cathar activity in both Southern France and Italy rapidly declined. There is evidence that some Southern French perfecti returned home and indeed the depositions of those captured provide most of the information about the earlier communities in Italy. Italian Catharism survived in Ferrara and Bologna, but once again isolated and in decline.

Catharism seems to have survived in Piedmont. Cuneo in particular provides evidence not only of heretical activity, but of a Languedocian community more or less assimilated into civic life. Information about specific perfecti in this area is sparse, but a group appears to have centred round the veteran perfectus Guilhem Audogni. Despite being a mixed community, there was a commitment to evangelise in the Languedoc, where a degree of latent support for the heresy still existed. The movement was led by the Autier family and rapidly revived Cathar feeling in all the traditional areas of support. However, there is evidence of a change in the nature of this support; Catharism was no longer identified as a 'national' church, but was now perceived as a challenge to ecclesiastical authority, as it had been in the early period of Italian Catharism. This view was held by a younger group of supporters, including merchants and notaries, centred round Albi.

Despite the extent of the Cathar revival, it does not seem to have put down deep roots. There were difficulties

in organising the sect from Lombardy and the limitations of Italian participation in the movement in Languedoc were illustrated by the short mission of a Lombard perfectus from a community at Acqui Terme near Alessandria. The success of the revival inspired increased Inquisition activity and Catharism in Southern France and Piedmont faded in the early fourteenth century, despite attempts to find refuges in the remote Alps of Pyrenees, or in the island kingdom of Sicily.

The final chapter deals with doctrine, ritual and lifestyle and compares the Southern French Cathars with their Italian counterparts. It concentrates particularly on changes caused by the long period of Southern French Catharism in Italy. The most striking doctrinal difference is the tendency towards moderate dualism as the thirteenth century progressed, at first among the Southern French, which is echoed in depositions from Italian Cathars. This would suggest that moderate dualism had a greater appeal to ordinary believers.

In the second part of the chapter, the Cathar Provencal and Latin Rituals are compared. The former lays greater emphasis on the Cathars' place in the daily life of the community, whereas the latter's aim was to explain the doctrinal basis of the Cathar ceremonies. In both sects, the place of the perfecti was central, and the effect of the Cathar exile on believers in Languedoc is seen in the development of the 'blessed bread' and pactum, to take account of their absence. The exile also brought about

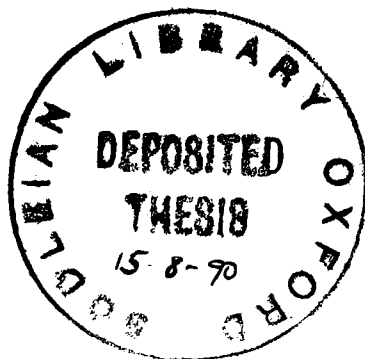
differences in the lifestyle of the Cathar perfecti. The period in Lombardy brought about their increasing involvement in financial affairs, notably in the collection of legacies and the provision of loans, and this affected their relationship with believers in Languedoc. Nevertheless, Catharism in Languedoc survived for so long through its links with family and community, whereas the Italian sects for a long time relied on the appeal of the distinctive dualist doctrine. The lifestyle of the perfecti was important to both sects.

CONCLUSION

The answer to the first question posed, why the Languedocian Cathars fled east under persecution, is that by the early thirteenth century Italy was a region with which Southern France had increasingly close economic, political and cultural ties. The presence of native heretics in Italy was of minor importance, except insofar as they were protected by secular authority. By implication, therefore, the universal nature of the Cathar church in Languedoc and Italy was slight and was outweighed by the influence of their respective cultures and Cathar traditions. However, the occasional evidence there is of cooperation between the heretics of the two areas is still impressive, when placed in this context.

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INTRODUCTION

Contemporary historians writing on the twelfth and thirteenth century Cathars have a range of sources at their disposal. However, these are by no means comprehensive and many of the sources remaining are not necessarily the most representative of Cathar belief or way of life. This must be borne in mind when considering the history of Catharism, as must the regional and chronological differences within the heresy. These differences tend to be forgotten by historians in their justifiable desire to gather as much information as possible about this shadowy group.

Throughout this work, the term 'Southern France' is used to mean the area west of the Alps and north of the Pyrenees, in which Provençal was the native language. 'Languedoc' is used in the modern sense to refer to the areas west of the Rhône, with Provence to the east. 'Italy' and 'Lombardy' are also used in their modern sense, although the reader should bear in mind that the medieval term 'Lombardia' could refer to all north Italy, stretching from Rome to the Alps and from Piedmont to Venice.

The first question to be addressed is what was the nature, if any, of the 'universal' Cathar church. The best documented cases of Catharism crossing national and local boundaries occur in Italy and Southern France. Indeed, the Cathars of both regions had common origins, derived from the Bogomils of Byzantium. For a brief period the Cathars of Italy, northern France and Languedoc could be called a universal church, united by the mission of Nicetas from Constantinople around 1170. The unity may have been fleeting, but the stamp of doctrine and ritual as taught by Nicetas never completely disappeared from his Western European initiates.

However, the Cathars who inhabited Southern France and Italy had very

different characteristics. As will be shown, the Italian Cathars had an argumentative, intellectual brilliance which contrasted with the practical emphasis shown by the Southern French on the survival of the sect. These differing characteristics were the result of the political, social and economic circumstances in which the sects emerged and they formed an insurmountable barrier to the development of a truly international heresy. The words of Raynerius Saccone most aptly describe the situation: the Cathar churches 'acknowledged' or 'authenticated' each other, rather than actively cooperating with one another, and may have had diverse and opposing beliefs.¹

This raises the second question which will be addressed by this thesis: why any relationship between the Southern French and Italian Cathars developed at all. The unifying mission of Nicetas must form part of the solution to this question. However, the place of the Southern France in European society offers a second reason. In the mid-twelfth century, Languedoc was fragmented politically, economically and even linguistically, since a multitude of regional dialects lay behind the literary use of Provençal. Although the region was culturally advanced, particularly in its courtly poetry, in many ways it was a backwater. Languedoc played no part in the great economic exchanges between Italy and northern Europe. Politically it was ungovernable: the Counts of Toulouse tried in vain to subdue a host of lesser nobles and petty warfare was endemic. Although their vernacular language was the richest in Western Europe, it isolated the Languedocians in an increasingly Latinised community. Into this situation came the Italians, subordinating the Languedocian economy through their domination of the coast, and even coming to play a substantial part in the area's political life. Not only did the

Italian influence on Languedoc make it a natural adjunct for Nicetas' reformed church, but in the longer term, it turned the Languedocians' perspective away from Spain and the south-west, and towards Italy and the east. As a result, when the Inquisition started its persecution of Southern French Cathars, they naturally turned to Italy as a base for their church in exile.²

A third reason for the development of links between the Languedocian and Italian Cathars lies in the 'cultural exports' from Languedoc to Italy. The Italians had rapidly developed a taste for the courtly poetry of Southern France, written in a standard language and offering sophisticated sentiments. The debate over whether troubadours were Cathars is stale and inconclusive, but the dissemination of troubadour culture in Italy offers valuable evidence on the spread of Southern French Cathars in the area.

Despite these arguments, the relationship between the Southern French and Italian Cathars was a tenuous one. A history of the Southern French Cathars in Italy can be traced, and this highlights their reliance on Ghibelline politics in the Italian cities. The Cathars' flight from Languedoc started in the late 1220s and the communities of Southern French Cathars in Italy were at their strongest in the period between the late 1250s and the defeat of the Ghibellines in 1266. During this period they had little contact with native Italian Cathars. The Italian Cathars were never the omnipresent threat envisaged by their Catholic opponents, but appear to have been confined to Tuscany and the north-east of the peninsula, away from the Southern French. Their effectiveness was limited: the Italian Cathars fragmented into three main sects, and there was little contact between dualists from different groups.

Where the Italian and Southern French Cathars did exist in the same

city, the Italians played an accepted political role in the struggle between Guelf and Ghibelline. The Italian Cathars were also part of the city's social tensions, in contrast to the Languedocians, who remained quite deliberate outsiders. It was only when Southern French Catharism in Italy had more or less collapsed, after the Guelf triumphs of the late 1260s and the introduction of the Inquisition in Italian towns, that scattered individuals and communities sought closer relations with their Italian counterparts and vice versa.

This informal relationship finally bore fruit in the Autier revival. This involved Southern French Cathars based in Piedmont, who preached in Languedoc with Italian support. This final flowering of cooperation was doctrinally poverty-stricken, badly organised and short-lived. The final chapter attempts to measure how far the Southern French and Italian Cathars had grown from their common roots in the second half of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and compares the doctrine, ritual and lifestyle of the two groups.

SOURCES

(A) INQUISITION DEPOSITIONS

By far the richest source of information on heresy is the Inquisition particularly its records of depositions and penances. For the Southern French Cathars, these are mainly contained in the Fonds Doat. These exist since Jean de Doat, Royal Councillor and President of the Chamber of Navarre, was commissioned in 1669 to research the rights of the Crown in Provence and Languedoc. He had copies made of documents concerning the history of Southern France, which amount to some 258 volumes.³ Inquisition material is contained in Volumes 21 to 37, although the majority of

references to Southern French Cathars in Italy are found in Volumes 25 and 26.⁴ The originals of these documents are now lost, but their reliability is supported when compared to the few surviving contemporary Inquisition manuscripts from Southern France. The earliest of these, generally known as Ms 609, deals with the interrogation of suspects in Toulouse between 1245 and 1253 and contains the first references to Southern French Cathars fleeing to Italy.⁵ Other unpublished Inquisition material consulted includes the so-called Registre des parfaits convertis from the periods 1254-1256 and 1266-1270⁶, and also the register of Jean Galand and Bernard Castanet in Albi from 1286-1287.⁷ For the period from 1290 onwards, almost all the Inquisition sources dealing with the Cathars are now in print. Davis' edition of depositions from Albi (1299-1300) has been rather neglected⁸ and Limborch's seventeenth century reprint of the sentences of Bernard Gui in the Toulousain is in need of a modern editor.⁹ However, the register of Jacques Fournier, bishop of Pamiers (1318-1325) has been edited by Jean Duvernoy, who went on to provide a full translation.¹⁰ The register of Geoffroy d'Ablis, describing his investigations into heresy in the county of Foix (1308-1309) has similarly been edited and translated by Annette Palès-Gobillard.¹¹

In Italy, Inquisition depositions which deal with the Cathars are less abundant. From Milan there are two, inconclusive processes against the murderers of the Inquisitor Peter of Verona, dated shortly after the incident in 1252 and again some forty years later. However, the testimony is only a few pages and forms an appendix to the proceedings against the Guglielmites.¹² In Bologna, an Inquisition process has survived from 1291-1310. This document is roughly the same length as one volume of Doat, and

the evidence concerning the Cathars forms less than half its content. This has recently been published by Paolini and Orioli.¹³ Finally, there is the process against Armano Punzilupo in Ferrara, edited by Muratori in 1741.¹⁴

Inquisition depositions are invaluable sources if used with caution. Their greatest advantage is that they make the words of those accused of heresy available to the historian. There is a considerable contrast between them and more formal narrative accounts, since even in the most sensitive Catholic accounts of heresy, the true faith is inevitably portrayed as doing battle with various shadowy counter-faiths. When the depositions of suspects are read, the picture that emerges is far more varied: all kinds of beliefs are expressed, together with trenchant criticism of the Catholic Church.¹⁵

This is not to say that the depositions are flawless. In the first place, there is the danger that the inquisitors' framework of questioning imposed their own preconceptions on the witnesses' answers. Fortunately for the historian, several Inquisition manuals have survived, which enable us to study the standard form of questioning and compare this against the available testimonies.¹⁶ However, the latter reveal that, although the Inquisition often reduced rituals and beliefs to mere formulae, the witnesses added a high degree of their own circumstantial detail. Even within the accepted formulae, the witness' own narrative frequently reemerges.¹⁷ However, there is an undeniable sense that individuality was suppressed, and the inquisitors tend to categorise suspects according to their own preconceived ideas of organised heresy.¹⁸

A more serious objection to use of the depositions is not that the Inquisition distorted what they were told, but that the information they received was inaccurate. At the most basic level, memory could sometimes

be at fault. Since the inquisitors were interested in any trace of heresy to be found in the witnesses' behaviour, there are examples from both Languedoc and Bologna of events being recalled from some thirty years after they had taken place. Yves Dossat's study of Vigouroux de la Bacone reveals the weaknesses of this reliance on human memory.¹⁹ There was also considerable pressure on the witness to say what the inquisitors wanted to hear; conversion was highly prized by the inquisitors and there was an incentive for the witnesses to earn a light sentence by betraying their friends and associates. Equally there was an obvious incentive to witnesses to protect themselves and their immediate families. There are several confessions recorded where the witness' recall is so precise in detail that one cannot help but be a little sceptical of the authenticity.

The only way for the historian to establish the truth of the material is to read extensively in it. The inquisitors were methodical and truths hidden by one witness would usually be revealed by the third or fourth, while inconsistencies were generally abhorred by the interrogators.²⁰ One widespread conspiracy to convict a man of heresy through false evidence was rooted out by Fournier, illustrating the difficulties of coordinating such a plan.²¹

The Inquisition could apply severe psychological and physical pressure on a witness. The depositions show clearly the effect of relentless questioning over days and even months. Indeed, the popular image of inquisitors as clerics with blood on their hands shows the notoriety their use of torture gained. To what extent torture was used in this period remains unclear. However, permission for such methods was not granted until 1252 and there are very few references to its use in the depositions themselves. Nevertheless, witnesses who abruptly 'remember more fully'

their actions may well have been victims.²² The use of torture need not necessarily distort the evidence: the key factor in this is the calibre of the inquisitor. Men such as Anselm of Alessandria or Jacques Fournier were genuinely concerned to get the truth from witnesses and evidence extracted by them is most probably accurate, but the evidence is much less reliable when the inquisitor was corrupt, or the office was being used for political objectives.²³ In the final analysis, Inquisition depositions, like all medieval records, must be considered in the light of the intentions of those who produced them.

Taken as a whole, the surviving depositions are trustworthy. Even when they are not telling the literal truth, they are at least telling everyday lies. The lives of the Cathars as described in them were a mundane round of greetings, informal preaching, shared meals and hurried visits to the dying. The ordinariness of the depositions is the greatest testimony to their veracity, and this is particularly striking when contrasted to the contemporary, bizarre "evidence" used to convict the Knights Templar.

(B) OTHER INQUISITION SOURCES

The number of surviving Inquisition depositions from Italy is comparatively small and has therefore to be supplemented by other Inquisition materials. The most distinctive are the inquisitors' financial accounts for north Italy, for the period 1292-1318.²⁴ These are hardly comparable to the depositions, but do record goods confiscated from convicted heretics and money paid to agents and informers, often former heretics. Mariano has shown that the Inquisition in the Trevisan March was corrupt, but some of the material from Lombardy and the March of Genoa

seems more trustworthy. Once again the usefulness of the document for the historian depends on the calibre of the inquisitor.

Finally, there are the works of the friars themselves. The main writers were James Capelli,²⁵ Moneta of Cremona,²⁶ Peter of Verona,²⁷ Raynerius Saccone²⁸ and Anselm of Alessandria.²⁹ By no means as detailed as the depositions, they were all works produced by men who had had considerable contact with the Cathars. Peter of Verona and Raynerius had been Cathar perfecti themselves and both of them, together with Anselm and possibly Moneta, had been inquisitors. All were learned men and well able to separate the contemporary heresy from ancient precedents, a problem which bedevilled orthodox observers in the twelfth century. There is evidence that they gathered material from those whom, as inquisitors, they interrogated or encountered while preaching. Anselm in particular includes a wealth of circumstantial information, although this led him to historical inaccuracies. More specific criticism will be given as and when these authors are cited; however, they do share two factors which limit their usefulness in an account of Catharism.

The first of these common factors is a zeal to condemn their dualist opponents. An exception must be made in the case of James Capelli, but unfortunately he was the least well informed. This zeal leads to a distortion of the people, events and beliefs they describe. The second factor can be seen in their attempt to 'unify' Catharism. This inevitably leads them to standardise beliefs and rituals, the variations in which are particularly interesting in the depositions that survive. The friars also include in their accounts of the Cathar heresy, information on the sects of Southern France, about which they apparently had little first-hand knowledge.

(C) CATHAR SOURCES

The dualist works which were either translated from the Bogomil originals, written in Greek, or produced by the Cathars themselves are of limited value in a study of the relationship between the Italian and Southern French. The origins and use of such works are very obscure and they contain little historical information about the sects.

Such works can be divided into those that follow an absolute dualism and those following moderate dualism. The absolute dualist writings consist of The Vision of Isaiah,³⁰ the "Manichaeon" Treatise quoted by Durand of Huesca,³¹ a gloss on the Lord's Prayer³² and John of Lugio's Book of the Two Principles.³³ The moderate dualist canon consists of The Secret Supper³⁴ and an Apologia, justifying the lifestyle of the Cathars.³⁵ Of all these the most useful is The Vision of Isaiah, which enjoyed a long career among the Western dualists and was cited by heretics in the Fournier register.³⁶

The two texts which do provide a valuable comparison of Cathar ceremonial and information on lifestyle are the Cathar Rituals in Latin and Provençal. These are analysed at some length in Chapter Nine.³⁷

(D) OTHER SOURCES

The other main source to be used is the poetry and vidas of the troubadours, the value of which to the historian will be considered in Chapter Three. In addition letters, charters, chronicles and notarial records have been consulted, most of which are now in print, and again these will be commented on as they occur. A project of this scope would have been considerably harder before the excellent translation of sources and scholarly introductions provided by Wakefield and Evans.³⁸ Although

works written between 1170 and 1320 have been consulted in the original, unless otherwise stated, I have relied mostly on Wakefield and Evans' translations for sources outside the period and have given references to their translation of other sources, unless I have provided my own.

SECONDARY LITERATURE

(A) PRE-1939³⁹

The relationship between the Italian and Southern French Cathars has two main themes: an assessment of the universal nature of the Cathar church and the history of the Languedocian Cathars in exile in Italy. Serious study of the first came with the realisation by Bossuet that the Cathars were dualists and the publication of the Sentences of Bernard Gui by Limborch.⁴⁰ The first scholar to give serious consideration to the history of the Languedocian Cathars exiled in Italy was Schmidt. His work has stood the test of time and is still the best introduction to sources on Southern French Cathars in Italy.⁴¹ In particular, Schmidt was the first historian to use the Doat manuscript as evidence on the matter. Guiraud and Lea followed Schmidt and produced accounts of Southern French Cathars in Italy as part of their respective histories of the Inquisition.⁴²

Italian scholarship before the war consists mainly of local studies, which vary in quality and rather ignore the larger question of the nature of the Cathar church. Nevertheless, valuable work was done on the examination of inquisitorial and civic records, notably by Boffito,⁴³ Cipolla,⁴⁴ Fumi,⁴⁵ and Biscaro.⁴⁶ The first full account of heresy in Italy was produced by Gioacchino Volpe in 1922. Volpe was a Fascist by belief and a Marxist by methodology. His study occasionally reads like a collection of local 'case-histories', albeit intelligent ones, and the

parallels he draws between the political situation in 1900-1922 and the centuries of heresy are misleading. However, there is much of value in his analysis, particularly his idea of heresy as not so much a chapter in religious history as one in the history of the commune, which was to be a continuing feature of Italian scholarship on the subject.⁴⁷ However, in the final analysis, Italian scholarship on Catharism suffered from a lack of sources. As a result, every reference to heresy however small, has tended to be exaggerated and interpreted as evidence of Catharism.⁴⁸

(B) POST-1939

Both basic themes in the relationship between the Southern French and Italian Cathars were transformed by the discovery of a series of new sources by Dondaine,⁴⁹ and Käppeli.⁵⁰ The great strength of Borst was that he absorbed the new information and produced an original synthesis.⁵¹ His belief that Catharism was inevitably drawn back towards Catholicism has probably been the most fertile source of ideas on Catharism in the last forty years and has been borne out in the Fournier register. Borst suggests that it was the Western element of Catharism that was drawn to Catholicism, and this allowed it to survive. However, it was the Cathars' Bogomil inheritance that made the heresy doctrinally strong, and ultimately ensured that there could be no compromise with the ecclesiastical establishment.⁵² Indeed, this can be seen in the present study. Persecution and internal theological squabbles confined the Italian Cathars from an early date to a few strongholds, while the Languedocians, with their comparative lack of ideological baggage, were active on both sides of the Alps and could launch a major revival in Languedoc as late as 1300.

In the wake of Borst and the new material, Volpe's theory was adapted

by Manselli, giving the Cathars back their distinctive theology. The second edition of Manselli's work has been useful in the investigation of Catharism in the Italian communes.⁵³ The role of heresy in general in the communal world has been addressed by Dupré-Theseider,⁵⁴ although Violante has added to this, suggesting the rural or suburban origins of many heretics⁵⁵. In addition, a new generation of local studies is making the picture of Catharism, as distinct from other heresies, in Italy a great deal clearer.⁵⁶

The role of heresy in society has been extensively covered in Southern France, mainly in focussing on Languedoc and having a distinct, regionalist flavour.⁵⁷ Dossat pioneered the use of Inquisition records on a large scale in a series of articles which look at the role of the Cathars in society and culminate in his study of the Cathars from Inquisition records in Cahiers de Fanjeaux.⁵⁸ In the same volume, the question of what part the Languedocian Cathar *emigrés* played in the history of Italian Catharism, and how they fitted into Italian society, was first posed by Dupré-Theseider.⁵⁹ Jean Duvernoy attempts to answer this in his very thorough two volume study, which stands as a monument to the 'professionalisation' of research on the Cathars in Southern France.⁶⁰

Research by British and American scholars on the subject has also centred mainly on Southern France. Comparison of the Cathars' place in urban society in Italy and Southern France has been helped by Mundy's work on Toulouse.⁶¹ Anne Peal has provided a detailed account of the organisation of Cathar dioceses and deaconries, in her yet unpublished M.Phil. thesis.⁶² Brief and dispassionate accounts of heresy and Languedocian society are found in the works on the Albigensian Crusade by

both Hamilton and Sumption, as well as at greater length in Wakefield's Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France.⁶³

It is only in the relationship between the Cathars and the Bogomils that a vast difference of interpretation is found. Although much work was done by Obolensky to clarify early Bogomil history, their bases and later history remain a mystery.⁶⁴ Fine⁶⁵ has attempted to solve this and he concentrates on Bosnia, since it has been suggested that the late Cathars escaped there from Italy. He puts forward the idea that dualism died out in Bosnia in the early thirteenth century, to be replaced by a Christian church operating in the vernacular; however, this was regarded as heretical by the Catholic and Orthodox churches. However, some still trace the unlikely course of dualism in Bosnia until the Turkish invasion in the sixteenth century.⁶⁶

Finally, two books in English have had a profound effect on the recent study of heresy. The first is by Lester K. Little and deals with the response of both Catholics and heretics alike to the move in Western Europe from a 'gift economy' to a 'money economy'.⁶⁷ The second is by R.I. Moore'.⁶⁸ I have used this extensively in the thesis for two reasons. Moore uses a sound methodology of rejecting accounts of heresy as Cathar unless they give clear evidence of dualism. This can be extended into the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and is particularly relevant in Italy, where there are many alternative explanations for outbreaks of what has in the past been termed Catharism. The second reason is that Moore's account of the arrival of Catharism from northern Europe in Languedoc and Italy helps explain many of the differences between the Cathars in the two areas found during my own research. Surprisingly, there has been little response from Continental authorities on the subject.

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- 20) The great feature of Peire de Beauvilla's evidence on Italy [Doat, 25: 297r. to 26: 2v.] is that it is both internally consistent and backed up by the testimony of other witnesses. The great weakness of the process against Armano Punzilupo [see above, note 14] is that so many glaring contradictions and anachronisms are allowed to stand. Of the Languedocian material, the Inquisition at Albi 1299-1300 [see above, note 8] is the most suspect: not only did the ecclesiastical authorities have political reasons for securing a conviction, but the information supplied by Stephan Mascot of travelling to Italy to bring back heretics excited no curiosity at all among the inquisitors. One cannot imagine Jacques Fournier having the same reaction. Stephan's evidence is probably not at issue and has some corroboration; the rest of the material is very suspect and only the high degree of corroboration and circumstantial evidence gives it the benefit of the doubt.
- 21) The victim was Guilhem Tron. See Fournier, vol. 3, 1212-69.
- 22) Davis, 248, shows that heretics had to reassure followers they would not feel pain during torture and that witnesses sometimes had to deny it (264). Isarn Colli claimed in 1319 that his confession was extracted by torture. Only one witness in the Fournier register states that he had been tortured [Fournier, vol. 2, 637]. It is open to doubt whether the lack of evidence is due to careful concealment or is more a testament to the bishop's skill as an interrogator.
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CHAPTER ONE
THE ORIGINS OF ITALIAN AND SOUTHERN FRENCH CATHARISM

Catharism is one of the better known medieval heresies and represented a radical departure from the basic tenets of Christianity. It proposed a dualist cosmology: the world was seen by the Cathars as having been created by an evil being. According to the nature of dualist belief followed, this evil being was either the fallen son of God, Satan, or an eternal Evil Principle, with which the forces of a good God are locked in combat. Unlike other Western European heresies contemporary with Catharism, it was clearly influenced in some way by the religious culture of the East. Debate among theologians and historians has centred on the exact nature of this influence and the date and method of its transmission to the West. Suggestions have ranged from Sir Steven Runciman's assertion that a dualist evangelical tradition was in existence from the third century on¹, to R. I. Moore's theory of dualist regeneration based on the elements of Byzantine Christianity.²

Although outbreaks of the Cathar heresy occurred throughout Western Europe, the Cathar doctrine became most firmly established in the late twelfth century, in Southern France and North Italy. It is from these areas that the majority of the evidence about the heresy originates. As will be seen, there were initial similarities in doctrine, as well as organisational links between Cathar sects in Southern France and North Italy. However, both the similarities and links rapidly disappeared. This was followed by the development of various dualist churches in the two areas, each with a distinct and recognisable character.

The Southern French sects became increasingly identified with a regionalism that strengthened during the Albigensian crusade and subsequent

establishment of Northern French rule in Languedoc. Italian Cathar sects, on the other hand, were dominated by personality and doctrine; they did, nevertheless, acquire some of the intellectual coherence necessary to combat their Catholic opponents.

These churches developed within the context of economic and cultural connections between Languedoc and Italy, which will be studied in later chapters. The one exception to this pattern of divergent growth, however, was the mission of the Byzantine heretic, Nicetas, to Italy and the Languedoc in 1167. It was also the one occasion when the Catholic fear of a universal Cathar church might have been realised.

(A) THE BOGOMILS AND EARLY HERESY IN WESTERN EUROPE

Dualism can be traced back to the second century followers of the prophet Mani. In recent years, historians have moved away from the idea that there was an unbroken chain of dualist belief from the time of the prophet into the Middle Ages, since this assumes continuity, whereas evidence is disjointed and dispersed. In addition, the rich variety of doctrines and lifestyles that emerged with the dualist tradition imply that sects existed independently of each other, and that they shared only the set of Christian ideas from which dualist conclusions could easily be deduced.³

The implications of this uncoupling of the dualist sects in the Byzantine Empire were seen by R. I. Moore, who links the beginnings of Catharism in the West to the fortunes of the Bogomils. The Bogomils originated in remote tenth century Bulgaria and developed an increasingly sophisticated dualist theology. They attracted adherents in Constantinople, before being exposed and persecuted between 1100

and 1150. Moore marks these years in the early twelfth century as the vital period when missionaries were sent out by the Bogomils and suggests their ideas and beliefs were transmitted to the West via the Danube into northern Europe, and then south to Southern France and Italy.⁴ This theory both explains why there was a sudden explosion of reported heresy in the second half of the twelfth century and why Catharism in Southern France and Italy developed such different characteristics.

There were distinct similarities between the doctrine, ritual and even organisation of the Bogomils of Constantinople and the early Cathars of Western Europe.⁵ Anna Comnena's account of the Bogomils in the later part of the reign of the Emperor Alexius (1081-1118), describes the heresiarch, Basil, and his twelve 'apostles':

'from all over the world the emperor summoned Basil's disciples and fellow-mystics, in particular the "twelve apostles".'⁶

Anna's interpretation of Bogomil terminology would have been biased by her extreme dislike of the heretics. It may be less appropriate to see these as 'apostles' as followers of a central, messianic figure, than as bishops giving seniority to a patriarch. This would give the Bogomils the same kind of organisation as the early Cathars, with each man being responsible for a large geographical area.

The most distinctive features of the Cathar heresy were its dualist doctrine and the organisation of its adherents into an elect and believers. Initiation of this elect was by the laying on of hands and could include the incorporation of women. If the early European heretics were linked to the Bogomils, such distinctive features would certainly have been noticed by the Church. This is not the case in early outbreaks of heresy, such as those in Aquitaine (1018), Orléans (1022), Monforte, near Turin (1025) and

in the diocese of Châlons, and these appear to belong to a separate apostolic tradition which was to grow up alongside Catharism.⁷

The first of several reports of early Catharism in the West comes from Eberwin of Steinfield. The heretics described by Eberwin were organised into electi, credentes and auditores and initiation was by imposition of hands. They banned milk, as the product of coition, and were vegetarians, which would point to dualist beliefs. Eberwin recognised this as a new phenomenon and contrasted them with other heretics in the neighbourhood of Cologne, whose primary concern was with the character of the clergy and the nature of the Apostolic life.⁸ Eberwin's account also tallies with an appeal from Liège to the Pope, which it is believed dates from 1145,⁹ and describes a heresy which was alleged to centre on the village of Montwimers in northern France.

There are no traces of such Cathar belief amongst the followers of the heretic Henry in Southern France, against whom St. Bernard launched his mission at around this time,¹⁰ and the first sign of Catharism in Southern France comes in Heribert of Périgeux's letter, generally dated in the mid-1140s.¹¹ Certainly, a council at Tours in 1163 could still refer to the 'new' heresy sweeping the Toulouse area.¹²

In early twelfth century Italy there was also considerable heretical activity, most notably that led by Arnold of Brescia. However, again, there is no direct evidence of Catharism. Therefore, by the mid twelfth century there is strong circumstantial evidence that Bogomilism had spread from Constantinople to areas of northern Europe. However, this form of heresy had yet to make any great impact in Southern France or Italy and it is not to the East that we must look for Cathar missionaries to these places, but to the north.

This theory fits both the reports of heresy which have survived, and the patterns of European trade. The development of Catharism was closely linked to the economic development of Western Europe and merchants are the most obvious source for the spread of heretical beliefs. By the mid-twelfth century there was a flourishing trade between Cologne, on the Rhine, and the Danube valley, via Augsburg and Regensburg.¹³ Several of the north Italian towns which later harboured notable heretical communities had strong links with Germany and northern France.¹⁴ Verona provides a good example of the trading relations of a north Italian town. The Breve Recti Mercati Veronae (1176) laid down tolls to be paid by German merchants, Italian traders from other cities and 'Franks' (northern French). Verona also boasted a flourishing cloth industry, using wool from northern Europe.¹⁵

Another source for the spread of heretical beliefs can be traced to imported labourers, particularly in the mining industry. At San Gimignano, outbreaks of heresy in the early thirteenth century were attributed to German and Dalmatian miners, imported to dig for silver by the Bishop of Volterra and the Sienese.¹⁶ German miners were also employed in the Bishop of Bergamo's mines, where heretics were released from the episcopal jail in 1229 during a dispute over mining rights.¹⁷

A similar pattern can be seen in a study of Milan, the greatest centre of Cathar belief in Italy. The city's economic and political links were mainly with northern Europe and the production of woollen cloth for the growing population of north Italy became the economic mainstay of Milan.¹⁸ The city also became involved with the political ambitions of the Emperors north of the Alps as early as 1025.¹⁹ An indication of the city's strength can be seen in Frederick Barbarossa's determination in 1157 to crush Milan

in order to exert power over the rest of Italy.²⁰

Milan formed part of the trade route at the core of Europe: from Rome to the Rhineland, Champagne and Flanders. The city also had a considerable reputation as a centre of religious reform and dissent. The most important popular movement for religious reform in the eleventh century developed in Milan, around 1045, led by Arialdo, the son of a minor noble. His supporters were known as Patarines or 'rag-pickers' and included members of the minor nobility; the movement also received the support of the Papacy.²¹ Arialdo's ideas came from northern Europe, transmitted by the reformers of northern France,²² and he harnessed popular anti-clerical feeling. The Patarines appealed to some of the same classes in society as the northern European heretics of the eleventh century. Among Arialdo's associates were a knight, disillusioned by pilgrimage, and a church notary.²³ Minor aristocracy had patronised the heretics at Monforte in Italy and Soissons in north-east France,²⁴ while the lower clergy had been active in the outbreak of heresy at Orléans.²⁵

However, the major difference between Arialdo and the northern European heretics lay in his support by the cives: those merchants, lawyers and other important citizens not represented in the political organisation of the city, still dominated by its Archbishop. It was their participation in the Patarine movement which made it larger, more articulate and better organised than the northern European heretics.²⁶

(B) THE CATHAR CHURCH IN ITALY

The most detailed accounts of the history and beliefs of the Cathars in north Italy before the inquisition centre around their activities in

Milan. There are five main sources. The contemporary accounts are the Life of Saint Galdino, written soon after his death in 1176;²⁷ the statement of Buonaccursus of Milan, a Cathar convert, now thought to have been written around 1190,²⁸ and the letter of Jacques de Vitry, who travelled through Italy from October 1216.²⁹ There are also two historical accounts: the earlier is the De Heresi Catharorum, which can only be dated as written in the early years of the thirteenth century³⁰ and the second is the account of the Inquisitor Anselm of Alessandria, which has been very precisely reckoned to have been written in 1266-67.³¹

The earliest source, the life of Saint Galdino, is a brief biography of the Archbishop of Milan (1167-76). Galdino was concerned with restoring the life of the Church in Milan, following Frederick's destruction of the city and it may be that during this period the Cathars first gained adherents.³² Galdino embarked on a lengthy programme of preaching and the writer implies that Galdino was dealing with ignorant rabble.³³ However, within a few years, evidence shows that the Milanese Cathars were far from ignorant.

The Manifestatio of Bonacursus was probably intended for public reading aloud,³⁴ and in this he refers to the heretics as Cathari, giving the first account of Italian doctrine:

'Nam quidem illorum dicunt Deum creasse omnia elementa, alii dicunt illa elementa diabolum creasse; sententia tamen omnium est illa elementa diabolum divisisse.'³⁵

Some doctrinal division can be seen even at this early stage, although to educate the laity most Catholic sources tended to draw out the points of difference between heresy and orthodoxy.

The third contemporary account of heresy in Milan came from Jacques de Vitry. He describes Milan as 'fovea est hereticorum' and goes on to lament

that no one was resisting them, except 'these holy men and women whom critics called Patareni', by which he meant the Humiliati.³⁶ He does not name the heretics, and it can only be assumed that he is referring to the Cathars.

From these three rather fragmentary sources some picture of the early Cathars of Milan can be formed. Both Galdino and Jacques de Vitry suggest it was a heresy of the lower orders, and the latter's description of the life of the Humiliati has served as a description of that of the Cathars, since the former were established to counter the threat from heresy.³⁷ Both groups lived in communities and regarded preaching as of primary importance, and the Humiliati are reported to have lived by the labour of their own hands, suggesting weaving, for which both they and Cathars were famous. The Third Order of Humiliati functioned as a guild for those involved in cloth production, although the Humiliati had a rich, even aristocratic, element within their ranks.³⁸ Early Cathar support was also drawn from various social classes and Bonacursus describes a heresy aimed at a more literate section of society. His account is mainly theological and, unlike Jacques de Vitry and Galdino, he makes no mention of provision for the poor.³⁹

Political divisions in Milan in the late twelfth century were between the newly vocal producers and merchants and the established consuls drawn from the lesser nobility and high borghesi.⁴⁰ To identify any one heresy and its adherents with one of these factions would be over simplistic. Both Cathars and Humiliati appealed to those with nothing to gain from the political struggles. At another level, however, the Humiliati appealed more to the established merchant-aristocratic elements in Milan, while Catharism was taken up by a newly emergent group who had economic, but not

political power.

These early accounts of Catharism in Milan are localised. However, the Catholic appellation of 'Cathar' is of significance, and points to origins beyond the Italian frontiers. Before the proceedings of the Third Lateran Council in 1179, which gave the term 'Cathar' currency throughout Europe, its use had been limited to Germany. The best known example was when Eckbert of Schönau directed his Thirteen Sermons against the Cathars.⁴¹ In using the term 'Cathar' to describe the heretics in Milan of 1176, the biographer of St. Galdino implies that this was a continuation of the problems with heresy north of the Alps.

Two further accounts of the history of the early Cathars both centre on Milan, and their discovery by father Antoine Dondaine has had a profound effect on the study of Catharism. The earlier is the De Heresi Catharorum, and was written between 1203 and 1214. Nothing is known about the author.⁴² The later is the account of Anselm of Alessandria, inquisitor for Genoa in 1256 and in 1267, Inquisitor General for Milan and the March of Genoa.⁴³ Dondaine dates the narrative portion of Anselm's account to 1266-67.⁴⁴ From the similarities in nomenclature and plot, Anselm used the De Heresi Catharorum for some of his information, and the earlier work is historically more accurate; however, he also relied on other works, now lost, or his own interrogation of suspects.⁴⁵ Anselm was writing in the mid-1260s, when Catharism was fragmented and the Inquisition found whole communities of Languedocian members of the sect in north Italy. The account reflects both the weakness of Catharism at that time, and the still considerable fear it caused to the hearts of its opponents.

In the De Heresi Catharorum, the Cathars are established in Lombardy, with their numbers gradually increasing. Their bishop, Mark, ruled the

Lombard, Tuscan and Trevisan heretics and 'habebat ordinem suum de bulgaria'.⁴⁶ Anselm traces the history of the sect from its founder Mani, but includes several anomalies. He credits the prophet with the foundation of the Bogomil churches of Drugunthia, Bulgaria and Philadelphia, for example, which only emerged hundreds of years later.

Anselm correctly identifies the four original Cathar dioceses in Languedoc and distinguishes these provinciales from the northern French (francigenae) and their bishop. His account of the introduction of the heresy in Italy is improbable, belonging more to the mythology of Catharism, which had established itself by the 1260s. He claims that a gravedigger, weaver and smith were converted by a French notary, and then went on to found Italian Catharism. This unlikely theory is made more so by Anselm's earlier assertion that the spread of the heresy throughout Europe could be attributed to the activities of merchants and crusading knights.⁴⁷ The most credible aspect of Anselm's narrative is his location of the first Cathars in and around Milan.

Florence was the earliest centre of Catharism outside Milan and it too had strong links with the textile industries of the North. As early as 1173 the city was put under interdict because of 'Patarine' activity⁴⁸ and in a confession contemporary with that of Buonacursus, one 'Mirasona' gives an account of dualist beliefs.⁴⁹

The heresy appeared in Orvieto around 1170, apparently brought into the region by a Florentine. Its popularity quickly waned, but it was revived by one Petrus Lombardus in the time of Innocent III.⁵⁰ Less reliable evidence points to Catharism as being established in Prato by 1194, again probably under Florentine influence.⁵¹

The city of Rimini was placed under interdict in 1185, since the new

podestà refused to take an oath expelling all heretics. The heretics at Rimini appear to be striking evidence of Catharism's rapid progress from central Lombardy along the Via Emilia. However, there is little further evidence of heresy in the town and the suggested oath may form part of the city's internal political disputes.⁵² In 1192, the destruction of the molendina Paterinorum in Modena was ordered⁵³. Again, Modena was a town on the Via Emilia, although the evidence of Catharism is inconclusive.

Although evidence on the progress of early Catharism in Italy is sparse, it appears to have followed trade routes into Italy. These routes came down from northern Europe through the Alpine passes, to Milan and then spread out along the road network, often taken as far as Rome by pilgrims. The efficacy of these routes for propagating heresy is demonstrated by the career of one heretic, the apostolic, anti-clerical, Arnold of Brescia, who spent most of his life at centres on them.⁵⁴

(C) THE RISE OF CATHARISM IN SOUTHERN FRANCE

Economic considerations were equally important in the rise of Catharism in Southern France. The economy of Southern France was less sophisticated than the Italian in the twelfth century, but also ran on a North-South axis. One of the area's most valuable exports was wine, with the trade being organised around the river Garonne. Much of the wine was sent to England by way of Bordeaux. Exports of wool and woad to Northern Europe did not develop on a large scale until the thirteenth century.⁵⁵

The main industry in the area was cloth and as early as 1177, the partners in the Bazacle water-mills put a barrage across the River Garonne in order to increase the flow of water.⁵⁶ The cloth produced was mainly

made from local wool and its market was predominantly domestic.

By the mid twelfth century the coastal regions of Languedoc were beginning to develop trade links with Italy, while trade down the Rhône-Saône rivers was well established. However, the earliest examples of Catharism penetrating Southern France can be seen on the trade route from northern France. These are found in the reports from first Périgueux and then from Toulouse in 1163.

Catharism in Languedoc had already acquired a different character from that in Italy. However, in general the Languedocian Cathars laid greater emphasis on their lifestyle than on doctrinal issues. The most authoritative source for Catharism in the 1160s is the 'Council' of Lombers.⁵⁷ A confrontation took place in 1165 at the village of Lombers between the Bishop of Lodève, speaking for the Bishop of Albi, and an unknown number of what were termed boni homines. This was not a heresy trial, but a formal debate in front of assessors chosen by either side. The audience from both laity and church was large and distinguished, and included such eminent figures as Raymond V, count of Toulouse, and the Archbishop of Narbonne. Almost the entire population of Albi and Lombers, as well as people from other towns, turned out to see the spectacle.

The heresy bore few similarities to that outlined by Buonaccursus or found in the De Heresi Catharorum. There was only a hint of dualism in the rejection of the Old Testament, but the heretics scorned the wealth of the clergy, while terming themselves 'boni homines'. This was characteristic of Languedocian Catharism. Roger of Howden's account of heresy in Toulouse in 1178 reveals that the attack on the lives of priests was as central to Languedocian Cathars as was the fully-fledged dualism that had, by then, appeared.⁵⁸ Accounts of heresy from the early thirteenth century, such as

that of Peter des Vaux de Cernay, put great emphasis on lifestyle of the perfecti with their black mantles, special diet, chastity and their respect for the truth.⁵⁹

The urbane and sophisticated replies made in Latin by the heretics at Lombers indicate that their appeal was to the literate part of Languedocian society. Influential support for the heretics came from the lesser nobility and knights. At the end of the Council of Lombers, local knights were warned not to maintain the heretics. It is uncertain how much help the heretics had previously received from these groups, but there had already been warnings at the Council of Montpellier, three years earlier, about the nobility's lack of cooperation with the Church.⁶⁰ However, the first major figure to be prosecuted for heresy was Peire Maurand. Maurand was a wealthy merchant from the bourg of Toulouse, whose family also owned substantial lands outside the city. He was convicted of both heresy and usury in 1178.⁶¹

(D) THE UNITING OF THE SOUTHERN FRENCH AND ITALIAN CATHARS

Relations between the Southern French and Italian Cathars began with the mission to Western Europe of the Byzantine heretic, Papas Nicetas. The impact of this mission is indicated by the fact that it appears in both Southern French and Italian records and this marks it out as an exceptional event. Both Italian accounts agree that Nicetas was connected with Constantinople. The De Heresi Catharorum describes Nicetas discovering an Italian community under Mark, consecrated in the sect of Bulgaria.⁶² As we have seen, although the heresy probably arrived in Italy from northern Europe, the heretics may well have preserved a knowledge of their Eastern origins, even down to the Byzantine name.⁶³

Nicetas was not at first well received, since he attacked the church of Bulgaria. He caused Mark and his followers to doubt and finally persuaded Mark to leave the sect and be received into the order of Drugunthia. This first shift in the allegiance of the Italian Cathars seems to have been a matter of doctrine and no personal misdemeanours were mentioned. The church of Bulgaria followed a moderate dualism, whereas that of Drugunthia believed in an absolute dualism of two elemental principles. These events seem more credible than Anselm's version, which records Nicetas as the first to suggest the Italians elect a bishop.⁶⁴

Having reformed the sect in Italy, Nicetas moved on to Southern France where the story is taken up by the document reprinted by Besse in his Histoire des ducs de Narbonne.⁶⁵ Recent work has revealed that this is not one document, but three. There is an account of the Council of Saint Félix, then a sermon preached by Papa Niquinta and finally a charter defining diocesan boundaries. The Languedocian Cathars had prepared a copy of all three documents for the archive of Peter Isarn, the Cathar bishop of Carcassonne, on Monday 14 August 1223.

There is little doubt that Papas Nicetas is the same person as the Papa Niquinta mentioned in the Southern French document and that he was Byzantine. He used Byzantine terms, such as the Ecclesia Romana, to mean the heretic church of Constantinople. Niquinta's performance of the ceremony of consolamentum, or ordination, on one Marchus as Cathar bishop of Lombardy gives support to the theory that the two Byzantine heretics are one and the same.⁶⁶

The main achievement of the Council of Saint Félix was the selection of bishops by the communities of Toulouse, Carcassonne and Agen, who were consoled by Nicetas, and the reconsoled of the existing bishops of Albi

and of the (northern) French. Nicetas also consoled Mark, and this fits well with the version of events given in the De Heresi Catharorum. Clearly if this were Mark's first consolation, it would have had to have been performed in front of his own community.

At the Council, Nicetas explained the structure of the Cathar Church in the East; how they did not contradict each other and thus achieved peace amongst themselves. This strongly suggests that the organised links between the Western and Byzantine Cathar churches were newly established, since Nicetas is explaining the virtues of an established arrangement.

Finally, boundary commissioners were chosen from the churches of Toulouse and Carcassonne, in order mark out the new dioceses. Nicetas did not take any part in this process, showing that the Cathar churches retained considerable independence and that Nicetas was there in a largely supervisory role.

The other major development during the Council of Saint Félix was the introduction of absolute dualism. A letter written in 1177 by Raymond V, count of Toulouse, to the abbot of Cîteaux, asks for help against the heretics and includes the unprecedented charge 'et, quod dici, nefas est, duo etiam principia introducuntur.'⁶⁷ The evidence is sketchy, but it would tie in with Nicetas' harmonising efforts in organisation and certainly represents the doctrine with which the church of Drugunthia was later identified.⁶⁸

Finally there is the problem of dating the Council of Saint Félix. The printed document gives the date as 1167, but Bernard Hamilton has redated it to around 1176.⁶⁹ He argues that if Nicetas were the same person who appeared in Italy, then the Council cannot have been held earlier than 1174, since this is the date given by Anselm of Alessandria

for the entry of Mark and his followers from Naples. There are problems with Anselm's account, as mentioned above and he does not qualify this date. It is not given at the point of the text where the history of Catharism as a whole is being considered, but in a later part of the notebook, which concerns the moderate dualist text The Secret Supper. There, Anselm puts forward the view that Mark, John the Jew, Joseph and Aldric brought the heresy to Lombardy from Naples circa 1174.⁷⁰ It would seem, however, that this is guesswork on Anselm's part, an attempt to date the appearance of The Secret Supper and relate it to the earliest Italian Cathars. Since this date is probably taken by Anselm from his informants in the 1260s, and The Secret Supper is otherwise unknown in the West before 1190,⁷¹ the date in the single manuscript of Anselm which survives, is probably unhelpful.

In short, despite the unreliability of the printed date in Besse, there seems no reason to exchange it for the almost equally unreliable date suggested by Anselm.

For a short time the Catholic fear of a rival, universal Church had some basis in fact. However, the period of an 'international' Catharism was brief. The Cathar church in Languedoc was always a self-contained unit. There is no evidence of subsequent links with its northern neighbour, the Cathar church of France, which had sent a representative to Saint Félix, nor with distant Byzantium. By the end of the twelfth century at the latest, Cathar deacons were established in the dioceses of Toulouse and Carcassonne.⁷² However, the structure of the Cathar church that emerges at the turn of the century is similar to the church laid out at Saint Félix. In doctrinal terms, Nicetas' views seem to have held sway in the Languedoc for a generation. However, an anonymous account from the early thirteenth century records the rise of a recent variation in which

God had two sons: Christ and 'principem huius mundi', and it is uncertain whether modified dualism ever completely disappeared.⁷³

The conclusion must be that the Cathars of Southern France were less affected by Nicetas' mission than the Italian heretics. There is no record that Nicetas' spiritual disgrace had an effect on the Languedocian Cathars and it is possible that the news never reached them. Nicetas' visit was not followed up either by further missionaries from Constantinople, or any attempt by the Southern French to travel East for religious guidance.

The other church represented at Saint Félix was that of France. The French church reverted to moderate dualism, and Raynerius Saccone, writing around 1250, reports that the ecclesia Franciae agreed with the Italian Bagnolenses. Raynerius also reports the presence of a Latin church in Constantinople, which was probably mostly French, but he makes no mention of cooperation with the Greek Cathars of the same city.⁷⁴ Even though this evidence is rather patchy, there are signs that the northern French Cathars played a greater part in 'international' Catharism than did those from Languedoc. Significantly, links between Constantinople, France and North Italy lay along the great trade routes, with French cloth being carried to Constantinople by the Venetians, Genoese and Pisans.

Among the Italians, the De Heresi Catharorum records that Nicetas' was followed shortly by Petracius, who cast doubt on the efficacy of Nicetas' actions, since Nicetas had received ordination from one Simon, who had now been proved corrupt. Mark had died by the time of Petracius' visit, but had ordained his successor, John Judeus. The news that Nicetas was corrupt in turn put John Judeus' position in doubt, and the sect split, with Peter of Florence being elected as a rival bishop. After some years of schism an attempt at reconciliation was made. The Italians did not look to the East

for a solution, but instead sent a delegation to a bishop ultra montes.⁷⁵ Where this bishop resided is not known for sure. On balance, northern France is most likely, since it had strongest links with Italy and the church of Bulgaria in Constantinople.

The proposed solution was that each side should draw lots and that the winner should then go to Bulgaria itself to receive consecration in that order. It can be seen, therefore, that the Cathars both in Italy and northern France were already moving back towards a moderate form of dualism and a doctrinal thread can be traced amid the host of personal quarrels which beset the Italian Cathars. A further attempt at reconciliation failed at Mosio, a village between Cremona and Mantua, and during the resulting period of confusion and recrimination the sect fragmented into no less than six parts. The groups can also be seen divided geographically. John Judeus, backed by the Milanese, was eventually adjudged bishop in Lombardy. His jurisdiction covered all who would submit to him, but, after another embassy ultra montes, the proviso was added that he would have to be reconsecrated in Bulgaria.⁷⁶

On Lake Garda a group of heretics based at Desenzano maintained their belief in absolute dualism and sought consecration of its bishop by the church of Drugunthia, according to the De Heresi Catharorum. Two other congregations looked for guidance from 'Sclavonia'. The first was organised in Mantua and was led by Caloiannes; the second in Vicenza, led by Nicola.⁷⁷ The exact location of 'Sclavonia' is not clear. Anselm equates it with Bosnia,⁷⁸ but as early as the 1230s the Dominican author, Suibert realised that the Ecclesia Sclavonie included modern Dalmatia and Bosnia.⁷⁹ The De Heresi Catharorum probably refers to the coastal area, where such cities as Split and Dubrovnik had already developed trade links

abroad. These cities were, therefore, natural meeting places for Byzantines and merchants, from Veneto and eastern Lombardy.

The mission carried out by Nicetas eventually failed for different reasons in different places. It failed in Southern France because the area inland was too remote to have regular links with either Italy or Constantinople. The Church hierarchy there did not seem very concerned with the proposed change of doctrine and it is possible that the newly established Cathar leaders did not, at the time, grasp the full implications of Nicetas' proposals. In Italy and northern France there were better links with the Byzantine Empire, but the competing groups of Byzantine dualists only succeeded in exporting their own conflicts. These conflicts had their basis in doctrine, but the Italian controversies focussed on allegations against specific personalities. Once these disputes had passed, however, the Italian Cathars had only their differing doctrines with which to maintain their identities. Three main groups emerged: the moderate dualists, based at Concorezzo, the absolute dualists or Albanenses, based at Desenzano and a middle group, tending towards moderate dualism, consecrated in the sect of Sclavonia and who became the Bagnolenses.

(E) THE DIVERGENT PATHS OF CATHARISM IN ITALY AND SOUTHERN FRANCE

(1) ITALY

The fragmentation of the Italian Cathar sects had taken place by the end of the twelfth century. Although their subsequent history, until the arrival of the Inquisition in the 1230s, is less well documented, two features emerge clearly. Firstly, Italian Catharism became a more intellectual creed and secondly, this was a divergence from the development

of their Languedocian counterparts.

The figure who spans the period between De Heresi and Raynerius Saccone in 1250, and who enables us to build a chronology of the Italian heretics, is Nazarius, bishop of the sect at Concorezzo. Raynerius Saccone, writing around 1250, still refers to Nazarius as contemporary, although he describes Nazarius as the former bishop of the group, suggesting that he had either died or recently ceased to hold that position.⁸⁰ Anselm, writing around 1267, is less well informed on Nazarius' career,⁸¹ and gives considerable space to a doctrinal dispute between Nazarius and his subordinate Desiderius which had been settled by around 1241, as the account of Moneta of Cremona makes clear.⁸²

There are three main sources for this later period. Anselm was still writing from hindsight, but is more reliable for this period than the earlier one, since it was closer to his sources of information. Moneta of Cremona, a Dominican, compiled his work on the Cathars in the early 1240s,⁸³ and there was also the Summa of Raynerius Saccone.⁸⁴ Moneta of Cremona and Raynerius both place great emphasis on the structure and theology of the Cathar sects, in contrast with the personality clashes described by earlier authors. Moneta devotes a chapter to confuting the heretics' arguments over free will,⁸⁵ and Raynerius provides a useful guide to the organisation of the Italian Cathar church.⁸⁶

The importance of doctrinal issues to the Italian Cathars is reflected in Catholic sources in this period, although not to the exclusion of lifestyle and ritual.⁸⁷ This concentration on doctrine reflects, to some extent, an improvement in Catholic research, particularly following the introduction of the Inquisition in Italy from 1234. However, doctrinal development within the Cathar churches is well documented by Catholic

writers and in many ways it would be more surprising if the fledgling cult, with its many divisions, did not grow in sophistication.

Some of this doctrinal development can be attributed to overseas influence. Nazarius received The Secret Supper or Interrogatio Johannis from Bulgaria, although whether he went abroad to fetch it or it was brought to him in Italy remains obscure.⁸⁸ Also from the Bogomils came a version of the ancient Gnostic text, The Vision of Isaiah.⁸⁹ More important, however, was the development of native Cathar theologians. Desiderius rejected The Secret Supper, thus initiating a debate within the sect of Concorezzo, mainly on the nature of Christ.⁹⁰ Belesmanza emerged as the first authoritative leader of the Albanenses, codifying their absolute dualism. But the most important of the Italian Cathar thinkers was John of Lugio, who opposed Belesmanza and split the Albanenses on doctrinal grounds. The split also ran on generational lines, with the younger Cathars supporting John.⁹¹ John, or one of his supporters, wrote the only major Cathar work to come out of the West, the Liber de Duobus Principiis, of the Book of the Two Principles. This is not without its flaws and contradictions, but is a comprehensive account of doctrine.⁹² The breach in the Albanenses must have been healed because the book carries the battle to both the sect of Concorezzo and the Catholics.

Only the Bagnolenses did not produce a figure of comparable intellectual stature. Anselm gives a list of their bishops from Caloiannes, but little is known about any of them.⁹³ From the De Heresi Catharorum it would appear that the Bagnolenses were by the early years of the century already closely associated with the sect of Concorezzo.⁹⁴ Their beliefs became more sophisticated, but became almost inseparable from those of the larger sect, so that Anselm recorded that they were split into

three; one group agreeing with Concorezzo, another disagreeing on minor details and a third agreeing with the Albanenses.⁹⁵ Their intellectual contribution seems to have been minimal.

A rough chronology can be put on this 'intellectualisation' of Italian Catharism. Initially, there were still strong ties with the eastern dualists; Nazarius must have come into contact with The Secret Supper in the first two decades of the thirteenth century and The Vision of Isaiah arrived at more or less the same time. Among the sect of Concorezzo, Nazarius was dominant throughout most of the first half of the thirteenth century, although he had to fight off a challenge from Desiderius some time before 1241. Among the Albanenses, according to Raynerius, Belesmanza was active between 1200 and 1230, when presumably he was first opposed by John of Lugio. From Raynerius' account, John was still active when Raynerius wrote in 1250 and was preaching the doctrines outlined in the Liber de Duobus Principiis which had emerged in the 1240s.⁹⁶

It is important to note that most of this rapid intellectual growth of the Cathars took place within a small area of north east Italy. Nazarius resided at Concorezzo, just east of Milan and both he and Desiderius were buried at the nearby castle of Gattedo.⁹⁷ The most significant figure of the Bagnolenses, Caloianes, was based in Brescia. Of the Albanenses, Belesmanza came from Verona, while John of Lugio came from Bergamo.⁹⁸ This area was the intellectual powerhouse of Catharism and it is curious that there does not appear to have been an equivalent development in other regions where Cathar communities are known to have existed. A Cathar in Piacenza wrote the book Stella, but there is nothing else from the Lombard communities,⁹⁹ while the Cathars in Tuscany, with their own bishops, seem to have had no part in these controversies. Once again, Catharism shows

that it was not a universal faith, but a disconcerting mixture of international contacts and the intensely local.

Catharism must be considered as a dynamic and evolving religion and changes in its nature are to be expected. However, this does not explain why the heretics of north east Italy provided such a degree of intellectual impetus. The answer lies in part in their location. They were well placed to receive texts from the Byzantine empire and the Dalmatian coast and benefit from the stimulation these offered. The presence of Franciscan and Dominican preachers must also have put pressure on the heretics to produce more coherent beliefs. There was also a growth of facilities for learning: between 1204 and 1248 five new universities emerged in north Italy (at Reggio, Vicenza, Padua, Vercelli, and Piacenza).¹⁰⁰ The Dominicans, from their origins dedicated to fighting heresy, were active in the university city of Bologna,¹⁰¹ preaching, as well as studying as early as 1218.¹⁰²

(2) SOUTHERN FRANCE

There is evidence that this process of intellectual development also started in Southern France in the early years of the thirteenth century. An anonymous account of Cathar beliefs appeared in the early years of the Albigensian Crusade. This describes, from the Catholic point of view, a heresy which is absolute dualist, although it briefly recounts a variation which talked of only one god. However, the theology is primitive; the evil god's first creations are a lion, a bee eater, an eagle and a spirit. The Cathar heaven described is a cheerful paradise of eating, drinking, hunting and sex.¹⁰³ A few years later this text was clearly used by Peire des Vaux-des-Cernay when describing the Cathars in his account of the

Albigensian Crusade. Once again the Cathars are presented as believing in two gods, although the existence of a more moderate variant is scrupulously recorded. Again the theology discussed is crude; the heretics dismissed the God of the Old Testament as a murderer, for his disposal of Sodom and Gomorrah and the Egyptians drowned in the Red Sea.¹⁰⁴

However, the nature of the debate changed in the course of the following decade. By the time Durand of Huesca wrote about the heretics in the early 1220s, the Vision of Isaiah had reached the Cathars of Languedoc.¹⁰⁵ This tract confirmed them in their absolute dualism for the time being.

The influence of the Vision of Isaiah is easy to see in Southern French Catharism, but no safe conclusion can be drawn about The Secret Supper. This undoubtedly reached Languedoc, since one of the surviving manuscripts is in the Doat manuscript of Inquisition material from Carcassonne,¹⁰⁶ but the date of its arrival is a mystery. In addition, there is no conclusive evidence that it was actually used by the Southern French Cathars.¹⁰⁷

The standard of the Southern French Cathars' own theological arguments improved in the early thirteenth century. The 'Manichaean' treatise, described in part by Durand of Huesca, is very professionally assembled and freely quotes from parts of the Bible. The description of heaven it contains relies entirely on Biblical quotations and deductions from them, offering little detail or physical description. The dualism is absolute, but subtle, offering an apparently monotheistic introduction and solutions to common problems for Cathar theologians. The 'Manichean' treatise is obviously a work of erudition, based on detailed knowledge of the Scriptures.¹⁰⁸

There is some evidence of this more educated heresy in the Inquisition material. At Verfeil near Toulouse, just before the Albigensian Crusade, three perfecti consoled the fourteen year old Matfre de Paulhac. They urged him to study grammar, believing that he could become a great pillar of their church.¹⁰⁹ In 1244, Domina Finas recalled how, thirty years earlier, she had read heretical books in order to make up her own mind about the beliefs of the Cathars.¹¹⁰

However, despite these developments, the Southern French Cathars never went on to become as learned a group as their Italian counterparts. Even their Catholic opponents recognised that the heretics' strength lay in their lifestyle. Bishop Diego of Osma advised the Cistercian preaching mission at Montpellier:

'In my opinion you will never be able to bring these people back to the faith just by talking to them, because they are much more likely to be swayed by example. Look how the heretics urge their ways on the simple people by displaying an outward show of holiness, by feigning an example of evangelical austerity and asceticism.'¹¹¹

Diego's words are borne out by study of the contemporary attacks on the Cathars. An early anonymous tract against the Cathars, deals with Cathar beliefs at some length. However, it cites the apparently anomalous belief, ascribed to the heretics:

'Quicquid fit ecclesiasticum in universali ecclesia, dicunt esse vanum et ridiculosum, quia doctrina est, ut dicunt hominum et sine causa et in vanum colunt in hoc Deum.'¹¹²

Peire des Vaux-de-Cernay himself paid far less attention to Cathar doctrine. He attributed the success of the heretics in the province of Narbonne to their attacks on the Catholic church. Peire records in some detail the lives of the 'good men' or perfecti; he notes their garb, diet and their hierarchy and tells stories, albeit unflattering, of their relations with the dying.¹¹³ In his portrait of the enemies of the

Crusade, it is these aspects that were more important than their beliefs.

A decade later, around 1222, Durand of Huesca wrote his Liber contra Manicheos, and quotes in this a work of the Languedocian Cathars, which he seeks to discredit. Almost the entire debate is theological in nature, dealing with the Cathar interpretation of the universe. However, this represents only half of Durand's original work and an unknown proportion of the Cathar treatise. The contents of Durand's second book are known to have dealt with more practical matters: food and drink, human procreation, the 'new man' and his regeneration, and spiritual food.¹¹⁴ This would appear to be in answer to the Cathar work, although the only clue to the contents of the lost sections are a brief passage in the fourth chapter:

'Quia vero mundum malum esse ita novimus, de seculo illius et diebus, et operibus, et de hominibus et principe et rectoribus, et cibo et potu aliqua, prout poterimus, prosequamur, etc ...'¹¹⁵

When it came to the transmission of beliefs, the witnesses in the Inquisition depositions show an awareness of crude absolute and moderate dualism, but do not lay great stress on doctrine.¹¹⁶

Cathar doctrine in Southern France did not develop as it did in Italy for several reasons. Persecution from 1209 made it difficult to operate as openly as the Italian Cathars, and the lack of academic institutions prevented Languedocian dualists from acquiring the intellectual depth of their Italian counterparts. The latter problem handicapped the Catholics as much as their opponents and as a consequence the University of Toulouse was founded by Papal order in 1229 and rapidly came under the influence of the Dominicans.¹¹⁷

In other respects, the position of the Cathars in Southern France and Italy differed greatly. The Cathars in north Italy faced a considerable competition, both from the Catholic Church and other heretical or reformist

groups; an emphasis on theology became important, in order to differentiate them from these other religious groups. Salvo Burci, writing in Piacenza in 1235, gave consideration to both Speronists and Poor Lombards, as well as to the Cathars,¹¹⁸ while the tract attributed to Peter of Verona dealt with Circumcisers, Rebaptisers, and Predestinarians.¹¹⁹ Established Catholic orders, such as the Humiliati, made deliberate attempts to imitate the lifestyle of the Cathars, while the first Franciscans added the charismatic personality of their founder to attractive ideas of Humility, Simplicity, Poverty and Prayer.¹²⁰

In contrast, the Cathars of Languedoc for many years had few rivals. The Waldensians only became established in the towns, while the Catholic church offered little in the way of inspirational rivals. Even the Dominicans, who did provide a challenge to the Cathars in terms of preaching and way of life, rapidly became identified with the conquering Crusade.¹²¹

The fate of the Waldensians points to the fundamental difference between Southern French and Italian society. The Waldensians spread west from Lyons and reached the towns of Languedoc, where they received considerable goodwill. Indeed, there is evidence that supporters of the Cathars were willing to help them because of the obvious merits of their lifestyle. However, the Waldensians never achieved the loyalty shown to the Cathars because they failed to reach the villages outside the towns, where the Cathars' most loyal and long lasting supporters were found.¹²² In Italy, it was a predominantly urban society that produced urban heresies: erudite, but ridden by factional struggles according to doctrine, geography and personality. Languedoc produced a heresy that had its most

dramatic manifestations in the towns, but had its roots in rural society and the goodwill generated there. This goodwill was dependent on many things, but not primarily on doctrine.

This failure to investigate doctrinal questions in depth was one reason why the Southern French Cathars maintained their unity. However, there were also other factors. In the first place, there may well have been an element of 'caesaropapism' in early Catharism. Peire des Vaux-de-Cernay's mockery of the sect unwittingly uncovers many reasons for their strength. He recalls an occasion when there was a dispute over the consoling of an unconscious man. Instead of taking their dispute to a religious leader, as the Italian Cathars might have done, the Languedocian heretics turned instead to a sympathetic local knight, Bertrand of Saissac to make a ruling.¹²³ This made sense, since Bertrand was both a respected local figure and had the secular authority to enforce his judgement.

The sophistication of their local organisation was a further reason why the heretics in Southern France remained united. Nicetas' visit was taken as an opportunity to organise Cathar bishoprics on a geographical basis. This structure was further amended at the Council of Pieusse in 1226, when the bishop of Razes was appointed. As has already been pointed out, the Languedocians fixed the boundaries themselves and left the question of primacy vague. Although Albi had the oldest bishopric, the new bishop of Razes was consecrated by the bishop of Toulouse. This contrasted with the Italian Cathars, who in trying to obtain one, overall bishop of Lombardy ended up with numerous squabbling claimants. Moreover, at a lower level the geographical organisation of the Cathars in Languedoc proved a source of great strength. Local deacons formed strong links with the communities and were often related to local nobles. Perfecti at Verfeil

were protected by no less than 50 knights in the district.¹²⁵ This high degree of dependence on lay help may have worked to limit doctrinal differences. Certainly, there is little evidence of such disputes as were found in Italy.

The only evidence of dispute was at the Council of Pieusse around 1226, when the perfecti of Razes demanded their own bishopric. In contrast to the Italian disagreements, this was confined to a problem of organisation, which was quickly settled. Again, the lay presence may be significant, since Guilhem de Villeneuve, lord of Pieusse 'assisted' at the ceremony. His wife was a perfecta.¹²⁶

The final reason why the Southern French Cathars maintained their unity is probably the most important. The Crusade of 1209 temporarily disrupted their organisation and killed some of the perfecti; however, ironically it may have ensured the survival of Catharism in Languedoc for the rest of the century. The Crusaders succeeded in elevating a comparatively local heresy into something like a 'national religion'. Signs of this can be detected from the start. In 1207, Pons Ademar of Roudeille pointed out to Bishop Fulk of Toulouse that the important feature of the heresy was not theological argument, but the fact that the Cathars had been raised amongst their supporters, were related to them, and besides, lived honourably.¹²⁷ Later on such a feeling was evident in the raid on Avignonet in 1242. This was organised from the Cathar stronghold of Montségur and was led by the faidit knight, Peire Roger de Mirepoix, a Cathar sympathiser.¹²⁸ However, it was part of a more far reaching rebellion against external authority, which had started a month earlier with the revolt of Raymond VII, count of Toulouse, against Louis IX. Knights such as Olivier des Termes consistently supported both Catharism

and the Count of Toulouse. It was only after the fall of Montségur that Olivier turned to Catholicism and king Louis IX.¹²⁹ The perfecti recognised this feeling and set out to capitalise on it. Indeed, as late as 1274, Guilhem Prunel and Bernard de Tilhols speculated that, since the king and his court had recently taken the Count of Foix's lands from him, he might consequently be a friend of the Cathar church.¹³⁰

(F) THE BEGINNINGS OF THE SOUTHERN FRENCH CATHARS' EXILE IN ITALY¹³¹

In conclusion, the mission of Nicetas and the brief moment of a universal Cathar church must be seen as misleading. The real history of the relations between the Southern French and Italian Cathars began not with Catharism's rise, but with its decline. Two incidents illustrate this point. At some time before his death, at the siege of Labécède in 1227, Gerald de Mota visited Milan with his companion Gerald de Moussoulens. Stephan Donat was asked by the perfectus Raymond del Verger to go to Milan to escort them back, which he did, accompanied by Peire Garig, the perfectus's nephew.¹³² When Peire was questioned he revealed that there was a second reason for their journey. Raymond had spent a long time in Lombardy and had left all his money there. Armed with letters from him, they were to try and retrieve it. However, the heretics with whom he had left the money were unwilling to hand it over.¹³³

The date of this journey can be put at around 1220, in the aftermath of Prince Louis' substantial, but ultimately unsuccessful, campaign against Toulouse. A probable explanation is that both perfecti and funds were transported to Italy for safety. The interesting point is that there were other perfecti still in Milan; Peire Garig reported that while there 'vidit pluries hereticos intrantes et exeuntes'. There is evidence of similar

primitive banking operations at Montségur and among Cathar exiles at Cremona in the 1250s. Moreover, the operation was unsophisticated, more reminiscent of the economy of Southern France than north Italy since the money had to be physically collected and transported back to Languedoc.

At this early stage there may have been some cooperation with native Italian supporters. Guilhem Donadeu and Stephan de Garriga escorted two perfectae from Languedoc to Lombardy around 1229. While in Piacenza, they were accommodated at the house of Giovanni Cappelanio, a citizen of Piacenza, where they spent Easter Day as guests of the Piacenzan.¹³⁴

There were other Languedocian Cathars in Italy in the 1220s. Around 1225 the perfectus Peire Bernard returned from Lombardy and 'sought half the possessions and all the other goods' from his brother, also a perfectus, to whom he complained for a long time.¹³⁵ The importance of these two incidents must not be exaggerated. However, the latter incident does suggest that some form of trading was under way. Indeed, Milan was a major centre for the cloth trade, with which the Languedocian Cathars were already associated.

We cannot be sure that it was the same Peire Bernard de las Bordas who asked Raymond Aym to go to Cremona, to bring back three Cathar sisters, at some time between 1227-31. When Raymond found them, they refused to go with him and he returned empty-handed.¹³⁶ However, the arrival of the Inquisition in Languedoc in 1234 meant that they were safer where they were.

These occasional forays into north Italy did not develop earlier because life in Languedoc was comparatively safe throughout the 1220s, despite the campaigns of Louis VIII and Humbert of Beaujeu. Even after the introduction of inquisitors in 1234, there were still havens for Cathars in

the outlying villages. Castelnaudary and Saint-Félix greeted the inquisitors with silence and, as an ultimate refuge, there was still the fortress of Montségur. In 1237 the heretics' position improved, when the Pope halted inquisitorial action in Toulouse for three years. However, the arrival of yet another royal army in October 1240 to crush the Trencavel rebellion, combined with the resumption of inquisitorial proceedings in 1241 once again made north Italy an attractive destination for the Languedocian Cathars.¹³⁷

It is in the pages of Inquisition depositions that we can see the beginnings of emigration to Italy by the Languedocian Cathars. Although the Inquisition was not active until 1234, the incidents recalled by witnesses stretch back to the beginning of the century. References to Lombardy, however, begin only with the events described above.

The development of links between Cathars from the Southern French and Italian sects was not to be expected. Despite their common origin in Byzantine dualism, which had been transmitted to both areas by way of northern Europe, Catharism soon developed different characteristics in Southern France and Italy. Heresy can not be divorced from its political and economic context, and the study of these helps explain both the difficulties faced by Nicetas in 1167 and why Languedocian Cathars made their way to Italy sixty years later.

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- 3) For discussion of the problem, see M. D. Lambert, Medieval Heresy, (London, 1977), 1-18. For the dualist tradition in the Byzantine Empire, see Obolensky.
- 4) For alternative explanations dating the arrival of Catharism in the early eleventh century, see Manselli, 151-66 and Duvernoy: Histoire (II), 74-107.
- 5) Moore, 159-62. For outline of Cathar rites, see Clédat, 479, [Provençal] and Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 42, [Latin].
- 6) The Alexiad of Anna Comnena, trans. E.R.A. Sewter, (London, 1969), 500. Anna may also have portrayed Basil, ['Archisatrap of Satanael'], as a figure of greater authority than he actually was. Anna characterised Alexius' reign as a series of duels between her father and various mighty opponents and depicts Basil as one of her father's religious adversaries [others included Leo, bishop of Chalcedon (158-60) and Italos (174-80)]. I am grateful to Dr Jonathan Shepard for this point, and for his advice and encouragement over the years.
- 7) Moore, 25-38. This is not to say that the apostolic tradition remained necessarily untouched by Eastern practice. Moore's theory is at its weakest in the case of the heretics of Monforte, who could be interpreted as dualists [see Manselli, 164-6].
- 8) Moore, 168-72. Patrologie cursus completus ... ab aevo apostolico ad tempora Innocentii III, anno 1216 ... series latina, ed. J. P. Migne, vol. 182 of 221, (1859), 676-80. Wakefield and Evans, 126-32.
- 9) Wakefield and Evans, 139-41.
- 10) Wakefield and Evans, 122-4, 125-6, 679, n. 13. Sancti Bernardi Opera, eds J. Leclercq and H. Rochais, (Rome, 1977), ep. 241, 125. Geoffrey of Auxerre, Sancti Bernardi ... vita et res gestae ... Liber tertius, in Migne, PL, vol. 195, ep. 185, 312-4. Migne, PL, ep. 185, 410-2.
- 11) Unless Moore's emendation to 1163 from the Annales of Margam is accepted. Wakefield and Evans, 138-9. Annales de Margam in Annales Monastici I, Rolls Series, vol. 36, (1864), ed. H.R. Luard, 15. Moore, 197-8.
- 12) Moore, 197-9. Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio, ed. G. D. Mansi, (1759-1927), vol. 21, cols. 1177-8.

- 13) Cambridge Economic History of Europe, 2nd edn., eds. M. M. Postan and E. Miller, (Cambridge, 1987), vol. 2 of 8, 360.
- 14) L. Rovelli, Storia di Como, vol. 1 of 3, (Milan, 1963), 205. For example, Como had strong local wool and metal-working industries and the largest annual fair (Sant'Abondio) attracted many foreigners, mostly from Germany.
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- 18) CEHE, 346. There was also a large metal working industry.
- 19) A. Bosisio, Storia di Milano, (Milan, 1958), 88-9. Notably its support for Conrad II in that year.
- 20) Bosisio, 103-7, 111-4.
- 21) Moore, 55-6.
- 22) G. Miccoli, 'Per la storia della Patarina milanese', Medioevo Ereticale, ed., O. Capitani, (Bologna, 1977), 89-90 and C. W. Previté-Orton, Outlines in Medieval History, (Cambridge, 1924), 199-206 and see Moore, 57-61.
- 23) Bosisio, 100-3.
- 24) Wakefield and Evans, 86-9, 101-4 respectively.
- 25) Wakefield and Evans, 96-101, 74-81 respectively.
- 26) Violante, 'Eresie urbane', 185-212.
- 27) Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur, eds. G. Henschenio and D. Papebrochio (Paris, Rome, 1866), April 18, vol. 2, 590-91.
- 28) Bonacursus, Vita Haereticorum, in Migne, PL, vol. 204, cols. 775-77.
- 29) Lettres de Jacques de Vitry, ed. R. C. B. Huygens, (Leiden, 1960), 71-8.
- 30) Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare', I, 280-312.
- 31) Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare', II, 234-312.

- 32) Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare', II, 234-324.
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- 34) Ilarino di Milano, 'La "Manifestatio heresis catarorum" quam fecit Bonacursus secondo il cod. Ottob. Lat. 136 del Bib. Vaticana', Scritti Minori sull'Eresia Medievale (Perugia, 1983), 155-203.
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- 37) Jacques de Vitry, 72-3. See also L. Zanoni, Gli Umiliati nei loro rapporti con l'eresia: l'industria della lana ed i comuni nei secoli XII e XIII, (Milan, 1911), 34-47. Zanoni mistakenly thought that the terms Cathar and Humiliati were interchangeable in their early history, as a result of his confusion over the meaning of 'Patarini'.
- 38) For information on the social origins of the Humiliati, see Little, 117-20 and B. Bolton, The Medieval Reformation, (London, 1983), 63-6.
- 39) Migne, PL, vol. 204, col. 777. Ilarino, Bonacursus, 170.
- 40) Bosisio, 128-35.
- 41) Eckbert of Schönau, Sermones tredecim contra haereticos, Migne, PL, vol. 195, cols. 11-102.
- 42) Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare' I, 287, 290-1.
- 43) Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare' II, 259-62.
- 44) Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare' II, 250-53.
- 45) Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare' II, 263-6.
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- 64) Hamilton, 'Drugunthia', 121. Wakefield and Evans, 336. Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare' II, 309-10.
- 65) G. Besse, Histoire des Ducs de Narbonne (Paris, 1660), 483-6.
- 66) B. Hamilton, 'The Cathar Council of Saint-Félix-de-Caraman', AFP, vol. 48, (1978), 23-28.
- 67) Gervase of Cantertury, Chronica, in Opera historica, vol. 1, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series 73, (London, 1880), 270. Moore, 212.

- 68) Wakefield and Evans, 164. Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare I', 308-09.
- 69) Hamilton, 'Saint Félix', 28-30, 50.
- 70) Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare', II, 319.
- 71) Wakefield and Evans, 65, 458. Borst, 8. Duvernoy, Religion, 108. Manselli, 227 estimates 1195.
- 72) Peal, 'The Spread and Maintenance of Catharism', 61-2, 84.
- 73) For allegations of absolute dualism against Peire Maurand, see Rogeri de Hoveden, 153. Wakefield and Evans, 197-8. For expressions of moderate dualism, see Dondaine, 'Durand de Huesca', 268-71. Wakefield and Evans, 234, 718-9. See also Hamilton, 'Saint Félix', 43-5.
- 74) Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 70. Wakefield and Evans, 336-7.
- 75) Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare', I, 306-7.
- 76) Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare', I, 307-8. By 1250 there was a Cathar church of Greeks in Bulgaria, mentioned by Raynerius Saccone, Liber de Duobus Principis, 70.
- 77) Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare', I, 307-8.
- 78) Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare', 308.
- 79) J. V. A. Fine Jnr., The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation (Columbia, 1975), 120-1.
- 80) Rainerius Sacconi, Summa de Catharis et Pauperibus de Lugduno. ed. A. Dondaine in Un Traité néo-manichéen, 76-7.
- 81) Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare', II, 310-1.
- 82) Moneta of Cremona, Adversos Catharos et Valdenses libri quinque, ed. T. Ricchini (Rome, 1743), 248. Wakefield and Evans, 336-7.
- 83) Moneta of Cremona, 245. Wakefield and Evans, 744, n. 1.
- 84) Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 77.
- 85) Moneta of Cremona, 63-8. Wakefield and Evans, 313-7.
- 86) Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 71-6.
- 87) Anselm was also interested in details of their life and the rituals they performed. Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare', II, 313-6.
- 88) Duvernoy, Religion (I), 108 and see also note [70] above.
- 89) Wakefield and Evans, 447-56. Vision of Isaiah, 98-139.

- 90) Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare', II, 310-2.
- 91) Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 70-1.
- 92) See note [74]. Borst sees decline in this fragmentation and attempted justification. Borst, 122.
- 93) Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare', II, 310.
- 94) Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare', I, 310.
- 95) Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare', II, 313.
- 96) Wakefield and Evans, 511. Borst, 19; around 1240. Duvernoy, Religion (I) puts it as early as 1225.
- 97) Duvernoy, Religion (I), 186.
- 98) Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 71.
- 99) Manselli, 282, and see Ilarino da Milano, 'Il "Liber Supra Stella" del piacentino Salvo Burci contro i catari e altre correnti ereticali', Aevum, vol. 19, (1945), 281-341.
- 100) H. Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, eds. E. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, vol. 2 of 3 (Oxford, 1936), 1-37. Reggio pre-1210, Vicenza 1204-10 and intermittently after this, Padua 1222, Vercelli 1228 and Piacenza pre-1248.
- 101) Jordan of Saxony, On the Beginnings of the Order of Preachers, trans. S. Tugwell (Dublin, 1982), 14-6.
- 102) The only one of these Cathar intellectuals in Italy who might have come from France or Languedoc was Petrus Gallus, who is mentioned by Peter of Verona, Yves of Narbonne, Albertus Magnus and the De Heresi Catharorum. However, he seems to have lived most of his life in Italy, probably at Vicenza, and may have originated from Bergamo. He cannot be used as evidence for a universal Cathar church. See Käppeli, 306-13 and Perugia, MS 1065, 100v. and n. 160.
- 103) Wakefield and Evans, 230-5. Dondaine, 'Durand de Huesca', 268-71.
- 104) Wakefield and Evans, 237-8.
- 105) Duvernoy, Religion (I), 33-4.
- 106) Doat, 36: 26v.-35r.
- 107) Duvernoy, Religion (I), 108-9.
- 108) C. Thouzellier, ed., Un Traité cathare inédit du début de XIII^e siècle d'après le "Liber Contra Manicheos" de Durand de Huesca (Louvain, 1961), 101-3. Wakefield and Evans, 494-510.

- 109) Doat, 22: 61v.
- 110) Doat, 22: 67r.-v.
- 111) Jordan of Saxony, 6.
- 112) Text and comment published in Dondaine, 'Durand de Huesca', 268-71, 260-2. Wakefield and Evans, 231.
- 113) Wakefield and Evans, 237-41. Duvernoy, Religion (I), 17.
- 114) Thouzellier, Un Traité cathare, 86.
- 115) Thouzellier, Un Traité cathare, 92. Wakefield and Evans, 497.
- 116) See below, Chapter 9, 274.
- 117) Mundy, Europe, 466.
- 118) Ilarino da Milano, 'Il "Liber Supra Stella"', 316. Wakefield and Evans, 271.
- 119) Käppeli, 331-5. Wakefield and Evans, 274-8.
- 120) For St. Francis' ideas, see J. R. H. Moorman, Saint Francis of Assisi, 2nd edn., (London, 1976), 24-5.
- 121) Jordan of Saxony, 9-10.
- 122) A. Roach, 'The Cathar Economy', Reading Medieval Studies, vol. 12 (1986), 63.
- 123) Petri Vallium, 15-16. Wakefield and Evans, 239-40.
- 124) C. Devic and J. Vaissete, Histoire Générale de Languedoc, ed. A. Molinier et al., vol. 8 of 16, (Toulouse, 1886-7), 411-2.
- 125) Peal, 'The Spread and Maintenance of Catharism', 65-66.
- 126) Doat, 23: 270r. and see also Duvernoy, Histoire, 262-3, who suggests that there were personal rivalries behind the dispute.
- 127) Guillaume de Puylaurens, Chronique, ed. J. Duvernoy, (Paris, 1976), 48-51.
- 128) Doat, 24: 166v.-167r.
- 129) A. Peal, 'Olivier de Termes and the Occitan Nobility in the Thirteenth Century', Reading Medieval Studies, vol. 12 (1986), 114-7.
- 130) Doat, 25: 77r. Bernard Hugo of Roquevidal said:

'se audivisse praedictos hereticos dicentes quod magnum damnum erat de Comite Fusci qui nunc est quia sic amitebat terram suam, et sic'

damnificabatur per Dominum Regem, et per gentes Domini Regis, et quod sic posset amicus esse [MS esset] Ecclesiae hereticorum.'

- 131) I have not included here one of the earliest and best known sources dealing with a fugitive from Southern France, Yves of Narbonne. Although some scholars have taken this account at face value [Borst, 105], it has been convincingly dismissed by Duvernoy [Duvernoy, Histoire, 184-5]. He attributes it to Imperialist propaganda, seeking to portray the Lombard League towns and the lands of the Duke of Austria as centres of heresy.

Written in the early 1240s, the letter combines a number of Catholic fears and images of their heretical opponents. The tone of the letter is salacious in its description of the heretics' sumptuous lifestyle. However, the author does not attack the heretics directly and claims to have heard only later, for example, that Petrus Gallus, the Cathar bishop, had been deposed for fornication.

The figures in the letter are not based on fact, although there was, of course, a real Petrus Gallus and the heretical communities described may have existed. The author's strength lies in his apparent plausibility. For example, he reports that the heretics sent merchants to the fairs, in order to convert wealthy laymen; and indeed, it would seem that the Languedocian heretics in the later thirteenth century did travel to Lombardy by way of the fairs of Champagne.

The letter can be found in Matthew Paris, Chronica Maiora, vol. 4 of 7, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series 57, (London, 1972-3), 270-2 and is translated in Wakefield and Evans, 185-7.

- 132) Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse, MS 609, fol. 43 a.-b.
 133) Toulouse, MS 609, fol. 44b.-45a.
 134) Doat, 23: 214r.-v.
 135) Toulouse, MS 609, fol. 34a.-34b.
 136) Toulouse, MS 609, fol. 155b.
 137) Sumption, 226-43.

**CHAPTER TWO
ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL RELATIONS
BETWEEN ITALY AND SOUTHERN FRANCE BEFORE 1230¹**

In its political and economic relations with the rest of the medieval world before 1200, it is easy to see the South of France as a 'colony' ripe for exploitation. Despite its sophisticated culture, the region's political structures were unstable and economically it was remote from the great centres of growth. The region was duly colonised by the surrounding powers. England took Gascony and gradually turned the area into a monoculture of vineyards. The Italian cities of Genoa and Pisa took the coastal areas, subjugating local ports and merchants and exporting Italian manufactured goods and spices from the east. Finally, the county of Toulouse was seized by the French eager to feudalise and exploit the fertile parts of the region and to gather taxes from the rest. By the beginning of the thirteenth century Languedocians found that neither their economic nor political futures were in their own hands.

This view of Southern France as a colony is a slight exaggeration. The area was not undeveloped and had maintained an infrastructure of roads and urban settlements from Roman times. In particular, there was one large inland city at Toulouse which was a manufacturing centre. Moreover, the region was showing signs of economic growth from the mid-twelfth century which continued into the thirteenth. However, the colonial analysis serves to put Southern French economic development into perspective in comparison with the rest of Europe and its distinctive nature was one of the reasons why the fate of the Cathars there was so different from elsewhere.

Languedoc was an economic backwater for much of the twelfth century because European trade focused on the transport from Italy to Northern

Europe of spices and other exotic goods imported from the East, and in return, cloth made in Flanders and Northern France. At first this trade was conducted through the Little and Great Saint Bernard Passes, which dated back to Roman times.² In the mid-twelfth century the Mont Cenis pass, further west, became popular.³ Even then, the direct impact on the economy of the lands west of the Rhône was minimal. Trade from the North came via the Rhône as far as Lyons and then turned east across the Alps.⁴ In fact, merchants sought more eastern routes across the Alps as time went on, to give better access to the prosperous towns of Champagne and the Rhineland. The Simplon and Saint Gotthard passes were opened up around 1235 and caused the Mont Cenis Pass to decline; it took twenty years to recover from this.⁵

The land routes between Italy and Southern France were limited. The Alpes Maritimes are lower than their northern neighbours, but are not as well provided with valleys and passes. The traveller to North Italy then has to cross the equally awkward Ligurian Apennines, or, if turning south, follow the mountains as far as the Val d'Arno. The Tende and Larche passes were opened in the late twelfth century, but their first significant use was the transport of Charles of Anjou's army in 1265.⁶ There is some evidence of transhumance, and Arles was the capital of a large-scale summer movement of flocks from the Camargue up the Durance valley.⁷ However, there is no evidence of the hospices or inns which were found in the major passes, nor of the colourful collection of low life which lived off the passage of merchants and pilgrims through the Brenner pass.⁸ As late as 1350 Clement VI advised Languedocians going to Rome for the Jubilee to take the Mont Genève pass to Susa.⁹ This was a long-established, slow route, used only when the Mont Cenis and Great Saint Bernard passes were blocked,

but could be conveniently reached from Avignon.¹⁰

These difficulties of transport, particularly for armies, meant that there were few political contacts between Southern France and Italy. Virtually the only overland venture recorded was made by Guilhem V, Duke of Aquitaine in 1024. He had been invited to become king of Lombardy by Bishop Leone of Vercelli, in order to counterbalance the influence of Conrad, Duke of Franconia. Away from the mountainous border, Guilhem's reputation was not as strong. Ugo, Count of Milan wanted to offer the crown of Italy to Robert, King of France or his son, Hugh. It would appear that Guilhem was not greatly excited by this offer of the crown of Lombardy. He made a cautious advance into the marches of Piedmont, negotiated fruitlessly with the local nobility for support, and then withdrew.¹¹

Communications were easier by sea, and the most economically advanced part of Southern France were the coastal towns. There were trading links between Narbonne, Montpellier, and Marseilles and Italy from the beginning of the twelfth century, and goods could also be transported to Italy directly from towns on the Rhône, such as Arles and Saint-Gilles. However, the route to Italy which was to be most popular with travellers from Languedoc combined land and sea: the traveller landed at Genoa and made his way through the Ligurian Alps or Apennines to the Po valley, or took the route to Rome.¹²

The first example of colonial intervention in Southern France can be seen in the growing influence of the Italian cities on the politics of the coastal regions of Southern France and Spain. The main rivalry was between Genoa and Pisa, who fought for trading privileges in the Southern French and Spanish coastal ports. These ports were still small and were dominated

by feudal overlords, often involved with military campaigns against the Muslims or against each other. The earliest trading privileges were often granted in return for help with crusading ambitions. In 1108, Genoa supplied 40 galleys to help Bertrand, Count of Toulouse in the Levant, in return for a valuable exemption from duties along the coast of southern France. This exemption applied not only to the Genoese themselves, but to any Lombard in business association with a Genoese.¹³ Some sort of agreement similar to this may have existed even earlier. On the First Crusade at Antioch, Bohemond, the Norman prince of Apulia, signed an alliance with the Genoese; in return for trading rights, the Genoese promised to defend Antioch against all comers. However, the Genoese refused to fight the Count of Toulouse, and merely promised to remain neutral in a conflict between him and Bohemond.¹⁴ This may be evidence of some pre-existing alliance or understanding with the Count.

In 1113 Pisa cooperated with Aimeri II of Narbonne, Guilhem V of Montpellier and Raymond Berengar III of Barcelona in an attack on the Balearics, then in Muslim hands.¹⁵ There was no doubt who gained most from these ventures: the Italian ports not only gained concessions in Southern France and further concessions in conquered ports of any importance, but also rid themselves of the Muslim pirates who threatened their trade routes. In the last resort they could even do without the Southern French. The Chant celebrating the combined operation of the Pisans and Genoese against two Muslim cities in North Africa in 1088, makes no mention of any Southern French involvement.¹⁶

These two great Italian cities struggled to prevent the towns of Southern France and Catalonia from developing sufficiently to present a challenge to their domination of trade. So strong was this fear, that the

two cities could even suspend their rivalry and cooperate to maintain their duopoly. In 1141 they supported Guilhem VI of Montpellier in his struggle against an alliance of the merchants, petty nobility of the area and Alphonse of Toulouse. In response to this, the fledgling commune of Montpellier imposed a tax on all traders from Genoa and Pisa who wished to use the port, to cover damage to Montpellier through their 'piracy'. Even here there had been some bargaining behind the scenes. Pisans were charged at a rate of 20 solidi Melgorienses, whereas the Genoese escaped with 10. Two years later support from the two Italian cities helped Guilhem VI regain power and earned them both houses in Montpellier. Similar benefits emerged for the Italians from the peace between Saint Gilles and its Count.¹⁷ The policy of the Italian cities was quite clearly to protect their own economic preeminence by maintaining the position of feudal overlords against communal aspirations.

In the longer term the Genoese won the upper hand in the Southern French ports. They made a treaty with Montpellier in 1150 and renewed it in 1155 which had the effect of confining Montpellier's merchants to Genoa and the Spanish coast.¹⁸ By doing this, Genoa hoped to encourage a rival to the Pisans, who had come to dominate trade with Spanish ports in the same way that the Genoese had those of Southern France. This marked a change of policy by the Italians: they were now prepared to see local ports involved in trade, as long as it was regulated by themselves. Despite the growth of local autonomy the colonial description is still apt.

The only possible way to break this relationship was to play one city off against the other, and such an opportunity arose when open war erupted between the Genoese and Pisans in the mid 1160s. The Viscount of Narbonne was carefully wooed by Pisa, culminating in a generous treaty in April

1164 which allowed merchants from Narbonne equal status with those of Pisa.¹⁹ This did not stop the viscount from changing sides and coming to terms with Genoa in November 1166,²⁰ while from 1168 Montpellier, guided by Count Guilhem VII, started to move closer to the Pisans.²¹ Against the opportunities offered by such manoeuvres was the risk of being caught up in the war itself. In 1166 the rival fleets of Pisa and Genoa carried their conflict to the harbour of Saint-Gilles, where the Pisans emerged victorious. The commune of Saint-Gilles was still sheltering the Pisans, when the Genoese returned during the town's fair in early September that year. A pitched battle was fought outside the town with Raymond V of Toulouse being bribed first by the Genoese and then by their enemies. However, Raymond remained neutral and once again the Pisans won the fight.²²

However, in the following two years, the war established the superiority of the Genoese in the Southern France. The treaty of Porto Venere of 1169 restricted the Pisans to coastal trade in the area from Savona to Cape Salou, just west of Tarragona, leaving the Genoese with a monopoly of the high seas. Despite renewed outbreaks of war, when Montpellier and Pisa formed an alliance against the Genoese, the situation remained more or less the same until 1175, when the Italian rivals made peace to combat the threatened Imperial invasion.²³

The trade treaties which survive reveal much about political and economic life in twelfth century Southern France. The Italian cities were predominantly interested in the coastal cities and the ports on the Rhône and in 1166 it was for his position as Count of Saint-Gilles that Raymond V was important, rather than as Count of Toulouse. In reaction to their humiliation on the Rhône in 1166, the Genoese signed a treaty with Narbonne

the same year. No men or goods from either Genoa or Pisa were allowed into Narbonne without the permission of the Genoese consuls. One ship of *bona fide* pilgrims was allowed to leave Narbonne a year, but this was not to contain any people from Montpellier and Saint-Gilles, or from the area from the Rhône to Nice. Ships from Narbonne were allowed to go where they pleased, but they were not allowed to return with Pisan merchants or goods.²⁴ Even more important was the agreement between Montpellier and Genoa, signed in 1201, which was the basis of an association which lasted over fifty years. There were reciprocal promises for the safety of each other's goods and inhabitants, but these did not extend to any dealings between the inhabitants of Montpellier and those of either Pisa or Ventimiglia, the traditional enemies of the Genoese.²⁵

The nobility of Southern France allowed their coastline to become an economic colony of the Italian cities because their own political ambitions lay in the north and west, and they showed little interest in events in Italy. In 1112 Raymond Berengar III of Barcelona married Douce of Provence, so becoming master of Barcelona and Provence from 1127 until his death in 1131.²⁶ In 1172 Guilhem VII of Montpellier put his family and his lordship under the guardianship of King Alfonso of Aragon in his will.²⁷ There were frequently local disputes and the Languedocian nobility were willing to give concessions to Italian towns, in return for help with bitter and costly local conflicts. Raymond V wanted Genoese help against the king of Aragon in 1174; he consequently negotiated a treaty with the Genoese, which gave the Italians trading privileges in Saint Gilles and Arles. The treaty also forbade merchants from his land engaging in

overseas trade at all, without licence from the consuls of the commune of Genoa and the majority of their advisers. The generosity of these terms was tempered by the fact that the Count did not have the political power to deliver any of them.²⁸ Ermengarde of Narbonne sought Pisan aid in the conflict against Raymond of Toulouse and Henry II of England the previous year. At the same time as seeking help from Pisa, she and the Archbishop of Narbonne wrote to Louis VII.²⁹ Possibly the best example of political orientation to the west, combined with an economic dependence on Italy, was the marriage of Maria of Montpellier with Peter II of Aragon in 1204. This brought the city under the suzerainty of the Aragonese king only three years after it had cemented its commercial links with the Genoese.³⁰

A further change in the policies of the Italian cities became apparent in the aftermath of the wars of the 1160s and 1170s, particularly in those of Genoa. The costs of trying to exclude competition were greater than the benefits. Both Genoa and Pisa were now content to allow the towns of Southern France to have limited relations with both of them. Narbonne made up its dispute with Genoa in 1182, and embarked on a deliberate policy of seeking to establish good relations with both cities, and in the late 1170s Montpellier sought better relations with the Pisans.³¹ This trend continued in the following century. After the initial disruption of the Albigensian Crusade, towns worked hard to improve their commercial relations. The main reason for this was undoubtedly the rise of communes in the coastal towns and the corresponding rise of commerce in their priorities, and the shift in the attitude of the Italians was an acknowledgment that in the struggle between communes and nobility, the communes were now the stronger force. The Crusade may have completed the process; the resultant weakening of the native nobility meant that some

towns found themselves with more freedom to expand communal institutions. Two consuls from Narbonne journeyed to Pisa in September 1224 to conclude a trade treaty, and the following month an agreement was also signed with the Genoese. In 1225 Montpellier renewed its treaties of 1177 and 1204 with Pisa and Genoa respectively.³² At the same time the Southern French cities improved relations with each other. Narbonne concluded treaties with Nice (1224), Hyères (1225) and Toulon (1225), while Montpellier signed agreements with Nice, Antibes, Hyères, Toulon (all 1225) and Marseilles (1229).³³

The Italian dominance of trade with the east was by now so established that they could afford to allow the Southern French towns to take an increasing part of local trade. This accounts for the many trade treaties made by the Southern French towns in the early thirteenth century. Moreover, trade was encouraged between the Languedocian coast and Sicily by the agreement of March 1200; this treaty with the kingdom of Sicily gave the men of Marseilles, Montpellier and Saint-Gilles liberty to stay and trade in Messina and Syracuse, as well as establishing a court of justice and consuls in these towns.³⁴ From the notarial records considered below, there is evidence that merchants from Languedoc took advantage of these privileges. Although towns like Montpellier and Narbonne developed into cosmopolitan markets on the Mediterranean coast, trade between Italy and Southern France continued to be dominated by the Italians. Benjamin of Tudela, a Jewish rabbi, passed through Montpellier around 1165 and described it as a place well situated for commerce. He said that men from the Algarve, Lombardy, Rome, Egypt, Palestine, Greece, France, Asia and England, from both the Christian and Muslim worlds, Edom and Ishmael, came for business there. But Benjamin had no doubt where real power lay:

'people of all nations are found there doing business through the medium of the Genoese and Pisans.'

Benjamin also visited other towns in the area such as Narbonne, Béziers and Lunel. He commented that Marseilles was 'a city of princely and wise citizens' and described it as very busy. The route taken by Benjamin to Italy was by sea, from Marseilles to Genoa. He is disappointingly vague about Genoa. However, he makes it clear from his description of Pisa that the Italian cities were in a different class from those he had seen in Spain and Languedoc:

'Pisa is a very great city, with about 10,000 turreted houses for battle at times of strife. All its inhabitants are mighty men. They possess neither king nor prince to govern them, but only the judges appointed by themselves.'³⁵

It was not only Pisa's physical size and prosperity that impressed the rabbi, but its political independence.

The nature of the trade between Italy and Southern France offers support for Benjamin's view. The coastal towns of Southern France imported manufactured goods and spices from Italy, whilst exporting raw materials and agricultural produce from their hinterland, for resale in the larger markets of north Italy. The agreement between Genoa and Narbonne in 1224 allowed the merchants of Narbonne to import bales of fustian, iron and steel.³⁶ In addition, they imported such goods as saffron, pepper, dyestuffs, lacquer and nuts.³⁷ Exported goods were grain, wool, wine and olive oil.³⁸

The Southern French coastal towns were also financial centres. This is implicit in the strength of the Jewish community reported by Benjamin. Narbonne and Marseilles are recorded as having some 300 Jews each, while Montpellier's Jewish community is reported to have contained both scholars and the rich and charitable. However, the Italian cities were financial

centres on a different scale. They were no longer reliant on their Jewish communities for financial expertise. Benjamin recorded 20 Jews living in Pisa and only two in Genoa.³⁹ Although a letter of exchange drawn up in Messina was exchangeable in Marseilles as early as 1200, there were no parallels in twelfth century Montpellier to such comparatively complex financial transactions as the 'sea loans' or 'ship shares' which developed in Genoa at this time.⁴⁰ There is some confusion whether Iacobus Lombardi, a prominent merchant in Montpellier,⁴¹ actually came from Lombardy or whether his name simply labels him as a money-changer. In either case, however, it illustrates the grip north Italians had on the industry in the popular imagination.

By the 1180s some merchants from Southern France could be found in Italy. Oberto Scriba de Mercato, one of the first Genoese notaries for whom records survive, mentions Peire Ugo of Montpellier, who borrowed money from Rubaldo, son of Alberto Lercaro in December 1186, which he promised to repay when the latter arrived in Sicily. To reassure his creditor he gave him six miniver furs as a pledge, which he could sell to remove all or part of the debt.⁴² In the same year Arnaud de Narbonne made his will in Genoa. He would appear to have been assimilated into the life of the city, and left his money to various Genoese institutions; however, some of his relatives were clearly Provençals, such as his nephew, Berengar. Arnaud was also quite prosperous, since he had a Saracen maid whom he freed on the same day.⁴³ Finally, and most interestingly, there was Peire de Tolosa who formed a societas with Guido the mercer, for trade in Sicily and then Genoa. The Italian put up the majority of the capital and Peire was to do the travelling. Since the total capital involved was less than ten Genoese pounds, Peire was evidently a minor figure, although he stated he was

taking 18 Genoese pounds of his own on the venture in addition.⁴⁴

From the notebooks of Oberto Scriba, Languedocian merchants in Genoa were few in comparison with those from North Italy. Two of the three documents involve small-scale trading ventures to Sicily, which was a more realistic market for Southern French merchants than the glamorous East. The importance of such ventures is shown by the treaty with the kingdom of Sicily signed by Marseilles, Montpellier and Saint Gilles in 1200, mentioned above.⁴⁵

Peire de Tolosa is an unusual figure in the notarial sources of this time. Most international trade was confined to the Southern French coastal cities, but the city of Toulouse was to some extent an exception. It produced cloth, woad, and wine and was also a financial centre; however, its significance was confined to the Midi and little of its produce was exported. The city was growing rapidly and had developed its own consuls by 1178, but these were crushed when Raymond V reestablished his authority around 1181.⁴⁶ The cosmopolitan scenes described by Benjamin of Tudela were confined to the coast and few Italian merchants ventured inland. Those that did found primitive conditions. A Piacenzan merchant in the region of Nice, as late as the end of the thirteenth century, insisted that local farmers paid cash and that he would not accept goods or payment in kind.⁴⁷

This analysis of the economic relations between Southern France and Italy before the Albigensian Crusade highlights the different economic environments in these two areas where Catharism emerged. Much has been made of the independence of Languedocian towns and their pretensions to communes on the Italian model. This is somewhat misleading: as has been shown, some similarity in terminology does not mean that conditions in the

two areas were the same.

According to J.C. Russell, the population of Toulouse was probably around 35,000 at the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁴⁸ It was by far the largest town in the area. The town it resembled most in terms of population in North Italy was Cremona with a population of 33-40,000 at its peak before the arrival of the plague. Also comparable was Pavia with 25-30,000. However, Milan, the largest city in North Italy had 65-70,000 people and Genoa around 60,000. Although Russell's figures may be challenged, their proportional relations remain valid.⁴⁹

Southern French cities differed in political structure from their Italian counterparts. The Genoese had established their commune by 1100, the Milanese by the early twelfth century.⁵⁰ The communes of Piacenza and Cremona emerged in the same period.⁵¹ In comparison, legislation on the smallest commercial matters in Toulouse was still enacted in cooperation with the Count. In 1182, regulations were issued dealing among other matters with the sale of fish; these were in the form of a joint edict from Raymond V and the commune.⁵² Although the 1180s saw a series of disputes between Toulouse and its Counts, these did not amount to real autonomy for the city until the 1190s.⁵³ There was unrest in 1202 which led to the old communal oligarchy being replaced by 'new men' and this does have parallels with contemporary Italian developments. However, the success of the new men only came about with Raymond's covert support and their subsequent attempts to subdue the surrounding countryside to the status of an Italian contado were unsuccessful.⁵⁴

In the surrounding small towns civic consciousness took the form of disputes with the local bishop, a phase of development more characteristic of Italian communes in the late 11th or early 12th century. Lodève forced

its bishop to swear an oath of loyalty to the consuls around 1200. But a few years later the bishop was murdered in the course of another dispute with the town. Albi's town council was still fighting the authority of the local bishop at the end of the thirteenth century.⁵⁵

Only the Southern French coastal cities were really comparable with the Italian communes. Montpellier expelled its count in 1141 and Béziers lynched Count Raymond Trencavel in 1167 over a judicial dispute.⁵⁶ But even in these towns development was slower than in their Italian counterparts. It was not until 1202 that Guilhem VIII gave full rights of self-government to the commune of Montpellier. Indeed, as late as 1185 the Bishop and Count of Beziers retained key rights, one such example being the right to retain the wealth of anyone who died intestate in the town, if after a year no heir could be found.⁵⁷ Moreover, the rulers of these cities took little interest in trade, besides the amount they could gather from tolls.⁵⁸

Information about the population of the coastal towns is difficult to obtain in this period. On the eve of the Black Death, the combined population of Beziers and Narbonne is estimated to have been in the region of 40,000. Montpellier alone had a similar number and was already a major urban centre towards the end of the 12th century.⁵⁹

The years of the Albigensian Crusade saw major changes in the relationship between Southern France and North Italy. The Crusade took place at a time of rapid economic development in the Southern French interior, which probably accounts for the higher level of Italian interest in the area. This development may well have taken place without external intervention, but it did alter the Languedocians' perspective. They were forced to play a larger role in European politics, and specifically to

become involved in those to their north and east. This was in contrast to their earlier concentration on politics in the Iberian peninsula and their endless internal rivalries.

At the end of the twelfth century, the Southern French coastal towns were finally developing into commercial powers in their own right. In this period the first merchants from Montpellier are found in the markets of Genoa, and there are well-established links between the coast of Provence and Sicily and North Africa. During the course of the thirteenth century the coastal towns expanded their operations into the kingdom of Acre, and even took part in the Reconquista of the Balearics and Valencia. This expansion must not be overestimated, and Barcelona's rate of development was far higher; however, the Southern French coastal towns' expansion overseas was also accompanied by an increase in activity further inland.⁶⁰ In Languedoc itself, emigration to Spain declined towards the turn of the *twelfth* century, and after 1230 there was, instead, a growth of new towns in the area. Over four hundred new towns were founded between 1230 and 1350, although not all of them were successful.⁶¹ These bastides stimulated trade and the development of urban society, much as their counterparts in Northern France had done in the previous century. An expansion of trade in Languedoc inevitably involved greater contact with Italian merchants, and also a willingness on the part of the Southern French to travel to Italy to earn a living.

The Albigensian Crusade brought outsiders into the heart of Southern France. Some of the crusading armies assembled came from throughout Northern Europe. Guilhem de Tudela, author of the first part of The Song of the Albigensian Crusade, lists contingents from the Count of Nevers,

Humbert, count of Genevois and the Duke of Burgundy in 1209.⁶² In 1211 Toulouse was besieged by an army consisting largely of Germans.⁶³ At Easter 1212 Simon de Montfort was joined by an army of Crusaders from Germany, Italy, the Auvergne and Sclavonia (the eastern coast of the Adriatic).⁶⁴

References to Lombards in the army are quite rare. Apart from the contingent that joined Simon de Montfort in 1212, the initial Crusade of June 1209 was joined by knights: 'Dels portz de Lombardia tro aval a Rodes.'⁶⁵ These may have been from the Montferrat region. By the winter of 1210-11, however, Guilhem of Tudela claims that 'foreign peoples' were descending to crush Toulouse because of the Count and his entourage's support of the heretics. These 'foreign peoples' included Lombards, as well as French. At the siege of Termes, from August to November 1210, according to the same author both north and south Italians took part.⁶⁶ As we have seen, the early years of the Crusade were a genuinely international effort and it may well have been that the Crusade first brought Italians into the inland areas of Languedoc and Provence.

However, the Italian discovery of Southern France was not so important as the Southern French discovery of Italy. Some of the earliest links in this respect were with Southern Italy. In the 1170s, William II of Sicily built the Benedictine abbey of Monreale using Tuscan, Apulian, Byzantine, Arab and Provençal craftsmen.⁶⁷ Of the three documents quoted above, dealing with Southern French trading in Italy before the Crusade, two involve trading ventures in Sicily. This was not surprising since, although the Southern French ports were denied access to the East, Sicily acted as an *entrepôt* where such goods as spices and dyes could be bought from other merchants.⁶⁸

Links with North Italy increased during the course of the Crusade. Heresy brought Languedoc into focus politically in Europe and as a result, many Southern French nobles journeyed to meet the major political figures of the time, in the attempt to preserve their estates from the new northern colonists. The records of these journeys give valuable information about the routes taken to Italy by travellers at this time. Raymond VI made his first visit to Rome in November 1209. It was not a casual undertaking and he made a will in preparation for his departure.⁶⁹ He was accompanied by an unknown number of consuls from Toulouse. They went through northern France which suggests that they followed trade routes. The first leg of their journey was from Toulouse to the north. In northern France Guilhem de Tudela records that they were met first by Philip Augustus, and then followed further meetings with Blanche de Navarre, Countess of Champagne, the Duke of Burgundy and the Count of Nevers.⁷⁰ This would suggest that they visited the trading areas of Nevers and Champagne before making their way down the Saône-Rhône rivers, through Burgundy, before going to Italy. They visited the Pope at Rome and then met the Emperor Otto IV in Tuscany before returning to France and meeting king Philip once more in Paris.⁷¹

The journey cannot be called a trade mission, but the opportunities for the merchants of Toulouse, and Raymond's household, are obvious. Moreover, this group was the nearest the political community of Southern France had come to showing political unity and participation in the European Christian community, since Raymond of Saint-Gilles went on the First Crusade. After all, the Count of Toulouse was more usually in conflict with his consuls. The aim of the delegation was to stress their religious orthodoxy and no doubt their economic prosperity and cultural

sophistication. In all these ways it was an important step forward in speeding up Languedoc's integration into Europe, but it also revealed the extent of its isolation hitherto.

The special nature of the journey is clear from Guilhem's naive air. He is at pains to stress how well the Count of Toulouse and his party were received by the various figures. The account of the meeting with Pope Innocent III is particularly revealing. Guilhem claims the Pope greeted Raymond like a true baron and he goes on to describe the gifts given by the Pope to Raymond. These include a ring of pure gold and Guilhem reveals a merchant's eye when he says that the stone alone was worth 50 marks of silver. The other gifts proudly mentioned are a 'princely cloak' and a horse. The author concludes by saying that the pair quickly became firm friends.⁷²

It would also appear that Raymond himself was naive in such company. At least this is the only explanation for his visit to king Philip's enemy, the Emperor Otto IV, which undid all the goodwill gained in France. Such a visit was justified since Raymond was the Emperor's vassal for his lands in Provence, but to then return to Paris to be snubbed by Philip was very unwise.⁷³ The impression gained from the journey is of a group of very provincial people, anxious to impress and quick to be flattered, but out of their depth in such company.

After six disastrous years, in the Autumn of 1215 Raymond travelled to Italy again, with his son, to attend the Fourth Lateran Council in Rome. By this time the Aragonese and Languedocians had been defeated at the battle of Muret (1213), the fortifications of Toulouse had been demolished and the anonymous co-author of the later part of the 'Chanson' describes the Count as faiditz (landless). When Raymond and his son arrived, already

there were the Count of Foix, Arnaud de Villemur (co-seigneur of Saverdun) and Peire-Raymond de Rabastens⁷⁴ as well as other distinguished members of Southern French society such as Raymond de Roqufeuil, Arnaud de Comminges and Guilhem Porcellet. The young Raymond had come from England disguised as a servant, with Arnaud Topina, a merchant from Agen.⁷⁵ The difference between the two visits is marked since the Southern French in their second attempt at diplomacy in Italy are present in strength. Although on this visit, the two Raymonds worked quietly and effectively to convince the Pope of their orthodoxy, the other figures from Southern France were obviously unused to the subtleties of Papal diplomacy.

The Count of Foix made a robust attack on Simon de Montfort,⁷⁶ against which the Bishop of Toulouse defended Simon, mentioning the slaughter by Raymond-Roger of pilgrims at Montgey.⁷⁷ This angered Arnaud de Villemur, who proclaimed:

'Senhors, si eu sabes que.l dans fos enantitz
Ni qu'en lacort de Roma fos tant fort enbrugitz,
Mais n'i agra, per ver, ses olhs e ses narritz !'⁷⁸

Even the partisan 'Chanson' records that the bishops thought he was mad after this outburst and the image of the Southern French was not helped when the Count of Foix launched a furious attack on the Bishop of Toulouse, Fulk of Marseilles, in which he called him an Anti-Christ.⁷⁹

Among the nobles themselves, despite their endless feuding at home there was a certain common identity in Rome. An example of this can be seen in Raymond de Rocafolhs' appeal to the Pope on behalf of the rights of the orphaned Trencavel heir, whose father had died while a prisoner of the Crusade.⁸⁰ Despite the opposition of the rest of the Church, the 'Chanson' portrays the relationship between Innocent himself and the Southern French nobility as harmonious.

When the Council came to an end, the Southern French contingent dispersed. Raymond and the Count of Foix left Rome separately, just before Christmas 1215, but met up at Viterbo. After Christmas, Raymond then went on pilgrimage to St. Mark's, Venice, probably taking the customary route through Arezzo, Forli, and Ravenna. He finally made for Genoa where he was to meet his son, whom he had left in Rome.⁸¹ The younger Raymond had remained at the Papal court, despite the pleas of Peire Raimond de Rabastens and Guilhem Porcelencs that there was nothing more to be gained by staying.⁸² After a further interview with Innocent, the younger Raymond also left for Genoa, presumably taking a route up the west coast of Italy.

There was a greater opportunity during this visit than there had been in 1209 for the Southern French aristocracy to compare cultural tastes with their Italian counterparts. The areas visited by them also included the main strongholds of Italian Catharism, including Tuscany, the March of Treviso and western Lombardy. Obviously on such a mission it would have been extremely unwise for the Southern French nobles to display any dualist beliefs. However, the courts of the Languedocian nobility, particularly those of the lesser ones such as the Count of Foix, were so infiltrated with heresy that it is difficult to believe that some Cathar sympathisers did not go on the journey.⁸³ This would have offered them a good opportunity to make brief contact with the Italian heretics.

When Raymond VII joined his father in Genoa around the beginning of February 1216, their route home was by sea, even though the 'Chanson' records that they rode into Marseilles.⁸⁴ The younger Raymond remained there to lay siege to the castle of Beaucaire, while Raymond VI went into exile in Aragon, the area to which he still felt culturally closest and from which he expected to get help.⁸⁵

These political contacts with Italy should not be underestimated. The attention devoted by the 'Chanson' to the periods in Italy testify to the importance in which they were held by the participants from Languedoc. Including as they did, consuls from Toulouse, and members of the lesser nobility with their entourages, it was undoubtedly the most important body of people to travel from the area to Italy since the First Crusade. Guilhem de Tudela, a cleric from Tudela in Navarre and the author of the first part of the 'Chanson' gave a detailed account of the second journey, probably drawn from interviews with its participants. Although he was sympathetic to the Crusade, he provides valuable evidence on the attitudes held by an educated man who had lived all his life in Aragon and Languedoc. Yet his knowledge of Italy was so sketchy that he described Rome as in Lombardy.⁸⁶

Despite the Crusade, the economy of Languedoc was surprisingly resilient and economic growth during the period took place at roughly the same rate as in the rest of Western Europe. There was damage, since the Crusaders generally engaged in long sieges of the fortified towns during the years 1209-18. This must have brought trade temporarily to a standstill and meant the ransacking of local sources of food. Toulouse had its vineyards in the suburbs of the city repeatedly destroyed, Carcassonne was sacked by the Crusaders in 1209 and Avignon suffered a long, damaging siege in 1226.⁸⁷

However, the coastal regions of Languedoc were largely unscathed. The major ports of Narbonne and Montpellier survived the years of the Crusade without damage. Trading links with Italy continued to develop, perhaps fuelled by the inevitable insecurity felt by Southern French merchants at the time. Trading from an Italian port became increasingly attractive,

both as a natural economic progression to a larger centre and as a place of safety. The records of the Genoese notary Lanfranco reveal a variety of contacts with Southern France in the later period of the Crusade. In June 1216, Bongiovanni di Voghera released the monastery of San Fruttuoso from debts owed to him, including that:

'de grano [grain] Arnaldi de Granera de Nerbona.'⁸⁸

In the documents of 1225, several more inhabitants of Languedoc appear. In December 1225 one Guilhen de Nerbona, cultellerius, supplied goods to Giacomo de Venres. On the same day Guilhem also made another contract with Giacomo to clear him from any damage he might incur in giving surety for himself, Nicole Rubeo, Jacobo Nigrino and Berengar de Bontenac of Narbonne. This would appear to be a syndicate of Italian and Languedocian merchants, an impression supported by the lists of witnesses. These include two with the popular Southern French name of Bernard as well as Fulco Margonus and Wilielmus de Vultabio, who witnessed both contracts.⁸⁹ One Jordan de Nerbona also appears in the records.⁹⁰ Montpellier is also mentioned on several occasions,⁹¹ the most interesting being when Anselmo Mazamurro of Arenzano made an accomendacio with Pietro Munente to trade at Montpellier in May 1225.⁹²

Two notarial documents hint that commercial links with Italy were no longer confined to the coastal cities of Languedoc. On 15 August 1225 one Bernard of Toulouse, junior, borrowed money from Martin Andrea in Genoa, in order to trade in Narbonne.⁹³ On 23 August Bernard made an agreement with his brother Guilhem for the latter to pay Martin Andrea 9 librae merogensium ^(prob. 'Melgorensium') on behalf of their father, who had originally stood surety for the loan. If Bernard had not repaid Guilhem within 8 days of the latter's arrival in Narbonne, he gave him permission to sell off his goods in

Narbonne, in particular his stocks of salt, another product of the Languedocian coast.⁹⁴ Here we have evidence of a family of businessmen (although we cannot be certain that it was a family business), originating in Toulouse, based in Narbonne, but operating and raising money in Genoa. They seem to have formed part of a Southern French community in Genoa. Among the witnesses to the second document was one Raymond Storc, a Provençal sounding name, and a few days later Lanfranco drew up an accomendacio for Raymond de Nice and his wife who were being financed by Boninsegna di Moneglia.⁹⁵ Two features clearly emerge from the documents prepared by Lanfranco: firstly, the commodities traded, such as salt and grain, were relatively low value raw materials, suitable only for local trading and secondly, the financial power was still in the hands of the Genoese.

Even so, a document from Montpellier shows how common foreign travel had become for merchants from the coast of Languedoc. A consular statute of 1223, dealing with the wills of those who died abroad, stated that an inhabitant of Montpellier wanting to make a will while abroad must summon five legal and suitable witnesses all from Montpellier or from the surrounding area, if they could be discovered. There is little evidence given as to exactly where these citizens of Montpellier might be, but distinctions were made between those in terra Christianorum and those in terra Sarracenorum.⁹⁶ The most likely explanation for the latter term is that merchants from Montpellier had extended their coastal trading to the shores of Muslim Andalucia and North Africa.

Other contacts followed in the wake of the commercial links. Communications became noticeably easier as the century wore on, with the opening of the Simplon and St. Gotthard Passes and the revival of the Mont

Cenis. In 1216, Jacques de Vitry made the journey to Italy with difficulty, overland, losing both luggage and books while entering Lombardy across a river.⁹⁷ On the other hand, in 1247, Salimbene made his first journey from Lombardy to Provence and back without comment. On the return leg of his second visit, he took an overland route, travelling from Grenoble, via Chambéry, to Savoy; he must, therefore, have used the Mont Cenis pass.⁹⁸ He also twice travelled by sea the route from Marseilles to Genoa, via Hyères in Provence.⁹⁹

Salimbene also records some of the people who took advantage of these improved communications to base their work in Italy. Hugh de Digne, or de Montpellier, the authority on Joachim of Fiore, was at Lucca in the late 1230s, but had returned to Provence in the 1240s.¹⁰⁰ Salimbene also refers to a Pisan astrologer at the court of Raymond Berengar of Provence during his stay there in the 1240s.¹⁰¹

As the subsequent chapter will show, Provençal culture was a very exportable commodity in the first half of the thirteenth century. It is not therefore surprising to see Provençal joglar present in 1227 at the court of the podestà of Genoa, where they received cloth:

'in qua curia innumerabilia indumentorum pana a potestate et aliis nobilibus et honorabilibus viris fuerunt ioculatoribus, qui de Lombardia, Provincia et Tuscia et aliis partibus ad ipsam curiam convenerant, laudabiliter erogata, et convivia magna facta et cetera que infra scriptis carminibus continentur...'¹⁰²

It is apparent from this that these were tradesmen as well as troubadours, and received payment in cloth.

The constant warfare in Southern France led to an increased export of fighting men. The Annales Placentini Gibellini records the presence of men from all over Europe in Piacenza during the summer of 1227. These included both Spaniards and Provençals and they were en route to Verona and the

court of Emperor Frederick II for the projected crusade to the East.¹⁰³

There were also Southern Frenchmen who are recorded as rising high in the ruling class of the Italian cities. A document in the archives of Vercelli makes mention of the ambassadors from the commune of Alessandria, on a mission to Milan in 1221. One was Provenzallis iudex.¹⁰⁴ He was not the only man from Southern France who rose to prominence in Alessandria. In 1227 the commune of the city negotiated an end to the dispute between itself and the communes of Asti and Genoa. In the resulting treaty, mediated through the Milanese, the names of the consiliarii were listed. They included Provenzalis iudex and also Ruffinus Cesta Nerbona among a group which also contained Petrus Gallus, Armagniacus and Garronus, who may well have come from Southern France. Also listed from other areas, were Rufinus de Affrica and many names from other north Italian cities.¹⁰⁵ When the Cathars were driven abroad in the early 1230s, there was already a colony of Southern French living in the towns of Lombardy, such as Alessandria, to give them support.

Strangely, this does not appear to have extended to Milan. The only record of a Provençal presence in the city comes in a document of September 1250, where a Milanese citizen made a donation of land to the monastery of Chiaravalle. Among the witnesses was Provenzallis filius quondam Pagani Rainoldi, and this draws some connection with Southern France.¹⁰⁶ Paganus was an Italian first name, but Rainoldi looks Southern French in origin. There were no other traces of the family, but the other witnesses came from established Milanese families, either being consuls or sons of consuls. The final witness was Crottus filius quondam Alberti Crotti civitatis Mediclani. However, the father had not been a citizen of Milan and, in fact, turns up as one of the consiliati of Alessandria in the document of

1227, referred to above. It is tempting to suggest Paganus Rainoldi or his son may have made the same move from Alessandria to Milan. The only clue to the profession of these witnesses lies in the place where the donation was made. The ecclesia Sancti Michaelis ad Gallum the gate near the church was the nearest to the Broletto and the headquarters of the Credenza di Sant' Ambrogio, the organisation of the popolo in the city. It was also an area famous for its many money-changers.¹⁰⁷

The story of political and economic relations between Southern France and north Italy is clear. In the mid-twelfth century, west of the Rhône was a political and economic backwater, where the nobility squandered its resources in endless feuding. The coast was prosperous and economically dynamic, but was, in effect, an Italian colony. However, the economic stimuli provided by the Italian merchants, coupled with opportunities to play off or replace the influence of Italian cities, and, not least, the general economic growth felt in Europe at the end of the twelfth century, led to increased wealth in the coastal towns and the growth of communal organisations. Some of these economic stimuli reached the one great inland city, Toulouse, so that in line with its coastal neighbours, it too began to organise itself into a commune. With this increase in wealth and in trading opportunities, merchants from Languedoc started to journey to the Italian ports, a development that increased with the entry of the Albigensian Crusade. Thus, not only did north Italy become familiar to Languedocians, but also the foundations of communities of Southern French were put down in the towns of west Lombardy.

Politically, the initial outbreak of the Albigensian Crusade forced the political community of the region to revive its dormant regional consciousness and adopt at least a common point of view. This

consciousness became characterised by a hatred of the northern French and the association of the northern French with the Catholic Church. The forays of Raymond VI and other nobles familiarised them and their servants with north Italy for the first time. These economic and political developments, taken in conjunction with the export of troubadour culture made Italy a natural base for the Languedocian Cathars in exile.

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- 54) Mundy, Repression, 17.
- 53) Histoire Générale de Languedoc, vol. 6, 380-1. J.-L. Biget, 'Un procès d'Inquisition à Albi en 1300', Cahiers de Fanjeaux, vol. 6, (1971), 273-341.
- 56) Histoire Générale de Languedoc, vol. 6, 28-30.
- 57) Histoire Générale de Languedoc, vol. 6, 201-3, 115-6.
- 58) CEHE, vol. 2, 335.
- 59) Russell, 161-3.
- 60) K. L. Reyerson, 'Patterns of Population Attraction and Mobility: the Case of Montpellier, 1293-1348', Viator, vol. 10, (1979), 260-2.
- 61) Mundy, Europe, 119.
- 62) La Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise, ed. E. Martin-Chabot, 2nd edn., vol. 1 of 3, (Paris, 1960); 1st edn., vols. 2 & 3, (Paris, 1957-61), vol. 1, 35-7.
- 63) Guillaume de Puylaurens, 72.
- 64) Chanson de la Croisade, vol. 1, 248.
- 65) Chanson de la Croisade, vol. 1, 38-9.
- 'From the gates of Lombardy right up to Rodez.'
- 66) Chanson de la Croisade, vol. 1, 133-4.
- 67) D. Mack Smith, Medieval Sicily, (London, 1968), 43.

- 68) Abulafia, 'Marseilles', 23.
- 69) Histoire Générale de Languedoc, vol. 8, cols. 573-7. For events of the Crusade, see Wakefield, Hamilton, The Albigensian Crusade and J. R. Strayer, The Albigensian Crusade, (New York, 1971).
- 70) Chanson de la Croisade, vol. 1, 104-7.
- 71) Chanson de la Croisade, vol. 1, 107-9. M. Roquebert, L'Épopée Cathare: Vol. 1, 1198-1212, (Toulouse, 1970), 229.
- 72) Chanson de la Croisade, vol. 1, 108.

'L'apostolis de Roma e tuit li cardenal
 Lo receubro mot be cum baro natural.
 Lo papa li done un mantel principal
 E un anel d'or fi, que sol la peira val
 Cinquanta marcs d'argen, e pochas un caval.
 Ladonc devengro els mot bo amic coral.

However, Peire des Vaux-de-Cernay reported that the Pope har argued the Count over his ambiguous attitude to heresy; the two reports are not irreconcilable. Roquebert, 342.

- 73) Chanson de la Croisade, vol. 1, 108-9. Sumption, 80.
- 74) Chanson de la Croisade, vol. 2, 37-9.
- 75) Chanson de la Croisade, vol. 2, 40-1. Guillaume de Puylaurens, 92-3.
- 76) Chanson de la Croisade, vol. 2, 44-7.
- 77) Chanson de la Croisade, vol. 2, 48-51.
- 78) Chanson de la Croisade, vol. 2, 50.

'If I had known that it was to be raised in the court of Rome and that it was to be proclaimed so loudly, there would be, truly, more of them without eyes, without noses!'

- 79) Chanson de la Croisade, vol. 2, 51-5.
- 80) Chanson de la Croisade, vol. 2, 56-9.
- 81) Chanson de la Croisade, vol. 2, 82-3.
- 82) Chanson de la Croisade, vol. 2, 84-5.
- 83) Sumption, 59-60.
- 84) Chanson de la Croisade, vol. 2, 88-9.
- 85) Chanson de la Croisade, vol. 2, 108-9.

- 86) Chanson de la Croisade, vol. 1, 10, 34-5.
- This impression that his knowledge of Italy was vague is reinforced in his description of the large host gathered at the beginning of the Crusade. This he estimates as larger than the army of Milan when it was all prepared. Milan for him was not so much a city as a proverbial term for military strength.
- 87) See P. Wolff, 'Rôle de l'essor économique dans le ralliement social et religieux', Cahiers de Fanjeaux, vol. 20, (1985), 245, 247-8 [Béziers] who proposes that the psychological damage caused by the Albigensian Crusade is far greater than the actual damage. See also Sumption, 189, 233 [Toulouse], 178-9 [Narbonne]. However, for Narbonne's long-term resilience see R. W. Emery, Heresy and Inquisition in Narbonne, (New York, 1941), 55-64.
- 88) Notai Liguri del Secolo XII e del XIII: (6) Lanfranco (1202-26), ed. H. C. Krueger and R. L. Reynolds, (Genoa, 1952), 31.
- 89) Lanfranco, 336-7.
- 90) Lanfranco, 394.
- 91) Lanfranco, I, 120, 375, 376, 377.
- 92) Lanfranco, I, 209.
- 93) Lanfranco, I, 234-5.
- 94) Lanfranco, I, 241-2, and Pounds, 398.
- 95) Lanfranco, I, 243.
- 96) Fagniez, 135-6, doc. 148.
- 97) Jacques de Vitry, 71-2.
- 98) From St. Francis to Dante: Translations from Salimbene, ed. G. G. Coulton, (Pensylvania, 1972), 172.
- 99) Salimbene, ed. Coulton, 177.
- 100) Salimbene, ed. Coulton, 141.
- 101) Salimbene, ed. Coulton, 147.
- 102) Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de suoi continuatori, ed. C. Imperiale, vol. 3, (Rome, 1923), 26.

'In this court innumerable rolls of cloth were rightly bestowed by the podestà and other nobles and men of honour on the singers who had gathered from Lombardy, Provence and Tuscany, and great parties were held and other things which are contained in the songs written below ...'

- 103) Annales Placentini Gibellini in Monumenta Historica Parmae et Placentiae, vol. 5, Chronica Piacentinorum, (Parma, 1859), 80.
- 104) Atti del Comune di Milano, (Vol. 1: 1217-50, LXX), ed. M. F. Baroni, (Alessandria, 1982).
- 105) Baroni, CLXXXI, 262-3. There is not enough information to identify Petrus Gallus with the Cathar heretic.
- 106) Baroni, DXX, 748-9.
- 107) Storia di Milano, vol. 4, 373.

CHAPTER THREE THE RISE AND DISSEMINATION OF TROUBADOUR CULTURE IN ITALY

The relationship between the Cathars and troubadours has been one of the most discussed aspects of Southern French culture.¹ The main question historians have addressed is why, considering that the troubadours and Cathars spent time together at the same courts and wandered the same roads of Southern France and Northern Spain, there are so few references to each other in their respective sources. Many answers have been put forward and will be considered below. However, the intensity of the argument has meant that some of the other interesting aspects of troubadour culture for the historian of heresy have been overlooked.

In the same way as in the late twelfth century, the Southern French economy had flourished under Italian influence, inspiring Southern French merchants to travel to Italy, the expansion of troubadour culture had led Provençal speaking poets to the courts of North Italy. Noble patrons there had more wealth than their Southern French counterparts and there is also evidence that they still had enthusiasm for poetic forms which had become outdated in Provence. The movement to North Italy was increased by the arrival of the Albigensian Crusade, which gradually impoverished local aristocratic culture in Southern France. By 1250, the majority of troubadours had, at some time, sought patronage abroad, either in Spain or North Italy.

The importance of this movement for Catharism cannot be underestimated. It opened the door to Southern French culture in North Italy and partly explains why nobles, such as Oberto Pelavicino, may have turned to Languedocian rather than native Italian Cathars. At the same time it provided a safe, yet familiar, environment for the Languedocian Cathars.

Finally, it is possible that some troubadours were sympathetic to the Cathar cause, if not actual believers themselves.

(A) THE SOCIAL ORIGINS OF THE TROUBADOURS AND THEIR PATRONS IN SOUTHERN FRANCE

Interpretation of the sources for the study of the lives of the troubadours has always been difficult. Information has been mainly drawn from biographical references within the poems themselves, the short vidas written in the mid-thirteenth century and the longer, but more fanciful, razos written around the same time to explain specific poems. The most useful of these are the vidas. Although they were written in Provençal, they contain enough 'italianisms' to be identified as having been produced in Italy for an Italian audience.² At least one of their authors, Uc de Saint-Circ, was a Provençal exile.³

The vidas present a problem to the historian and must be treated with care. Their main narrative often deals with a tale of love won and lost, frequently linking the poet amorously with the wives of the nobility. Some of these were plainly fantasy; one such is the 'Countess of Tripoli', who was supposedly loved by Jaufre Rudel, even before he had visited Outremer! However, the vidas are almost unfailingly accurate in their opening statement, which gives the rank and place of origin of the subject. Jaufre Rudel's vida begins:

'Jaufres Rudels de Blaia si fo mout gentils hom, princes de Blaia.'⁴ The author correctly states Jaufre's noble origin and place of birth, and is aware that the lords of Blaye bore the title princeps, a fact that is confirmed by contemporary charters.⁵ The vidas are also usually accurate when they give the patrons with whom the troubadour was associated, and

even when they are not completely accurate, they are generally in the right geographical area.⁶ Such sources can be used cautiously to trace the lives and patrons of the troubadours.

Troubadour culture was spread by means of the poets themselves, li trobador. The troubadours not only wrote the works, but often sang them as well; indeed, the vidas are not slow to point out those who did not have a good singing voice. In addition to the troubadours, there were also li joglar. Little is known of the joglar, except that they usually sang the songs of the troubadours in the courts. They often combined their songs with acrobatics and jokes, and were consequently regarded as inferior to the troubadours and did not have a comparable social status. The vida of Uc de la Bacalaria speaks disparagingly of Uc's talents:

'Joglars fo de pauc valor; e pauc annet e pauc fo conogutz.'⁷

To some extent this was also a matter of birth. The joglar can be distinguished by their names and the remarks made about them. They were not drawn from the nobility, but tended to form part of the lord's entourage. A few joglar were mentioned by name. Bertran de Born makes repeated reference to one of his joglar, Papiol, and mentions three others: Guilhem, Mailoli and Arnaud.⁸ Occasionally, a joglar might become a troubadour, but he was seldom acclaimed and his origins were not forgotten. Pistoleta started as the joglar for Arnaut de Marvoill, (the precise word used in the vida is cantaire: singer) and then went on to compose his own material:

'e fo ben grazitz entre la bona gen; mais hom fo de pauc solatz e de paubra enduta e de pauc vaillimen.'

However, Pistoleta's career ended abruptly when he married at Marseilles, and became a merchant there.⁹

When the noble Raimbaut d'Orange addressed Maria de Vertfuoil, herself a noblewoman, as mos belhs Jocglars, her social status makes the effect ironic.¹⁰ Indeed, she may well have been capable of composition in Provençal, since there are references to several women troubadours.¹¹ In other words, no simple analysis of the troubadours can be made in terms of social class. Although it can be said that the joglar were not apparently drawn from the nobility, trobador were taken from a whole range of backgrounds.

Information about the origins of the earliest troubadours is extremely limited and indeed the lack of material raises questions about how widespread the troubadour culture was at this period. Little recorded poetry can be found in Southern France until around 1145, and even then, only four composers of verse have been recorded. The vidas on these four appear to be reasonably accurate about social status, and the accuracy of the account of Jaufre Rudel has already been mentioned. The importance of the life of Guilhem IX¹² is recognised by the author of his vida, even if the detail is inaccurate; however, the tales of the lives of Marcabru¹³ and Cercamon¹⁴ are so obviously fantastic that they can easily be discounted. Even these last two vidas are not without use to the historian: they back up linguistic evidence suggesting Gasçon origins for both characters and the harsh criticism levelled at Marcabru's work by his contemporaries gives some indication why the poet fell into such obscurity.

The most influential poets in the first half of the twelfth century were both nobles and men of substance. There is no evidence that their work was aimed at an audience drawn from a different social class from their own. The only development in this period was the growing importance of the noblewoman or domna as the object of love, and this, perhaps,

signals an increasing importance of women in the life of the court.

The Council of Lombers, described by R. I. Moore as 'the last episode of Cathar pre-history',¹⁵ took place in 1165, during the first widespread flourish of troubadour culture, between the years 1150 and 1180.

Information about the origins of the poets remains scarce. Of the nine known troubadours in this period, very little is known about the origins of four; there are suggestions, however, that three of them came from poor backgrounds.¹⁶ Of the five others, two were important nobles (Raimbaut d'Orange and Garin lo Brun),¹⁷ two were minor nobles (Berenguier de Palaizol and Rigaut de Berbezilh)¹⁶ and Peire d'Alvernhe¹⁹ was the son of a Clermont merchant (borges).

Despite this difference in origin, however, the patterns of patronage given to these troubadours were very similar. With the exception of Raimbaut d'Orange, who was himself a patron of other troubadours, and Garin lo Brun, who seems to have composed for his own amusement, the other troubadours set out to find patrons:

TROUBADOUR	EARLY PATRON
Peire Rogier	Ermengarde de Narbonne
Rigaut de Berbezilh	Jaufre de Taonai
Peire d'Alvernhe	Possibly an Italian noble
Bernard de Ventadour	Eble de Ventadour
Berenguier de Palazol	Ermissen d'Avinyo (Catalonia)
Guiraut de Bornelh	Ademar V, Count of Limoges

Most of these troubadours learnt their trade at the courts of minor nobles, both male and female, scattered throughout Gascony, Languedoc and northern Spain. Possible exceptions to this are of Ademar of Limoges, who was both a troubadour and a patron and Peire d'Alvernhe, whose career will be considered at greater length below.

It was only later in their careers that some of these troubadours were taken up by more important patrons:

TROUBADOUR	LATER PATRONS
Peire Rogier	Raimbaut d'Orange (possibly also Alfonso VIII of Castile, Alfonso II of Aragon and Raymond V of Toulouse)
Rigaut de Berbezilh Peire d'Alvernhe	Diego Lopez de Haro Raymond V of Toulouse, Alfonso VII of Castile and Raymond-Berengar IV of Barcelona
Bernard de Ventadour	Raymond V of Toulouse, Eleanor of Aquitaine
Guiraut de Bornelh	Possibly Alfonso VIII of Castile

A broadly similar pattern emerges when the vidas of the twenty eight poets of the late twelfth century are analysed. Eight were born into the upper strata of the nobility,²⁰ including two women and King Alfonso II of Aragon; eight were members of the minor nobility,²¹ including two women; but only five, all men, came from the merchant class.²² Using such information on patronage as we have, six poets seem to have begun their careers or spent all their productive lives at the courts of minor nobles²³ and five apparently spent nearly all their creative lives at the courts of major nobles.²⁴ There is no record of any of these troubadours being patronised by merchants, however exalted.

Again, a similar pattern can be traced among those people who became Cathars. A distinction must be drawn between those who became perfecti and those who were their patrons and supporters. Contemporary accounts are often not clear about this distinction, referring generally to 'heretics'. An exception can be seen at the the meeting of clergy and Cathars at Lombers in 1165. Although the origins of Oliver, the chief heretic and his assistants are unstated, at the conclusion of proceedings the Bishop of Lodève, speaking on behalf of the Bishop of Albi, condemned the castellans

and knights who had protected the heretics.²⁵ Two years earlier in more sensational style, Heribert of Périgueux had reported that many people had 'entered this trickery'; not only nobles who had abandoned their wealth, but also clerks, priests, monks and nuns.²⁶ Some caution must be used when dealing with this account, since there is no evidence that any of the major nobles with substantial wealth, gave this up to become wandering Cathars. However, it is possible that many of them became involved in heresy, as they did in poetry.

Certainly, there are several examples of the wives of nobles becoming Cathar perfectae and the poetry of the troubadours is mainly concerned with ladies of precisely this class. Women from the ranks of the lower nobility may also have become Cathar supporters or even perfectae. Jordan of Saxony recalled that bishop Diego founded his house at Prouille in 1206 for daughters of the nobility; poverty had forced these parents to send their daughters to the heretics for their education.²⁷

Heribert's comment about the clergy is also of interest. Many of the troubadours had ecclesiastical connections, and frequently troubadours would retire into a monastery at the end of their career. However, some came from the ranks of the clergy. According to their vidas, Arnaut de Maroill was originally a poor clerk from the diocese of Périgord²⁸ and Peire Rogier was probably a canon at Clermont cathedral.²⁹ Indeed, the breadth of learning which modern scholarship is revealing the troubadours to have possessed would suggest that many more of them may have become educated during some sort of religious training.³⁰

Specific evidence of troubadour patrons, who were also Cathar supporters, is rather harder to find. Possibly the best example is Roger II Trencavel (Taillefer), a notorious defender of the heretics of Lavaur,

Laurac, Fanjeaux and Minerve³¹ and whose wife Azalais, daughter of Raymond V of Toulouse, was a patron of troubadours, notably of Arnaut de Maroill.³² The court of the Count of Foix was also a well known centre of heresy; both Raymond-Roger's sister Esclarmonde and his wife Philippa were perfectae, together with his aunt and another sister. The count himself remained carefully distant from the Cathars, and refused to give the customary greeting to the perfecti whom he met.³³ There were also troubadours at court with Peire Vidal, calling Raymond-Roger the comte ros, as in the poem Estat ai gran sazo.³⁴ The policy of the Count of Foix helps explain why the links between the troubadours, heresy and patronage are by no means clear. Prominent patrons could never afford to alienate the Church by outright endorsement of heresy, while the troubadours would not be so foolish as to embarrass their patrons or incriminate themselves by any direct reference to the Cathars.

As has been seen, a close association can be drawn between heresy, troubadours and the nobility, but this does not seem to extend beyond the patrician class of old wealth in towns and countryside.³⁵ Whatever their attitude to heresy might have been, there is no direct evidence that in the period before the Albigensian Crusade, merchants in Languedoc or Northern Spain were patrons to the troubadours. Indeed, those few poets that came from the mercantile classes found employment with the minor nobility.

Therefore, when considering the relationship between the troubadours and Cathars, a complex picture arises. On the one hand, there was the life of the court in which both troubadours and Cathars participated on a roughly equal level. On the other, there was the appeal of Catharism to a wider section of society. However, the perfecti who preached in the streets of Toulouse were unlikely to have been the same as those found at

the court of the Count of Foix. In the city, heresy probably had little connection with the work of the troubadours or the joglar, who may have recited their songs. In the world of the court, however, the two were more closely connected and it is in this world that one of the earliest cultural connections between Southern France and North Italy can be traced: the patronage of troubadours in Italian society.

(B) THE MOVE TO ITALY

Exactly who was the first troubadour to work in Italy is a matter of controversy.³⁶ The vida of Peire d'Alvernhe includes the line:

'fo lo premiers bons trobaire que fon outra mon.'³⁷

Peire was active between around 1155 and the late 1170s. If outra mon refers to Italy, then Peire would be the first and only troubadour to make the journey for at least ten years. Unfortunately there are no records of any troubadour patrons in Italy at this time and it is possible that outra mon was intended to refer to Northern Spain.³⁸ Even if Peire did make the journey to Italy, he cannot have been too impressed by the situation there, since he spent by far the greater part of his career in the courts of Southern France and Northern Spain.

It was only around 1190 that troubadours started to find patrons on the other side of the Alps. Peire de la Mula became involved with Ottone, Count of Carretto, and podestà of Genoa in 1194, and also found patronage in Montferrat and Cortemiglia according to his vida.³⁹ Peire Vidal, after visiting the courts of Raymond V of Toulouse, Barral, viscount of Marseilles and Alfonso II of Aragon, went to Lombardy in the early 1190s and visited the minor courts of Lombardy and Piedmont as well as that of

Boniface of Montferrat.⁴⁰ Boniface was the crucial figure in the spread of troubadour culture to Italy. When he set out on the Fourth Crusade he was patron to both Gaucelm Faidit and Raimbaut de Vaqueyras.⁴¹ By this time, at least one other member of the Lombard nobility was also a patron to the troubadours. Boniface's brother-in-law Albert, Marquis of Malaspina, featured in a tenso composed in 1195 by Raimbaut de Vaqueyras.⁴² There is considerable evidence, therefore, that even before the Albigensian Crusade, Southern French troubadours were going to North Italy for a variety of reasons.

This movement of troubadours from Southern France to Italy was connected to the growing Italian trade domination of the Southern French coast. This had led to an increasing exposure of Provençal culture and is paralleled by a growing taste for poetry, and specifically Provençal poetry, in North Italy. These developing links are illustrated by, for example, the background of the troubadour Folquet de Marseilles, born on the Southern French coast but the son of a Genoese merchant.⁴³ On another level, the presence of great patrons on the Third Crusade, such as Richard, king of England might well have stimulated interest in Southern French culture among the Montferrats, Genoese and Pisans.⁴⁴

The second reason for the growing interest lies in the slightly ironic fact that, at the point when Provençal achieved its greatest success as a literary language in Southern Europe, the quality of the poetry was starting to decline. The troubadours may have been forced to go abroad to find an audience. Whereas the great novelty of the troubadours poetry was the expression of romantic love by the poet to his lady, there is evidence that the basic subject matter became too familiar. The greatness of a poet such as Arnaut Daniel who was active between 1180 and 1200, was that his

ingenuity was able to squeeze new life from fairly hackneyed themes by use of the occasional startling image, new form or clever word play. For instance, in one of his most famous poems Lo ferm voler au'el cor m'intra,⁴⁵ the theme, that of the lover hoping to enter his lady's bedroom, is by no means original. Arnaut enlivens it by the use of the sestina form (six line stanzas with no rhymes, but with a repetition of the same group of line endings throughout the poem, that is: 1)abcdef, 2) faebdc) of which he was a pioneer. He heightens this effect by dextrous handling of unlikely vocabulary such as ongle (nail), vergua (rod), oncle (uncle) and arma (soul) as the end words. This was the sort of resourcefulness which earned Arnaut the praise of Dante.⁴⁶

This qualitative change in Provençal poetry can also be seen in the crusade songs of the troubadours. The message in Marcabrun's Pax in nomine Domini⁴⁷ written in the 1140s is simple: all able-bodied knights should give up their worldly concerns and iran al lavador, by which he means Jerusalem. The songs composed for the Fourth Crusade strike a different attitude. Raimbaut de Vaqueiras wrote Ara pot hom conoisser e proar, but this is more a hymn of praise his patron, to Boniface of Montferrat than a true rallying of the faithful.⁴⁸

Another example of the change in attitude is the crusade song written by Peire Vidal at around the same time, Baron! Jhesus qu'en crotz fon mes. After a string of platitudes about the rewards of heaven and the nearness of death, Peire admits in the fourth stanza:

'Tot lo segle vei sobrepres
 D'enjan a de galiamen;
 E son ja tan li mescrezen
 C'apenas renha dreigz ni fes,
 Que quasqus pomha en trair
 Son amic per si enriquir.

Pero.lh trachor son aissi trag
 Cum selh qui beu tueissec ab lag.' (lines 25-32)

Following this Peire goes on discuss court gossip in Spain, old noblewomen, and ends with a stanza addressed to his lady. Therefore, apart from the poet's complaint about decadence, it is itself a decadent poem, turning away from its stated religious purpose to complain quite entertainingly about the world around him.⁴⁹ The sentiments expressed by Peire are, therefore, diametrically opposed to Marcabrun's appeals to Christians to turn away from worldly affairs. There is an added irony in that the expedition to which the later poets refer never reached Palestine and ended in the attack on fellow Christians at Constantinople.

A more tangible problem for the troubadours was the decline of major patrons in the traditional areas. Raymond V of Toulouse died in December 1194, Alfonso II of Aragon in 1196 and Barral, Viscount of Marseilles in 1192. Lesser patrons also disappeared; Roger II Trencavel died in 1194 as did Ermengarde, countess of Narbonne, after two years of retirement in a nunnery.⁵⁰ This brought to an end a generation of troubadour patronage. Raymond VI does not appear to have had many troubadours at his court and Raimon de Miraval is the only recorded recipient of his patronage.⁵¹ The power of the viscounts of Marseilles died with Barral.⁵² Pedro II of Aragon continued to be generous, but in comparative isolation in Spain. There was also a decline in the numbers of leading troubadours: Bertran de Born retired to a monastery before 1197,⁵³ between 1195 and 1200 Folquet de Marseilles did the same. Arnaut Daniel ceased composition around 1200,⁵⁴ as did Guiraut de Bornelh.⁵⁵

Even before the Albigensian Crusade, therefore, leading troubadours were making for North Italy, since nobles such as Boniface of Montferrat or

Albert, Marquis of Malaspina, could offer more substantial patronage than the poets could obtain in Southern France. In addition, the courts of the Italian nobility still considered the Provençal lyric a novelty.

Finally, the problems of finding patronage in Southern France were exacerbated by the arrival of the Albigensian Crusade in 1209. The Crusade not only resulted in the violent deaths of some patrons, but the consequent confiscations of land meant that many courts were dispersed. All of these factors, as outlined above, served to increase the attractions of Italy for the troubadours.

Of the forty poets with vidas dated during the period of the Albigensian Crusade, eight moved to Italy to join those who left in the 1190s and early years of the thirteenth century. Eight more moved to Spain during the same period. Although it cannot be said that literary life collapsed in Provence and Languedoc, influential patrons in Italy became noticeably more important. The timings of the troubadours' movements are also significant. Only Aimeric de Peguilhan left in the first months of the Crusade, which would suggest that most saw it as another campaign in the endless military skirmishing, characteristic of politics of the area. However, the disastrous defeats suffered by the South between 1211 and 1214 convinced many that the future was more promising abroad. There is also a fragment of evidence suggesting troubadours faced economic hardship in Southern France: according to his vida, Peirol became too poor to maintain his status as a knight. By 1215 four more of the troubadours had left for Italy. The fact that many returned to Southern France when Southern faidits had reestablished themselves shows that this emigration differed from the drift to Lombardy before the Crusade. The early 1220s saw Raymond VI and his son victorious and the return of Peirol and two other

TABLE

SOUTHERN FRENCH TROUBADOURS IN ITALY

<u>TROUBADOUR</u>	<u>PATRONS IN/VISITS TO ITALY</u>	<u>PERIOD IN ITALY</u>
Aimeric de Peguilhan ⁵⁶	William IV of Montferrat (1207-25) Este court (Azzo VI, 1196-1212 and daughter Beatrice) Malaspina court (William, 1194-1220)	Departed Montpellier 1208-1209 Died in Lombardy around 1230
Folquet de Romans ⁵⁷	Boniface of Montferrat William IV of Montferrat Ottone of Carretto Frederick II (1220-50) Malaspina court (William or Conrad) (1210-50)	Around 1204
Guilhem Augier Novella ⁵⁸	No record of patron	1212-1225
Albertet (de Sisteron) ⁵⁹	Thomas I of Savoy (1178-1233) William IV of Montferrat Este and Malaspina courts	floreat 1210-1221
Peirol ⁶⁰	Visited Italy and Outremer	Returned 1221/2
Elias Cairel ⁶¹	No record of patron	1215-1225
Guilhem de la Tor ⁶²	Milan, Como	floreat 1215-35
Guilhem Figueira ⁶³	Frederick II	Departed Toulouse 1229

troubadours, but this respite was short-lived. Guilhem Figueira fled from Toulouse as soon as the city was handed over to the invaders in early 1229.⁶⁴

For the rest of the century emigration seems to have fallen away. Only fourteen vidas exist for later poets, and of these only Uc de Saint-Circ was to be found in Italy, having fled from Southern France. He left around 1220 and found patronage at the courts of the Malaspina at Auramala and Alberico da Romano at Treviso.⁶⁵ Another Southern French refugee who found employment in Italy was Uc Faidit who was at the court of Frederick II and wrote a Provençal grammar for two Italian nobles around 1240.⁶⁶ There were also four Italian poets recorded as writing in Provençal at this time. They ranged from Lanfranc Cigala, the Genoese knight and judge,⁶⁷ to Ferrari da Ferrara, patronised by the Este family and who ended his career at Treviso in the early fourteenth century, working for Girardo III da Camino and his sons.⁶⁸ At the same time, Guiraut Riquier proclaimed himself the last of the troubadours at the courts of Castile and Narbonne.⁶⁹

We have therefore seen how, in twelfth century Languedoc, there were considerable similarities between the social origins of the heretics and their supporters, and those of the troubadours and their patrons. We have also seen the major role played by the troubadours in establishing contacts between Southern France and Italy, and in introducing the Italians to Southern French culture. Assuming this to be accurate, one question remains unanswered. When the contemporary records of heresy deal mainly with the minor nobility and burgeoning mercantile class, why is no mention found in them of any troubadours?

(C) TROUBADOURS AND HERESY

The theory that the thirteenth century saw an important change of audience for the troubadours is drawn from the observations of Anglade⁷⁰ and Briffaut⁷¹ about the growth of cities in Southern France such as Toulouse, Marseilles and Narbonne, and the even greater prosperity of the North Italian urban centres. Topsfield has suggested that the troubadours of the thirteenth century set about teaching 'the morality of love to merchants', as once Bernard de Ventadorn and his generation had taught it to the aristocracy in the mid-twelfth century.⁷² Tempting as this theory is, it raises both literary and historical problems. Firstly, in all the vidas there are no examples of merchants giving patronage to troubadours. The closest examples are those of Guillem de la Tor, who travelled to Milan and Como and who allegedly eloped with the wife of a Milanese barber, and of Aimeric de Peguilhan, whose first love was the wife of a local burgess.⁷³ However, even in these cases it is not clear that a townsman is giving patronage. It can be argued that the vidas would conceal patronage by merchants as unexciting or unbecoming, but there were also many troubadours who had urban origins and this does not appear to have been a cause for shame. Of the twenty seven troubadours of the late twelfth century for whom vidas survive, only five were from a trade or mercantile background. But of the forty seven troubadours of the early thirteenth century given vidas, eleven came from such backgrounds. In the later thirteenth century, the proportion declines again; only one of the fourteen troubadours with vidas from this period was from a merchant background, the Venetian, Bartolome Zorzi.

To some extent, the distinction between merchant and nobility is somewhat artificial, since both Southern French and Italian nobility often

lived in the towns and were involved in trading ventures. However, the nobles who patronised troubadours in Italy were generally those who were least involved in urban life: examples of this can be found in the Montferrats and the da Romano brothers. Of the latter, Alberico stayed in his castle of San Zenone, outside Treviso, and both da Romano brothers maintained a feudal rather than a signorial power base. Moreover, there is no evidence that notaries, by definition the most literate members of the urban commune, were interested in works in Provençal. Meneghetti gives the example of the library of a notary from the Trevisan March which contained at maximum, an epic text and a miscellaneous historical collection.⁷⁴

There is also literary evidence that the troubadours were not patronised by the urban bourgeoisie. Much has been made of the introduction of more urban imagery into the works of the troubadours, but instances of this are rare and not unexpected, given that the growth of the cities was having an unprecedented impact on all walks of society at this time. In En cest sonet coind'e leri, Arnaut Daniel cleverly works usury into an otherwise conventional song:

'Q'el sieus cors sobre tracima
 Lo mieu tot, e non s'eisaura
 Tanta a de ver fait renou
 C'obrador n'a e taverna.⁷⁵ (lines 25-28)

It is open to doubt whether this would have had greater appeal for those who ran workshops in the city, than for those who were more removed from the urban environment. These poems were in a minority. Peire Cardenal's Ab voïz d'angel lengu'esperta non bleza mentions English cloth and Marseilles leather (lines 2 and 44 respectively), as well as Waldensian and Beguine heretics (lines 30 and 53). However, its main theme is the Dominican friars and the urban vices and riches associated with the order;

such a subject might well have been aimed at an audience from outside the city.⁷⁶

In general, the troubadours' view of merchants, usurers and town-dwellers remained unremittingly negative and, if anything, their attacks became harsher as the century went on. Bertran de Born talks with particular relish in Miei sirventes vuolh far dels reis amdos of the usurers he will rob and the fear he will instil into townsmen (lines 19-22).⁷⁷ This is echoed by Sordel in Qui be.is membra del segle qu'es passatz:

'Ai com pot tan esser desvergoignatz
Nuls hom gentils, que an enbastarden
Son lignage per aur ni per argen?'⁷⁸ (lines 22-24)

Such an attitude from Sordel may well reflect that found in the courts of his patrons, the da Romano brothers.

The troubadour view of love changed between the mid-twelfth and mid-thirteenth centuries. However, if this did represent an attempt to teach 'morality to merchants' it was at best almost impossible to adhere to and, at worst, invited ridicule with its ingenious implausibility. Bernard de Ventadour taught a delicate balance between foudatz, the mad emotion of love, and love as a contract, with rules that had to be carefully followed. In order to show true nobility, a balance of both had to be practised. Morality as later taught by Sordel was considerably different and would have proved ludicrous if put into practice. In Qan plus creis, dompna, .l desiriers he says:

'Aital m'autrei fis, vertadiers,
A vos q'etz ses par de valor
Q'ieu am mais morir ab dolor
Qe de vos mi veng'aligriers
Q'al fin pretz q'en vos s'abrija
Puesca dan tener; e si ja
Mais me trobatz vas vos d'autre talen,
Ja non aiaz merce ni chausimen.'⁷⁹ (lines 9-16)

Similar sentiments were expressed by Guiraut Riquier⁸⁰ and Guilhem de Montanhagol spoke of chastity springing from true love.⁸¹ These attitudes reveal more a desperate attempt to wring life out of an exhausted genre for an audience that remained unchanged, than a bold attempt to educate a new urban class in the ethics of courtly love.

Patronage of the Cathars and of the troubadours must therefore be seen as divergent. In twelfth century Languedoc, both groups were patronised by the same nobility and both were drawn from a variety of social groups which included quite humble occupations. As the thirteenth century wore on, however, the Cathars were increasingly drawn from and supported by parts of the community that became progressively poorer. In contrast, although troubadours were drawn from a wide cross-section of society, their patronage always came from the rural nobility. This distinction between troubadour and patron has to be borne in mind when considering to what extent the troubadours were touched by the Cathar heresy.

As has been shown in Chapter One, Catharism did not make any great impact on Languedocian society until well after the troubadours were established, in the 1160s. It is not therefore surprising that no reference to the heresy is found in the works of the earlier troubadours. Even after the 1160s, there were good reasons why troubadour works do not contain any overt declarations of heretical belief. Although the Church may have been weak in Languedoc at this time, its influence was certainly not dead. Indeed, important clerics such as the Archbishop of Narbonne were extremely active in the temporal, if not the spiritual sphere of their responsibilities. Works that overtly supported the Cathars, whether written by, or dedicated to, important political figures would have caused nothing but embarrassment and would have given ecclesiastical figures an

ideal opportunity to interfere for political motives. Similarly, for a troubadour to admit himself a Cathar supporter was equally inappropriate. In the first place early troubadour poetry was not concerned with such subject matter and such an admission could only serve to offend orthodox patrons.

It is therefore more important to look for a general awareness of Catharism in the troubadour culture and evidence that this awareness travelled with them to Italy. The lover of Raimon Jordan, viscount of Saint Antonin s'en rendec als Patarics on hearing of his death in around 1200.⁸² The main points of Raimon's life in the vida can be confirmed from other sources. However, the vida was written in Italy, hence the Italian term Patarines. In later poetry, heretics received some passing mention, as in Guilhem de Montanhagol's Del tot vey remaner valor, where he says:

'Pero l'enquerre no.m desplai,
 Arz me plai que casson error,
 E qu'ab bels digz plazentiers, ses iror,
 Torno.ls erratz desviatz en la fe,
 E qui.s penet que truep bona merce,
 E enaissi menon dreg lo gazan
 Que tort ni dreg no perdan-so que.y an.'⁸³ (lines 21-27)

In the remainder of the poem, he attacks the growing influence of clerics.

In a more bitter attack on the friars, Peire Cardenal comments, in his poem Un estribot farai, que er mot maistratz, on the outcome of a union between a friar and another man's wife:

'D'aqui eyson l'iretge e li essabataz
 Que juron e renegon e jogon a tres datz:
 Aiso fan monge negre en loc de caritatz.'⁸⁴ (lines 31-33)

Such attacks on clerics reveal a certain community of interest between troubadours and heretics, and there is evidence that the Church disapproved of the troubadours' works. Gui d'Uisel was persuaded to stop composing by the Papal legate, Peire de Castelnaud.⁸⁵ More sinister was a line in the

debate between the Inquisitor Izarn and the repentant heretic, Sicart de Figueiras. After enunciating each article of faith, Izarn warns recalcitrant poets:

'E s'aqest no vols creyre vec te'l foc aizinat
Que art tos companhos.⁸⁶

It is important not to exaggerate Catholic disapproval of troubadours. The exchange cited above is unusual and, in general, the Inquisition ignored the often hostile outpourings of the troubadours.

Ultimately the troubadours held no particular interest for the Inquisitors, since although they attacked some clerical practices, they did not challenge their doctrine. Anti-clerical material could be enjoyed by all audiences, whatever their beliefs. Only Peire Cardenal appears to have tackled some of the doctrinal issues at stake, although he too wrote material that could be appreciated by all shades of religious outlook. The poem which shows Cardenal at his most skilful is Un sirventes novel vueill comensar.⁸⁷ In the third stanza he wonders why God does not dispossess the devils, since it was within his power and, once done, he would have more souls. In any case he could always absolve himself for the destruction of the devils (lines 17-24). This actually mirrors one of the fundamental dualist attacks on Christianity. If God created all things, the presence of evil in the world could only be accounted for either by the inability of God to prevent it, or His own creation of it. This in turn undermines either His claim to be omnipotent or to be the Absolute Good.⁸⁸

One can only admire the Cardenal's dexterity in avoiding accusations of heresy; the poem is written in a light hearted vein and draws an orthodox conclusion. He appeals to donna Sancta Maria to intervene with her son on his behalf (lines 45-8). More ambiguous was Cardenal's prayer

to Vera vergena Maria,⁸⁹ a strange choice of phrase in the light of the Inquisitor, Bernard Gui's, advice about Cathars interpreting the Virgin as their own church.⁹⁰ Similarly, a poem which begins:

'Al nom del senhor dreiturier
 Dieus qu'es senhers de tot quant es
 E nuills mais el senhers non es,⁹¹ (lines 1-3)

seems to revel in the ambiguity of 'the rightful Lord' and the nature of 'all which exists', but Peire never lapses into becoming openly heretical.⁹²

The heretics and troubadours shared a growing sense of cultural identity. The resentment of the 'French' which often occurs in the politics of the time was reflected in the bitter sirventes of troubadours such as Peire Cardenal and Guilhem Montanhagol, and, most notably, in the narrative poem in Provençal, The Song of the Albigensian Crusade. These forces should not be underestimated and the view that Catharism can be seen as a Provençal religion, in the same way that troubadour poetry was a Provençal literature, has had considerable influence up to the present. The merchants of Toulouse founded the consistory of Gai Saber in 1323, an indication of a late developing of literary interest.⁹³ Similarly, the Cathar revival in the 1290s and early fourteenth century found support among the notaries and rising young merchants of Languedocian towns. However, whereas poetry had become acceptable, heresy had not.⁹⁴

A hundred years earlier, the Cathars' and troubadours' essential community of interest lay in the courts of the nobility. The troubadours spoke for their audiences, more than for themselves. Thus, when Guilhem de Montanhagol defended the right of ladies to wear cloth of gold against the criticism of the Inquisition, it was not his own way of life that he defended, but that of his patrons.⁹⁵ Such loyalty was not returned. At

the Lateran Council of 1215, Raymond-Roger, Count of Foix, attacked the former troubadour Folquet de Marseilles, who had become Bishop of Toulouse, as 'a singer of songs whose sound is damnation'.⁹⁶ The pressures of both the French military presence and the Inquisition came to bear on court society. In particular, they severed the physical association between heretics and troubadours at court. As patrons turned away from the perfecti, who were increasingly forced to look for support elsewhere, the likelihood of finding references to Cathars in the songs of the troubadours became more remote. It may even be that Cathar perfecti became unfashionable at court, in the same way that the love poetry of the troubadours did at the turn of the century. However, whereas the troubadours could change their subject matter to satire and finally to religious lyric, in order to satisfy changing tastes and political situations, the spiritual elite of the Cathars could not similarly adapt. Much has been made of the friars' impact on the urban scene, but they also gained support from the feudal nobility who had traditionally supported monasteries. The friars became very popular at the courts of several rulers of Southern France and Spain in a way in which the Cathars were never capable.⁹⁷ Troubadours often also adapted and were found performing more varied functions. For example, Raimbaut de Vaqueyras fought alongside his patron, Boniface of Montferrat. Sorde1 fought for Charles of Anjou and Peire Cardenal was probably a clerk at the court of Toulouse.⁹⁸

Many troubadours may have personally been Cathar supporters without leaving a trace of their belief in their works. Indeed, just as it was not considered hypocritical for the Cathar believer to attend Mass in order to escape suspicion, so a troubadour with Cathar sympathies may have felt no shame in producing a hymn to the Virgin. However, this does reduce the

possibility of identifying individual poets' religious sympathies through their works, and makes the historian more reliant on other sources, such as the vidas and references to troubadours in other documents.

One good example of a troubadour who may well have been a Cathar supporter was Uc de Saint-Circ. Born in Cahors, he spent the years from 1220 to 1253 in Italy, notably at the courts of the Malaspina and of Alberico da Romano at Treviso.⁹⁹ In March 1257 he was convicted of usury in Treviso and duly promised to make restitution to his debtors. The text of part of the document states that:

'Ugo de Sancto Circho juravit mandata Sancte Ecclesie et domini Bonifacini de Pyro, canonici tarvisini recipientis vice ... tam super facto usurarum et maleablatorum [sic] quam super facto heresie [sic], et obligavit ipsi domino Bonifacino de Pyro, ... omnia sua bona que habet ...'¹⁰⁰

The mention heresy and usury is interesting. The March of Treviso became the home of Southern French Cathars at Sirmione and Verona from around 1270 and some of these made a living from financial dealings. Uc would easily fit into this *emigré* society. Zufferey has suggested that the mention of heresy in this document provides a forerunner to the doctrine promulgated at the Council of Vienne in 1311-2 that usury was itself a form of heresy.¹⁰¹ A problem with this theory would seem to be the fifty year delay between Uc's conviction and the Church's official adoption of this doctrine.¹⁰² It is equally possible that Uc had a simultaneous conviction for heresy which has not survived. Even if he did not, a Southern French usurer would certainly have been an object of suspicion.

Undoubtedly, Uc was writing in an environment in which heresy was commonplace. Un sirventes vuelh far en aquest son d'En Gui,¹⁰³ is a review of the political situation in Southern France and North Italy. It is

sympathetic to the attempts of Raymond VII to recover his independence, and hostile to the Pope and king of France. In it, the Emperor Frederick II is seen as an atheist against whom there will be a Crusade. There is nothing heretical in its sentiments, but in the first two stanzas Uc twice refers to bona fin, 'a good end', a phrase more usually associated with Cathar preaching. From his writings alone Uc cannot be aligned with Catharism or its opponents. His poem Chanzos q'es leus per entendre¹⁰⁴ would seem to confirm his orthodoxy, including as it does a bitter attack on Ezzelino da Romano, often alleged to have been a friend of heretics. But it would not have been difficult even for a Cathar to have disapproved of Ezzelino's monstrous crimes; this would be particularly true if patronage came from Ezzelino's opponents.

The spread of Southern French Cathars over the Alps into Italy cannot be understood without reference to the cultural framework already in existence there and the changes in Southern French society which followed the invasion of the Albigensian Crusade. North Italy was wealthier than Languedoc and the Cathars came to live in some of the expanding towns in Lombardy. However, it was to noblemen that they looked for protection, since it was through the nobility that the first major cultural contacts had been made, and in particular through their patronage of troubadours. Individual troubadours may have been heretics or they may not, but their acquaintance with perfecti and their ideas helped Cathar refugees obtain respect and protection from their patrons.

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- 1) On the rise of the troubadours, the most convincing argument that troubadour poetry grew out of 'informal acculturation' from Spanish-Arabic origins is deftly summarised in A. MacKay, Spain in the Middle Ages: from Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500, (London, 1977), 90-4, although the alternative theories are given in T. S. R. Boase, The Origin and Meaning of Courtly Love, (Manchester, 1977).

For the relationship between troubadours and heresy, see D. de Rougemont, L'Amour et L'Occident, 2nd edn., (Paris, 1956), 68-76, [first published 1939] who describes an elaborate code by which the troubadours referred to Cathar concepts. His ideas have subsequently been largely discredited, (Boase, 80) and Davenson could later write that there would be no need to take the idea seriously, had it not been proposed by such an eminent figure [H. Davenson, Les Troubadours, (Paris, 1961), 142-4]. A less explicit connection between Cathars and troubadours was suggested from de Rougemont's arguments by R. S. Briffault, The Troubadours, (Bloomington, Indiana, 1965) [first published in French, (Paris, 1945)]. Briffault argues that the Church disapproved of troubadour 'immorality' at the same time as Cathar beliefs and troubadours responded by turning to orthodox religious themes [147-57].

Present scholarship has been cautious in drawing any direct link between troubadours and heresy. See R. Nelli, Les Cathars, (Paris, 1972) 106-9 and Duvernoy, Religion (I), 271-9. The current position is described in Robert Lafont's article 'Catharisme et littérature occitane: la marque par l'absence' in Les Cathares en Occitanie, ed. R. Lafont, (Paris, 1982), 350-89.

- 2) J. Boutière and A. H. Schutz, Biographies des Troubadours, (Paris 1964), viii-xi.
- 3) Boutière and Schutz, 239-43.
- 4) Boutière and Schutz, 16-9.
- 'Jaufre Rudel of Blaye was a very noble man, prince of Blaye.'
- 5) The Vidas of the Troubadours, trans. M. Egan, (New York 1984), xxii-xxiii.
- 6) A good example of an inaccurate vida which can be cross-checked and remains useful is that of Raimbaut de Vaqueiras in The Poems of the Troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, ed. J. Linskill (The Hague 1964), 65-76 and Introduction.
- 7) Boutière and Schutz, 218.

'He was a joglar of little merit, and he travelled little and was little known.'

- 8) J. Lindsay, The Troubadours and their World, (London 1976), 120 and Anthology of the Provençal Troubadours, ed. T. Bergin et al, (Yale 1973), vol. 1, 115.
- 9) Boutière and Schutz, 491-2.

'and he was welcomed among good society, but was a man of little conversation, of poor appearance and little worth.'
- 10) Bergin, vol. 1, 58.
- 11) For example La Comtessa de Dia [Boutière and Schutz, 445-6], Ne Castellaz [Boutière and Schutz, 333-4] and Na Lombarda [Boutière and Schutz, 416-9]. See also M. Bogin, The Women Troubadours, (London, 1976).
- 12) Boutière and Schutz, 7-8.
- 13) Boutière and Schutz, 10-13.
- 14) Boutière and Schutz, 9.
- 15) Moore, 203.
- 16) Peire de Valeira, Peire Rogier, Bernart de Ventadour, Guiraut de Bornelh. Various references in poems and vidas suggest that the last three may have come from poor backgrounds. See Boutière and Schutz, 14-15, 267-70, 20-8, 40-2.
- 17) Boutière and Schutz, 441-4, 299-300 respectively.
- 18) Boutière and Schutz, 523-4, 149-52 respectively.
- 19) Boutière and Schutz, 263-6.
- 20) Boutière and Schutz, Guillem de Berguedan 527-9, Guillem de Saint Leidier 271-3, Raimon Jordan 159-66, Bertran de Born 65-7, Albert Marques 559, Azalais de Porcairagues 341-2, La Comtessa de Dia 445-6, Amfos d'Aragon 525-6.
- 21) Boutière and Schutz, Peire Bremon lo Tort 497, Arnaut Daniel 59-61, Raimon de Durfort and Turc Malec 147-8, Guiraud lo Ros 345-6, Raimbaut de Vaqueyras 447-50, Almuç de Castelnuou and Iseut de Capjo 422-4.
- 22) Boutière and Schutz, Folquet de Marseilla 503-4, Sail d'Escola 63, Gaucelm Faidit 167-9, Peire Vidal (son of a furrier) 351-5, Peire Raimon 347-8.
- 23) Folquet de Marseilla was at the court of Lord Baral de Marseilles [Boutière and Schutz, 470-1]. Arnaut de Maroill was at the court

of Roger II Taillefer [Boutière and Schutz, 32-3]. Sail d'Escola was at the court of Ermengarde of Narbonne [Boutière and Schutz, 64]. Gaucelm Faidit was at the court of Marie de Ventadour, Raimon d'Argout, Hugh IX Count of La Marche [Boutière and Schutz, 167-9]. See Bergin, vol. 1, 128.

Jordan Bonei was at the court of Na Guibors de Montausier and Peire Vidat was at the court of Baral of Marseilles [Lindsay, 144-7].

- 24) Guiraud lo Ros was at the court of Amfos, brother of Raymond V of Toulouse [Boutière and Schutz, 167-9] and Bertran de Born was at the court of Henry the Young King, Richard Duke of Aquitaine and possibly Geoffrey Duke of Brittany [Boutière and Schutz, 65-7]. See Lindsay, 144-7.

Peire de la Mula was at the court of Boniface of Montferrat and Ottone, Court of Carreto [Boutière and Schutz, 560] and Raimbaut de Vaqueiras was at the court of Boniface of Montferrat [Boutière and Schutz, 447-50]. See Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, 6-7.

Guilhelm Magret was at the court of Peter II of Aragon, Alfons IX of Leon [Boutière and Schutz, 493-4]. Peire Raimon de Tolosa was at the court of Alfonso II of Aragon, Guilhem VIII of Montpellier and Raymond V or VI of Toulouse [Boutière and Schutz, 347-8].

- 25) Moore, 200-3. Mansi, vol. 22, cols. 167-68.
- 26) Duvernoy, Histoire (II), 207. Migne, PL, vol. 181, cols. 1721-2.
- 27) Jordan of Saxony, 7.
- 28) Boutière and Schutz, 32-5.
- 29) Boutière and Schutz, 267-70. The Poems of the Troubadour Peire Rogier, ed. D. E. T. Nicholson, (Manchester, 1976), 2.
- 30) S. Packard, Twelfth Century Europe, (Massachusetts, 1973), 226-7. Packard cites the influence of classical learning on the troubadours. See also Linda M. Paterson, Troubadours and Eloquence, (Oxford, 1975).
- 31) Sumption, 59.
- 32) Les Poésies Lyriques du Troubadour Arnaut de Mereuil, ed. R. C. Johnston, (Paris, 1935), xi-xvii. In his introduction, Johnston states that Roger II was himself Arnaut's patron.
- 33) Sumption, 59-60. Moore, 236.
- 34) Peire Vidal, Poésie, ed. D'A. S. Avallè, vol. 1 of 2, (Milan, Naples, 1960), 95-6.
- 35) Mundy, Liberty, 76-80.

- 36) F. A. Ugolini, La Poesia Provenzale e l'Italia, (Modena, 1939) did valuable work on listing the Southern French troubadours in Italy and their patrons. However, much is based on internal evidence from the troubadours' work. For his comments on Peire d'Alvernhe, xi-xii.
- 37) Boutière and Schutz, 263.
- 38) The controversy centres round two points:
- (a) who was the author of the vida and what did autra mon refer to; and
 - (b) the status of so-called corroborative evidence that Peire d'Alvernhe knew of the work of contemporary Lombard poets around 1170, from a reference in stanza 13 of Cantarai d'aquestz trobadors
- On (a) see the debate in Boutière and Schutz, 266, n.2.
 On (b) see Peire d'Alvernhe, Liriche: testa, traduzione e note, ed. A. Del Monte, (Turin, 1953), 126, Bergin, vol. 2, 27 and C. Pasquali, 'Il Più Antico Trovatore Italiano' in Ugolini, 118-20. Pasquali concludes that the Italian poet probably lived in Southern France.
- 39) Boutière and Schutz, 560-61.
- 40) Boutière and Schutz, 351-55.
- 41) Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, 31. J. Longnon, 'Les Troubadours à la Cour de Boniface de Montferrat et en Orient', Revue de Synthèse, vol. 23, (1948), 45-6 puts the date of the first meeting between Raimbaut de Vaqueiras and Boniface at 1175, but this seems unlikely. Pasquali puts it as around 1184. See 'La Vita di Rimbaldo di Vaqueiras' in Ugolini, 68.
- 42) Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, 108-16. Ara.m digatz, Rambaut, si vos agrada. The other court in Italy which may have been involved in Provençal poetry was that of Marchesopulo Pelavicino, whose daughter may have been the 'Isabella' who shared a tenso with Elias Cairel in the early thirteenth century. Bogin, 111-3.
- 43) Boutière and Schutz, 470-3.
- 44) Runciman, Crusades, vol. 3, 37-8.
- 44) The Poetry of Arnaut Daniel, ed. J. J. Wilhelm, (New York, 1981), 2-5. For the idea that the initial themes of the troubadours were becoming played out, see L. T. Topsfield, Troubadours and Love, (Cambridge, 1975), 244-5. J. Anglade, Les Troubadours, (Paris, 1903), 172-3.

- 46) Dante Alighieri, La Divina Commedia, ed. and trans. G. L. Bickersteth (Oxford, 1972), Purgatorio, canto 26, lines 115-48, especially lines 117-9.
- 47) Bergin, vol. 1, 13-15.
- 48) Raimbaut de Vaqueiras: 218-24.
- 49) A. Press, An Anthology of Troubadour Poetry, (Edinburgh, 1973), 206-11.
- 'I see the whole world in the grip of guile and treachery; and so many are the unbelievers that right and good faith scarce hold sway, for each one is eager to betray his friend so as to enrich himself. Yet the betrayers are as much betrayed as he who drinks poison with milk.'
- 50) Histoire Générale de Languedoc, vol 6, Barral, 181; Roger II Trencavel, 6, 155; Ermengarde, 6, 48.
- 51) P. Meyer, 'Les Troubadours à la cour des comtes de Toulouse', Histoire Générale de Languedoc, vol. 7, 445.
- 52) Histoire Générale de Languedoc, vol. 6, 181-2; vol. 8, col. 1959.
- 53) Boutière and Schutz, 68-71.
- 54) Arnaut Daniel, xi.
- 55) There is some discussion about this. See [Giraut de Borneil] Giraldo de Bornelh, Trovatore del secolo XII, ed. B. Panvini, (Catania, 1949), 19-20, 24 and The Poems of Aymeric de Péquilha, eds. W. P. Shepard and F. M. Chambers, (Evanston, Illinois, 1950), 8-19.
- 56) Boutière and Schutz, 425-31 and Aimeric de Peguilhan, 8-19.
- 57) Boutière and Schutz, 503-4.
- 58) Boutière and Schutz, 488-90.
- 59) Boutière and Schutz, 508-9.
- 60) Boutière and Schutz, 303-6 and Peirol: Troubadour of Auvergne, ed. S. L. Aston, (Cambridge, 1953), 12-17.
- 61) Boutière and Schutz, 252-3.
- 62) Boutière and Schutz, 236-8.
- 63) Boutière and Schutz, 434-5.
- 64) For reference see table on page 109.

- 65) Boutière and Schutz, 239-43.
- 66) The 'Donatz Proensals' of Uc Faidit, ed. J. H. Marshall, (Durham, 1969), 62-5.
- 67) Boutière and Schutz, 569-70.
- 68) Boutière and Schutz, 581-3. The other two were Bertonone Zorzi [Boutière and Schutz, 576-7] and Sordel [Boutière and Schutz, 563-4]. The latter spent much of his later career in Southern France.
- 69) Bergin, vol. 1, 248.
- 70) Anglade, 172-3.
- 71) Briffault, 129-30.
- 72) Topsfield, 244.
- 73) For references see table on page 109.
- 74) M.-L. Meneghetti, Il Pubblico dei Trovatori, (Modena, 1984), 248-9.
- 75) Arnaut Daniel, 40-3.
 'For her heart floods full into mine entirely, and it does not subside; she has in truth practised usury so much that she owns by it worker and workshop.'
- 76) Poésies Complètes du Troubadour Peire Cárdenal, ed. R. Lavaud, (Toulouse, 1957), 160-8.
- 77) Bergin, vol. 1, 111-2.
- 78) Press, 246-9.
 'Ah! How can any man of good birth be so unashamed as to bastardise his lineage for gold or silver?'
- 79) Press, 244-7.
 'Such do I yield myself, noble and true, to you who are peerless in worth, that I would rather die in grief than that any pleasure should come to me from you which, to the noble merit which dwells in you might be of harm. And if every you find me otherwise disposed towards you, then may you never have mercy or indulgence.'
- 80) Press, 312-5. For example:
 'Fis e verays e pui fermes que no suelh'

- 81) Topsfield, 247.
- 82) Boutière and Schutz, 159-60.
- 83) Press, 260-3.
 'But the Inquisition does not displease me; rather it pleases me that they should pursue error, and with fair pleasant words without anger, lead the lost heretics back to the faith, and that he who repents should find sweet mercy and that they should so conduct their business rightly that they do not lose sight of right or wrong, such as they have of it.'
- 84) Peire Cardenal, 206-15.
 'From here come out the heretics and the sandal-wearers that swear and blaspheme and play at three dice: this the black friars do in place of charity.'
- 85) Boutière and Schutz, 202-4.
- 86) M. Raynouard, Choix des Poésies Originales des Troubadours, vol. 5 of 6, (Paris, 1870), 230 and see P. Meyer, 'Le Débat d'Izarne et de Sicart de Figueiras', Annuaire Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France, vol. 16, 1879, 233-292.
- 87) Peire Cardenal, no. 36, 222-7.
- 88) L. Varga, 'Peire Cardenal était-il hérétique?', Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, vol. 117, 1938-9, 220.
- 89) Peire Cardenal, no. 38, 232-8.
- 90) Varga, 211. Wakefield and Evans, 380.
- 91) Peire Cardenal, no. 43, 254-8.
 'In the name of the rightful Lord, God who is Lord of all which exists and none except him is Lord.'
- 92) Varga, 216-7.
- 93) Topsfield, 251.
- 94) See below, Chapter 8, page 253-4.
- 95) Press, 258-61, lines 28-32.
 'Del tot vey remaner valor
 Enquer dizon mais de folor:
 Qu'aurfres a dompnas non s'eschai
 Pero si dompna piegz no fai
 Ni.n leva erguelh ni ricor,
 Per gen tener no pert Dieu ni s'amor.'

'Still more folly do they speak, saying that cloth of gold does not befit ladies. Yet if a lady does no worse and feels neither pride nor haughtiness for that, then through fine apparel she loses neither God nor His love.'

- 96) Sumption, 180.
- 97) Little, 203-4.
- 98) Lindsay, 256. Peire Cardenal, 617-18.
- 99) Poésies de Uc de Saint-Circ, ed. A. Jeanroy and J.-J. Salverda de Grave, (Toulouse, 1913), ix-xv.
- 100) F. Zufferey, 'Un document relatif à Uc de Saint Circ à la Bibliothèque Capitulaire de Treviso', Cultura Néolatina, ann. XXIV, (Modena, 1974), fasc. 1, 9-14.
- 'Uc de Saint Circ promised on the orders of the Holy Church and of master Bonifaccio de Pyro the receiving canon of Treviso in turn [to pay] as much for action of usuries and ill-gotten gains as for heresy and he has mortgaged to master Bonifaccio de Pyro all the goods which he has.'
- 101) Zufferey, 12-13.
- 102) T. P. McLaughlin, 'The Teaching of the Canonists on Usury', Medieval Studies, vol. 2, 1940, 7-11.
- 103) Uc de Saint Circ, 96-99.
- 104) Uc de Saint Circ, 87-90.

CHAPTER FOUR THE ITALIAN AND SOUTHERN FRENCH CATHARS, 1240-50

The development of political, economic and cultural links between Southern France and North Italy has been demonstrated in the previous two chapters. In one sense, therefore, it is not surprising that Languedocian Cathars started to penetrate the Italian peninsula in increasing numbers in the middle decades of the thirteenth century, since there was a general growth in contact between the two areas. However, the main influences on Catharism during the 1240s were the political developments that took place in Languedoc. The final defeat of the native nobility there marked the end of any toleration by the secular power of the heretics. Nevertheless, the decade proved how much more resilient was the organisational structure of the Southern French Cathars, in the face of persecution, than that of their Italian counterparts. During the 1240s, Cathars from Languedoc reached north Italian towns, but returned sporadically to their home communities: Italy was still seen as a temporary expedient. The Italian heretics retreated to their strongholds, but offered little resistance to the growing pastoral zeal of the Catholic church. As a result, there was now little contact between the Cathars from the two cultures. The gulfs between them were almost greater than in Nicetas' time.

Catharism was established in various areas of Europe by 1240; however, great differences in the strength of the sect can be seen. The communities of Cathars in Flanders and Champagne were devastated by the merciless inquisition of Robert le Bougre between 1235 and 1239.¹ In Italy, the problems of internal fragmentation were compounded by widespread persecution. The edict against heresy, issued in 1220 by Frederick II, was more honoured in the breach than the observance. However, it was

reinforced by Frederick's authorisation of the persecution of heresy in Germany in 1232 and his arrangements for ecclesiastical inquisitions into heresy in the Constitutions of Melfi.² This unaccustomed unity of purpose between Pope and Emperor was followed by a wave of evangelical fervour and persecution of heretics in Italy the following year. In Verona, fra Giovanni da Schio caused 60 people to be burnt in the Piazza dell'Erbe and he then briefly extended his influence to the nearby city of Vicenza, where further burnings of heretics took place.³ At around the same time the Guelf podestà of Milan, Oldrado da Tresseno, sent an unknown number of heretics to the stake,⁴ and Salimbene reports similar events in other Italian cities.⁵ The position of the Italian Cathars deteriorated sharply during this period, particularly among the influential urban classes. In Verona, the victims were ex melioribus and those of Milan most likely chosen from the newly prosperous popolo. Although political considerations played a part, it would also appear that Catharism was still powerful and fashionable and the identification of heretics with Ghibellines does not explain this reaction, which seems the result of genuine religious outrage.⁶ Indeed, the highpoint of Italian Cathar learning, the Liber de Duobus Principiis did not appear until mid-decade. However, 1233 does mark the beginning of the period when it was dangerous for the powerful to declare heretical sympathies too openly.

Despite the strenuous efforts of the Catholic Church, the Cathars were still strongest in Languedoc. The Cathar bishoprics of Toulouse and Carcassonne continued to function, with workable deaconries (diacones), in the 1230s even after the introduction of the Inquisition.⁷ In fact, the immediate impact of the Dominicans was somewhat diluted: firstly, by the riot in Toulouse, which ended with the sacking of the Dominican convent in

1235 and then by the wider suspension of inquisitorial activities ordered by Gregory IX in 1238.⁸ Even so, there were good reasons for more cautious Cathar supporters to be afraid in this period. At Moissac, the first inquisitorial visit resulted in the burning of 210 heretics.⁹ In Toulouse Raymond Gros, a Cathar minister, was converted by the Dominicans in April 1237, and this gave the Inquisition considerable power over the Cathar organisation in the city.¹⁰ It is not, therefore, surprising that emigration to Lombardy, which had begun on a small scale in the 1220s, recommenced some time around the end of the 1230s.

Amid the early surviving interrogations by the Inquisition, there are two incidents which reveal definite links with Lombardy in the late 1230s. In his last deposition of July 1246 Guilhem de Bonan of Lavelanet claimed that in 'Lombardy', eight years previously, he had handed over some cloth to a perfecta whose name he did not know, from which blankets worth 50 solidi were made.¹¹ The account is as unsatisfactory to the historian as it must have been to the inquisitors. Not only is there no information about the perfecta, but the witness does not reveal where the incident took place in Lombardy or what he was doing there. Guilhem was heavily involved in the Cathar heresy. He had guided perfecti and then graduated to looking after their financial affairs. At one time he held 1200 solidi Melgorienses, which had been collected by Guilabert des Castres, the Cathar bishop of Toulouse. Guilhem had also been involved in a collection of food during the winter of 1234 from local supporters, destined for the community of Montségur.¹² The incident in Lombardy would therefore appear to have been a fund-raising effort exploiting the skilled textile workers within the sect. It is possible that this early venture may have been to Milan, since another penitent in 1241 claimed that he had seen the heretics many

times in Milan. However, the record gives no further information and there is no corroborating evidence.¹³

The situation in Southern France changed at the end of the decade, with the rebellion in 1240 by the count of Trencavel and the siege of Carcassonne. A direct correlation between the rebels' progress and support for the Cathars can be traced. The castles taken were all centres of Cathar support, such as Montolieu, Saissac and Limoux, and the knights involved were mainly Cathar supporters: Peire de Fenouillet, Jordan de Lanta, and Peire de Mazerolles, for example. The rebellion reached a climax with the siege of Carcassonne and the entry of the rebels into the bourg, despite an intensive campaign of preaching, led by the bishop of Toulouse. Although the arrival of Jean de Beaumont and a royal army saved the town and forced the rebels to retreat to Montréal, it was clear that there was still considerable sympathy for the Cathars among both rural nobility and the population of the towns.¹⁴

The revolt, together with Pope Gregory IX's growing unease at the threat posed by heresy, led to demands on Count Raymond to allow the Toulouse Inquisition to resume their operations. This he did in 1241 and the inquisitors redoubled their efforts, until knights from the Cathar stronghold of Montségur combined with local people to murder four inquisitors at Avignonet on the night of 28 May 1242.¹⁵ It is unclear whether Raymond d'Alfaro, seneschal of Avignonet, was acting under instructions from his natural uncle, the Count of Toulouse, when he handed over the fortified town of Avignonet. However, Raymond was excommunicated for his alleged part in the massacre. Fear of the inquisition and the murders at Avignonet led the Cathars of Languedoc to renew their interest in Lombardy.

Peire de Beauvilla, a resident of Avignonet and himself a participant in the massacre, fled to Cuneo, a small town west of Genoa. On his arrival he found a small, but established community of Languedocian Cathars.¹⁶ There were two perfecti, Raymond des Vaux and Raymond Imbert, who occupied themselves:

'publice morantes, et operantes de corregiis in operario conducto ab Arnaldo Guillelm Porrerio qui fuit de Tholosa de Burgueto novo, et beatrice de Montetolino uxore eius credentibus haereticorum.'¹⁷

As well as Arnaud Guilhem and his wife, the perfecti ministered to the following:

Arnaud de Fuzonis, a draper from Toulouse
 Bartholomew Boerii, also from Toulouse
 Guiraud Cultollarum,)
 Dominic, his son by his wife) all from the Carcassonne area
 Comtors, Guiraud's concubine,)

Finally, Peire saw Raymond Barta from Lauragais in Cuneo, but not with the heretics.

All the supporters of the heretics were described as 'fugitives' and Raymond Barta was a noble-born fugitive.¹⁸ The pattern of close family and regional ties which was to dominate emigration from Languedoc is already clear, although it was to become more developed as time went on. To complete the picture Raymond des Vaux was also from Toulouse. Raymond Imbert, his companion is the exception, since he came from Moissac, but his presence is explained by the disaster which had overcome the Cathar community in Moissac at the hands of the Inquisition mentioned above. From the detailed knowledge Peire is able to give of the origins and family ties of the Languedocian community in Cuneo, it would appear that they had not been in Cuneo long. Indeed, the community had probably developed only since the resumption of inquisition activity in Toulouse.

Exiles had been coming from the Toulouse diocese since the early part

of the decade. In an incident dated around 1241, the perfectus Bernard des Plas was described as having 'come from Lombardy'. Peire de Mazerolis, later one of the leaders of the raid at Avignonet asked Bernard what news there was from Lombardy. Peire claimed however, that he was not aware of Bernard's status as a perfectus until after Bernard had converted to Catholicism and supposedly caused the ruin of the village of Gaja.¹⁹

Although the town of Cuneo held the largest Southern French Cathar community at that time in North Italy, it was not the only Alpine town to be visited. Around 1242, probably in the aftermath of Avignonet, given her involvement in the murders, Bernarda de Quidiers journeyed to Asti and saw Raymond Imbert there. Raymond was one of the perfecti in Italy and was probably already established at Cuneo. Raymond accompanied Bernarda from Asti to Alba,²⁰ although nothing is known about the purpose of this journey. There is no other evidence of Southern French Cathars in Asti or Alba at this time, and according to Bernarda, Raymond did not reveal his status as a perfectus until they wanted to eat. This may be true; however, Bernarda's testimony must obviously be treated with caution.

The exiles' presence in Cuneo and the other Alpine towns can be explained by the convenient location of these towns at the end of many routes from Languedoc. Peire de Beauvilla himself fled first to Clermont, and then to the fairs of Lagny in Champagne, on the advice of Raymond d'Alfaro. With merchandise from the fairs, he travelled to Genoa, most probably down the river Rhône by ship and then along the Ligurian coast, a route familiar to merchants.²¹ Cuneo was also a transit town for travellers who journeyed through the newly-opened Larche and Tende passes; it was also within

convenient reach of the Mont Cenis pass. It was, therefore, a natural place of refuge for those making the journey by land.

In political and economic terms, Cuneo was also a suitable haven. The town had been founded around 1150, and until 1230 was ruled by the marquis of Saluzzo. In 1230, the marquis and other nobles were driven out and the Ghibelline popolo took power. Economically, the town was dependent on transhumance and transalpine trade. In particular, at this period, the salt trade was expanding rapidly and Cuneo lay on the strata salis, between Nice and Pavia. The city was also in easy reach of Genoa, making it accessible to those who arrived in Italy by sea.²²

The sea route from Southern France to North Italy, via Montpellier or Narbonne, to Genoa, was the simplest route for fugitives to reach north Italy. However, the majority of witnesses whose testimonies survive took more elaborate land, or land and sea routes.²³ Montpellier had signed commercial agreements with Genoa and Pisa in 1225 and there is ample evidence of Southern French merchants active in Italy during this period.²⁴ There was also considerable Cathar activity in Montpellier: however, since the Inquisition was rarely allowed to operate within the city, there is little trace of it in Inquisition records. Bernard Barra, an Inquisition secret agent, visited the houses of at least two Cathar sympathisers in Montpellier in 1242, in an unsuccessful attempt to capture a Cathar deacon.²⁵ Further evidence came from other sources. Innocent III urged the lord of Montpellier to punish eight 'heretics' arrested by the bishop of Agde,²⁶ and there were attempts to mount inquisitions by the archbishop of Narbonne in 1230, and by the archbishop of Vienne acting as Papal legate in 1238. On both occasions Gregory was petitioned by the consuls of the city and stepped in to prevent the inquiries. The second time he took the

city under his special protection and shortly afterwards several 'false witnesses' were hanged for an attempt to incriminate a leading layman in Montpellier, Geraud de la Barthe.²⁷ The comforting words written by the Pope about the fidelity of the commune both on this occasion and in commending the town to the king of Aragon have obscured the conflicting indications that heresy was, indeed, alive in Montpellier. The fragmentary evidence found in accounts by heretics from other towns, the eagerness of the inquisitors to penetrate the town and the careful alternative arrangements for the detection of heretics in Montpellier ordered by Gregory himself in 1230,²⁸ all point to Montpellier's involvement with Catharism at this period.

As stated earlier, the political background of Languedoc in the 1240s was vitally important to the development of communities of Southern French heretics in North Italy. One important, but shadowy, influence on the establishment of these communities in exile was Raymond VII, count of Toulouse. References to Raymond occur regularly, and Peire de Beauvilla himself was advised on his escape by one of the Count's officials. A few years later, around 1246, Peire returned to Languedoc to escort Bertrand de Quidiers to Italy. Bertrand was a fellow resident of Avignonet and also involved in the murder of the inquisitors in 1242. Bertrand boasted that the Count of Toulouse and his lieutenant, Sicard Allaman, had given him money to leave the Toulouse area. Bertrand also claimed that Raymond had later sent him money to meet his expenses in exile, to which Peire joked that he too would be able to live on Bertrand's payments.²⁹ These claims have been dismissed as either an idle boast by Bertrand, or the work of the Count's officials, without his knowledge. Certainly it is true that the defenders of Montségur waited in vain for the Count to help them in 1244,

and he had besieged the fortress in 1241, if somewhat half-heartedly.

Raymond's actions would therefore appear to have been dictated more by political expediency than any profound Cathar sympathies. His excommunication, following his alleged involvement with the Avignonet massacre, would have made him anxious to ensure Cathar sympathisers were kept away from the Toulouse area, and give some credence to Bertrand's claims. Before the massacre at Avignonet, Raymond had joined a planned threefold attack on the French crown, with Henry III of England and a group of rebellious barons from Northern France. When this ended in fiasco following Avignonet, Raymond left to make peace with King Louis at Lorris, leaving Toulouse in the hands of his lieutenant Sicard Allaman, based at Montauban.³⁰ Raymond also travelled to Italy in the Spring of 1243, allowing him opportunity to make contact with the Southern French in western Lombardy. He travelled ostensibly to act as negotiator for Frederick II in his attempt to reach a settlement with the new Pope, Innocent IV. However, by his own account, Raymond had to try and have the excommunication lifted that had fallen on him following the massacre of the Inquisitors.³¹ Raymond's route took him by sea from Béziers to Provence and, had he continued to follow his route of 1215, he would have passed through Genoa twice.

Links between the Southern French community at Cuneo and Languedoc would still appear to have been strong in the 1240s. Peire de Beauvilla returned on several occasions throughout the decade to both Montgailhard, his birthplace, and Avignonet his married home. In or around both places he met perfecti and perfectae. Despite the leather workshop at Cuneo run by Arnould Guilhem Porrier, mentioned above, the community was not economically independent. As late as 1247-48 Peire still had to return

home to procure goods. Peire persuaded his cousin, Stephan Donat, to buy goods at the market to take back with him to Lombardy.³² At this time Peire was probably working as a peddler; his goods travelled with him and he was usually on foot. Some of the goods Peire bought may have been cloth, since he made at least one visit to the fair at Lagny. While he was escorting Bertrand de Quidiers, Peire travelled to Lombardy by way of St. Antoine on the Vienne, which would suggest a second trip to the north.³³

It is clear that spiritually the community at Cuneo had little significance. In the 1240s, the Cathar church was still operating throughout most of Languedoc; it was based in this period at the stronghold of Montségur.

It is the siege of Montségur which provides the most intriguing evidence of cooperation between Southern French Cathars in Languedoc and *emigré* communities in North Italy not, as has been suggested, native Italian heretics. This argument will be considered further below. Imbert de Salles, a sergeant, gave evidence to the Inquisition immediately after the fall of Montségur. Amidst all the smuggling in and out of the castle that occurred, he mentions the arrival of two separate batches of letters from Cremona, addressed to Bertrand Martin, bishop of the Cathars in Toulouse. The first occurred just before All Saints day in 1243, when the castle had already been besieged for six months:

'... se vidisse quod Raimundus Damors de Bel estar haereticus venit in castrum Montis Securi et attulit litteras Bertrando Martino Episcopo haereticorum (ex parte Episcopi haereticorum - inserted above) de Cremona de tempore hoc anno ante festum omnium sanctorum.'³⁴

Two months later there were further communications between Cremona and Montségur. By now the position at Montségur was becoming desperate. The defenders acknowledged this and had accordingly already smuggled a large

quantity of gold and silver from the fortress, around Christmas. One week later according to Imbert's rather confusing account:

'Item dicit quod Johannes Reg de Sancto Paulo de Cadaiovis intravit Castrum Montis Securi cum litteris Episcopi haereticorum de Cremona, et dedit eas Bertrando Martino Episcopo haereticorum de Tholosa, et in litteris continebatur quod Ecclesia haereticorum de Cremona erat tranquillitate et in pace, et quod Bertrandus Martini mitteret Episcopo de Cremona duos de fratribus suis haereticis per quos redderet eum certum de statu suo adiecit etiam ipse testis quodidem Johannes Reg dixit quod Alamannus Balistarius Comitis Tholosani qui moratur in partibus Bartacis haeretici de expulga de savartes ad quos idem Alamannus iverat, miserat Johannem in Castrum Montis Securi de tempore hoc anno in festo circunsionis [sic] Domini proxime praeterito.'³⁵

However, as far as is known, no Cathars escaped from Montségur to the safety of Cremona and the castle fell on 16 March, 1244.

At first sight this evidence must have confirmed the worst Catholic fears of an international Catharism, but there are curious aspects to the episode. Firstly, the bishop of Cremona remains an unknown figure. Anselm records deacons there for the Albanenses and the sect of Concorezzo, but no Italian source mentions a heretic bishop of the city.³⁶ Moreover, the messengers were exclusively Languedocians. There were already a few Cathars from Languedoc in Cremona, such as the three Rotgeiras sisters who had refused to return to Languedoc between 1227 and 1231.³⁷ About a decade later a Cathar sympathiser admitted taking the sister and niece of the perfectus Guilhelm de Calciata to Cremona, where he thought they both became perfectae. If this is so, it would imply there were perfecti already in Cremona for the women to have been initiated there.³⁸ A penitent from Moissac confirmed the presence of perfecti in the city before Ascension week 1241.³⁹

One of the names mentioned most often by Imbert des Salles in his evidence belonged neither to the besieged nor the besiegers. It was that of

Raymond, Count of Toulouse, who was negotiating with Pope and Emperor in Italy at the time of the fall of Montségur. He had left Languedoc in the Spring of 1243 and returned before Christmas the following year.⁴⁰ As has been seen, Raymond's officials were quick to help those wishing to escape after the Avignonet massacre. Despite the fact that he had besieged the castle himself in 1241, there was a persistent feeling among the defenders that the Count was sympathetic. Bertrand de la Baccalarie, an engineer smuggled in to help the defenders counter the royal trebuchet claimed to have been sent by Sicard Allaman, Raymond's lieutenant, and Bertrand Roque. He also alleged that the Count had sent the defenders letters, in which he promised some kind of help.⁴¹ As early as May 1243 a message from Isarn de Fanjeaux was received, with the news that the Count's affairs were going well and that he had found himself a wife. This must refer to his engagement to Margaret, daughter of the Count of La Marche⁴². Raymond de Niort sent Escot de Bellicradro to Montségur with letters which again said that the Count's plans were going well.⁴³ This is dated at the same time as the first letters from Cremona around All Saints Day, 1243. More far-fetched was the report from Isarn in Lent 1244 that the Count was on his way with reinforcements from the Emperor.⁴⁴

Sympathetic or not, Raymond had good reason to help the defenders of Montségur to keep out of the hands of the Inquisition. He had recently progressed politically: at the end of 1243 his excommunication had been lifted and, as was rumoured at Montségur, he had become engaged to Margaret de la Marche. This progress would have been jeopardised by any embarrassing accusations from captured heretics that he had helped the Cathars or connived at the Avignonet massacre. Raymond had recently been in north Italy and there were Cathars in Cremona, allowing him to make the

contacts to arrange the defenders' escape to Italy, should this become necessary. If Raymond was, indeed, responsible for helping some of the Castle's defenders to escape to Italy, his vested interest in getting the Cathars out of the area quickly may well have caused suspicion amongst the heretics. Indeed, Bertrand Martin was reluctant to leave the fortress, even when the castle was in desperate straits, in January 1244. Martin sought reassurance from the 'bishop of Cremona' that what was said about Cremona was true. Even if the Count was not involved, some in his court may well have been genuinely sympathetic to the heretics.

As mentioned above, it has been assumed that native Italian Cathars were responsible for this bid to help the defenders of Montségur.⁴⁵ However, as has been shown, any evidence of heresy in Cremona before the 1250s is sketchy and could equally be applied to indigenous heretics or Cathars from Southern France. The archives of the Dominican house at Cremona preserved a batch of general letters issued by Innocent IV on the eve of his departure for France in 1244, many of which dealt in general with heresy and the Inquisition.⁴⁶ The renowned preacher Roland of Cremona was present in the city two years later, but his presence may have resulted from his experience of preaching in Languedoc.⁴⁷ By June 1251 the Pope was worried enough to send an appeal to Peter of Veronæ and Vivian Pergamensis to go to Cremona and extirpate heresy from the city and district, but there is no evidence that this mission was ever carried out.⁴⁸ On balance, although it is possible that the Cathars who offered help to Montségur were native Italians, it is more likely that they were Languedocian Cathars in exile, possibly with the help of individual Italian Cathars.

It is unlikely, given the weakness of the indigenous Cathar sects throughout the rest of Italy, that they would have been capable of launching a rescue mission in Languedoc. All the main sources agree that the native Cathars were divided into three factions by the 1240s. These factions were further split by quarrels amongst themselves and each other. At the same time, conditions were far from easy. The wave of popular revulsion against them in 1233 was followed in the 1240s by the increasing effectiveness of the Inquisition.⁴⁹

A survey of the Italian Cathars in the 1240s reveals that their main strength lay in the north east of the Italian peninsula, where they had their origins. Slavonia and Bologna marked two corners of a triangle that outlines the area of Italian Cathar strength; the corner point lay roughly at Milan and the north towards Como. In a letter to Colomannus, 'duke of Slavonia' dated December 1238, Gregory IX exhorts Colomannus to clear the heretics from his territory and allow the Inquisition into the area.⁵⁰ In addition to Slavonia as a possible refuge, the Cathars could also rely on the protection of Ezzelino da Romano in Verona, from the late 1230s on.⁵¹ In 1248 the Bolognese authorities passed statutes to limit the number of associations that could be formed. There were already twenty four armed societies and twenty trade-guilds, and the move was a direct attempt to prevent infiltration of these associations by Patarines.⁵² It was in the third area where Italian Catharism flourished, Milan and the north towards Como, that Peter of Verona conducted his last ill-fated mission.⁵³

In general, however, Catharism was weak elsewhere. They were still present in Tuscany, although they had suffered some notable defeats. In Florence the Cathars were violently attacked in 1245 by the Compagne della Fede, organised by Peter of Verona.⁵⁴ In Viterbo, the return of the

Ghibelline faction in 1247 led briefly to open support for the heretics. However, Santa Rosa of Viterbo launched a counter-movement and although she and her followers were initially sent into exile, the city soon submitted to cardinal Ranieri Capocci and trials of the heretics began.⁵⁵

The defeat of heresy in Viterbo and Florence shows how easy it was for a city to be swayed by one charismatic figure, such as Santa Rosa. The lack of such charismatic figures is characteristic of Italian Catharism. One reason for this may be the internal divisions that split the movement. In Piacenza, Salvo Burci commented on the dissent among the Cathars in his book Liber supra Stella written in 1235. He comments on the Albanenses and Concorezzenses, who had spent heavily on journeys to many different meetings in an attempt to bring themselves back to a common faith. The heretics admitted:

'that their Church suffered from the scandal of their disunity, as a consequence of which many of their their believers have come back to the Roman Church.'

The Caloianni or Bagnolenses are also mentioned by Salvo Burci, but on a level with the tiny Francigene sect, who were refugees from northern France.⁵⁶

All this rather confirms the most reliable information we have from Raynerius Saccone who gave a summary of the locations of the Cathars together with the numbers of perfecti in each sect:

<u>SECT</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>
Albanenses	In Verona and several cities of Lombardy	around 500
Concorezzo	Scattered throughout almost all of Lombardy	more than 1,500
Bagnolenses	Mantua, Brescia, Bergamo, Milan region (few) and Romagna	around 200

The value of these numbers can be questioned. However, Raynerius Saccone was not only an inquisitor, but had once been a Cathar himself; both facts must lend authority to his figures. One should add to the figures given above, the heretics located in Vicenza (the March of Treviso); estimated by Raynerius at around 100 and also the Church of France in Verona, which he reckons to be some 150. The only branch of Italian Catharism that falls outside the north eastern triangle that is worth mentioning was that of Tuscany and the Spoletan valley, which Raynerius put at only around 100.⁵⁷

Therefore, looking at the state of Catharism in Southern France and Italy, it may well be that the Languedocian Cathars, far from being rescued by their Italian co-religionists were moving into a vacuum left by the decline of Italian Catharism.

The years following the fall of Montségur saw an expansion of the Southern France heretical communities in Italy, as the grip of the Inquisition tightened in Languedoc and help from Raymond VII's officials waned. The developing economic links between Languedoc and the Italian towns also stimulated the Southern French exiles' activities, and there is even evidence that the Inquisition may have unwittingly helped the process. In the only book of Inquisition penances for Cathars to have survived there are four recorded cases of Cathar supporters being given pilgrimages to Rome to perform.⁵⁸ The journey by land would take them through the cities of west Lombardy, which were the homes of their fellow-countrymen. Many more were given pilgrimages to Constantinople, which may well have taken them to Genoa and then along the Po valley to Venice; this route would also have provided contact with fellow-countrymen already in exile.⁵⁹

In the later part of the 1240s, the exiles seem to have become more adventurous. Peire de Beauvilla was still resident at Cuneo, but on a trip

to Pavia around 1247 he saw Raymond des Vaux and another perfectus, by the name of Guilhem de Suelh, from Toulouse. The only believer whom Peire met in Pavia this time, Arnaud Guerrerii, was also from Toulouse. Arnaud had escaped from indefinite imprisonment by the Inquisition in Toulouse between March 1246 and March 1248.⁶⁰ The size of the colony in Pavia was probably larger than that at Cuneo, since by the late 1240s there was considerably more movement between Languedoc and North Italy. Peire refers to many other perfecti in Pavia, whom he did not know.⁶¹ This settlement at Pavia marks the start of a pattern of Languedocian Cathar settlement in Lombard towns. Pavia was firmly Ghibelline and anti-clerical in sentiment. Both were probably as a result of the Church's ownership of large amounts of property in the town, despite an agreement in 1230 which cut back the Church's power. This agreement even forced the bishop of Pavia to make over part of his house to the commune. However, ultimate power in the city rested in the hands of an Imperial podestà. This post was filled in 1253 by the ubiquitous Oberto Pelavicino, who was sympathetic to the Cathars. Economically the town was prosperous. Its statutes restricted the immigration of most tradesmen, but did exempt carders and weavers of wool from entry taxes, which would have given many Languedocian Cathars an opportunity to enter.⁶²

The extent of Southern French settlement in Italy at this time should not be exaggerated, however. Travel from Southern France was expensive and emigrants were still few. Around 1247, the experienced traveller Peire de Beauvillà, made one of his fairly frequent journeys to Avignonet. On this journey, Peire guided the perfectus and a fellow-villager, Raymond Martin, from Rival to the house of Raymond de Viridario, the uncle of the perfectus. Peire returned to spend the night at Rival, and next morning

went to meet the perfectus. Raymond then told Peire that, after the night with his uncle, he now had sufficient expenses to make the journey to Lombardy.⁶³ There were other ways of financing the trip. Peire Gausbert and his companion, Peire Veguer, returned to Languedoc from Lombardy. On arrival in the Cathar deaconry of Laurac they contacted the deacon, Arnaud Pradier, through a Cathar supporter and he sent them 12 denarii and a salted mullet. Supporters who came to see the heretics brought food such as bread and nuts, and the witness John Pagesa put them up in his house for nine days. But the major source of their income was revealed when Peire Gausbert sold 34,000 needles to their host on the promise of 6 libras Melgoriencium with the deacon acting as fideiussor.⁶⁴

This and other reports highlight the fact that the Southern French, whether *emigrés* or still living in Languedoc, were starting to see the commercial opportunities offered in north Italy, despite the problems in financing travel and their ignorance of the routes. Sicard Lunel, who became one of the most notorious agents for the Inquisition, recalls an incident from around 1244, when he was still a perfectus:

'Et ibidem venit Bernardus filius Bernarde de Treboillo, quem adduxit ibi Petrus Arnaldi de Fiaco, ut sciret et addisceret ibi ille Bernardus qualiter faceret factum suum de intrando in Lombardia causa lucri. Et ipse testus dixit ei qualiter et dedit sibi notos in Lombardiam.'⁶⁵

It is unclear exactly what the nature of the business Bernard intended to pursue in Lombardy was, but from later evidence it would appear that textiles or even money-lending were the most likely contenders.⁶⁶

This last incident sums up the attitude of the Southern French Cathars towards Lombardy in the 1240s. They could see its potential, both as a place of safety from their persecutors and as an area where they could generate funds to finance their sect, which relied heavily on supporters'

goodwill towards the peripatetic perfecti. Yet the only substantial Cathar settlement by the end of the 1240s was still in the foothills of the Alps at Cuneo, little more than the terminus of their escape route. The number of Southern French *emigrés* in North Italy grew throughout the decade, particularly after the fall of Montségur, but as yet they were only beginning their advance into the cities of the Lombard plain. One thing is certain: with the possible exception of the heretics of Cremona, in 1244, there was minimal cooperation between the Southern French and the native Cathars in Italy. The Italian Cathars were, at this time, on the defensive and weakening in the very areas which the early Languedocian settlers had reached. Not being part of the close Languedocian society and being out of step with Languedocian Cathars in many aspects of doctrine, the Italian Cathars watched events from their remaining strongholds in Tuscany and the north-east of the peninsula.

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- 1) Duvernoy, Histoire (II), 125-8, 133-6, 144-8. Y. Dossat, 'L'hérésie en Champagne aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles', Memoires de la Société d'agriculture, commerce, sciences et arts du département de la Marne, vol. 84, (1969), 66-73.
- 2) Duvernoy, Histoire (II), 115, 175-7. D. Abulafia, Frederick II, (London, 1988), 211-2. However, moves against heresy in Germany were impeded by Frederick's son Henry. See R. Kiecklefer, Repression of Heresy in Medieval Germany, (Liverpool, 1979), 16-17.
- 3) 'Parisius de Cereta, Codice della Biblioteca di Aix', Biblioteca Comunale di Verona, MS. Torri 6, IV, n. 29, 38. Cipolla, 'Il Patarenismo', 66-7.
- 4) Bosisio, 139.
- 5) Salimbene, ed. Coulton, 21. Salimbene goes on to talk about Parma and Reggio in particular, although there was probably also strife in Monza. Archivio Segreto Vaticano (Vat. Lat.), Instrumenta Miscellanea 505 has a noblewoman of Monza seeking absolution in 1233:

'cum domina Bonabella uxor quondam ... (?) de burgo Modoetia heretica suspecta venit ad dominium B. archipresbiterum Modicientis ecclesie confessa est et protestata quod se abrenontiare et abiurare omnem heresim catherorum [sic] et omnium aliorum hereticorum et stare in devotione romane ecclesie ...'
- 6) Manselli, 312. Borst, 130-1.
- 7) Peal, 'The Spread and Maintenance of Catharism', 188.
- 8) Guillaume de Puylaurens, 150-3. Y. Dossat, Les Crises de l'Inquisition Toulousaine, (Bordeaux, 1959), 131-5, 141-5, 159. Mundy, Repression, 31-2.
- 9) Sumption, 230.
- 10) Mundy, Repression, 50, 69. Dossat, Les Crises, 136.
- 11) Doat, 24: 103r.

'ipse testis dedit cuidam heretice cuius nomen ignorat duos chalos quibus parantur lecti valentes quinquagintos [sic] solidos de tempore octo anni.'
- 12) Doat, 24: 86r.-89r.
- 13) Doat, 21: 263r.

'Item vidit haereticos multotiens apud Mediolanū'

- 14) Guillaume de Puylaurens, 154-61.
- 15) Doat, 22: 129v. ff.; 22: 256v. ff.; 22: 284v. ff.; 22: 293v. ff.; 24: 160r. ff. Sumption, 237-8.
- 16) Doat 25: 298v.-300r.
- 17) Doat 25: 299r.
 'standing in public and working on (leather) straps in a workshop run by Arnaud Guilhem Porrier, who was from Toulouse, from the new bourg and Beatrice de Montouty his wife, believers of the heretics.'
- 18) Doat 25: 299v. - 300r. 'generosum fugitivum'.
- 19) Bibliothèque Municipale de Toulouse, MS 609, f. 125a.
 'Item vidit in nemore de la Selva prope Guaianum Bernardum des Plas hereticum et vidit ibidem Ramundum Aychardi et Iordanum del Vilar Carhassonensis diocesis et tunc Bernardus venerat de Lombardia et ipse testis fuit loquutus tunc cum dicto Bernardo pro eo quia volebat scire aliqua nova de Lombardia ... nec scivit ipsum esse hereticum quousque audivit dici postea quod conversus erat et quod fecerat destrui villam de Gaiano. Et sunt V anni vel circa.'
- 20) Toulouse, MS 609, f. 140a.
 'Item vidit apud Ast in Lombardia Ramundum Hymberti de Moysiaco hereticum qui ivit cum ipso teste de Ast usque ad Alba et ibi cognovit ipse testis dictum Ramundum esse hereticum quando voluerunt comedere, sed ipse testis non adoravit eum et sunt III anni vel circa.'
- 21) Doat 25: 298v.-299r.
 'tunc temporis Raymundus de Alforo sive domini comitis Tholosani praecepit ipsi testi degenti apud Clarum montem supra Tholosam.'
 'et tunc ipse testis recessit de partibus Tholosanis et ivit in Franciam ad nundinas de linhico et deinde cum mercibus versus ianuam deinde ivit in Lombardiam.'
- 22) G. Sergi, 'Valichi alpini minori e poteri signoriii: l'esempio del Piemonte meridionale dei secoli XIII - XV', Bollettino Storico-Bibliografico Subalpino, vol. 74, (1976), 70. R. Comba, 'Commercio e Vie di comunicazione del Piemonte sud-occidentale nel Basso Medioevo', Bollettino Storico-Bibliografico Subalpino, 74, (1976), 78-80. 'Chronache di Cuneo e di alcune vicine terre', ed. D. Promis, Miscellanea di Storia Italiana, vol. 12, (1871), 236, 246-7.
- 23) Doat 25: 312v.-313r. gives an example of Peire de Beauvilla bringing nis wife to Lombardy by sea.
- 24) See above Chapter 2, 83-4.

- 25) Doat 25: 292v.-293r.
- 26) Duvernoy, Histoire (II), 236n., 137.
- 27) Archives de la Ville de Montpellier, Armoire D, Casette 1, 1634-6, 1635-6.
- 28) Dossat, 'Les Débuts de l'Inquisition à Montpellier', 568-70.
- 29) Doat 25: 308v.-309r. Peire heard Bertrand:
 'iactantem se et dicentem quod Raymundus comes Tholosae et Sicardus Alamanni pro eo dederant ei peccuniam in recessu suo de Tholosano, et postea miserunt sibi pro expensis suis exulabat claride (?) de ipse testis dixit ei solacciando quod volebat vivere ad escotum suum.'
- Also Doat 25: 327r.
- 30) Guillaume de Puylaurens, 171, n. 4.
- 31) Guillaume de Puylaurens, 172-7.
- 32) Doat 25: 311r.-v., 312r.-v.
- 33) See above page 134 and Doat 25: 327r. respectively.
- 34) Doat 24: 178r.-v.
 'He [Imbert] saw that Raymond Damore de Bel estar, heretic, came in to the castle of Montségur and brought letters to Bertrand Martin, bishop of the heretics, on behalf of the bishop of the heretics of Cremona.'
- 35) Doat 24: 171v.-172r.
 'Jean Reg de Saint Paul-de-Cap-de-Joux entered the castle of Montségur with the letter of the Bishop of the heretics of Cremona; and he gave them to Bertrand Martin, bishop of the heretics of Toulouse and there was contained in the letters that the Church of the heretics of Cremona was in tranquility and peace, and that Bertrand Martin might send to the bishop of Cremona two of his brother heretics through whom he would reassure him about their state, the witness also added that this Jean Reg said that Alamannus, the cross-bowman of the Count of Toulouse who stays in the Bartaces area ... had sent the same Jean into the castle of Montségur.'
- 36) Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare, III', 324.
- 37) Toulouse, MS 609, f. 115b.
- 38) Doat 21: 226r.-v.
 'Ar. de Peire vidit haereticos pluries associvit ad praeces Guillelmi de Calciata haeretici sororem dicti haeretici et neptam usque ad Cremonam et credit quod fecerunt se haereticas et invitavit alium ad

videndum haereticos et emit haereticis de denariis ipsorum duas alvas panni linei quas portavit eis.'

- 39) Doat 21: 290r.
- 40) Chronica Piacentinorum, 167-8. Raymond's route in 1243 was Beziers (23 April), and then Beaucaire (29 June). No further information is given, but short coastal hops would seem most likely, as in his previous journey to Italy. Histoire Générale de Languedoc, vol. 7, nos. 364-5.
- 41) Doat 24: 170r.-171v.
- 42) Doat 24: 168r.-v.
- 43) Doat 24: 280v.
- 44) Doat 168v.-169r.
- 45) Duvernoy, Histoire (II), 292. Dupré-Theseider, 'Le catharisme languedocien et l'Italie', 305-6.
- 46) These are published in G. Bronzino, I Documenti dei pontefici e legati apostolici nella Biblioteca statale di Cremona (1221-1398), (Cremona, 1972) and quoted by E. Cirelli, 'Aspetti dell'Eresia a Cremona del Secolo XI al XIII' (Università degli Studi di Parma, Facoltà di Magistero, thesis, 1973), 175.
- 47) L. Astegiano, Codex Diplomaticus Cremonae, 715-1334, vol. 1 of 2, (Cremona, 1895-1898), 276, no. 552.
- 48) T. Ripoll, Bullarium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, vol. 1 of 8, (Rome, 1729-40), 192-3. Dondaine, 'Saint Pierre Martyr', 96-7.
- 49) Hamilton, Medieval Inquisition, 77.
- 50) Codex Diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae: Vol. 4, 1236-55, ed. T. Smičiklas, (Zagreb, 1906), 65-6, nos. 59, 60.
- 51) Allen, 72, 76.
- 52) Hyde, 113.
- 53) For evidence of heretics in Milan, see the Inquisition conducted to find the murders of Peter of Verona, Villa, 'S. Pietro Martire', 790-4.
- 54) Manselli, 299-300. Hamilton, Medieval Inquisition, 77. Dondaine, 'Saint Pierre Martyr', 76-8.
- 55) Manselli, 324.
- 56) Wakefield and Evans, 269-71. Ilarino di Milano, "Liber Supra Stella", 307-9.

- 57) Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 64. Raynerius emphasises how few Cathars there are by concluding the passage with:
 'O. lector, dicere potes secure quod in toto mundo non sunt Cathari utriusque sexus in numero quatuor millia, et dicta computatio pluries olim facta est inter eos.'
- 58) Doat, 21: 177v.-178r. In fact the penitent, Raimond Marannus, was far too ill to go to Rome and instead went to Compostella. Doat, 21: 240; Guillelma de Sapiac. Doat, 21: 171r.; Arnaud de Cuc. Doat, 21: 310v.; Arnaud de Rupe, priest.
- 59) Doat, 21: 186r. et seq.
- 60) Douais, 4, 5, 76. Arnaud was sentenced in 1242. The Guilhem de Suelh, whom Peire de Beauvilla met with both Raymond des Vaux and Arnaud Guerrerii in Pavia, was probably a relative of one Raymond de Suelh, who had also been sentenced by and escaped from the Toulouse Inquisition between 1246 and 1248.
- 61) Doat, 25: 330r.
- 62) P. Vaccari, Pavia nell'Alto Medioevo e nell'Età Comunale - Profilo Storico, (Pavia, 1956), 67-9, 78-9.
- 63) Doat, 25: 324v.-325r.
 'quod fecerat illa nocte tantum cum Raymundo de Viridario avunculo ipsius heretici, ipse haereticus haberet expensas usque in Lombardiam.'
- 64) Toulouse, MS 609, f. 190a.-b.
- 65) Haute-Garonne, MS. 124, 103r. - v.
 'And there came there [Al Casasell, near Fiac] Bernard the son of Bernarda de Treboillo, whom Peire Arnaud of Fiac led there, in order that this Bernard might know and learn how to go about going to Lombardy, for profit (interest?). And the witness told him how and gave him acquaintances in Lombardy.'
- 66) See below Chapter 5, 162-3.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE SOUTHERN FRENCH CATHARS IN ITALY, 1250-1260

Despite the fall of Montségur, there was no immediate move by the Southern French Cathars to north Italy. The decisive decade for this was the 1250s, when a community emerged at Piacenza and those at Pavia and Cremona became more permanent. There were many reasons for this greater commitment to emigration, but the most important was the encouragement of the Inquisition by Raymond VII and the disappearance of any policy of leniency he may have had towards the heretics. This culminated with the burnings of heretics at Agen in 1249.¹ On his death in the same year, Raymond was succeeded by Alphonse of Poitiers, brother of Louis IX. A meticulous administrator, Alphonse made few visits to Languedoc, but controlled his new possessions through a copious exchange of documents between his base in Paris and his officials, in the South. This change of lord helped to integrate Languedoc with the North. It is a reflection of the growing mood of resignation among Languedocians that many who had served Count Raymond, such as the future Pope Clement IV, Gui Fouçois, turned without hesitation to Alphonse for patronage and acted as enquêteurs in helping to establish his rights. Alphonse was also on good terms with the Inquisition and instructed his officials to cooperate wherever possible.²

This granting of licence to the Inquisition was possibly even more important than the military defeats of the 1240s in undermining support for the Cathars in the communities, on which the heretics were dependent. The solution found by the Cathars to the increasing difficulties they encountered in living and working in Languedoc was to base the heretic church in Italy. Although this was a short-term solution, and in no way

eliminated their reliance on their supporters in Languedoc, it did avoid the problems posed by keeping perfecti in Southern France, under constant threat from the Inquisition. By moving the church to an area where Inquisition authority was tenuous, there was less fear that betrayal by a supporter could lead to disaster.

The move to Italy was not a sudden decision, but one which had evolved during the late 1240s, when a number of heretics had fled from Languedoc. The instances of travel recorded in the early 1250s from Southern France to North Italy show that it was uncommon. In 1250 a man approached Bego de Rocovilla and Stephan Donat, two lay supporters of the Cathar church, and asked their help since he wanted to travel to Lombardy. When Peire Guilhem de Rocovilla told the story twenty four years later, however, he could no longer remember if this had been Dominus Pons de St. Foy, whom he had been told wanted to leave for Lombardy at around the same time.³ These people were financially quite well-off: Peire Guilhem was the son of a knight,⁴ Bego de Rocovilla was a knight himself and owned a hawk, they were probably part of the Lauragais family of Rocovilla, who were notorious supporters of the Cathars.⁵ Dominus Pons de St. Foy, from his title, would also appear to have been a noble.⁶ Although we cannot tell whether the journey was made, given the social and financial status of those involved, they should have been able to obtain the best facilities available for taking Cathar supporters to Lombardy. It would therefore appear that there was little organised movement between the two centres at this time.

Five years later travel was evidently somewhat easier. Bernarda was the maid at the mill of Peire de Villela and Bernard de Bosqueto. Sometimes at night the latter would ask Bernarda to leave the door open. She believed he went to the heretics in Lombardy and would usually return

after a few days. One night he brought some rye bread which he declared to be panis dei. Bernarda asked him why, and received the response that it had been blessed by the 'good men'. Saving it carefully, Bernarda took a piece and put it in the window. The following morning Bernard would not let her leave the house until she had told him where she had put it.⁷ The only serious discrepancy in Bernarda's story is that Bernard made the return journey suspiciously quickly, 'after a few days'.⁸ Assuming that Bernarda was not mistaken in the length of Bernard was away, it would just have been possible to complete the round trip in a week. However, a more likely explanation is that the miller met the perfecti at some point en route. It is interesting to note that as a Cathar supporter in the early 1250s, Bernard was still based in Languedoc. The perfecti, however, were not and made up for their absence by providing 'blessed bread', which was then distributed amongst the believers.⁹

It was, therefore, probably around the middle of the 1250s that sporadic 'commuting' between Languedoc and Lombardy by a few fugitives, such as Peire de Beauvilla, changed to permanent settlement abroad by the Southern French heretics. It is during this period that there is the first evidence of Languedocians going to North Italy to become perfecti. In 1252, Guilhem Fournier and Bernard de Rocovilla were made perfecti in the presence of four perfecti and their companions at Pavia. Two of the perfecti had spent time at Montségur, although one stayed in the area for a considerable time after its fall.¹⁰ Guilhem Raffard tells of how, in 1255, when Bonetus de Sanctis was preparing to go to Lombardy to be hereticated, Bonus tried to persuade Guilhem to go with him. Guilhem replied that he would not have enough money until he had sold his cows.¹¹

By 1255 many features of the Southern French Cathars' life in exile

were established. As we have seen, Peire de Beauvilla, a fugitive from the Avignonet massacre, had been in Italy since 1242. It was only when he recalls his time in Piacenza in the early 1250s, however, that he starts to mention prominent Southern French emigrés. He notes that Vivien, the Cathar bishop of Toulouse was living in Piacenza, along with his filius maior, Guilhem de Podio. According to Peire, there were two other perfecti from the diocese of Toulouse in Piacenza in the early 1250s, Atho Arnaud of Verdun and Raymond Bonet of Lauragais, together with another perfectus from Languedoc, Raymond Peire. Moreover, two credentes, ordinary believers forced to flee from St. Paul-Cap-de-Joux, were also listed: Peire Scolani and Guilhem de Prioissa¹². A pattern of often itinerant perfecti, sustained by lay supporters emerges, which is similar to that found in Cathar communities in the towns of Southern France.

More information about the Cathar community in Piacenza came from Guilhem Fournier of Toulouse, who made statements to the Inquisition in July, August and November 1256. Fournier visited Piacenza in the early 1250s and again at Christmas 1255.¹³ He confirms the presence there of Peire de Beauvilla and Vivien. He also saw Raymond Mercier of Montmaur, a former deacon of Toulouse, who was living with Vivien. This would suggest that Fournier arrived a little later than Peire de Beauvilla and that Peire de Beauvilla was only there as a visitor. Of the fourteen believers Guilhem saw in Piacenza, two were from Puylaurens,¹⁴ two were from Fanjeaux¹⁵ and another was from Lavaur.¹⁶ There is no further information about the others, but the evidence suggests that Guilhem's associates were mainly drawn from the Lauragais, like those of Peire de Beauvilla.

Piacenza provided a refuge for the Southern French heretics in the 1250s. It had also increased in prosperity during the economic expansion

which north Italy experienced in the late 1240s.¹⁷ The city had had contact with Languedocian heretics in the 1230s, before the influx of Southern French in the 1250s.¹⁸ Salvo Burci also criticises Italian heretics from Piacenza in his 'Liber super Stella'.¹⁹ These Italian Cathars were still present in 1245, when the perfectus Raynerius Saccone was converted to the Catholic faith.²⁰

In 1250 the popolo, led by Oberto de Iniquitate, gained power and restricted the operations of the Inquisition. In the following year, Ubertino Landi took the government over, but his position was not really secure until 1253, when his ally, Oberto Pelavicino, was declared perpetual podesta.²¹ The city's wealth came from textiles. Throughout the first half of the thirteenth century, merchants from Piacenza bought an increasing amount of cotton, wool, dyes and skins. These were mostly imported through Genoa.²² By 1250 letters of exchange with Piacenzan merchants were accepted in Champagne, Marseilles and Montpellier, which implies that their presence in those cities must have already been well established.²³

Even more important to the city than textiles, was the trade in money itself. Piacenzan bankers are known to have been established at Genoa from the beginning of the century, and possibly even earlier.²⁴ By the late 1240s, two of the major banks in Genoa were run by natives of Piacenza: Giovanni Ascherio and Co. and Guglielmo Leccacorvo and Co. Guglielmo Leccacorvo's bank is of particular interest, since it had interests in Cuneo, which may have inspired the Southern French businessmen to move to Piacenza. Along with many other Piacenzan banks, it failed after the defeat of St. Louis' Crusade, in which it had invested large sums.²⁴ Even so, for the small-scale economic activity in which the Southern French were involved, Piacenza was both safe and prosperous.

When Peire de Beauvilla moved to Cremona around 1255 he apparently found a much larger community of perfecti there than he had come across previously. His evidence mentions by name eleven perfecti. These appear to have formed three main groups with different, but overlapping, sets of followers. Peire himself was associated with the largest group, which consisted of:

Peire de Sauzeto of Lanta
 Pons Bresoit dels Caifers
 Bernard Colombi of Goderville (now Villenouvelle)
 Bernard Rotbert of the Lantarès
 Raymond Peire of Dreuilhe
 Raymond des Vaux from Toulouse²⁶

At least five of these came from the Lauragais. In addition, he mentions 'multos alios omnes haereticos vestitos',²⁷ one of which was probably Peire de Prato, whom he associates with Bernard Robert and Peire de Sauzeto in another incident.²⁸ Peire singles out Peire de Sauzeto and Raymond des Vaux as perfecti he was on familiar terms with, often greeting them and speaking with them. However, Peire was more closely involved with a second group, who consisted of:

Stephan Donat
 Raymond de Rocovilla
 Bernard de Cassis²¹

Stephan Donat was both an old friend and Peire's cousin, who had now settled permanently in Lombardy. Finally, Peire also recalled that the Bishop Vivien was in the city with his many heretical companions.³⁰ Guilhem Fournier was in Cremona as a perfectus slightly before Peire de Beauvilla and he confirms Peire's presence and that of Stephan Donat. Peire later explained that he travelled around Lombardy on business.³¹

As would be expected, there were many more believers in the town than there were perfecti and the believers tended to group by region or by

family. The most obvious of these was Peire de Beauvilla's own group. In addition to the association of Peire and Stephan Donat, both from Montgailhard, it is probably that Raymond de Rocovilla was a relative of the noble Bego de Rocovilla, with whom Peire and Stephan were in contact. In his evidence, Peire classifies together four men from Fanjeaux, whom he saw greeting Vivien, bishop of Toulouse, separately. The bishop was also greeted by an uncle and nephew from Sancto Paulo de Corpore Sancto and was greeted and fed by another father and son.³² Guilhem Fournier provides a further nine names, including a knight from Homps, far from Lauragais, between Carcassonne and Narbonne. He also includes a complete family group of Arnaud Guilhem Peirer, his wife and son. Clearly the Languedocians were no longer groups of fugitive individuals, but were on the way to becoming a community in exile.

The growing permanence of the Southern French presence is emphasised by Peire's decision to bring his wife to join him in Lombardy in the late 1250s. There are two surviving accounts of this, by Peire himself and also by Peire de Laurac of Montgailhard, who was cited and imprisoned by the Inquisition in May 1279. The latter dates the departure of Guilhema, Peire de Beauvilla's wife, from Languedoc in 1256, some 23 years before his deposition. He claims that Bego de Rocovilla lent Peire de Beauvilla a horse for Guilhema, and that he, Peire de Laurac, accompanied the party as far as Montréal (near Carcassonne). On reaching Montréal, Peire received a payment of 12 denarii of Toulouse, before leading the horse back.³⁴ Peire de Beauvilla dates the journey at around 1259 and his account is somewhat different from that of Peire de Laurac. He claims to have remained at Narbonne, ordering his wife by letter to join him there. When she arrived in Narbonne, she was accompanied by Bego de Rocovilla, Stephan Donat and

his brothers. The party ate together and then Bego and his squire, whom Peire identified as 'Lauraco', returned home; Peire, Guilhema and the Donats travelled on to Lombardy.³⁵ This second version is the more credible. Peire de Laurac would obviously be anxious to minimise his own involvement and thereby distance himself from the heretics. This can be clearly seen both in his claim to have gone only as far as Montréal, but also in his attempt to portray the whole episode as simply a commercial transaction. Indeed, he may well have been the 'Lauraco', mentioned in Peire de Beauvilla's account.

Despite the growing strength of the community in Italy there were still strong links with Languedoc. In the early 1250s, Peire de Beauvilla frequently visited both his relatives in Montgailhard and his wife in Avignonet³⁶. During these visits to Southern France, there were obviously still opportunities to meet perfecti and Peire recalls both villages being visited by the perfectus Peire de Prato, in his capacity as companion to Pons de St. Foy, Cathar deacon of Lanta. Peire de Beauvilla also recalls seeing Peire de Prato in Cremona, although it is not clear whether the perfectus had already fled to Lombardy at the time of his visits to Montgailhard and Avignonet.³⁷

Some perfecti were still returning from Lombardy to Languedoc. Peire de Belstar and Raymund de Manso were both reported by Guilhem Fournier in Pavia around 1252. The former was in Verdun in 1254, and helped to organise a party of five women who came to Lombardy to be consoled. Raymund de Manso became deacon of Vielmorès in 1257.³⁸

There is also evidence that by 1254 nuntii, or messengers, were travelling between Languedoc and Lombardy to keep the two communities in touch with each other. One Bernard de Valle 'de Lantaresio' was described

as nuntius hereticorum and regularly made the journey to Cremona.³⁹ In some ways Peire de Beauvilla was fulfilling the same role, but he was never designated nuntius. However, for Peire these visits home stopped in the mid-1250s, around the time of the first mention of the nuntius. While in Cremona Guilhem Fournier saw a young man of Lanta with Vivien and his companion. The man lived near the Matabiau Gate in Toulouse and Guilhem used him to send goods home to his father. Guilhem told the man to say that they had met in Provence, which is a possible indicator of how furtive the heretic communities in north Italy still felt they had to be.⁴⁰ Despite these developing links between Southern France and the communities of North Italy, however, some perfecti were still based in Languedoc and on one occasion Peire de Beauvilla arrived home to find four of them in his house at Avignonet.⁴¹

Around 1257-58 Peire de Beauvilla moved back to Piacenza from Cremona. The reasons for this are not apparent, but in the intervening years, the community of Southern French had apparently grown considerably. Peire and his wife lived in a house rented by his perfectus cousin Stephan Donat. Jean del Azeraul, Stephan's companion also lived there,⁴² and the household was further enlarged by the arrival of Peire's son, Arnaud de Malhorgas. Peire recalls one other household, that of B. Fournier and his brother Arnaud, from near Toulouse, where the perfectus Raymond Boerii from Andorra was also accommodated. He also lists a number of visiting perfecti seen in Piacenza:

NAME	ORIGIN
Guiraud Unaud	Lanta
Raymond Baussani	Lagarde
Raymond Paperii	Avignonet
Pons Paperii	Avignonet
Raymond Bertrand	not known
Guilhem Bertrand	Castres, Albigeois
Peire Pictavini	Toulouse
Furnerius Cathalanum	Catalonia
Guilhem Gomervilla	Montgailhard 43

The members of this group originated from a wide geographical area. Despite this, however, there are clear links between them and the Cathar community in Piacenza. The Paperii brothers came from Avignonet, where Peire de Beauvilla and his wife once lived, and Lanta, Castres and Toulouse are all within fifty kilometres of it. Guilhem Gomervilla was from Peire's own birthplace of Montgailhard, just south of Foix.

Peire also gives some indication of how his household now paid its way. Peire no longer mentions selling bundles of cloth, as he had done in the years immediately following his flight from Avignonet in 1242. Instead he stated that he:

'recepit a Stephano Donati haeretico consanguineo suo praedicto centum libras imperiales ad negociandum et tenuit eas aliquamdiu reddendo sibi medietatem lucri.'⁴⁴

The perfectus Stephan Donat provided the capital and divided the profits with Peire, the layman, who presumably did most of the work. Talking about a slightly later period in his exile, Peire says that:

'tenens hospitium suum Papiae discurrebat negociando per terram Lombardiae.'⁴⁵

Clearly the business involved travelling; Peire claims that he gave his son the money mentioned above, together with a further 150 libras; however, Arnaud is accused by his father of taking the money away and wasting it.⁴⁶

The question remains as to who made use of this money. It was partly a fund available to those who wished to make the journey from Languedoc to Lombardy. This is shown in the following description from Cremona dated around 1255. Bernard de Valle:

'nuntius haereticorum tradidit centum solidos Tholosanos vel valorem in moneta Turonensi Petro de Prato et Stephano Donati haereticis apud Cremonam in Lombardia ex parte Aladaicis sororis Bertrandi de Rocovilla de Montegalhardo ut dictam peccuniam servarent dictae Aladaici quae proponebat ibi venire ad haereticos postea.'

Clearly there were profits to be made here from the exchange and banking involved. However, these were probably not substantial, since the perfecti still needed the help and hospitality of believers whenever they returned to Languedoc or wanted to encourage believers to follow them to Italy. In this case, Aladaix changed her mind. She ordered the messenger, on his return to Lombardy, to tell the perfecti that the money should be handed over to her mother, herself a perfecta.⁴⁷

The perfecti probably lent to their fellow-countrymen living in Lombardy, but the community cannot have been large enough for this to have been their only field of activity. In towns renowned as financial centres, it is likely that they lent money to native Italians on a commercial basis. In this case, it would have been the laymen, such as Peire and Arnaud Malhorgas, who would carry out the transaction, with the Cathar church providing the capital and taking half the profit. Nevertheless, the perfecti were still involved with the production of textiles. The goods Guilhem Fournier sent to his father were two linen caps and one of wool.⁴⁸

The general growth of economic and cultural links between Languedoc and north Italy has been traced in previous chapters. One reason why the Southern French Cathars were drawn to Cremona and Piacenza was the fact that these towns were centres of the two crafts in which the heretics were

proficient, albeit on a fairly small scale: financial dealings and textiles. However, a further reason for the towns' attraction to the Southern French Cathars can be found in the area's dominant political figure, Oberto Pelavicino. Pelavicino was keen to support the towns' trading interests, was a steadfast opponent of the Inquisition and was also possibly interested in the Southern French Cathars themselves.

Pelavicino's rise to power coincides with the start of Cathar emigration from Southern France. He was an ally of Frederick II, became perpetual podestà of Cremona in 1250 and took over Piacenza three years later. Although himself a noble, in the latter city he took over from a popolo regime and it was a feature of his rule that he tried to conciliate business interests.

In the 1250s Pelavicino made three commercial agreements with cities which lay outside his direct control: with Genoa in 1253, Montpellier in 1254 and Venice in 1258. He worked first to obtain good relations with Genoa, which formed Piacenza's outlet to the sea. An agreement made on June 25th, 1253 made it possible for Genoese creditors to apply to the Cremonese commune in cases where repayment was not forthcoming; the Cremonese commune was empowered to threaten the debtor with imprisonment.⁴⁹

The second agreement was made by Pelavicino with the merchants of Montpellier, in his position as Imperial vicar general of Lombardy, and lord and podestà of Cremona, Piacenza and, by this time, Pavia. It mentions the difficulties caused by discordiam hominum et maliciam temporis, especially for:

'mercatoribus, per diversas mundi partes et maxime per Lumbardiam proficisci volentibus, pretextu alicuius cause multipliciter inferuntur.'

The treaty laid toll rates for merchants crossing Oberto's lands in Lombardy; in return, he promised them safe conduct and compensation for anyone robbed, except in cases of debt. The tolls were to be paid by the bundle or bale, (torsellos) although the merchants themselves, their horses and servants were exempt. Moreover the merchant on foot, travelling through Pelavicino's lands with simply a bundle of goods on his back, was able to travel free of tolls:

'mercator.... sive serviens qui cum torsello proficiscitur pedibus,
nichil solvat'

This would have made it easier for heretics to travel to and from Southern France with minimum of attention from the authorities.⁵⁰

The agreement made sense for both parties. After the death of Raymond VII, Count of Toulouse, in 1249, his lands went to Alphonse of Poitiers. Although this did not include the town of Montpellier, the lands surrounding the town came under the more effective rule of Alphonse. As a consequence, Montpellier ceased to be part of the patchwork of semi-independent territories that had previously characterised the area. Economically, Montpellier was dependent on its position, halfway between Aragon and Italy. It had close links with the merchants of Lombardy and, in order to further these, a treaty had been concluded with Genoa as early as 1201. This was renewed in 1225 and renegotiated in 1230, under James I of Aragon.⁵¹ It was an obvious advantage for the merchants of Montpellier to have a guarantee of safety and cooperation from the ruler of much of the Genoese hinterland. The treaty also had benefits for the merchants of Lombardy, who required good relations with Montpellier, which was the main outlet for trade at the mouth of the Rhône.

Pelavicino, therefore, was very aware of the importance of keeping the

support of the popolo.⁵² He was closely associated with Buoso da Dovara, podestà of the guild of merchants in Cremona throughout most of Oberto's rule. Indeed, the importance of this group's support for Pelavicino is shown by his attempt to halt all trade with Milan in 1264; it is from this date that Pelavicino's decline can be traced.⁵³ The strength of Pelavicino's links with merchants, was shown when he found refuge among the *nouveau-riche* of the bourg, when he was ejected from Piacenza in 1266. On his final defeat, he was replaced as podestà by one of the Scotti family, who were long-established merchant aristocracy.⁵⁴ Pelavicino also gave his blessing to the treaty of monetary union among Lombard cities, made in May 1254. As Pullan has pointed out, the commercial advantages for all concerned were such that the treaty would probably have been made, with or without Pelavicino's involvement. However, the powerful stimulus of Oberto Pelavicino's political unification of the area and his interest in economic affairs cut short the waiting.⁵⁵

It is clear, therefore, that the commercial alliances of Pelavicino with Genoa and Montpellier had, by the 1250s, created a sizeable trading area. With it, free movement was possible, which made it attractive to both heretics and merchants alike.

Italian Cathars were still present in Cremona during the 1240s. The commune at that time supported the Emperor Frederick II and were opposed to the Guelfs: as a result, the Inquisition was barred from the city. In Piacenza too, the Italian Cathars were active. The perfectus Raynerius Saccone was only converted by Peter of Verona in 1245.⁵⁶ The period after Frederick's death saw a significant reaction by the Catholic Church in the area. Peter of Verona was instructed to investigate the problem in

Cremona. In June 1251 Innocent IV wrote to Peter and Vivian Pergamensis telling them:

'Cremonam personaliter accedatis,.....& ad extirpandam de civitate ipsa, & ejus districtu hereticam pravitatem solicite, ac efficaciter....'⁵⁷

Unfortunately, it is not made clear what sort of heresy is being dealt with. It is only from French evidence about Cremona, and the later accusations against Pelavicino, that it would appear that the target was Catharism.

Religious reasons may also have made Cremona and Piacenza attractive to the Languedocian Cathars. Italian Catharism was already in decline in the 1240s, but this decline may actually have made cooperation with Southern French Cathars easier. Even if the offer of help to Monségur, considered in the previous chapter, was mainly the work of Languedocians, there may well have been the involvement of native Italian Cathars at an individual level.

Moreover, there is no evidence that the investigation into heresy in Cremona ever took place. This can be explained, in part, by the lack of a clear leader of the Catholic Church in Cremona at this time. After the death of bishop Omobono de Madalberti in 1248, there was a dispute over his successor. The Emperor favoured the former bishop's archdeacon, Giovanni de' Giroldi, while the Pope tried to have elected Bernerio Sommi, whose brother was the leader of the city's Guelf faction. The result was an acrimonious struggle which lasted long into the rule of Oberto Pelavicino. Actual power was held by the Ghibelline candidate, but he only presided over the see as archdeacon.⁵⁸ Although the Dominicans were present in Cremona, their devotion to the Papal cause would have made impossible cooperation between local spiritual and temporal authorities, and this was

an essential factor in any effective enquiry into heresy. A further reason for the difficulties encountered in making the assignment is given in the same letter from Innocent IV to Peter of Verona:

'... scire vos volumus, & aliis aperte predicere, quod si forte quod non credimus, aliqua Civitas, seu Communitas sive aliqui magnates, vel Nobiles, aut Potentes huic negotio se opponere seu illud presumpserint aliquatenus impedire, ut non possit per deputatos ad hoc a nobis procedi libere in eodem, immo nisi foverint illud, & iuverint studiose, Nos proculdubio ad comprimendam tam superbam & perniciosam audaciam, & omnimode confundendam, in illos gladium Ecclesiastice potestatis acriter extendemus, & Reges, & Principes, aliosque Christi fideles, sive pro Terre Sancte succursu, sive alias pro Christi servitio Crucis caractere insignitos, necnon & ceteros Catholicos invocabimus contra eos, ut & celum, & terra adversus detestabilem temeritatem ipsorum pariter moveantur.'⁵⁹

Innocent was afraid of obstacles to the mission. The most important amongst these was the podestà himself, Pelavicino. However, although there were enemies of the Inquisition, no one was actually accused of heresy, simply of being hostile to the investigation. Greater blame is, in fact, attributed to the dead Emperor:

'Olim enim, dum vivebat perfidus ille tyrannus, non potuit libere contra huiusmodi pestem, precipue in ipsa Italia, eo impediante, procedi, cum non impugnet, sed foveret pestem ipsam ...'

Taken as a whole, the bull is a cautious document. Innocent knew there was heresy in Cremona, but was either unaware of its nature or preferred to leave it unstated. He also realised that some elements in the city would oppose Peter's mission, but identified only Frederick by name. Ultimately, the whole initiative must be counted a failure. It is unlikely that an Inquisition took place. Even if one were carried out, there is still abundant evidence of Languedocian Cathars in Cremona two years later and Papal evidence identifies Oberto Pelavicino with the Southern French Cathars, although such evidence is inevitably partisan.

There is no direct evidence of native Italian Catharism in Piacenza in

the 1250s, despite the city's well established reputation as a centre for heresy. All we have to go on is the evidence of Salvo Burci and Raynerius Saccone from the previous two decades. However, on 9 December, 1260 Pope Alexander IV issued a bull which condemned all Pelavicino's possessions:

'... dicatur & intelleximus ... quod in pluribus Terris Lombardie sibi adherentibus, seu faventibus, publice manuteneret hereticos, errores, & hereses in populis seminantes, & ad ipsum heretici, tanquam ad defensorem, & receptatorem eorum de aliis Lombardie terris, & etiam de partibus Tolosanis atque Provincie confugiunt & in eo inveniunt refugium singulare, habeatque, ac retineat in sua familia quendam nomine Berengarium, qui fuit de heresi sententialiter condemnatus, ipsum sue potentie brachio protegens damnabiliter, & defendens, nec permisit, nec permittit, Inquisitores heretice pravitatis ab Apostolice Sede deputatos, in terris, in quibus plenum habet dominium, injunctum eis Inquisitionis officium exercere ...'¹⁶⁰

The bull does not mention any town or group by name and, again, it is not clear what type of heresy is being referred to. However, the mention of Provence and the Toulouse area would imply that the heresy being dealt with was Catharism. Several features correspond with the evidence of Peire de Beauvilla and others. The bull of 1251 made no mention of a French community, and, judging from Languedocian evidence it was quite small at that time. However, as shown above, the number of Languedocian Cathars within Oberto's territories greatly increased over the course of the decade and the Papacy appears to have been aware this.

The renewed interest in the area was part of a ceaseless struggle waged by Pope Alexander IV against Pelavicino. This culminated in the crusade against Pelavicino and his ally, Ezzelino da Romano, organised in 1255. The two signori emerged triumphant in January 1259 at the battle of Gambaro d'Oglio, in which the Papal legate was captured. The Papacy was then further embarrassed by an extraordinary switch of allegiance by Pelavicino, following a dispute between him and Ezzelino da Romana over the captured city of Brescia. The crusaders, notably Venice, allowed

Pelavicino to take the cross himself, and together they defeated Ezzelino. By the end of the year Alexander had withdrawn his legate, since it was obvious that the spiritual dimension to the campaign had been brought into disrepute.⁶¹

More specifically, in Cremona in 1260 the dispute over the bishopric flared up again. Bernerio Sommi had died and the new Papal nominee was Cacciaconte de' Cacciaconti. The chapter, commune and Pelavicino still supported Giovanni de' Girolodi. The dispute was settled the following year when Giovanni submitted and Cacciaconte became bishop, although he did not set foot in his diocese until 1284.⁶²

The Papal charges against Pelavicino in Alexander's bull were both detailed and serious. He was singled out as a defensorem of the heretics, both from Lombardy and Southern France. He was also accused of harbouring a condemned heretic in his household. The name of this heretic, Berengar, suggests that he was a native of either Provence or Languedoc. If Pelavicino were sympathetic to the Southern French Cathars, it would have provided a powerful motive for them to take refuge in his territories, rather than those of other anti-clerical regimes.

Unfortunately, there is little evidence other than that given above to shed light on Pelavicino's beliefs. The Franciscan chronicler, Salimbene, mentions that in 1259, a year of famine, he had gallows erected on the banks of the Po to discourage the Flagellants from visiting Cremona. This is inconclusive, however, since the religious hysteria caused by the Flagellants threatened public order and may well have provided the opportunity for a Guelf *coup d'état*. Pelavicino's measure had the support of his commune, according to Salimbene and the attitude of the podestà towards the Flagellants cannot really be used to show his view of the

Cathars.⁶³

The most useful evidence on Pelavicino is probably the bull issued by Alexander IV in December 1260, mentioned above. The Pope refrains from calling Pelavicino a believer (credens), but charges him only with being a receiver and defender of heretics. If the aim of the bull was merely to blacken Pelavicino's character, this is a curious omission, but if it were true, then Oberto's position was consistent with that of many Languedocian nobles who were favourably inclined towards heresy without being totally committed to it. In fact, similar allegations of receiving and protecting heretics were made in 1254 against Egidio, Count of Cortanuova and an ally of Pelavicino.⁶⁴

It has been assumed that the 'Berengar' referred to by Alexander's bull must have been a Cathar perfectus⁶⁵ and this has raised difficulties with identification, since there is no record of a Southern French perfectus by that name in Lombardy. However, the wording of the document is not precise. It possibly refers to the Cathar knight, Berengar de Jouarres, from Homps near Carcassonne, who was reported to the Inquisition in 1256 as having been in Cremona at some time between 1252 and 1255. It is also likely that a knight would have been more at home in Oberto's household than a perfectus. In short, it was quite possible that the Southern French Cathars had some contact with Oberto Pelavicino himself and had gained his protection. The Papacy undoubtedly made political capital from this, but the information may well have been genuine, enabling the Papacy to make more precise charges about Pelavicino's heretical sympathies as the 1250s wore on.⁶⁶

One other major noble in Italy may have come into contact with the Languedocian Cathars. Ezzelino da Romano dominated the Veneto politically

from 1237 to 1259. He was a Ghibelline and, according to allegations as early as 1246, his land was a refuge for heretics.⁶⁷ A crusade was launched against him in 1254 and apparently raised a degree of popular enthusiasm. However, the charges of heresy made against him were never as specific as those levelled against Pelavicino, and it may be that Ezzelino's 'heresy' was mainly his opposition to the Papacy.⁶⁸

Ezzelino's refusal to admit the Inquisition certainly protected Italian Cathars in their main area of strength in the Veneto and the March of Treviso.⁶⁹ He was also interested in Southern French culture and acted as patron to the troubadour Uc de Saint-Circ.⁷⁰ The evidence for Ezzelino's involvement with Languedocian Catharism is based on one incident, in 1258, when he enabled one Viviano Boglo, bishop of the heretics, to escape after his arrest in Vicenza by the archdeacon of Pavia.⁷¹ It is possible that the heretic could be the same as Vivien, Cathar bishop of Toulouse, who was active in Italy and was described by both Guilhem Fournier and Peire de Beauvilla.⁷² Even so, Ezzelino's interest in the case was almost certainly motivated by a wish to protect the rights of jurisdiction rather than support for the Cathars. There is little further evidence of Southern French Cathars in Vicenza.

The battle of Guelfs and Ghibellines throughout Italy was as important for the Southern French Cathars, as it was for their Italian counterparts, in creating regions where the Inquisition could not operate. In addition, the death of Frederick in 1250 allowed Ghibelline rulers more individual independence. Therefore it was possible that the Languedocian Cathars might have established a 'special relationship' with Oberto Pelavicino. However, the growth of the Southern French communities in Cuneo, Cremona and Piacenza was founded on good economic reasons and their earlier,

limited contacts with Italian Cathars. Those Languedocians who were seen in Lombardy did not necessarily live there and some returned to their families and neighbours quite often. For those that did live in Italy, the life there reflected what they had left: these were small groups from the same village or the same family. In the course of the 1260s, these settlements were to become more permanent.

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- 3) Doat, 25, 135r.-v.
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- 5) Doat, 25: 134v.-135r. Duvernoy, Histoire (II), 255, 270, 276. Mundy, Repression, 96.
- 6) Doat, 25: 153v.
- 7) Doat, 25: 210r.-211r.
- 8) Doat, 25: 208v.-209r.; 210v.-211r.
- 9) See below, Chapter 9, 285-6.
- 10) Haute Garonne, MS 124: 201r.
- 11) Doat, 26: 15r.
- 12) Doat, 25: 301v.-302r; 300r.
- 13) Haute Garonne, MS 124: 210r.-v.
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- 16) Peire Pons, Isarn Alegre may also be from Lavaur. Toulouse MS 609, fol. 235r.
- 17) R. S. Lopez, 'Back to Gold, 1252', Economic History Review, 2nd. series, vol. 9, (1956-7), 229-30.
- 18) Doat, 23: 214r.-v. and see Chapter 1, 43.
- 19) Ilarino di Milano, "Liber Supra Stella", 329-67.
- 20) Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 70-1..
- 21) Castignoli, 'Oberto Pelavicino', 279-81.
- 22) Racine, 'Le trasformazioni sociali', 196, 200.

- 23) Racine, 'Le trasformazioni sociali', 198.
- 24) Lopez, 'Back to Gold', 231.
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- 26) Doat, 25: 299r.-300r.
- 27) Doat, 25: 300r.
- 28) Doat, 25: 301v.
- 29) Doat, 25: 300v.
- 30) Doat, 25: 300v.; 301v.
- 31) Haute Garonne, MS 124: 201r.
- 32) Doat, 25: 301r.-v. Isarn de Rezis, Guilhem de Cordoa, B. testorem Pons Durand de Cailhavel and 'B', the nephew of P. Grivi, were the men from Fanjeaux; Stephan and B. Novell the uncle and nephew; and P. Galhard and his son P. from St. Martin de Landa were also in touch with Vivien.
- 33) Haute Garonne, MS 124: 20r. Berengar de Ioara was the knight from Homps, Arnaud Guilhem Peirer was accompanied by his wife Beatrice and Peire Raymond the son.
- 34) Doat, 26: 70v.-71r.
- 35) Doat, 25: 312v.-313r. Brothers of Stephan Donat may have been active in both Languedoc and Italy. An unnamed brother is recorded at Cremona in the early 1250s. Haute Garonne, MS 124: 201r.
- 36) Doat, 25: 312r.
- 37) Doat, 25: 314v. Avignonet; 25: 317r. Montgailhard.
- 38) Haute Garonne, MS 124: 201r., Peire de Belstar; 76v., Raymond de Manso. Toulouse, MS 609, 1-30 (passim).
- 39) Doat, 25: 322v.-323r.
- 40) Haute Garonne, MS 124: 210v.

'Item dixit quod vidit quendam iuvenem de Lantario, quo manet Tholose apud portam de Manabou, in Lombardia, apud Cremonam adorantem Mecer Vivent episcopum hereticorum Tholose et socium eius ... ipse testis misit per dictum iuvenem de Lantario duos pilleos de lino et unum de lana Guillelmo Fornerii patri ipsius testis apud Tholosam. Dixit etiam ipse testis dicti homini quod diceret patri ipius testis quod in Provincia invenisset ipsum testem.'

- 41) Doat, 25: 313r. Arnaud Praderii, Hugo dominici and the brothers Pons and Arnaud Aynard.
- 42) Doat, 25: 302r.
- 43) Doat, 25: 303r.
- 44) Doat, 25: 302r.-v.
- 45) Doat, 25: 304r.
- 46) Doat, 25: 302v.
- 47) Doat, 25: 322v.-323r.
- 'messenger of the heretics handed over 100 solidi of Toulouse or its value in Tournois money to Peire de Prato and Stephan Donat, heretics at Cremona in Lombardy, on behalf of Aladaix, sister of Bertrand de Rocovilla of Montgailhard so that they might save the money for Aladaix, who was proposing to come to the heretics there afterwards.'
- 48) Haute Garonne, MS 124: 201v. and see note [40] above.
- 49) Astegiano, vol. 1, 287-8, no. 619.
- 50) Astegiano, vol. 1, 290-1, no. 643.
- 51) Germain, 107-10.
- 52) U. Gualazzini, 'Aspetti giuridici della signoria di Uberto Pelavicino su Cremona', Archivio Storico di Lombardia, anno 83, serie 8, vol. 6, (1956), 22-3.
- 53) Gualazzini, 'Aspetti giuridici', 27.
- 54) Chronica Piacentinorum, 231-2.
- 55) B. Pullan, A History of Early Renaissance Italy, (London, 1973), 135.
- 56) Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 57-9. Dondaine's character sketch of Raynerius Saccone in his edition.
- 57) Ripoll, 192-3. There is some doubt whether Peter was being employed as an inquisitor or merely as a preacher and organiser of anti-heresy organisations. Dondaine, 'Saint Pierre Martyr', 97-8.
- 58) Astegiano, vol. 2, 172-4.
- 59) Astegiano, vol. 2, 193.
- 60) Ripoll, vol. 1, 400-1.
- 61) J. Larner, Italy in the Age of Dante and Petrarch, 1216-1380, (Harlow, 1980), 39-40. For the relationship between Ghibellinism and heresy,

see Dupré-Theseider, 'Gli Eretici nel Mondo Comunale Italiano', Mondo Cittadino, 421-2.

- 62) Astegiano, vol. 2, 172-4.
- 63) Salimbene, ed. Coulton, 191.
- 64) Ripoll, vol. 1, 242-3. In fact, in the bull Egidio's heretical sympathies are explicitly linked with his association with Oberto Pelavicino.
- 65) Schmidt, vol. 1, 171-2.
- 66) For other interpretations of Oberto Pelavicino's relationship with heretics, see G. Berti, 'Moti ereticali e Signoria Pelaviciana', Archivio Storico Lombardo, anno 83, serie 8, vol. 6, (1956), 47-52. Cirelli, 'Aspetti dell'Eresia a Cremona', 166-7. Manselli, 317. Borst, 126-7.
- 67) Allen, 73, 76. Waley, 160-1. N. Housley, The Italian Crusades, (Oxford, 1982), 167-9.
- 68) Housley, 54-5. Dupré-Theseider, 'Gli Eretici', 241-2.
- 69) Manselli, 316-7.
- 70) Ugolini, xxvi.
- 71) P. M. Campi, Dell'Historia Ecclesiastica di Piacenza, vol. 2 of 3, (Piacenza, 1651), 215.
- 'Viviano Boglo heretico, cui chiamavano Vescovo (forse perché capo fosse degli altri d'una tal setta, detta de' Patareni) ... se per aiuto de' suoi Patareni, e favore dell'iniquo Ezelino, non si fosse il malvagio con la fuga salvato.'
- 72) Manselli, 247, 251 and Duvernoy, Histoire (II), 185 give alternative ideas on the identity of Viviano Boglo, but their source was writing some hundred years after the event.

CHAPTER SIX THE SOUTHERN FRENCH CATHARS IN ITALY, 1260-70

As has been seen, the Southern French Cathars had first established themselves in a community at Cuneo, an Alpine transit town, in the 1240s. By the 1250s, Languedocian communities had also been established in the Lombard towns of Piacenza and Cremona. Two other important Southern French communities emerged in Pavia and Alessandria, and these will be considered below. There is also evidence of less substantial communities in Milan and Genoa. The Languedocian Cathars in Piacenza even sent an expedition to Apulia in 1264, to investigate the possibility of establishing a stronghold there. However, the expansion of Southern French Cathar communities in Italy in the middle years of the decade was due as much to the influx of heretics taking refuge from the Inquisition in their native land, as to the expansion of the existing Languedocian communities. The political standing of Oberto Pelavicino, their most important protector, deteriorated from 1264 onwards. His power had been badly eroded by 1266, at the time of Charles of Anjou's invasion of Apulia and Sicily, and he died three years later, in 1269. Attempts by the Languedocian Cathars to insure against this fragile safety came to nothing when their venture to Apulia was ended by King Manfred. Certainly, by the beginning of the 1270s, the fortress of Sirmione near Verona had been established as a refuge for both Southern French and Italian Cathars.

The major problem faced by the exiles at the end of the 1250s was the increasing difficulty of getting perfecti to dying believers in Languedoc, to administer the vital consolamentum. A witness at Auriac in the late 1250s made this complaint and the charge was repeated by others on several occasions.¹

Moreover, life in Italy was difficult for a group of people still committed to communities so far distant. The example of Arnaud Malhorgas, son of Peire de Beauvilla, quoted in the previous chapter cannot have been unique. Arnaud stayed in Piacenza for a year before absconding with his relative's working capital². This incident may have had some bearing on the problem which faced Stephan Donat in Piacenza. Giving evidence in May 1274, Peire Guilhem de Rocovilla recalled his journey to Piacenza during the pontificate of Urban IV (1261-64). Peire's uncle, Bego de Rocovilla, had died as a fugitive in Lombardy. However, he had left Peire's father, Bernard de Roch, 200 solidi Tholosani, and it was in order to reclaim this money that Peire travelled to see the perfectus Stephan Donat. However, Peire was visiting Piacenza on his way to Rome, to see 'Master Michael', cancellarium Curiae Romanae, and did not want to be burdened with the money at that point. He therefore revisited Piacenza on his return, in order to pick up the sum, which was presumably to be paid in cash.

According to Peire Guilhem, however, Stephan Donat claimed that he had heard a complaint about land which Bernard de Roch, Peire's uncle, had taken from Peire Donat, Stephan's brother. As a consequence:

'quia Ecclesia haereticorum intendebat ius in dicta terra ratione fratrissae ipsius Stephani, non erat voluntas ipsius Episcopi quod ipse Stephanus redderet ipsi testi praedictam peccuniam nisi pater ipsius testis quitaret praedictam terram.'³

Such authority could only be sustained in a community which was united. As it happened, Peire Guilhem had already left the heresy and made his peace with the Inquisition at Toulouse, from whom he had received special licence to go to Italy. As a perfectus, therefore, Stephan would have had every reason to feel uneasy. However, according to Peire de Beauvilla, Peire Guilhem and his friend talked the two perfecti, Stephan and Jean del Azeraul, into returning to Languedoc and surrendering themselves, since:

'quia bene invenirent gratiam cum inquisitoribus.'⁴

This incident not only reveals the difficulty of enforcing the authority of the Cathar bishop at such a distance, but also shows how the perfecti could lose the respect of believers by their involvement in petty financial disputes. Even such a devoted Cathar as Stephan Donat apparently felt that there was no point in continuing. Besides, Catholicism was not without its rewards: according to Peire de Beauvilla, Peire Guilhem's friend went on to become a priest at Trébons.⁵ The whole incident would undoubtedly have shocked the Cathar community at Piacenza.

Shortly after this, Peire de Beauvilla and his wife moved on to Pavia,⁶ although it is not certain whether this was connected with Stephan Donat's defection. Pavia was another town that had an increasing community of Southern French exiles. Peire himself had visited it as early as the late 1240s, and had seen there Raymond des Vaux and Guilhem de Suelh, both perfecti from Toulouse, together with some other perfecti, not known to Peire. He and another man adored the perfecti.⁷

Another insight into the Pavian community is given in Guilhem Fournier's description of how he and Bernard de Rocovilla were ordained perfecti by Raymond de Manso, Peytavinus and Peire de Belstar in 1252. Guilhem arrived in Pavia with five others and they stayed in the house of Raymond Mercier of Montmaur, a Cathar deacon of Toulouse. The number of perfecti and the fact that the group were able to stay in Raymond Mercier's house suggests there was a permanent community of Languedocians in Pavia. However, from the group, only Guilhem chose to remain in Pavia and he, too, soon left for Cremona.⁸

It is not surprising that the Languedocian Cathars turned to Pavia. The city was as well known abroad as either Piacenza or Cremona, since it

was on the trading routes west from the Po valley. Pavia lies in the Genesese hinterland, and the town had strong links with Genoa: one of its main concern was the preservation of the road south to the port. Like Cremona and Piacenza, Pavia was heavily involved in the production of cloth, both wool and cotton,⁹ and especially fustian.¹⁰ Through this trade there were also links between Pavia and Montpellier.¹¹ Again, like Piacenza and Cremona, the money-changers and their financial expertise were also important.¹² Pavia was also politically attractive to the Cathars. It had a long Ghibelline tradition and was under the domination of Oberto Pelavicino from 1254 to 1268.¹³ Such was the strength of the Ghibelline feeling that even the victories of Charles of Anjou did not sway the city.¹⁴

The Cathar community in Pavia in the early 1260s, as recalled by Peire de Beauvilla, had strong links with that of Piacenza; the towns are, after all, less than 50 miles apart. Many of the exiles in Pavia originally came from Fanjeaux, notably the Oliba brothers. Peire Oliba rented a house and lived with his wife and his brother, Bertrand, a perfectus. Also in Pavia was Philippus Cathalanus, deacon of the heretics in Catalonia, whose brother Furnier (here called Ferrarius), was staying with a Languedocian in Piacenza as a servant. Philippus' associate, Bernard Barba, was also from Fanjeaux, as presumably was one Guilhem de Fanjeaux, whom Peire de Beauvilla saw greeting the heretics.¹⁵ Other Cathars recalled by Peire de Beauvilla as living in Pavia at this time, but not originally from Fanjeaux, included Peire Bonum, who lived with the Oliba brothers and was companion to Bertrand. There were also two others from St. Paul Cap-de-Joux: Uz Bosquera, a perfectus associated with Peire Oliba and Peire Bonum, and the credens, Peire Escolani. Another important figure was Peire (later

Berengar) de Montégut, who rented a house and accommodated the perfecti B. Barba and Philippus Cathalanus. The community in Pavia had apparently given up attempting to send perfecti back to Languedoc, since none of these people were recorded in Southern France at this time.¹⁶

Pavia was one of the few refuges that remained safe in the upheavals following the defeat of the Ghibellines and, as a consequence, gained in importance. One other major Languedocian Cathar community emerged in the early 1260s and this was at Alessandria. The first reports about this community came from Raymond Baussan. Raymond was resident in Alessandria for seven years, from around 1264-65, and gave evidence in the summer of 1274. The community he described had only two perfecti, whom he claimed never to have seen, but there were several believers. The believers formed two distinct groups, based on their Languedocian provenance. One of these groups, which included Raymond himself, came from the area around Fanjeaux and Laurac, and was probably headed by the perfectus Raymond de Aspa from Lavaur. Members of this group were:

Aymeric Sirvent
 Petrona, his wife
 Guilhem Sedassers
 Guiraud den Arnauda
 Jean den Arnauda
 Thomasia, his wife
 Bernard Prim de Casali de Podio prope Gardam, near Laurac
 Guilhem Ferrand (from the Lauragais)
 Raymond Isarn of Saint Martin de Landa (also connected with the Lauragais)

The second group, headed by the perfectus Peire Gasc, came from the Sabarthès area, south west of Foix and comprised:

FROM SABARTHÈS

Arnaud Lombardi
 Sebilha, his wife
 Gualharda, her sister

FROM RABAT

Guilhem de Parelha
 Ermengarde, his wife
 Guilhem Corona
 Guilhema, his wife
 Peire, his son

In addition, there was Peire Massa de Monte Aurioli, Jean Guarriga, from the area around Rodez and Bernard Monerii, the brother of a perfectus, who had converted to Catholicism.¹⁷

Again, there is nothing in the evidence to suggest that these people engaged in Cathar activities in Southern France during their period in Italy. However, Raymond Baussan gives considerable information on how they earned their living. Four were described as weavers (Peire Massa, Bernard Prim, Gualharda, sister of Arnaud Lombard, and Ermengarde de Parelha). Guilhem de Parelha himself was described as a fossor, as was Raymond Isarn. The term Fossor could signify anything from a grave-digger to a miner. Finally, Arnaud Lombard and Guilhem Ferrand were each described as fenerator, or moneylender. The words used by Raymond to describe the Cathars' occupations are vague, and do not greatly help reveal either the scale of the enterprises with which they were involved, or the social position that the practitioners might have held. However, from comparison with Cathar occupations in other Italian cities, it is probable that they were small-scale affairs, similar to the weaving workshop in Cuneo or to Stephan Donat's banking and moneylending activities in Piacenza. As for the fossore^{since}, there is no evidence of any mining activity in the vicinity of Alessandria, it has to be assumed that these men were ordinary labourers.

At first sight, Alessandria was a strange choice of refuge for the heretics, since its sympathies had traditionally been Guelf from its foundation in 1168. However, Alessandria was situated on the main road from Genoa to Pavia, making it a natural stop on the route to the Po valley. Like the towns of the Po valley, it was also a centre of textile production.¹⁸ Moreover, the early evidence of Languedocian Cathars in

Alessandria coincides with the two periods when the city broke free of its support of the Guelf faction. During the 1240s, it supported Frederick II, albeit to varying degrees,¹⁹ then, in 1260, an alliance was formed between the exiled Ghibelline faction, the Lanzavecchi, and Oberto Pelavicino, against the Guelf Trotti and their ally, William, marquis of Montferrat. The Ghibellines captured the city and Pelavicino was installed as custos or military governor.²⁰ The Cathar communities in Cremona, Piacenza, and Alessandria were therefore ruled in the early 1260s by a lord who was probably sympathetic to them and, more importantly, eager to expand trade among the cities in his territory. As a consequence, the heretics appear at their most secure and prosperous during this period.

However, this security and prosperity was built on the unreliable foundation of Lombard politics and the desire to establish a permanent Cathar stronghold may lie behind the attempt to found a settlement in Apulia. This is the most distant Languedocian Cathar community on the Italian mainland for which we have evidence. The sole witness was Raymond Baussan, who has already been referred to in connection with the community at Alessandria.

Raymond's travels started in the early 1260s, when he followed Peire Jean of Garda (near Laurac) to Lombardy. It is possible that Peire Jean was acting as Raymond's banker, since the latter had entrusted 20 libras turonenses to him. When perfecti were captured at Garda, Peire Jean fled; Raymond pursued him and only caught up with him at Piacenza.²¹

Raymond Baussan's memory was very precise. He was able to describe the street [strata levata] in which Peire Jean rented a house and lived with two perfecti, one of whom was his father Guilhem. This eye for detail

makes his claim to have made the journey from Southern France some ten years before his deposition more credible, and dates it around 1264. It is interesting to note that he recalls visiting Peire de Beauvilla, Peire's wife and Stephan Donat,²² which would suggest that Peire de Beauvilla's memory is at fault when, in his evidence, he dates his own departure from Piacenza around 1261.²³

Raymond applied to Peire's father, Guilhem Jean, for the money owed to him. This implies that father and son worked as a partnership, with Guilhem controlling the purse strings. If so, this follows the same lines as the working relationship between Peire de Beauvilla and his cousin, Stephan Donat, the perfectus. Guilhem told Raymond Baussan that he was unable to repay the money at that moment, but would do so as soon as he was able.²⁴

For reasons that are not clear, Raymond Baussan spent just one week in Piacenza and then set off towards Apulia with Peire and Guilhem Jean, and one other. The witness recalls that he spent from Lent to August in a bastida called Garda Lombart. This is Guardia Lombardi, east of Naples, and less than 40 miles from Benevento. He stayed in the house of Pons Boerii, a perfectus, along with Pons' companion, Raymond de Andorra. The settlement was already established. Raymond recognised two knights there, but the most distinguished person present, either as a resident or a visitor, was Bishop Vivien of Toulouse. Vivien invited Raymond and his companions to hear him preach and Raymond recognised the two knights in the audience, but said that there had been many others present whom he did not know.²⁵

The circumstances surrounding the heretics' departure from Anulia are the most peculiar part of Raymond's story. He reported that they left

after an order came from Manfred, principe Apuliae, that all heretics should leave the bastida. This order had been prompted by the arrival of two men, Sicard Lunel and Peire Bertrand, at the court of Manfred with letters from 'the Inquisitor' and the king of Aragon, requesting the capture of the heretics. As a result, all the perfecti and their supporters had to return to Lombardy. Raymond went north to Alessandria, where he stayed for seven years.²⁶

Any explanation of this account must be largely hypothetical, yet there are some useful pieces of information within the evidence. If Raymond's claim that he met Peire de Beauvilla in Piacenza in 1264 is true, then Raymond's departure from Piacenza, with Peire and Guilhem Jean, must have roughly coincided with Peire de Beauvilla leaving the city. Oberto Pelavicino's downfall is generally accepted to have started with his expulsion from Milan by Filippo della Torre in the same year.²⁷ It may well be that some of the Languedocian community in Piacenza had already sensed danger and were looking for safety elsewhere. The venture to a remote bastida in a mountainous region would, therefore, seem to have been an attempt to recreate a religious centre, along the lines of Montségur. This would account for the presence in Apulia of bishop Vivien. Like many of the believers at Montségur, before its fall in 1244, Raymond Baussan had received teaching and instruction there from a perfectus; in Raymond's case, this was Pons Boerii.²⁸ It is also possible that there were already Languedocians serving in Manfred's armies, to provide supporters for the perfecti. The ruler of Apulia was not without friends in Southern France, among those who saw Charles of Anjou as a common enemy.²⁹ Indeed, Manfred's armies had already campaigned extensively in the Papal territories and Raymond Baussan was quick to point out the presence of two

knights at Guardia Lombardi.

Manfred may well, at first, have turned a blind eye to heretical activity in his territories. His alliance with Oberto Pelavicini, whom he appointed royal vicar in Lombardy soon after he had become king in 1258, may have further encouraged this tolerance, particularly with regard to the Southern French Cathars.³⁰ However, by August 1264, Manfred's position was precarious. Charles of Anjou was poised to conclude an agreement with the Papacy, prior to launching an invasion of Apulia, and Manfred could not afford to alienate such allies as James I, king of Aragon, hero of the Reconquista, nor to expose himself to the widespread condemnation which was reserved for a known protector of heretics.³¹

Just before the battle of Benevento, in February 1266, Pope Clement IV issued a bull associating Manfred with Oberto Pelavicino and accusing them both of heresy. In particular, the bull states that:

'... tandem nobis ac nostris fratribus extitit manifestum dictum M. [Manfred] in novam contumaciam incidisse ...'³²

Manfred need not have been a full supporter to show a sympathetic interest, as was often the case amongst the nobility. His order bids the heretics leave, whereas the letters he received requested the capture of the heretics.

The emissaries sent to deliver the letters from the king of Aragon and 'the Inquisitor' were well qualified to persuade Manfred of his error. Both men had Southern French names and Sicard Lunel was a former Cathar perfectus in the Albigeois, who converted between 1242 and 1244; he may have been the same man as the poet, Sicard de Figueras. Sicard acted as an agent of the Inquisition of Toulouse until 1284.³³

The community at Guardia Lombardi, although their connections with Languedoc were tenuous, contained those from Toulouse and the country around it. Vivien was bishop of the city and the knight Guiraud Unaud, was the son of the lord of nearby Lanta.³⁴ Guilhem Terreni was from Roquevidal, another nearby village³⁵ and he was probably related to one Raymunda Terreni, who worked as a maid for a lady in Toulouse.³⁶ The much-travelled perfectus Pons Boerii was described as from Sancto Romano in the diocese of Toulouse. The origins of the others are not mentioned, except for Raymond de Andorra, from the Pyrenees³⁷ and Raymond Baussan himself, who claimed to be from Garda, near Laurac, but to have been brought up in a convent in Sorrèze.³⁸

It is likely that the group originally formed in Piacenza, since many of its members were based there in the late 1250s and early 1260s. Peire de Beauvilla reports the presence of Guiraud Unaud, Raymond Baussan and one Raymond Boerii, a perfectus from Andorta [probably Raymond de Andorra] in the town in the early 1260s.³⁹ The attempt to establish a settlement at Guardia Lombardi, therefore, shows a growing realisation by the Southern French Cathars of their vulnerability in North Italy. However, its failure demonstrated their inability to cope with the changing political climate in Italy as a whole.

It was Charles of Anjou's victory over Manfred at the battle of Benevento, in February 1266, that marks the point at which the Southern French Cathars' position in North Italy changed from that of stability and expansion, to disruption and persecution. The introduction of the Inquisition in the kingdom of Sicily, which followed Charles' triumph, made ventures such as that at Guardia Lombardi impossible. Even more disturbing were the political changes in north Italy in the following months.

It must be stressed that politics in north Italy in the thirteenth century were chronically unstable and that the situation which allowed Southern French Cathars to thrive in Lombardy between 1250 and 1266 was unusual. As early as the late 1250s, Charles of Anjou had started to extend his influence on both sides of the Alps. Having secured the allegiance of the Count of Ventimiglia for the lands up to the Col de Tende, in 1259 Charles became lord of Cuneo, Alba and Cherasco.⁴⁰ In 1266, Charles brought about the downfall of Manfred's ally, Oberto Pelavicino.

In Cremona, Pelavicino's rule was under pressure even before Charles' invasion. There were rumours of divisions between Pelavicino and Buoso da Dovara, when the latter was elected potestas et perpetuus dominus Universitatis mercatorum of Cremona in 1265.⁴¹ Pelavicino himself may have alienated military and commercial support by his break with the Torriani of Milan in the previous year. This had led to Pelavicino impounding all Milanese merchants with merchandise in Cremona, since he claimed that he had not been paid for his help against the Visconti.⁴² More humiliating was the way in which he was outmanoeuvred by Charles in his advance through Lombardy in the autumn of 1265. First Pelavicino's rule in Vercelli was toppled by a carefully orchestrated coup, enabling Charles to cross Lombardy. The expected confrontation outside Brescia failed to materialise,⁴³ bringing with it allegations that Charles had bribed Buoso da Dovara to retreat.⁴⁴

Oberto Pelavicino had been excommunicated in 1260, when he had driven out the bishop of Cremona, and he now found that many in the city felt that his defeat necessitated a reconciliation with the Pope. Pelavicino retreated to his fortress in the Apennines, trying to exert influence through Buoso da Dovara.⁴⁵ This worsened the position of the Cathar

community in Cremona, since one of Buoso's first acts was to make peace with Pope Clement IV and allow the Inquisition into the town in June 1266.⁴⁶ Clement also sent Bernard Castagnetto, canon of Orléans and Bartolomeo, abbot of San Theodoro di Treco, to help the Inquisition, restore ecclesiastical property and imprison manifest heretics, although an amnesty may have been offered to those who converted or returned to Catholicism.⁴⁷ However, even this policy could not save Buoso da Dovara's government and in the following year, the Guelf faction, led by Amantino degli Amati, took power; Buoso retreated to Piacenza.⁴⁸

The situation in Piacenza was even more confused. Oberto Pelavicino had ruled, in association with Ubertino Landi, from 1253, apart from a brief period between 1257 and 1261, when Albertino da Fontana had returned.⁴⁹ The city remained strongly Ghibelline. Ubertino Landi had two sons captured at Benevento,⁵⁰ and by the Spring of 1266 some of the nobles who had previously supported Pelavicino and Landi now turned against them.

Accepting the inevitable, Landi applied to Clement to send legates to the city. Landi and Pelavicino succeeded in putting down a revolt in June 1266 but despite this, were made to do public penance in September, after the arrival of the Papal legates. The legates were the same pair as had been assigned to Cremona and they arrived in Piacenza in July 1266. They finally expelled Pelavicino because the hostility between him and Buoso da Dovara had made the town ungovernable.⁵¹ However, this was followed by the expulsion of Albertino da Fontana, again by the legates, and finally by the emergence of Buoso da Dovara as rector of the city, with Landi's support. Further upheavals led to the legates themselves being driven from the city,⁵² and Piacenza pinning its hopes on Conradin, the young grandson of Frederick II, who was planning, from Germany, to reconquer the kingdom of

Sicily.

In the meantime a disaster had overtaken the heretics of both Piacenza and Cremona. At the instigation of some of the citizens of Piacenza and the newly installed consuls, the Papal legates said mass, over the relics of Saint Justina. The service was attended by no less than sixty nobles who swore perpetual peace among themselves:

'Et tunc predicti legati cum fratribus predicatoribus ad illud officium per summum pontificem deputatis multos hereticos in civitate Cremone et in civitate Placentie ceperunt et combuxerunt, et multos in Provinciam de lingua provinciali direxerunt vinculis alligatos.'⁵³

What happened to these individuals when they were returned to the Inquisition in Languedoc is not certain. This silence in the sources might indicate that there was no dramatic conclusion to the episode, such as would have been provided by a mass burning. It must be assumed that the victims performed whatever penances were imposed. These events show that the safety of the heretics relied on the presence and authority of Pelavicino himself, not merely on the cities' Ghibelline allegiance. Buoso da Dovara and Ubertino Landi made no effort to protect the Cathars, suggesting that Pelavicino's interest was as much personal as political.

In Pavia, the Cathars fared better for the time being. Although Pelavicino withdrew from the city, it remained Ghibelline and gave aid to Conradin in 1268.⁵⁴ Alessandria also remained comparatively quiet. After the withdrawal of Pelavicino's forces, his allies in the city, the Lanzavecchi, were obliged to readmit the exiled Pozzi party, but there was no violence. Alessandria eventually conferred hereditary lordship on Charles of Anjou in 1270.⁵⁵

Ironically, Charles of Anjou's invasion marks the entry of the

Southern French into Italian politics. Charles' campaign against Manfred was largely engineered by the newly elected Pope Clement IV. He had been born in Languedoc and, as Gui Fouçois, had served both Raymond VII and Alphonse of Poitiers in the County of Toulouse.⁵⁶ It was no coincidence that one of the two Papal legates sent to Lombardy, Bernard de Castegneto, was also Southern French. He was no doubt useful in tracking down his fellow-countrymen.⁵⁷ Similarly, the first podestà of Cremona to be created by Charles was Gualtero della Roza de Provincia.⁵⁸ Many of Charles' army were from Southern France: not only from his own county of Provence, but also from neighbouring Languedoc. Others among the numerous minor nobility of Languedoc also went on the campaign.⁵⁹ One witness was interrogated around 1274 about the departure of his lord, Pons Raymond, a knight of Bauteville. The witness replied that:

'se audivisse dici quod ivit in Apulia ad querendum filios suos qui erant cum Rege Karolo et quod obiit apud Lutheriam.'⁶⁰

Lucera was the Saracen colony founded by the Hohenstaufen and in early 1268, Charles had to put down a revolt there.⁶¹ In general, therefore, the effect of Charles' invasion and the extension of Papal authority in North Italy was detrimental to Catharism. The only mitigating factor for the Southern French was that it brought many of their compatriots into Italy and, as a consequence, provided the opportunity to go unnoticed in some cities.

In Cremona and Piacenza the exile communities were more or less destroyed by the invasion and subsequent enquiries by the Inquisition. Some individuals may have stayed a little longer. For example, in 1270, Guilhema, living in Toulouse, suspected her neighbour Fabrissa of being sympathetic to the heretics, since she often heard her:

'comendantem placentiam mulierem quamdam de Lombardia, quod bona mulier erat et fidelis et amica boni domini.'⁶²

It is not clear whether placentia is a name or an adjective; however, in either case, it would appear that the person referred to is a native Lombard. When the woman from Piacenza stayed with Fabrissa, the witness asked the Piacenzan:

'amica mea vos estis de Lombardia?'

She replied that she was. Guilhema then asked her if she knew Bartholomew Fogacers, who had fled to Lombardy, and she replied that she did. When Fabrissa was called upon to give her version of the conversation, she added the name of another fugitive, Aimengard de Prades. Fabrissa recalled that the Lombard woman had a husband, and that both the woman and her husband claimed to know the two fugitives, Bartholomew Fogacers and Aimengard de Prades. They added that there were many others from around Toulouse in Piacenza and, on another occasion, the Piacenzan woman added et in terra Regis Caruli.⁶³

The time of this meeting with the Piacenzan woman and her husband differs according to the two witnesses. Guilhema puts it in the previous year, during the wine harvest; however, Fabrissa dates it as some eighteen months before. If this was true, it would therefore appear that some Cathars were still in Piacenza, but another witness warned Fabrissa that she could not trust the Lombards.⁶⁴ However, in 1279 Peire de Beauvilla recalled that when he left Lombardy, Ferrarius Cathalanus was then staying as a servant to Peire Pictavini in Piacenza.⁶⁵ There is no further evidence of a Cathar community in Piacenza nor in the terra Regis Caruli after the *débâcle* at Guardia Lombardi.

The position in Pavia was largely unchanged by the upheaval, although

Peire de Beauvilla is our only witness for the period around 1266. He dates his reminiscences of Pavia after the invasion as 1269 and 1270 and his evidence is broadly confirmed by other witnesses recalling contemporary Pavia in the early 1270s. Peire states that Peire Oliba still rented a house with his wife Raymunda, and the perfecti Bernard Barba and Philip Catalanum were still in the city. The other important receiver of heretics, Peire or Berengar de Monte Acuto, was also still in Pavia, as was the believer Peire Escolani. However, there is no further evidence of Uz de Bosquera, the perfectus who also came from St. Paul-Cap-de-Joux.⁶⁶ The other witnesses who recall Pavia in the early 1270s, Raymond Baussan⁶⁷ and Guilhem Raffard,⁶⁸ between them confirm the above. Baussan also claims that Bertrand Oliba was still in the city. The Guilhem Belissen de Fanjeaux seen by Guilhem Raffard was probably the same person as Guilhem de Fanjeaux from the 1260s, although the perfectus Peire Bonum, who had been staying with Peire Oliba, is not mentioned. In fact, with the exception of two perfecti, the community of 1264 seems to have survived intact until the end of the decade. Moreover, Peire de Beauvilla states that one of the two perfecti he had originally seen in Pavia in the late 1240s, one Raymond des Vaux,⁶⁹ was with Philip Catalan and Bernard Barba in the house of Peire de Monte Acuto, where believers and perfecti ate together. Raymond had been at Cremona around 1255 and, although nothing is known about him in the intervening period, he had obviously escaped from Cremona.

In Pavia at this time, there was one other refugee from one of the Southern French Cathar communities that had been destroyed by recent political events: Mathieu de Cervena, or Puerio, who visited Peire de Beauvilla, with a companion.⁷⁰ Around the turn of the decade, Peire's relative from Avignonet, the perfectus Raymond Paperii also appeared in

Pavia,⁷¹ and Raymond Baussan reports the presence of Peire de Paholac, knight, scribe and moneylender, said to have been the lord of Paulhac in the diocese of Toulouse.⁷² Raymond also reports the presence of Arnaud Monerii, who had two brothers. One was then in Alessandria, and the other had been a perfectus, but had converted to Catholicism.⁷³ Both Raymond Baussan and Peire de Beauvilla mention that the veteran perfectus Pons Boerii was living with Peire de Beauvilla from 1269.⁷⁴

From the evidence of the Cathar community in Pavia at the end of the 1260s and early 1270s, it would appear that not all Southern French Cathars in Italy experienced hardship after the invasion of 1265. Both Peire de Beauvilla and Peire de Montégut provided accommodation and hospitality for the heretics, and the community still attracted such apparently wealthy men as Peire de Paholac, unable to remain in Languedoc. However, the Languedocian community in Pavia took little interest in Southern France itself. There is no evidence that any of the exiles returned to their homes, nor of the perfecti being sent to Languedoc.

The other haven for Languedocian Cathars in the late 1260s was Alessandria. As in Pavia, the Cathar community there came through the crisis intact. Of the group from Fanjeaux and Laurac there remained:

Aymeric Sirvent (but no word of Petrona, his wife)
 Guilhem Sedassers
 Jean den Arnauda (no mention of his relative Guiraud)
 Thomassa, his wife
 Guilhem Ferrand

Of the group from Sabarthès and Rabat, only two are not mentioned in later evidence: Guilhem de Parelha and his wife. Peire Massa de Monte Aurioli and Bernard Monerii, whose brother Arnaud, reached Pavia, are also mentioned in later evidence.⁷⁵ Most importantly, Peire Gasc, the perfectus from Sabarthès, of whom Raymond Baussan claimed to have heard, but never

seen, was present in the city in 1268. This is taken from Peire de Beauvilla's testimony, as is most of the evidence for Alessandria at this time.

Before 1270 there were surprisingly few new arrivals. Guirald Sedassers, brother of Guilhem, had settled in the city and there was also one Guilhem Cambiaire de Bodezio. The latter may have been related to Jean Cambiaire who was filius maior to the Cathar Bishop of Toulouse, and had been captured and burnt by the Count of Toulouse around 1233.⁷⁶

At first sight, the two 'new' perfecti recorded at Alessandria cast doubt on the reliability of Peire de Beauvilla's evidence. According to Pons Boerii, his companion, the perfectus Jean de Azeraul died at Pisa.⁷⁷ Since Pons himself died no later than the end of 1272, Jean was probably at Alessandria a little earlier than Peire's estimate of 1270. There are also difficulties over the movement of Pons Boerii. If Peire's dates are to be believed, Pons was simultaneously in Alessandria and Pavia, but this may indeed have been the case; the striking feature of the exiles' account of heresy in Alessandria is the lack of perfecti there. Only five perfecti are linked with the city between 1260 and 1270, and two of these were never actually seen by any of the witnesses. Peire Gasc was fairly constant, but it may well be that Pons Boerii and Jean de Azeraul serviced both this community, and others, while living in Pavia.

In short, the Alessandrian Cathar community did not expand much after the 1265 invasions. However, it did keep a high proportion of the original settlers, which would suggest that it was reasonably safe, although the shortage of perfecti shows an unwillingness to reside permanently in a city that supported the Guelfs. Evidence from Peire de Beauvilla, analysed at

greater length in the following chapter, suggests that the number of Southern French did increase in Alessandria around the turn of the decade.⁷⁸

Southern French Cathars are also found scattered in other cities in Italy. On his outward and return journeys to Piacenza in 1263, Peire Guilhem stayed with Pons Papier of Avignonet, who was living with his wife in Milan.⁷⁹ Pons, a Cathar supporter, had been living in Piacenza with his brother in the late 1250s.⁸⁰ Although he told Peire Guilhem that he had confessed and received penance from the Milanese Inquisition, he nevertheless helped Peire on his way, giving him a meal, a loan and some gifts.⁸¹ The accession of Filippo della Torre to power in Milan in 1263 and the subsequent desire for Papal recognition led to the expulsion of Oberto Pelavicino from this city. This also marked the end of any brief period of protection of heretics in Milan.⁸² The Inquisition had been present in Milan during the rule of Martino della Torre, although its effectiveness was reduced by the constant disputes between Guelfs and Ghibellines in the city.⁸³ Even so, it was a comparatively dangerous city for heretics, and there is no other record of Southern French Cathars in Milan at this time. Pons may well have moved there to be out of their way.

One of the most interesting heretical communities of this time was at Genoa, visited by Peire de Beauvilla around 1266, during his extensive travel on business in Lombardy. Peire came to the house of one Henricus de Mediolano and discovered four Languedocian perfecti, preaching and ministering to a group of Italian believers. The perfecti were:

Raymond des Vaux
Pons Boerii
Jean del Azeraul
Peire de Prato

and the Italian believers:

Bonella del Ase
 Jacobus de Martesiana
 Enrico de Mediolano
 his wife
 Giovanni, his son.⁸⁴

Both groups were rather mixed. Of the perfecti, Raymond des Vaux had been in Pavia as early as the 1240s, Cremona in the 1250s and returned to Pavia in the 1270s. Pons Boerii had been at the settlement at Guardia Lombardi, before teaming up with Jean del Azeraul. Jean del Azeraul had, in turn had been at Piacenza in the mid-1250s and Alessandria, with Pons, in the late 1260s. From this evidence it would appear that the perfecti visited Genoa, rather than living there. The believers were equally diverse: Bonella de Ase was from Florence, Iacobo de Martesiana from Cuneo and Enrico and his family were from Milan.

Despite its heterogeneous character, the community of Cathars showed considerable continuity. Five years later, Peire de Beauvilla visited Genoa again and found four believers in a cellar, rented by them, in the Piazza San Lorenzo: Bonetus de Cuni and Creiss, his brother, together with Peire and Jacobus de Martesiana. Peire joined the four men in adoring the perfecti Raymond des Vaux and Pons Boerii.⁸⁵ In the early 1270s Peire visited P. Pellicerii of Piacenza in his home at Genoa, where he found the perfecti Raymond des Vaux and Guilhem Audogni, and with them:

Iacobo de Martesiana
 Ric de Ribaura de Laseu
 Roger Argenti (iuvenem)
 Obert Castanh
 Ambrose Consar
 P. Pellicerii⁸⁶

With the exception of P. Pellicerii, Peire describes them all as from Milan. This is a rare example of an Italian and Languedocian heretical community and by far the best documented. Genoa's culture as a port and

its close trading links with the Lombard cities and Southern France were partly responsible. Even so, it was not the most hospitable city for the heretics. Although some encouragement may have been offered to the Cathars by the Papal interdict, laid on the city in 1262 for allying with the Byzantines,⁸⁷ the Dominicans had established themselves in force in 1268 at the church of Santi Giacomo e Filippo, just outside the city walls.⁸⁸

The answer may be that an Italian community of believers, for some reason left without perfecti, were willing to accept the ministrations of the Languedocian perfecti. One obvious area of contact between Languedocian and Italian Cathars, where such a contact might have been achieved, would have been on board Genoese ships, since Southern French Cathars often used the port. Peire de Beauvilla's ability to find the heretics in Genoa, even when they were in such concealed places as a cellar, suggests that he may have been involved in getting the perfecti to the Genoese believers. With the possible exception of Pons Boerii in the early 1270s, the Southern French perfecti were peripatetic and did not settle in Genoa.

Finally, there is some slight evidence that Pisa may have been used as a base for Southern French Cathars in the late 1260s. Pons Boerii told Peire de Beauvilla that he and Jean del Azeraul stayed there until Jean's death.⁸⁹ Pisa was a port with connections with Languedoc and it was a centre for Florentine heretics in exile.⁹⁰ It may be that there was a small Cathar community there. However, since Pons mentioned no believers and there is no evidence to corroborate his story, it seems more likely that the pair were hiding in the city and were not active there. Indeed, like Milan, Pisa might have been a place where Languedocians went to avoid

Cathars; the perfectus, Guilhem Fournier, went to Pisa for eight months after leaving the sect in 1255.⁹¹

The problem for the Languedocian Cathars at the end of the 1200s was that, while they were committed to providing pastoral care for the Languedoc, they found it increasingly difficult to live there and many of the perfecti were now tending communities of exiles in Lombardy. As a consequence, there are signs of complaints from supporters in Languedoc in the 1260s. The most important amongst these complaints were the times when perfecti could not be obtained to provide the consolamentum for dying believers;⁹² indeed, when the perfecti did then appear, they were often refused hospitality.⁹³ The problem was further exacerbated by the amount of money needed by the perfecti, in order to travel back to Lombardy. For this funding they relied heavily on donations from sympathetic believers. This could, on occasion, lead to spiritually unedifying scenes. One such occurred in 1268, when the perfectus Guilhem Raffard harangued Marquesia, a noble widow of Roquefort, for not providing him with money for his return journey.⁹⁴ Finally, the Inquisition was starting to build up its knowledge of the communities in exile and was even trying to penetrate them.

Amblard Vassal of Ruppe Arifat was visited by heretics whilst he had a fever, and was then arrested by the Inquisition, around 1266. The circumstances of the case are not clear, but the Inquisition took the prisoner to Lombardy. He was then released with a caution of 40 librae, on the condition that he should, in future, betray heretics to the Inquisition. According to Amblard, he then returned to Languedoc, but the scheme failed because the Cathars were too wary of him. After a few days he was summoned by Peire de Romegos, the leader of a group of faidit knights. With them was the perfectus Bernard Bordarias and his companion,

who had a deformed eye. Peire asked Amblard to return to Lombardy, offering to pay his expenses and lead him himself. Amblard was a great danger to them, since he had a licence from the Inquisition. However, he could not go through with the treachery. Afraid to return to the Inquisition, he fled to a remote part of the Albi diocese. Eventually, he resumed his contacts with perfecti.⁹⁵ By 1271, he had become an emissary for Aymeric de Colleto, the Cathar bishop of Albi in exile.⁹⁶

For those that genuinely wanted to continue in the Cathar faith, emigration was the best solution to these problems. By the emphasis placed on this by many Cathar supporters, it would appear that they no longer felt their spiritual needs could be satisfied in Languedoc. Two faidit knights, fed and accommodated by Petronilla, wife of Deodat de Bras in Villefranche, advised her to go with them to Lombardy.⁹⁷ Some made the journey as a permanent move and Petronilla received a cushion from Galhart Boneti, when he left the area for good.⁹⁸ Raymond de Monte Ciron emigrated around 1268, and was followed two years later by his father; however, his mother remained in Languedoc.⁹⁹ The elder man turned up as a perfectus in the Italian Cathar redoubt of Sirmione, in the early 1270s.¹⁰⁰

To aid emigration there was greater use of nuntii. Peire Maurel had already begun his career as a regular guide and messenger between Lombardy and Languedoc. He had relatives in Lombardy and friends in Languedoc, and his highly dangerous work was carried out in secret. His best documented activities took place in the 1270s, but he was certainly helping emigrants from the late 1260s onwards.

Emigration was a difficult and traumatic process. Guilhem Raffard said that, when he was about to emigrate, he preached to an audience which included his cousin, Bernard Vedel. Bernard approached Guilhem, promising

to emigrate with him and sealing his promise with a kiss. But Guilhem thought afterwards about Bernard's two young sons and, moved by them, was unwilling to encourage their father.¹⁰¹

There is some evidence to show what may have been behind Guilhem Raffard's fears. Petronilla, wife of Deodat de Bras, told how she had sheltered Guilhem on his own land near Albi. He was a faidit, who had fled from the Inquisition and was on the run. The Inquisition had already imprisoned his sister and her husband. The faidit had fled to Lombardy, but he said that:

'dictus Willelmus in Lombardia invenerat malam gentem et quod eum male receptaverant et quod ideo redierat.'¹⁰²

The most common problem for those wishing to emigrate was money. The payment required by the guide was considerable. Berengaria, a female believer from Sorèzes, promised Peire Maurel 10 librae tournois to take her daughter, Guiralda, to the heretics in Lombardy on his next journey.¹⁰³ Some could not raise the required amount. For example, the godmother of Petronilla in Villefranche said wistfully:

'si posset habere denarios quod fungeret se ire causa peregrinationis et ita affungeret ad bonos homines scilicet hereticos ad Lombardiam.'¹⁰⁴

Over the next decade the perfecti applied all their financial and organisational expertise to the problem, but failed to come up with a satisfactory solution.

By 1265 the 'discovery' of Italy by the Southern French reached its height and Charles of Anjou was able to lead a Southern French army through the peninsula, with the support of a Languedocian Pope. Yet this campaign and the subsequent battle of Benevento can, in retrospect, be seen as the beginning of the end of the Languedocian Cathars. While it was true that

Ghibelline sympathies in a town did not necessarily mean support for Catharism, it is certainly the case that the failure of the Ghibellines from 1265 directly affected the Languedocian Cathars.

The helplessness of the Southern French Cathars in the face of the crisis revealed how defenceless they were, despite their growing numbers and resources. The difference between them and other Southern French 'cultural exports', such as the troubadours, and indeed Charles of Anjou, was that their aim was not to capture Italy, but to maintain their links with Languedoc. Although pastoral care in Southern France declined, it never ceased, and there was in any case a growing network of family and village groups to care for in Italy. Against this there are the first signs of cooperation with native Italian heretics in Genoa.

REFERENCES

- 1) Doat, 25: 288r.-v. For other cases see Doat, 26: 43r and below 284.
- 2) Doat, 25: 302v.-3r.
- 3) Doat. 25: 131v.-132v.
 '... since the Church of the heretics intended to do right over the land because of the inheritance of Stephen's younger brother, it was not the bishop's wish that Stephan should hand over the aforesaid money to the witness until the witness' father Bernard vacated the aforesaid land.'
- 4) Doat, 25: 323r.-v.
 'since they might well find grace with the Inquisitors.'
- 5) Doat, 25: 323r.
- 6) Doat, 25: 303r.
- 7) Doat, 25: 330r.
- 8) Haute Garonne, MS 124: 201r.
- 9) Vaccari, 75-9.
- 10) M. F. Mazzaoui, The Italian Cotton Industry in the Later Middle Ages, 1110-1600, (Cambridge, 1981), 65.
- 11) Mazzaoui, Italian Cotton Industry, 11.
- 12) Vaccari, 77.
- 13) Larner, 39, 136.
- 14) Vaccari, 81-5.
- 15) Doat, 25: 303r.-304r.
- 16) Doat, 23: 94r.-96r.
- 17) Doat, 25: 143v.-144r.
- 18) CEHE, 166. Mazzaoui, 188, n. 9.
- 19) W. H. Butler, The Lombard Communes, (London, 1925), 285-6, 297-8.
- 20) Butler, 338-9.
- 21) Doat, 25: 140v.

- 22) Doat, 25: 141v. strata levata is probably a raised street, such as exists at Brisigella in Romagna.
- 23) Doat, 25: 302r., 303r.
- 24) Doat, 25: 140v.-141r.
- 25) Doat, 25: 142r.-143r. The other man who travelled with Raymond Baussan to Apulia was Guilhem Terreni of Roquevidal. The two knights at Guardia Lombardi were Guiraud Unaud and Mathaeu de Cervena.
- 26) Doat, 25: 143r. The order was that:
 'omnes haeretici recederent de dicta bastida, venerant enim tunc ad dictum Matfredum.'
- Raymond travelled with one Stephan Hovell of Saint Paul de Sacre Corps, who had also been at the bastida; Stephan with an otherwise unidentified Bernard stopped at Montem Cogosso.
- 27) Bosisio, 145-6.
- 28) Doat, 25: 142r. Dupré-Theseider, 'Le Catharisme Languedocien en Italie', 311-2. M. I. Finley, D. Mack Smith and C. Duggan, A History of Sicily, (London, 1986), 57.
- 29) E. Siberry, Criticism of Crusading, (Oxford, 1985), 183-4.
- 30) S. G. Runciman, The Sicilian Vespers, (Cambridge, 1958), 38.
- 31) Duvernoy, Histoire (II), 308.
- 32) Pope Clement IV, Registres, ed. E. Jordan, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 2nd series, (Paris, 1893-1945), no. 121, 373.
- 33) Duvernoy, Histoire (II), 301, 303, 108. If he was the poet, then it was a shrewd move to send him since Manfred and his father were patrons of writers in Provençal.
- 34) Doat, 24: 16r.-v. Peal, 'The Spread and Maintenance of Catharism', 156.
- 35) Doat, 25: 142r.
- 36) Doat, 25: 105v.-106r. Peal, 'The Spread and Maintenance of Catharism', 152.
- 37) Doat, 25: 142r. Raymond may have been a relative of Michael de Andorra, who received heretics in Castelverduin in the Sabarthes. Doat, 24: 255v.-256r. Peal, 'The Spread and Maintenance of Catharism', 183.
- 38) Doat, 25: 139v., 275v.-276r. Peal, 'The Spread and Maintenance of Catharism', 162.

- 39) Doat, 25: 301v.-303r. Haute Garonne, MS 124: 201v.
 40) Runciman, Sicilian Vespers, 75.
 41) Gualazzini, 'Aspetti giuridici', 26-7.
 42) A. Campo, Dell'Historia di Cremona, (Milan, 1645), 74.
 43) Runciman, Sicilian Vespers, 89.
 44) Dante, La Divina Commedia, Inferno, Canto 32, lines 112-17.
 45) M. Monteverdi, Storia di Cremona, (Cremona, 1970), 56-7.
 46) Astegiano, 337-8, no. 87.
 47) Campo, 74-5.
 48) Campo, 76-7.
 49) Castignoli, 'Oberto Pelavicino', 282-4.
 50) Castignoli, 'Oberto Pelavicino', 285.
 51) Chronica Piacentinorum, 227-31.
 52) Chronica Piacentinorum, 231-3.
 53) Chronica Piacentinorum, 235.

'Then the said legates with the Dominicans placed in that office by the Pope, captured and burnt many heretics in the city of Cremona and in the city of Piacenza and they sent many Provençal speakers, bound in chains, to "Provence".'

- 54) Runciman, Sicilian Vespers, 107.
 55) Butler, 338-9.
 56) Dossat, 'Gui Fouçois', 23-58.
 57) Chronica Piacentinorum, 228.
 58) Campo, 77.
 59) Housley, 154-6.
 60) Doat, 25: 195v.
 '... he had heard it said that he went to Apulia to seek his sons who were with King Charles and that he died at Lucera.'
 61) E. G. Léonard, Les Angevins de Naples, (Paris, 1964), 67-8.

- 62) Doat, 25: 39v.-40r.
 'praising a certain Piacenzan woman (or Placentia), a woman from Lombardy saying that she was a good woman and faithful and a friend of our lord.'
- 63) Doat, 25: 44v.-45v.
- 64) Doat, 25: 48v.
- 65) Doat, 25: 303v.
- 66) Doat, 25: 303r.-v. The only other evidence for Pavia c. 1266 is the friar Girard from Toulouse whom Guilhem de Moliers, a priest, met on the way to Rome between Lucca and Pistoia. The friar expressed a wish to go to the heretics at Pavia and was accompanied by two women.
Doat, 25: 2r.-4v.
- 67) Doat, 25: 144r.-145r.
- 68) Doat, 25: 16r.-v.
- 69) Doat, 25: 330r.
- 70) Doat, 25: 319v. Guilhem de Rovenato, about whom nothing further is known.
- 71) Doat, 25: 144r.-v.; 26: 16r.
- 72) Doat, 25: 144r. described as scriptorem feneratorum et factorem anharum. The meaning of the last term is not clear.
- 73) Doat, 25: 143v.
- 74) Doat, 25: 144r., 304v.-305r.
- 75) Doat, 25: 304r.-v., 330r.-v.
- 76) Doat, 22: 156r.-v., 226v.-227r.; 24: 43v.-44r., 75r.-77v. Duvernoy, Histoire (II), 272. Doat, 24: 46r.-v.
- 77) Doat, 25: 305r.-v.
- 78) Doat, 25: 330v. and see below, Chapter 7, 212.
- 79) Doat, 25: 133v.
- 80) Doat, 25: 303r.
- 81) Doat, 25: 133v.
- 82) Bosisio, 145-6.
- 83) Fumi, 53-63.

- 84) Doat, 25: 328v.-329r.
- 85) Doat, 25: 329r.-330r.
- 86) Doat, 25: 329r.-v.
- 87) Storia di Genova, a cura del'Istituto per la storia di Genova, vol. 3, (Milan, 1942), 111-13
- 88) Storia di Genova, 487.
- 89) Doat, 25: 305r.-v.
- 90) Duvernoy, Histoire (II), 179-80. Manselli, 321.
- 91) Haute Garonne, MS 124: 201r.
- 92) Doat, 26: 43r.
- 93) Doat, 26: 23v.-24r.
- 94) Doat, 26: 32r.-33r.
- 95) Doat, 25: 182v.-187r.
- 96) Doat, 25: 7r. and see Doat, 25: 150r.-v. for another case of wavering loyalties.
- 97) Doat, 25: 5r.-v.
- 98) Doat, 25: 8r.
- 99) Doat, 25: 76v.-77r.
- 100) Doat, 25: 145r.
- 101) Doat, 26: 22r.
- 102) Doat, 25: 4v.
 'had found evil people in Lombardy and that they had received him badly and so he had returned.'
- 103) Doat, 26: 25r.
- 104) Doat, 25: 7v.-8r.
 'if she were able to get the money she would like to go on pilgrimage and so would like to go to the good men, namely the heretics in Lombardy.'

CHAPTER SEVEN
THE ITALIAN AND SOUTHERN FRENCH CATHARS, 1270-80

On the day after the feast of Saint Bartholomew, 1274, Aldric the young son of Raymond Saixs de Caraman was brought before the Inquisitors Renous de Plassy and Pons de Parnac. His evidence tells the extraordinary tale of a journey through Italy, led by the Cathar nuntius Peire Maurel, before returning to Languedoc, and it is this journey that offers us a clear example of relations between Italian and Southern French Cathars in the later years of the thirteenth century.

The journey took place in the early 1270s. Shortly after Easter, Aldric and his father left Caraman and travelled to Saint Martin de Landa where they met Peire Maurel, Guilhem Boerii, also from Caraman, and Fabrissa, wife of Vassaronus de Cambiaco. All three are described by Aldric as fugitives on account of their heresy. Maurel then went to Limoux, where he met three women and another boy, who were to join the group. The party set out for Béziers, went on to Beaucaire and then to Cuneo. At Cuneo, according to Aldric's evidence, the fugitives stayed with a woman from the town; however, the group did contact one Peire Galhard, a brother of Peire Maurel. From Cuneo they went to Asti and then on to Alessandria, where they met another of Maurel's brothers, by the name of Bernard. Moving on, they reached Pavia, where they were again accommodated by a Lombard, Raymond Galterius. Guilhem Boerii, a weaver, chose to remain in the city.

Aldric breaks off to recall that the group had been to Manta, a village north of Cuneo, where they found two men from Limoux, one of whom was a weaver. Then the group moved on to Cremona and Milan, before returning to Cuneo and finally to Languedoc. Once back in Southern France,

they split up and Aldric and his father went to Sègreville, where they stayed with Raymond's father-in-law.¹

Aldric's account highlights the growth in relations between the Languedocians in exile and Italian heretics outside the port of Genoa. This was not a surprising development. The Languedocian settlements in Italy had been in existence for at least twenty five years by the 1270s, and some measure of cooperation with local Italian heretics was only to be expected. This cooperation would have been encouraged by the fragmentation of the Italian Cathars' organisation at this time, and by the decline in the numbers of perfecti returning to Languedoc.

The main Languedocian centres of settlement in Italy were founded in an arc which runs from west to east and passes through southern Lombardy. The oldest settlements were in Alpine towns such as Cuneo, and the latest ones around Lake Garda. There is little information about the heretical community in Cuneo during the 1250s and 1260s, but we know that a thriving Languedocian community existed there in 1274, when the town was visited by Raymond Baussan. As has been seen in the previous chapter, Raymond had patiently followed perfecti through several communities in exile. By 1274, however, he had gone to the Inquisition in Pavia. Within a matter of weeks he was in Cuneo, on his way back to Toulouse, bearing the letters and licence of the Inquisition. The community in Cuneo evidently knew nothing of this arrangement and Raymond mixed freely with them. He states that he saw five believers, including Jean Radulphi, a money-changer, and Guilhem [G.] de Saint Laurence, who were both from Lavaur.² There was another believer from Saint Félix and Raymond claimed that there were other from the Toulouse area. He does not enlarge on this, except to say that certain of the Fogacers brothers as present in the town.³ These may well be Arnaud

and Raymond Fogacers, whom another witness saw while visiting the town at some time between 1273 and early 1277.⁴

Peire de Beauvilla also visited Cuneo in 1276-7, on the way home to Languedoc. He stayed in Cuneo for five weeks, since he was weak and ill, but claims he saw no perfecti. He confirms much of Baussan's evidence with regard to believers from Toulouse, and adds others from further afield.⁵

Peire de Beauvilla's account indicates that Catharism was active in Cuneo and Bernard Oliba, as bishop of Toulouse, had just appointed a young man as his deacon. However, the position was precarious. Bernard and a small group of Cathars from Cuneo travelled to Genoa, to collect his newly appointed deacon. Bernard was forced to send back to Cuneo for one of the believers there, one Peire Regis a weaver, to come and rent a house in Genoa, together with his wife, so that Bernard Oliba and his group might have somewhere to stay;⁶ presumably this was because in Genoa they could find no-one who was prepared to offer the group accommodation.

There were three other perfecti in Cuneo whom Peire de Beauvilla had heard of, but never seen.⁷ Finally, Peire reminds the Inquisitors twice that the veteran heretic, Arnaud Guerrier, was living in Cuneo, although Peire had seen him in Pavia. Guerrier had escaped an Inquisition jail in Toulouse, some thirty years earlier.⁸

Cuneo was not a typical Languedocian settlement in Italy in the late thirteenth century. Its position as the entrance to Lombardy and its economic links with Provence ensured that it would almost always have some form of Southern French community, if only a transient one. This probability increased in the years after 1259, when it sought the protection of Charles of Anjou. The town therefore supported a Cathar community in the 1270s, even though it remained a Guelf stronghold. The

Inquisition visited Cuneo, but were organised from Pavia and appear to have taken no action. The Languedocians had become established in the town and in 1281 the consiliarii of Cuneo included Giovanni Tolosano and, in the following year, Pietro Tolosano and master Raimundo Tolosano.⁹ Belonging to the Languedocian community in Cuneo was no impediment to seeking civic office, and this suggests that the links with Languedoc were starting to weaken.

In the Lombard plain the period after 1270 saw a rapid decline in the fortunes of the Languedocian Cathars. In Alessandria, where the heretics had successfully survived the fall of Oberto Pelavicino, there was an initial increase in numbers. Peire de Beauvilla recalls that in 1268-9 there were three perfecti there and no less than fifteen believers, still mostly having their origins in the Fanjeaux-Laurac area and the Sabarthès.¹⁰ However, by the early 1270s this community had almost disappeared. Visitors to Alessandria were few and far-between. Aldric saw only Peire Maurel's brother, Bernard.¹¹ Bernard Escolani mentions that he saw Peire Marvada of Cahors in Alessandria between 1272 and 1275.¹² Moreover, many of those who were in the city in the late 1260s were to be found in Cuneo a few years later, including:

Jean Radulfi	Guilhem Gros
Peire Mulaterii	Peire Galhard
Arnaud Gros	

The reason for this sudden, but not untypical, flight lay in the political developments in Alessandria. The tense factional balance which followed the fall of the Pelavicino regime ended in 1270, when the city fell into the hands of Charles of Anjou. Charles ordered that podestàs should be elected from a list supplied by himself, thereby removing the main obstacle to the entry of the Inquisition into the city.¹³

In Pavia, the Languedocian Cathar community continued in relative stability throughout the early 1270s. Languedocians from the Fanjeaux region continued to predominate, while Peire de Beauvilla and Peire de Montegut offered shelter to heretics. The community may even have expanded in the early 1270s. Aldric and his companions were accommodated by a Lombard friend of Peire Maurel, and one of the party, a weaver from Caraman, considered the town sufficiently welcoming to remain there.¹⁴ He was probably influenced by the presence of a small group from Caraman already in the town, headed by the perfectus Raymond de Caraman. The group consisted of Raymond's wife, Raymunda, Bernard Sissa and Antignonia, his wife, a woman from the surrounding Lauragais.¹⁵ Peire de Beauvilla claims that one other perfectus and a believer, both from Sabarthès, were also there in 1270.¹⁶ However, the community had its crises, the most notable being the death of the respected perfectus Pons Boerii between 1272 and 1274.

The last years of Pons' life illustrate well the difficulties faced by the perfecti in this period. Pons was from Saint-Rome, in the diocese of Toulouse, but first appeared as a perfectus in Apulia, in the Languedocian settlement there around 1264.¹⁷ When the fugitives scattered, Pons went to Pisa with his companion Jean del Azeraul. This seems to have been a purely defensive move, since there is no record of any Languedocian Cathars in the city.¹⁸ Jean died in Pisa, and so Pons resumed his travels, moving to Genoa where he met one Peire Fazenda, a perfectus from Agenais and gathered an assortment of Italian and Languedocian supporters.¹⁹ What happened to Peire is not clear, but Pons moved on to Pavia, where he stayed with Peire de Beauvilla for the last three months of his life. He acquired a new companion in Guilhem Raffard, and also found time to instruct and fast with

Raymond Baussan,²⁰ and his death had a profound effect on his associates. From the evidence of Raffard and Baussan, Pons was a respected spiritual figure, yet much of his career was spent as a fugitive. He was rarely able to exercise his gifts openly, even in Italy, and much of his time was spent without a companion.

The date of Pons Boerii's death provides one of the few direct contradictions in the dates given by different witnesses. There are three accounts of the perfectus' death,²¹ but Christmas 1273 is the most likely date.

Raymond Baussan buried the body in the cellar of Raymond Paperii's house, with Paperii's help.²² Pons' death and burial was followed by some sort of crisis among the Southern French Cathars in Pavia. Guilhem Raffard left Pavia for Languedoc and shortly after Raymond Baussan departed for Sirmione. Peire de Beauvilla also decided to leave Pavia. The Inquisition were clearly interested in the Cathar community. Raymond Baussan left because he was sought by them and Peire de Beauvilla was actually brought before the podestà of the commune by frater Guillelmus Corrigia de Biga.²³ As early as the mid-1270s, Inquisition and commune in Pavia had established a close relationship. Indeed, the podestà is recorded as dining with the inquisitor, in the Inquisition account rolls in the 1290s.²⁴

Despite these losses, the Cathars in Pavia survived. When Peire de Beauvilla returned to the town in 1275-6, there were still perfecti and believers at his house.²⁵ The group from Caraman had suffered, however. Bernard Sissa was reported by Guilhem Raffard to have returned to Caraman. Bernard had once been a perfectus, but had forsaken his companion and returned to his home in Caraman, unable to endure the hardship of the life.

Far from being pleased to see him, his family had done their best to persuade him to return to Lombardy. They even offered him three silver marks, to be brought to him in Pavia. Peire Maurel delivered one mark, but there was no sign of the remainder. It was to collect the rest of the money that Bernard had returned to Languedoc. In the meantime his wife, Antigonía, had died in Pavia, having been consoled on her deathbed.²⁶

A third group of Cathars in Pavia was also in crisis. Bernard Escolani was taken by his father to see two perfecti who were in prison. No further details are known about this, and the perfecti are otherwise unknown.²⁷

By the mid-1270s, therefore, it would appear that the Languedocian community was surviving in Pavia with difficulty. The town was no longer as safe as it had been previously, mainly as a result of the withdrawal of Ghibelline protection, which allowed the Inquisition to gain a foothold. The town reportedly had a hatred of Provençals, dating from the Battle of Tagliacozzo.²⁸

The late thirteenth century also saw the development of Southern French Cathar communities in north east Italy, such as those at Verona and Sirmione, a fortified town on the shores of Lake Garda. This was an area of traditional strength for Italian Catharism and there does seem to have been a limited amount of cooperation there between the Italian and Languedocian Cathars, many of whom would have spent up to twenty years in north Italy. Even so, in their testimonies, witnesses from Languedoc refer mainly to their fellow-countrymen.

The atmosphere of the community at Sirmione was very different from those described in other Italian towns. The Languedocians came to the town late on, and the earliest account comes from Guilhem Raffard, who arrived

in Sirmione in 1271 or 1272. The most senior Languedocian perfectus Guilhem found there was Bernard Oliba. Bernard was not a permanent resident in Sirmione, however, and there are still many references to him in Pavia at this time. In Sirmione, as in Pavia, accommodation would probably have been provided by his family, since his brother Pons was also in the town. According to Guilhem, there were just three other Languedocians in Sirmione: Guilhem Bonet from Mirepoix, Bernard de Scopont, a survivor from Montségur and Guiraud Unaud, who had been at Guardia Lombardi²⁹.

Unlike other Southern French Cathar communities in Italy up to this point, there do not appear to have been specific geographical groups in Sirmione, except for a vague predominance of those from the Lauragais. By the time Raymond Baussan arrived in Sirmione, in early 1274, the Languedocian group was larger. There were also a great number of perfecti, which, again, does not fit in with earlier patterns of Southern French settlement. Baussan reels off a list of nine Languedocians, whom he claims were all perfecti. Of this list, three had been named earlier by Peire de Beauvilla:

Guilraud Unaud
Bernard de Scopont
Bernard Oliba

According to Baussan, these had been joined by six others.³⁰ The final witness at Sirmione is Bernard Escolani, who left his father in Pavia and arrived in the town in 1275 or 1276. As well as the Oliba brothers and Arnaud de Couisano, Bernard claims to have seen the following perfecti:

Bernard Barba, who had apparently left Pavia
Raymond des Vaux, previously in Genoa and Pavia
Bernard Prim

Escolani also claims to have seen the brothers Guilhem and Bernard de Puy, and Arnaud, the godfather of the Fogacers, who were all believers.³¹

The city of Verona is about 30 kilometres from Sirmione and there were close links between the heretics in both places. Guilhem Raffard reports the presence of Guilhem Prunel at Verona. Bernard Escolani mentioned two of the Fogacers brothers at Verona and Raymond Baussan identified these as Bartholomew and Pons.³²

Sirmione was a cosmopolitan Cathar community. Guilhem Raffard claims that he had been consoled by three bishops: Bernard Oliba, Guillaume Pierre, bishop of the heretics of France and Henricus, or Andricus de Rues, bishop of the heretics of Lombardy and Bernard Escolani referred to 'many other heretics of Lombardy staying there'.³³

This account is important for a number of reasons. It shows that Cathars from Languedoc were interested in their co-religionists from northern France and Italy, as and when they met them, although the implication is that this did not occur often. The consolation of Guilhem Raffard is the first evidence, since the mission of Nicetas, that Languedocian and Italian Cathars could act in the manner of a universal church and consideration must be given to the background to this apparent 'reunification'.

The Cathar church of France had effectively been destroyed in the 1230s by the relentless cruelty of the Inquisitor Robert le Bougre. At Mont-Aime, one hundred and eighty three heretics were burnt. From the chronicle accounts, the organisation and theology of the northern French sect were becoming confused.³⁴ However, by the time Raynerius Saccone wrote in 1250, there was a French church in exile, based in Verona. Raynerius claims that this church agreed with that of Bagnolo; the church

of France must therefore have reverted to moderate dualism since the time of Nicetas' mission.³⁵

Nothing is known of the previous history of Guillaume Pierre, bishop of the church of France, but it is possible that Henricus, described as the bishop of the heretics of Lombardy was the same as the Henricus de Arusio, referred to by Anselm of Alessandria as having taken over the church of Albanenses after the death of the bishop and the conversion to Catholicism of his filius maior.³⁶ This would imply either a reunification with the moderate dualists or alternatively the collapse of native Italian Catharism by the early 1270s.

The impression given by the varying accounts of the heretic community at Sirmione is one of confusion more than a 'reunification' of the Cathar churches. Indeed, Guilhem Raffard's description of being consoled by the absentee bishops of Toulouse and France, together with the bishop of Lombardy has an air of unreality.³⁷

Sirmione developed comparatively late on, and the community there is best seen as an episode in the long tradition of Veronese heresy. Fishing supported the fortified town, which was almost impregnable, situated as it is at the end of a peninsula on Lake Garda. Sirmione had a long tradition of Ghibelline sympathy, although much of the land was owned by the ancient monastery of San Salvatore and San Giulia. Nearby was Desenzano, the original home of the Albanenses. The town probably became a Cathar refuge in the early 1270s, following the publication of anti-heresy laws by Mastino della Scala of Verona, around 1270.³⁸

Verona too had previously followed a Ghibelline policy. Ezzelino da Romano had been succeeded as podestà del popolo in 1259, by his nominee, Mastino della Scala, who became capitano del popolo in 1262. There was

little scope for inquisition activity, until in 1267, following support for the luckless Conradin, the city was placed under interdict. By 1270, in the midst of an inconclusive war against Mantua, Ferrara and Padua, Mastino attempted to get the interdict lifted and issued anti-heresy laws based on those of Innocent IV and Frederick II. These were enforced and heretics fled to surrounding towns. In 1273 the podestà and the Franciscan inquisitor, Fra Timidio, sent a messenger to L'azise, another town on the shores of Lake Garda. They demanded that the town hand over the heretic Perrum patarinum to the podestà of Verona, on pain of a fine of 50 librae. However, the tone of the Veronese missive provoked resentment and the rulers of L'azise released the heretic.³⁹

Mastino set about planning a more substantial campaign against heresy, partly in order to reassert his authority over the region and partly to win the approval of the Pope. According to the de Romano chronicle, on Thursday 12 November 1276, Fra Timidio, now bishop of Verona, set out for Sirmione. He was accompanied by Pinamonte Bonacolsi, lord of Mantua, his son and inquisitor, Fra Filippo, and Alberto della Scala, Mastino's brother. In Sirmione they are reported to have captured one hundred and sixty-six heretics of both sexes.⁴⁰ The heretics were taken back to Verona, where they were not executed, but incarcerated for just over a year. In October 1277 Mastino was murdered and in February of the following year, his successor Alberto had the heretics burnt in the Arena at Verona, under the supervision of Fra Filippo. De Romano puts the number at circa ducentos Patarenos, so there may have been subsequent captures since the campaign.⁴¹ In October 1278 Pope Nicholas III lifted the interdict on the city.⁴²

As well as a long association with heresy, economically and

politically, Verona was well suited for the establishment of a Southern French Cathar community. Although relatively small, the city was already well-known for its cloth production, particularly wool and cotton and there was also an important leather industry situated there.⁴³ In the later thirteenth century there was a significant population shortage. In 1277, anyone settling in the district ruled by the commune of Verona was given 15 years of immunity from all taxes and services.⁴⁴

By the time of this statute, there was already an established Southern French community in the area. In the 1250s there were several moderately important figures in Veronese life from Southern France. The source is a list of residents approving the alliance of Ezzelino da Romano and Oberto Pelavicino in 1254. These documents included six people with the surnames de Provenza or Provenzalus and three with the name of de Marsilio or de Marsiliis. In one case, a weaver is recorded as having the distinctively Provençal name of Berengaria.⁴⁵ As has been seen, there were also Languedocian Cathars in the town by 1270.⁴⁶ There were probably still Southern French in the city after 1278, when the late Vitalis Prohvenzalis is mentioned as having held land next to the Convent of Santa Maria in 1289.⁴⁷

The fate of the Southern French heretics is obscure. Although a large number of heretics were eventually burnt in 1278, unlike the mass capture of Cathars at Cremona and Piacenza, there was no mention of any Languedocians among them. Some of the Southern French Cathars obviously left the castle before the Scaligeri attack, such as the three witnesses from the Doat Manuscript, but the rest may well have been captured.

In 1279, Pope Nicholas III received a request from two Languedocian

inquisitors. They requested the transfer to Southern France of a group of Languedocian heretics, who had recently been captured and imprisoned in the diocese of Verona. This message was duly passed onto the inquisitor in the Trevisan March. One of the heretics in the group requested by the inquisitors, was a bishop of the heretics. By this stage, the only remaining Languedocian Cathar bishop was of Toulouse, namely Bernard Oliba.⁴⁸

This document marks the end of the attempt to build up an organisation there. Languedocian Inquisition interrogations from the 1280s rarely mention Lombardy and although there are scattered references to Languedocians in the Italian Inquisition account rolls, these are more likely last remnants of a past movement than evidence of a living community.⁴⁹

The Languedocian Cathars in Italy faced several specific difficulties, which led to the sect's decline. The chief among these has already been mentioned: the heretics' reliance on close family and community links, when they were living far from their homes and villages. The problem worsened as the Southern French *emigrés* were driven further east; Sirmione is some seven hundred and fifty kilometres from Toulouse, on the other side of the Alps.

A severe blow to communications came in 1274, with the capture of Peire Maurel. The office of nuntius is occasionally referred to in accounts of the early Cathar church.⁵⁰ They acted as intermediaries between perfecti and believers, arranging for perfecti to be brought to the dying, for their accommodation and occasionally organising their financial support. However, Peire Maurel made the office his own and he regularly

led believers to and from Lombardy. The importance of his network of relatives was shown in Aldric's account of his expedition to Italy, and he also had a similar network of contacts in Languedoc, such as the rector of the leper colony in Laurac.⁵¹

Equally important was the financial role of the nuntius. Peire Maurel was paid for leading believers, but he also brought money from relatives in Languedoc to the exiles, and carried loans from the community in Lombardy for potential emigrants.⁵² Peire was a knowledgeable and articulate perfectus in his own right. His importance was such that the Southern French heretics consulted a soothsayer when he was captured, to see if Peire would tell all to the inquisitors; the soothsayer told them not to worry.⁵³ Maurel somehow managed to escape from prison and was seen in Genoa in 1276-77, and resumed life as a perfectus, but nothing more is heard about him. No-one took his place.⁵⁴

The ^{decline of the 'nuntius'} left a gap in communications which was never filled and this, and the increasing impact of the Inquisition, meant that the Languedocian community in north Italy became increasingly isolated. Many of its members seem to have become so demoralised and homesick that they returned to Languedoc, which was by now no more dangerous than many of the Italian cities in which they lived. The best documented case was that of Peire de Beauvilla. In 1277 he returned to Languedoc, travelling overland via Cuneo and Avignon, before reaching Avignonet. He supported himself by peddling. The reasons for his return were never spelt out, but he had been seriously ill twice in the previous three years, once to the point of death, when he had been consoled. On recovery, he discarded the lifestyle of the perfectus. Moreover, he had been summoned by the Inquisition in 1275, following the death of Pons Boerii.

However, these reasons may have been less powerful than the pull of family and community which dominated the Languedocian Cathars. On his arrival in Avignonet, Peire went first to the house of his cousin Guilhema. She led him to the house of his daughter, Ermengarde, who:

'quae recepit eum cum gaudio, et timore, et amplexata, et osculata fuit eum sicut patrem suum.⁵⁵

The next day Peire's grand-daughter visited. She too, was afraid and Peire had to comfort her. She was followed by Aurenca, the daughter of his cousin, Guilhema, who apologised for not receiving him better earlier: she claimed that they had not known who he was. Her mother was with her, also a believer, and Guilhema asked after her uncles in Lombardy. In this episode, Peire very vividly describes the tension between fear and family responsibility.

Since Peire's departure from Languedoc, Ermengarde had married a man whom Peire knew only as Paul. He was also afraid and asked the old man if he was a haereticus. Peire answered yes, but that Paul should not worry. Peire wanted to see his sons, to arrange to stay among friends.⁵⁶ This may mean that he wished to resume his life as a perfectus, sheltered by family and sympathisers. However, Peire never got the chance to settle in Avignonet. A meeting was arranged with his sons and with his brother, but before it could take place he was arrested in the house of Paul and his daughter, Ermengarde.⁵⁷ Paul would seem the most likely person to have betrayed Peire to the Inquisition. He did not know Peire and had by far the most to lose by his presence. Peire undermined his authority as head of the family and, were he to be captured, the family property would be forfeit. Paul clearly exemplified the problems faced by the returning Cathars. When they were unable to initiate people into their beliefs at an

early age, the perfecti were denied the unquestioning charity they had received from past generations.

There were others who told similar stories. Guilhem Raffard, a perfectus, left Pavia immediately after the death of Pons Boerii. He travelled on horseback, accompanied by some merchants, going first to Genoa and then making his way to his sister's house in Preixan, near Carcassonne. He was more successful than Peire, mainly because of his brother Raymond, who lived in Roquefort and both offered him refuge, as well as arranging for others to accommodate him. Even so, Guilhem left the area and wandered the county of Toulouse as a beggar, to avoid detection. Finally, a poor woman put him up for around two years until his capture.⁵⁸ Raffard himself tells the story referred to above of Bernard Sissa, a perfectus, who had been bribed by his family to return to Lombardy.

These accounts illustrate just how effective the Inquisition had become at undermining the structure of Languedocian society. However, there were still some who wanted to flee to Lombardy. In the early 1270s there are many references to those making the journey from Southern France to Italy. Peire Maurel was obviously crucial in arranging this movement between the two areas and there are few cases of attempted emigration after his capture in 1274, although it was still sometimes discussed.⁵⁹

The journey was still expensive. A smith who wanted to emigrate around 1272 had to sell his forge and was still trying to collect his money.⁶⁰ There were also risks, and a witness recalls being told by a weaver from Saint Félix of how a woman set out for Lombardy with her son, but was forced to turn back when her son was captured. However, the widow had the money prepared for another attempt, if she could find company she could trust.⁶¹ The cry for good company was echoed by the weaver

himself.⁶² Another man set out with an English woman, but they were both robbed of all their money and clothes on the journey, whilst staying at a house. The man said he himself had only escaped through force.⁶³

Languedocian Cathars faced further problems on arrival in Italy. There was growing dislike of the French in Italy, and in particular of the Southern French, the 'Provençals'. The reasons for this dislike may have been rooted in France. To begin with, there was substantial Italian investment in France with which the French government had started to interfere. Having already caused considerable financial hardship to Italian banks through the collapse of the Crusade in 1250, in 1268 Louis IX expelled all Lombard moneylenders from France. This arbitrary expulsion, seizure of goods and the levying of huge fees for readmittance continued under Philip III and IV.⁶⁴ In the late thirteenth century there was a considerable Italian presence in France, not least in the South. The reaction of the Italian community in Narbonne, when faced with Saint Louis' attack, was to protest that many of them had been in the city for twenty five years or more, and had married locally. There were Italian schools at Avignon and Montpellier.⁶⁵ The latter was disrupted when Philip III unexpectedly and abruptly restricted Italian trade to Nîmes and Aigues-Mortes. This affected traders from all over Italy and brought to an end the Italian community in Montpellier until the end of the century.⁶⁶

The vicissitudes of the papacy created further friction between French and Italians. The French influence on the Papacy had been growing since Innocent IV's stay in Lyons in 1245 and reached new levels in 1265 with the election of Pope Clement IV,⁶⁷ and with the invasion of Italy by Charles of Anjou in 1265. In return, the Venaissin, once part of the county of Provence, was ceded to the Papacy in 1273-4. There was growing

resentment at the power of Charles of Anjou and his servants; those offended did not draw the distinction between Provençals and Languedocians. Moreover, there was a growing military presence of Southern French in the 'tallia' armies used by Charles and his allies from the 1280s on.⁶⁸

However the strongest source of tension between Italians and French in this period was the appointment of officials by Charles of Anjou to administer his Italian possessions and this led to violence in Pavia in 1271. The Pavians hated the French, Provençals and Picards and the town had supported Frederick II and Conradin. In April 1271, a group of townsmen attacked a group of Galli, who were making their way back from the Roman curia and ended by storming the Dominican convent since they claimed that the friars had accommodated Frenchmen. Ironically, there were no French in the building at the time.⁶⁹ Even though the heretics of Languedoc were no friends of Charles of Anjou, they must have felt insecure during these disturbances.

After the fall of Sirmione, however, the main centre of Cathar activity shifted back to Languedoc, although some exiled Cathars remained in Italy. Such information as we have about the heresy in the late thirteenth century comes mainly from activity in Southern France. Guilhem Prunel was active in Carcassonne around 1280.⁷⁰ He had been in Verona in the mid-1270s, although before that he was in Languedoc and had organised believers and perfecti alike in the country around Lavaur. He expressed a wish to leave for Lombardy in 1273 and seems to have done so soon after.⁷¹ However, he reappeared in Languedoc around 1280 with an unknown perfectus.⁷² Shortly afterwards he was active in the diocese of Albi, with Peire de Graissenx as his companion. The two perfecti were supported by their families, who lived in St. Paul Cap-de-Joux, and frequently travelled

by river. In 1285, the Inquisition was in close pursuit of them, picking up a witness who had seen them only three weeks before.⁷³

There were others still in Languedoc in the late thirteenth century, who had previously been in Lombardy. Guilhem Dayros and Peire Bosqueria returned from Lombardy in the early 1270s and were active in Languedoc until at least 1275.⁷⁴ Guilhem Pages operated around Carcassonne until 1285.⁷⁵ In 1285 Bernard de Lagarriga, who again had been in Lombardy, could claim to have been filius maior of the church of Albi.⁷⁶

Difficult times affected the rôle played by the perfecti, now based once again in Languedoc. By necessity, they were having to spend more time in financial transactions. Guilhem Prunel in particular, was very concerned with this aspect of his work; witnesses recall him speculating how wealthy an ailing supporter was or trying to remember the name of a rich man in Toulouse who had been generous to the heretics in the past. Guilhem declared that many from St. Paul Cap-de-Joux were in debt to him.⁷⁷ The Cathars still relied on goodwill for most of their support, but put other aspects of their life on an increasingly businesslike footing. Guilhem Raffard notes how Bernard Oliba had demanded, and taken, almost all his money for performing the consolamentum at Sirmione.⁷⁸

A sense of desertion amongst believers can be seen when Peire Pictavini, who was based in Lombardy, ventured to Sorèze around 1273. He was told by one supporter that the heretics were worthy, but the land was worthless, since the heretics dared not stay there.⁷⁹

This feeling of having been abandoned even reached the level of superstition. One notary claimed that thunder and lightning occurred more frequently now that the Minors and Dominicans were present, than when the heretics stayed in the land.⁸⁰ Morale was obviously very low amongst

Languedocian believers. Guilhem Raffard consulted a soothsayer after the capture of a prominent local supporter around 1268. The soothsayer held out little encouragement; Guilhem responded that believers were in a bad state, since they were deprived of the heretics' advice.⁸¹

Even when forays were made by perfecti, an air of unease can be detected. In the mid-1280s, Bernard de Dossana reported to Raymond de Caraman and Peire Galtarii the sinister things he had heard about their supporters in Carcassonne. He even wondered if it were not better to return to Lombardy.⁸² The heretics complained that everywhere they went, they were told of their supporters' sufferings and that perfecti were no longer safe. This was confirmed by one of their hosts, who advised them to go carefully.⁸³

As in Italy, Languedocian Catharism was in an apparently irreversible decline. Its structure had finally broken under the strain of being run from Lombardy, while the Inquisition had worked to make untenable the position of perfecti in their own towns and villages and even their own families. The return of the Languedocian Cathars revealed that they had become an anachronism both in Italy and in Southern France. In Southern France, they had been symbols of a regional identity. However, that identity was rapidly being absorbed into the French Crown. With Alphonse of Poitiers' death in 1271, the county of Toulouse reverted to Philip III of France. By 1305 plans by Carcassonne to submit to the rule of the Infante of Aragon seemed ridiculous even to other Southerners.⁸⁴ Many Southern French found service with Louis IX or the empire of Charles of Anjou, and the simple antagonism between Southern and Northern French was gradually lost. These long-term trends made the Cathars' 'temporary exile', until political circumstances changed, increasingly

unreal. They were faced with the choice of either returning to Languedoc, or becoming part of Italian life.

From the later evidence of the Autier revival, there is an indication that some Languedocian Cathars did stay in Italy. However, even there the position of the Languedocians had changed. The expansion of trade, the arrival of Charles of Anjou and the growth of the Italian towns' employment of mercenaries meant that the Languedocian Cathars formed only a part of the Southern French community in Italy. As the riots in Pavia and the Sicilian Vespers showed, the Southern French were frequently disliked by the native Italians. The evidence of later Catharism is that those in Italy did take native Italians into the sect and weakened links with Languedoc.

Languedoc's cultural identity had also declined, although in this aspect it was the victim of its own success. Provençal language, poetry and courtly values had thoroughly penetrated the Italian aristocracy,⁸⁵ but the writers were now Italian. They increasingly used their own language and the values their works portrayed were seen as universal rather than the prerogative of the Southern French. Thus the gradual loss of identity by the Cathars, described by Borst, is mirrored in the loss of identity by the Southern French as a whole.⁸⁶

REFERENCES

- 1) Doat, 25: 17r.-19v.

18v. Peire Maurel went to Limoux:

'et inde duxit tres mulieres et unum puerum quarum mulierum duae vocabantur Willelmae tertia vero cathalana et puer vocabatur Raimundus dictae Cathalanae, filius ...'

From there the party went to Béziers picking up various people:

'et inde intraverunt in Lombardiam, et inde venerunt apud Achoniam [probably Cuneo], et ibi iacuerunt in domo cuiusdam mulieris quae vocatur Arnalda, quae est de terra ista et ibi invenerunt fratrem Petri Maurelli qui vocatur Petrus Galhardi ...'

They proceeded to Asti and then Alessandria:

'ubi invenerunt alium fratrem ipsius Petri Maurelli nomine Bernardo ...'

From there to Pavia:

18v.-19r. 'iacuerunt in domo cuiusdam Lombardi qui vocatur Raimundus Galterius et ibi remansit Willelmus Boeri textor predictus ...'

At Mantua they found two men from Limoux, one of whom was Raymond de Limoux, a weaver. This could be Mantua, but Aldric's memories of the place are a clear break in his evidence and suggest he was remembering an omission:

'et inde venerunt in Cremonam, inde Mediolanum, et inde redierunt apud Conum, et deinde ad propria videlicet apud castrum novum de arrio in domo den casali, et ibi remansit ipse puer qui loquitur, et inde recessit dictus pater suus Raimundus Saischi et venit apud Seguevilla in domo Guillelmi Moco soceri sui, ...'

- 2) Doat, 25: 146r.-v.
3) Doat, 25: 146v.
4) Doat, 25: 247v.
5) Doat, 25: 306v.-307r.
6) Doat, 25: 307v.

'Item audivit dici ab eodem Guillelmo Grossi, et ab Arnaldo God [Got] supradicto quod B. Oliba Episcopus haereticorum Tholosae, et quidam juvenis socius eius factus de novo Diachonus quia Episcopus [non] debet esse sine Diachono, et Raymundus de Baucio, et Guillelmus Audoyni socius eius de terra Faelicis, et Petrus Maurelli qui fugit de

- 23) Doat, 25: 145r. Raymond Baussan:
 'et postea quaesitus ibi de mandato inquisitoris non fuit repertus
 [?] post decessum vero ipsius haeretici.'
- Doat, 26: 16v. Guilhem Raffard rode to Genoa in the company of
 certain merchants.
- Doat, 25: 306v. Peire de Beauvilla was called:
 'coram potestate comunis Papien obiicientes contra ipsum testem quod
 sepelierat Poncium Boerii haereticum vel sepeliri fecerat, quod ipse
 testis inficiatus fuit, et in crastinum dimiserunt eum.'
- 24) Biscaro, 472.
- 25) See above note [15].
- 26) Doat, 26: 35r.-v.
 '... fuerat haereticus vestitus, et quod non potuit sustinere
 abstinentiam haereticorum sed dimisit Raymundum Vitalis socium suum et
 rediit versus Caramannum ad uxorem et fratres suos qui valde
 redarguerunt eum, et male receperunt in tantum quod coegerunt eum
 recedere, et ire in Lombardiam, et promiserunt sibi mittere sicut
 dicebat tres marchas argenti, et non miserat sibi nisi unam quam
 portavit sibi Petrus Maurelli sicut idem B. refferebat dixit etiam
 ipse testis se firmiter credere quod dictus Bernardus Sissa
 personaliter rediit ad Caramannum et ad fratres suos post modum pro
 dicta peccunia habenda.'
- 27) Doat, 25: 245r. The names were Raymond Lombardi and Guilhem Pontus
 'in carceria dicta da Bruehl'.
- 28) Martines, 86. Waley, 149.
- 29) Doat, 26: 15v.
- 30) Doat, 25: 145r.-146r.
- 31) Doat, 25: 246r. The information about Bernard Barba and Raymond des
 Vaux is taken from Peire de Beauvilla's testimony. [Doat 25: 319v.,
 329r.-v.] Bernard Prim has no apparent connection with the Waldensian
 who was one of the founders of the Poor Catholics [Wakefield and
Evans, 221, 229].
- 32) Doat, 26: 22r.-v.; 25: 247v.; 25: 146v.
- 33) Doat, 26: 15v.; 25: 247r.
- 34) Duvernoy, Histoire (II), 126-7. Hamilton, Medieval Inquisition, 73-4.
- 35) Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 77.

- 36) Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare', II, 324. Borst, 237.
- 37) See Duvernoy, Histoire (II), 190-1. Manselli, 245-6 believes they are Bagnolenses at Sirmione.
- 38) A. Melluso, Introducing Sirmione, (Brescia, 1984), 7-15. Cipolla, 'Il Patarenismo', 71-4. Cipolla, 'Eretici Veronesi', 338-43.
- 39) Cipolla, 'Il Patarenismo', 76-7.
- 40) Biblioteca Comunale di Verona, MS 815, fol. 24v. Cipolla, 'Il Patarenismo', 78-9.
- 41) Verona, MS 815, fol. 25v. Cipolla, 'Il Patarenismo', 80.
- 42) Allen, 128.
- 43) Allen, 38, 118. M. F. Mazzaoui, 'L'Organizzazione delle Industrie Tessili nei secoli XIII e XIV: I Cotonieri Veronesi', Studi Storici Veronese Luigi Simeoni, vol. 18-19, (1968-9) - unnumbered offprint.
- 44) Allen, 119.
- 45) Archivio di Stato di Cremona, Fondo Segreto, Diplomatico, docs. n.:
- | | |
|------|---|
| 2341 | Raimondus Provençallus |
| 2346 | Berengria textor |
| 2348 | Bonzuarius Spagnoli [possibly Spanish] and also 'Vivianus textor' |
| 2351 | Ubertus a Tabula Maior |
| 2352 | Ghirardus Gallus [probably from northern France] |
| 2355 | Petrus Prohenzalus |
| | Laurentus de Marsilio |
| | Bonafides eius frater |
| 2356 | Gulielmus de Proenza |
| | Petrus de Proenza |
| | Gonselmus de Proenza |
| | Girardus de Marsilio |
| 2360 | Marchesinus de Tarasçono qui fuit de Pesena |
| 2361 | Vivianus textor) see doc. 2348 |
| 2364 | Vivianus textor) |
| 2367 | Mag. Arnaldus Prohençalus |

Some of those identified as Provençal may have come from the Italian town of Proenza, particularly the group in doc. no. 2356, but there are enough names from the French Mediterranean ports to show that there was an element of the population from Languedoc and Provence, and to assume that at least some of those named Prohenzalus and the like, did, in fact, come from Provence or Languedoc.

- 46) Doat, 25: 146v., 247v.; 26: 22r.-v., 41r.
- 47) Archivio Statale di Verona, Busta VIII, Perg. S. Silvestro, no. 619.

- 48) Doat, 32: 155r-156v.

'Nicolaus ... fratri Philippo ... inquisitori pravitatis haereticae in Marchia Trevisin ... salutem ... significarunt nobis dilecti filii Hugo de Boniolis, et Petrus Arsini ordinis fratrum praedicatorum inquisitores ... in Regno Franciae ... quod dudum in diocesi Veronesi quam plures haeretici de mandato tuo capti fuerunt, et adhuc eos, facis detineri captivos, quorum aliqui fore dicentur de Regno Franciae oriundi, et unus ex eis in dicto Regno pro Episcopo haeticorum ipsorum secundum eorumdem haeticorum abusum habetur; cum autem sicut habet eorumdem inquisitorum assertio firma spes habeatur, quod eorumdem haeticorum dicti Regni praesentia in illi partibus erit orthodoxa fidei plurimum fructuosa ...'

The emphasis in this document [Doat 32: 155r-156v.] on the 'kingdom of France' has led Duvernoy [Duvernoy, Histoire (II), 128] to claim that it refers to Pierre Guillaume. However, although there is little evidence on the two French inquisitors concerned, they definitely worked in the diocese of Toulouse in the late 1270s. This makes one wonder if the document is not wrongly dated by the Doat scribes. A more likely date would seem to be 1279, following the fall of Sirmione. A similar redating is necessary for the document on Corrado Venosta [Doat 32: 160v.] which is dated by the Doat scribes to the pontificate of Nicholas IV [1288-92], but clearly deals with the events surrounding the escape of Corrado Venosta in the pontificate of Nicholas III (1277-80). On the inquisitors see Douais, vol. 1, 181-2.

- 49) da Alatri, vol. 30, 421-52. Biscaro, 503-57. Vaticano, *Collectoriae* 133.

- 50) Dossat, 'Les Cathares dans les documents de l'Inquisition', 192. Contemporary nuntii are Forlus, son of Bernard Buarriga of Maurenx [Doat, 25: 94r.] or the mysterious Bernard, 'nuncius pro haeticis adducendis', [Doat, 26: 169v.].

- 51) Doat, 26: 22r.-v., 26: 29r.

- 52) Doat, 25: 243v.-244r. Maurel was paid by Peire Escolani to bring his son to join him in Lombardy.

Doat, 26: 24v.-25r. A certain clericus sent money to his mother, who had fled to Lombardy.

Doat, 26: 35r.-v. B. Sissa's relatives sent money to him to prevent him returning to Languedoc.

Doat, 25: 17r. Aladaix, wife of Bugaralh de Palais villa, wanted to talk to Maurel 'quod duceret eam secum in Lombardiam ad haeticos, et mutuarent sibi pecuniam pro expensis ...'

- 53) Doat, 25: 46r.-47v.

Doat, 25: 122v.-23r. Raymond Hugnes went to consult the soothsayer, Raymond de Putes.

- 54) Doat, 25: 307v. Maurel:
- 55) Doat, 25: 307v.-308r.
- 56) Doat, 25: 308r.-v.
- 57) Doat, 25: 308v.-309r.
- 58) Doat, 26: 16r.-19v.
- 59) Doat, 25: 56r.; 26: 28v.-29r; and see also Doat, 25: 125r. Tholosanus Engilbert, son of Peire Engilbert of Lavaur, 'parabat se ... ad recedendum in Lombardiam una cum ipso vel Raymundo de Gomevilla' according to Raymond Hugues.
- 60) Doat, 25: 190r.-v.
- 61) Doat, 25: 99r. Raymond textor from St. Félix told how:
 'quiet ipsa mulier euntes in Lombardiam redierunt de via illa propter quod dictus filius fuit captus erat amica [sic] et credens haereticorum, et habebat peccuniam paratam pro recessu in Lombardiam si haberet societatem in qua confidere posset.'
- 62) Doat, 25: 79r.
 'dixit tamen Raymundus textor ipsi testi quod libenter recederet in Lombardiam ad haereticandum si haberet bonam societatem.'
- 63) Doat, 25: 104v.-105r.
 'post paucos dies idem Aymericus totus spoliatus fore rediit ad domum ipsius testis narrans quod iret in Lombardiam cum praedicta muliere et quaedam aliae fuerunt sibi ablasae in itinere dum iacerent in quadam domo ambae mulieres et peccunia tota et vestes quas portabant, et fore ipse fuerat captus sed evaserat per forsam.' Raymond Hugues was the witness.
- 64) E. Hallam, Capetian France, 987-1328, (Harlow, 1980), 293-94.
- 65) J. Mathorez, 'Notes sur les Italiens en France du XII^e siècle jusqu'au Règne du Charles VIII', Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux: Bulletin Italien, vol. 7, (1917), no. 2, 83.
- 66) Germain, vol. 1, 277-84. Reyerson, Business, Banking and Finance, 12. Archives de la Ville de Montpellier, armoire E, cassette 4, no. 2148, 8 June 1287. Odofred de Rizole and associates from Piacenza appealed to the lieutenant of the viguier of Nîmes against the sentence he had originally passed against them, which confiscated their merchandise through trading through the port.
- 67) Dossat, 'Gui Fouçois', 43 ff.

- 68) Waley, 149. and see Hallan, 276, Runciman, Sicilian Vespers, 212 for other examples of French infringement of traditional Italian areas of patronage.
- 69) Chronica Piacentinorum, 273-4. Waley, 98.
- 70) Doat, 26: 90r.-v.
- 71) Doat, 25: 90r.-104r.
- 72) Doat, 26: 90r.-v.
- 73) MS Lat. 12856, fols. 9r.-20v. deals with their progress; only 3 weeks behind (20v.).
- 74) Doat, 26: 82r.-83v.
- 75) Doat, 26: 81r., 213v.-14.
- 76) Doat, 26: 245v.-246r.
- 77) Doat, 25: 105v. Morlana the ailing supporter was from Toulouse:
 'tamen bene erat dives et satis de peccunia habuerunt ac ipsa.'
Doat, 25: 118v.
 'quod ante domum in qua stabat Poncius de Gemervilla Tholosae erat quidam dives qui habebat magnam domum et pulcrum, qui misit ipsis hereticis ensennia comestibilium.
Doat, 25: 120r.
 'dixit etiam idem haereticus [Guilhem Prunel] quam multi de Sancto Paulo debebant sibi denarios et tre de ipsis solverant sibi non tamen nominavit eos ipse testis.'
- 78) Doat, 26: 15v.
 'et facta consolatione praedictus B. Oliba Episcopus haereticorum Tholosae exegit et habuit peccuniam ipsius testis exceptis triginta Turonensibus Albis.'
- 79) Doat, 25: 266r.
 'quod valde erant boni homines et multum valebat minus terra ista quia non audebant in ea morari.'
 and see Doat, 25: 268r. for similar feeling from 1258.
- 80) Doat, 25: 216v. Peire Perrin was the witness. He overheard Bernard de Lavour, notary.
- 81) Doat, 26: 25r.-v.

'Item dixit quod quando Grazida de Toell fuit capta per inquisitores Raymundus de Sancti Michaelis filius eius misit ipsum testem ad Raymundum de Puteo de Soricino augurem ut respiceret auguriã, et responderet si dicta Grazida evaderet de manibus inquisitoris, et dictus Raymundus de Puteo respondit ipsi testi quod non evaderet, et tunc ipse testis dixit quod in malo statu erant omnes credentes et amici Ecclesie haereticorum quia deinceps non poterant habere consilium bonorum hominum, scilicet haereticorum, et dictus augur respondit ipsi testi quod in tam malo sicut illi tendunt omnes ad diabolum.'

82) MS Lat. 12856, fol. 7r.

'Quod tunc dictus Bernardus de Dosana significavit dictis haereticis quod de credentibus et amicis eorum de Carcassona intellexerat sinistra. In tantum quod videbatur ei quod oporteret eis reverti [?] in partibus Lombardie.'

83) MS Lat. 12856, fol. 8r. Raymond de Bassinhac was the witness:

'Dixit etiam quod tunc dicti haeretici dixerunt dicto magistro Arnaldo Matha et dicto Berengario Brosa ipsique Raymundo qui loquitur et aliis proximo supradictis quia vobis videtur de nobis multum sumus desolati quod apud Lomirium [sic] dictum est nobis et ubique ubi venimus idem nobis dicitur scilicet quod credentes et amici nostri multa propter nos patiuntur sinistra et quod nos ita persequimur quod non est tutum nobis nos diu in istis partibus residentes [?] dixit etiam tunc dictus magister Arnaldus Matha respondit dictis haereticis quod verum erat quod dicebant et quod irent caute.'

84) Sumption, 251.

85) Larner, 95-100 for the growth of Italian poetry from Southern French origins. See G. Holmes, Florence, Rome and the Origins of the Renaissance, (Oxford, 1986), 89-104.

86) Borst, 220-1.

CHAPTER EIGHT
THE ITALIAN AND SOUTHERN FRENCH CATHARS, 1280-1320

The integration of the Southern French into Italian life made possible the development of Cathar communities with both Languedocian and Italian members. This was encouraged by the collapse of Italian Catharism. Only in its heartland, to the north-east of the peninsula, did Italian Catharism survive and in contrast to earlier decades, an increasing emphasis on the holy way of life can be seen amongst the surviving communities, rather than on doctrine. Remarkably, the strongest of the Italian Cathar sects in this last period proved to be the Bagnolenses. They were the least intellectually original and would appear to have had a considerable degree of doctrinal fluidity, since part of the sect are recorded as agreeing with the Albanenses, part with the Concorezzenses. However, there were also still Cathars in Piedmont and western Lombardy, and it is from these areas that the heresy revived and re-entered Languedoc in the 1290s. The depositions resulting from this revival show that some Languedocian Cathars were also based in Sicily. By 1320, Catharism had been marginalised to the Piedmontese Alps and the Pyrenees, but the Southern French were at the centre of European political life.

The most coherent account of the situation in Italy at this time can be found in Anselm of Alessandria's Tractatus de Hereticis and, in particular, from his list of ministers of the Albanenses and Concorezzenses, which was compiled around 1276 or 1277. In some ways this is a monument to the Cathars' obstinate desire to organise, but the picture is, in truth, fairly chaotic. Anselm had to amend his original list of the Albanenses, since the bishop had since died and his filius maior had converted. Anselm does not name the deacon of Pavia and the deacon of

Brescia had been burnt. Moreover, the remaining deaconries were not filled by natives of the various cities, but by heretics from comparatively distant towns: Lanfranc de Brescia was deacon of Bergamo, Ventura de Bergamo deacon of Seprio and Albertinus de Reggio, deacon of Verona.

The church of Concorezzo was more settled, although it was far smaller than that of the Albanenses. It was based almost entirely in Cremona, Piacenza, Alessandria and Brescia, and was run by inhabitants of those towns. The deacons of both Cremona and Alessandria were natives of those cities, and the deacon of Piacenza was from nearby Cremona. Anselm gives no word of the hierarchy of the Bagnolenses.¹

References to Catharism in Italian administrative records are comparatively sparse and are found only when references to Catharism based in Italy disappear from Languedocian Inquisition sources. The Italian administrative records include both Inquisition depositions and expense accounts, together with communal records for the sale of heretics' goods. However, from the Languedocian records, we can infer that the heretics in exile were in decline. Indeed, Anselm's work is the last of the great Inquisitorial accounts of Catharism and he began writing some fifteen years after Raynerius Saccone, Moneta of Cremona and the other writers of the 1240s and 1250s.

A further factor that contributed to the decline of Italian Catharism in Italy was the decisive change in political circumstances, in favour of the Guelfs. Even such strong Ghibelline rulers as Mastino della Scala felt obliged to allow in the Inquisition. In short, Italian Catharism, if not dead, was severely ailing and yet there continued to be cases in Inquisition record which hint at Catharism for a further fifty years or more.

The explanation for this apparent continuation is threefold. First, there was a Cathar revival in the 1290s, but apparently confined to west Lombardy and Piedmont. There is explicit evidence of this in the Languedocian records and implicit confirmation in some of the expense accounts from Lombardy. Secondly, there is evidence that, in some areas, the Inquisition had been financially corrupted, almost to the level of being a protection racket. Mariano da Altri gives evidence from Veneto that a small group of Franciscan friars in the Veneto and Trevisan March made great profits from spurious charges of heresy, often levelled against the dead.² Fra Timidio, the inquisitor at Verona, does not appear to have been a part of it, but during the 1280s and 1290s there are a great number of confiscations in civic records which were probably the work of corrupt inquisitors.³

Thirdly, signori and podestàs were now more or less obliged to cooperate with the inquisitors. This was not always detrimental to the integrity of the Inquisition, and examples of genuine cooperation can be seen in Peter of Verona's friendship with the podestà of Piacenza,⁴ and the cooperation between Inquisition and commune which brought the Southern French Cathars in Pavia to light. However, there is evidence that such cooperation could also corrupt the Holy Office. The majority of evidence for this comes from Florence, although it can also be seen in the spectacular cases against the Visconti and Knights Templar.⁵ The ambivalence inherent in such a close relationship between secular and ecclesiastical authority can be seen clearly in the operation against Sirmione in 1276. Although there were obviously political motives involved, this does not necessarily mean that there were no Cathars at Sirmione. The burning of two hundred people cannot be explained simply as

a demonstration that the contado of Verona took in the fishing-village of Sirmione.

As a result of these circumstances, the Inquisition increasingly developed two distinct lines of approach: the routine conviction of slanders against the church and the more comprehensive assassination of character. In the first instance, an inquisitor might set out to secure a conviction of routine heresy. The main aim of this was to ensure that the subject could be 'proved' guilty as quickly and as effortlessly as possible. To this end, the charges had to comprise accepted evidence of heresy, and preferably a form of heresy that could be easily defined. Catharism fitted the bill admirably, and thus, in 1301, a deceased Veronese cloth merchant was convicted of holding dualist beliefs, which were recited and his goods duly confiscated. Similarly, Ubertus de Tabula Maior was accused of visiting the presumably long-dead Cathar bishop, Belesmanza.⁶ Since the whole aim of these accusations was that they should be credible, they can be used, with caution, as evidence of current heretical practice. They may even have recorded the truth: Ubertus was old enough to have met Belesmanza who, according to Raynerius in 1250, had been based at Verona.⁷

The second type of accusation evolved later, in the early fourteenth century, and this was the attempt to damn a subject completely: the earliest example was the extremely controversial case against the Templars, brought for political reasons. The evidence had a completely different role to fulfil and every action of the subject, even those living outwardly holy lives, had to be shown to be suffused with evil, heretical intentions. As a result, charges tended to comprise the holding of secret meetings, hidden depravity and the influence of supernatural forces. Such accusations had always been part of the Catholic armoury against heretics,

but for the Inquisition to prosecute for them was an innovation.⁸

The Inquisition used the same two weapons to achieve both types of conviction: a network of spies and informers, often themselves former heretics, who provided the appropriate circumstantial evidence when required and torture, which had been permitted by Innocent IV in 1252.⁹ In general, but not exclusively, informers were used to secure convictions of routine heresy, while torture was employed in more spectacular convictions.

It is very difficult to differentiate genuine support for the heretics from resentment of the Inquisition. The power held by the inquisitors to confiscate family wealth, their intrusion on civic liberties and their growing reputation for corruption would have inspired considerable resentment in themselves. In view of this, there is little need to attribute popular unrest to a doctrinal heresy such as Catharism at this time. Salimbene reports that, in 1279, a riot occurred in Parma following the burning of a noblewoman and her former maidservant. During this unrest, the Dominican convent was attacked and some of the brethren wounded. The incident probably had little to do with any specific heresy and it is not even known if the initial heretics had been Cathars.¹⁰

One of the most complete Italian Inquisition processes is against Armanno Puzilupo. It is also an early example of how the Inquisition approached the second type of case: the assassination of character. The victim had to be shown to be thoroughly heretical, even though he appeared to have led a blameless life.

Armanno Puzilupo died in Ferrara in December 1269, and was generally revered for his spirituality and austere way of life. He was buried in the cathedral and his tomb became a centre of miracles, which were investigated with a view to Puzilupo's canonisation.¹¹ However, the attention paid to

the tomb raised the intense jealousy of the local Dominicans. Their dislike of Punzilupo was intensified by the fact that, in 1254, the Dominican inquisitor of Lombardy had heard his confession of heresy. The exact nature of Punzilupo's heresy was not revealed in the terms of the confession, other than that he had greeted two heretics and ridiculed priests for thinking that God could be kept in a casket.

The priests of the cathedral in Ferrara responded to this Dominican accusation against Punzilupo by claiming that he had confessed and had subsequently led a blameless life. Indeed, they continued to protest Punzilupo's innocence until as late as 1300. Meanwhile, the Inquisition in the city had begun an investigation which was to last until 1289.¹²

The subsequent depositions showed the inadequacy of trying to assassinate Punzilupo's character using the usual methods of combatting heretics. A group of informers were assembled, known as cazzagazzari,¹³ and these included at least one Inquisition spy from Sirmione, Constantia de Bergamo.¹⁴ They produced a mass of tenuous evidence. It was claimed by some that Punzilupo was a member of the Bagnolenses, whereas one of the witnesses claimed that he recommended the Poor of Lyons and other heretical sects to those listening to him.¹⁵ There was also disagreement over whether Punzilupo was a perfectus or 'clothed heretic', or merely one of their supporters.¹⁶ Faced with evidence of Punzilupo's good works and devotion to the Church, the Inquisition were reduced to fabricating evidence that the miracles were 'faked',¹⁷ that those who flocked to the tomb were heretics,¹⁸ and that Punzilupo carried a cross and professed devotion to the Catholic Church in order that his heresy might not be discovered.¹⁹ This last evidence, which a witness claimed he had heard from Punzilupo himself, is the first sign of an important change of

direction in the Inquisition's approach. It no longer was attempting to uncover heretical speech and actions, but provides evidence that an outwardly devout life was there only to mask the inner heretic.

Nevertheless, most of the evidence in the depositions is useful. Even if it was not strictly true in relation to Punzilupo, testimony was supplied by witnesses who were well acquainted with heresy. In addition to Constantia, at least one had been a receptator et fautor of the Cathars.²⁰ Their information gives the name of two further Cathar bishops, Alberto, and Lorenzo da Brescia.²¹ However, the most striking characteristic is that the Cathar communities were confined to their heartland in the north-east of Italy. The heretics were present in Verona, Mantua, Vicenza, Ferrara, Rimini and Bergamo.²² Thus the only area where they overlap with the Southern French was, as has been seen, in the area of Verona.²³ Moreover, the vast majority of evidence comes from the period before the fall of Sirmione in 1276. There is, in fact, no evidence concerning perfecti after that date, besides that concerning Punzilupo himself. The Inquisition admitted interrogating those captured at Sirmione about Punzilupo.²⁴ The number of dispersed ex-believers, and the lack of perfecti show that although Italian Catharism continued until the end of the thirteenth century, the fall of Sirmione dealt as great a blow to the Italian Cathars as did the fall of Montségur to the Languedocians.

The investigation of heresy at Bologna was more genuine in its attempt to discover the extent of Catharism in the city. In 1299 two men were convicted of heresy. The general dislike of the Inquisition was inflamed by the exhumation of the wife of one of the heretics, and the subsequent burning of her bones. A climax was reached when inquisitors denied the last rites to one of the two heretics, who had repented on the brink of

execution. This resulted in a riot which threatened the Dominican house itself, but order was finally restored and some three hundred people were subsequently summoned to explain their beliefs.²⁵ Many of these three hundred were not Cathars at all. Some were Dolcinians, a few 'Epicureans',²⁶ but many were simply scandalised by the local Inquisition.

However, there were also genuine Cathar believers amongst the three hundred witnesses. Paolini lists no less than thirty five perfecti mentioned in the depositions of the believer Onebene di Volta from Mantua. Again, at first sight this would seem to point to a healthy Cathar community. However, closer analysis reveals decline. Seven of the heretics mentioned had been active more than twenty years earlier, including one who had been burnt in Mantua in 1251.²⁷ The heretics' origins were also diverse. From their testimonies it can be seen that, between 1270 and 1300, around twenty five believers and perfecti came from Mantua or its surrounding region, and there were also nineteen Tuscans, eight from Ferrara, six from Cremona and from Verona, four from Bergamo and four from Parma. There were also heretics from Brescia, Vicenza, Rimini and Modena. Against this, there were only twenty one from Bologna itself, mostly believers.²⁸ Again, this evidence shows how little overlap there was between the areas in which the Languedocian and Italian Cathars were active. Although there were six perfecti from Cremona, they were itinerant and mostly active in Bologna or Ferrara. Indeed, the only town in which both sets of heretics were present in any force was Verona.²⁹ The group was cosmopolitan, but insignificant. It included a Frenchman, but had only recruited four perfecti from among the Bolognese in thirty years.³⁰

The activity by the Italian perfecti in Verona made possible their meeting Languedocian Cathars.³¹ More importantly, the Bolognese Cathars

had no divisive intellectual disagreements. Only seven perfecti were described as part of a group and they were all Bagnolenses.³² Such theology as was described was moderate dualism; although not without absolute influence, it was nevertheless compatible with Raynerius' and Anselm's description of the Bagnolenses being moderate dualists, but holding the middle ground between the churches of Concorezzo and the Albanenses.³³

More interesting still was the frank admission of the impossibility of unity of belief. The perfectus Bonigrino da Verona, one of the two men burnt, was quoted as saying:

'Item dixit quod sicut sunt lxxii lingue, ita sunt lxxii fides'.³⁴

In one comment, Bonigrino underlines both the failure of the Cathars to achieve unity and also the shortcomings of the Inquisitions's techniques of classification. Another believer claimed not to distinguish between the sects and beliefs of the heretics and that he did not know to which he belonged.³⁵

Instead the Cathars in Bologna based their appeal on their way of life, stressing that they were 'good Christians' and as such gaining the respect of the wider populace. At the burning of the perfecti, one person shouted that the inquisitor and friars were greater heretics than Bompietro.³⁶ The obstacles which had prevented Southern French and Italian Cathars from cooperating had now disappeared. The doctrinal differences were no longer significant and the Southern French had lost their special place within their own society.

The main Italian source for the 1290s and the early fourteenth century is the northern Italian inquisitorial expense accounts to be found in the Vatican Archive, [Archivio Segreto del Vaticano, Reg. No. 133], published by Biscaro and da Alatri. Despite the doubts raised by da Alatri, it would appear that the inquisitors were facing a real resurgence of heresy in the 1290s.

The inquisitors certainly lived comfortably: they were quite willing to spend money on winter clothing.³⁷ On the other hand, the amounts confiscated by the Inquisition and the surplus accumulated in the 1290s were small. Fra Lanfranco, inquisitor of Pavia (1292-1305) was required to submit accounts for papal scrutiny on several occasions, but never assembled a surplus of more than twenty pounds,³⁸ nor is there similar evidence of the trivial convictions which characterise the expense accounts published from Tuscany.³⁹ Indeed, the inquisitors Fra Lanfranco and Tommaso da Gorzano include the burnings of several heretics, including one group of eight.⁴⁰

The Inquisitors used many spies and former heretics in the pursuit of heresy. These included several Southern Frenchmen, and the Southern French, as foreigners, would be particularly vulnerable. The practising and former heretics, their supporters and spies, still tended to live in the towns where the Cathars had been strongest. One Adelais the Provençal was living at Pavia and was described as paying for past faults.⁴¹ Some received rewards for spying, such as the anonymous Southern Frenchman who reported a woman of Pavia, sought by the Inquisition, to her persecutors in 1299. Informants were often forced by poverty into this role. In 1305 the inquisitor Lanfranco paid twelve pence to a certain provincialis, who had been a heretic and had subsequently converted; he is reported as having

become poor, and 'assisting' the inquisitor.⁴²

Evidence from this time casts light on the fate of one of the Oliba brothers. Lanfranco seized a house in Pavia, which was owned by the wife of Peire Oliba, but rented by a scholar from southern France, also by the name of Peire. This was possibly the same house which Peire Oliba had rented in the 1260s, and had been the base for his brother, Bernard, who had been captured in 1279. Since the house had reverted to his wife, it would appear Peire was either dead or in captivity. Later the same year Peire the scholar had died and the Inquisitor sold the house.⁴³

The community of Cathars at Genoa may have still been in existence. Tommaso da Gorzano, inquisitor for both the port and Alessandria in the years 1292-4 and again between 1300-5, is recorded as having captured a group of heretics in Genoa, and, in 1302, he paid a messenger to journey to Toulouse. In the following year a payment is noted to one master Marchoald on the 'Golden Gate' for his capture of Michelis Tolosanus and his daughter. Father and daughter were sent back to Toulouse, but there is no trace of them in Southern French records.⁴⁴ In 1305, Tommaso was again successful in Genoa, where he captured Nicholas de Catalonia and his wife Saurina. He later made payments to those who had questioned Arnaldum aibiensem de Tholosa, who seems to have been associated with Nicholas, and to those who guarded the heretics. But the inquisitor was repaid by the Inquisition at Toulouse for his trouble and also sold Nicholas and Saurina's property. The amount received and the fate of the heretics are unknown.⁴⁵

Genoa had recently become safer for the heretics. The death of the active Archbishop Giacomo da Varazze had reduced the orthodox authorities' vigilance. This had been reduced even further in 1300 when Boniface VIII

put the city under interdict for allying with Frederick, king of the island of Sicily.⁴⁶ The city may well have been not simply a transit point for the heretics, but rather a haven in itself, and this would have increased the Inquisition's need to use spies in order to maintain their surveillance. In 1301, Lanfranco paid an inquisitorial spy, one Joannino Bazage, whom he had sent to Genoa to investigate heretics who had fled to the port from Cuneo; another agent was instrumental in catching Michelis and his companions.⁴⁷

Cuneo was still a centre of heresy and amongst the community there were still those of Languedocian origin. In 1307, Fra Francis de Paucapalea, inquisitor of Lombardy and the Genoese March, received sums of money from Nicholas, son of Peire Tholosanus of Cuneo and from Gerard Tholosanus. Francis also paid thirty libre to one Arnaldo Tholosano. If this is the same man placed under guard by Thommaso in 1304, he now had a responsible position within the Inquisition's network and was quite prosperous. His success was short-lived, however. By 1307 the inquisitor had taken thirty two libre from Arnaud's estate and goods and had sold his horse for three libre.⁴⁸ In 1309, Francis reported a series of payments to the royal court of Robert of Anjou for its cooperation in the condemnation of heretics. One payment was from the inheritance of Arnaud Tholosani, who had been sentenced as a heretic. The next entry laconically recorded the amount spent in proceedings against Arnaud.⁴⁹

There is the suggestion that local heretics were drawn into the Languedocian Cathar community. In 1313-14 Francis de Paucapalea examined and punished Ugo Bonard, a heretical believer in Cuneo. Ugo may not have been the only one. The three Languedocians in Cuneo whose wealth was

confiscated in 1307 formed part of a group of nineteen, many of whom were from the surrounding area,⁵⁰ but it may also be anachronistic to make any division, since by this time the Languedocians appear integrated into the society of the town. Some heretics had fled to more remote regions. Fra Francis de Paucapalea himself admits this when he describes, at the top of his entry for 1307, the necessity for the inquisitors to buy horses:

'sine quibus inquisitio non potest fieri convenienter in partibus Pedemontis propter loca multum distancia et periculosa in quibus habitant heretici et Valdenses, qui habitant in vallibus que sunt sub districtu d. Regis Roberti d. Delphini d. principis Achaye, d. Marchionis Salutiarum et dominorum de Lucerna, quos etiam equos fuit expendiens quandoque vendere prout equorum et temporum condicio requirebat.'⁵¹

Evidence of Fra Francis' complaint can be seen in the capture in the same year of one Martin, a heretic from Montégut, in the diocese of Toulouse. His captors were paid the sum of three pounds for this and Martin was described as at Aisone, in the Valle di Stura.⁵² It was these mountain bases from which the last flowering of Catharism in Languedoc and Piedmont was launched.

The revival of the 1290s was unique, in that it is recorded in both Inquisition registers compiled in Languedoc and the expense accounts of the north Italian inquisitors. It drew its inspiration from Cathars exiled in north Italy; however, the Italian records suggest that the Cathars' strength could be easily overestimated. The type of heretic captured is rarely specified and when it is, it is clear that the inquisitors were at least as concerned with the threat from Waldensians as with that from the Cathars.⁵³ Further evidence that the number of Cathars in Cuneo may have been very small is provided^{by} a veteran heretic who set off with two friends in 1300, ostensibly to seek the great indulgence of the Jubilee year in Rome, but they actually intended to contact the heretics. The party

arrived in Cuneo, but found no sign of the Cathars. Durand concluded that the heretics must have left for Sicily and made plans to sail there himself, but, in the meantime, Durand and his companions returned to Languedoc, where they succeeded in finding Cathars.⁵⁴

It is indicative of the weakness of the active Cathar church that its revival in the 1290s was brought about, for the most part, by one family, the Autiers. The original inspiration for the Autier family was Bernard Audogni from Montégut, a relation of the Guilhem Audogni from Saint Félix, who was recorded at Genoa in 1276.⁵⁵ The Cathars in Cuneo were joined by Peire Autier, his brother Guilhem and Bon Guilhem, Peire's illegitimate son in 1296.

Peire Autier was a middle-aged notary from Ax-les-Thermes, although there was still a little heretical activity in Sabarthès. It is significant that Autier was inspired to join the Cathars by reading a book, the title of which is unknown, and not by their preaching⁵⁶ Peire, Guilhem and Bon Guilhem went to Cuneo, where they met Pons Arnaud from Chateuverdun. In 1297, Bon Guilhem returned home, saying that he had been sent by his father. Peire was keen to go on further to Acqui Terme, near Alessandria.⁵⁷ Two years later, three pairs of perfecti arrived in Sabarthès:

Bernard Audogni
 Peire Autier
 Mathieu Germa, Bernard's nephew
 Raymond Peire
 Guilhem Autier
 Prades Tavernier, also known as Andrea de Prades, a weaver from Prades who had emigrated to Lombardy.⁵⁸

The revival was apparently more successful in Languedoc than Piedmont. Within a year of the heretics' arrival in November or December 1299, Peire Autier had established himself in Toulouse and the perfecti had met some of

the local nobility in the Sabarthès.⁵⁹ They had to ordain two new perfecti. As always the links of family and village were vital. One of the new perfecti was Peire's son, Jacques and the other was Pons Baille, also known as Pons Sicre, a notary from Tarascon. Pons was the son of Na Sebelia Baille, a Cathar believer from Ax who was later burned at the stake, as was her son.⁶⁰ Sebelia's house was a regular venue for those wishing to visit her son, Pons, the Autiers, Prades Tavernier, Pons Baille, and Raymond de Saint-Papoul in the early fourteenth century.⁶¹

Evidence provided by an Inquisition in 1299-1300 reveals that there was also a revival of the sect, in Albi and the surrounding countryside. However, the Inquisition at Albi was undoubtedly instigated for political motives and is the clearest example in Languedocian evidence of an accusation of heresy used in this way. There had been a long-running dispute between an alliance of the King's court in the town with the urban elite against the bishop, Bernard de Castanet. Bernard defended his rights as bishop by bringing charges of heresy against his opponents.⁶² Torture was used and the depositions contain many examples of contradictory evidence and obvious fabrications.⁶³ However, the allegations of heresy were possibly true: the evidence given corresponds with contemporary accounts found elsewhere, but not closely enough to indicate total fabrication. At least two of those accused were prepared to go to the stake for their beliefs.⁶⁴ The defendants were mainly eminent citizens of the town. Of the twenty one who stated their profession, fourteen were merchants, six were involved in the law and one was a cobbler. In addition, Biget reckons that another four were merchants and two were members of the minor nobility.⁶⁵

Those accused can also be analysed in generational terms. Some had

already been investigated by the Inquisition in 1286-87 and ten witnesses had been mentioned in BN Lat. 12856, referred to in the previous chapter.⁶⁶ The perfecti themselves were at least middle-aged. Raymond Desiderii's brother had been condemned as early as 1276 and Raymond Desiderii and Raymond del Boc had taken part in heretical gatherings in 1285.⁶⁷ They were both local men. Raymond Desiderii had a half share in a herd of animals with a citizen of Albi and Raymond del Boc was the uncle of one of the witnesses.⁶⁸ The investigation of 1286-87 succeeded in driving out the perfecti for a while. For four years there is no record of any Cathars in the area and then from 1291-96 the heretics only met to console the dying. The rite was presided over by Raymond Desiderii, who had disappeared for 5 years and had returned a fully-fledged perfectus with Raymond del Boc as his companion. Most of those present were long established believers and the few younger people present were their relatives.⁶⁹

An exception to this was the dinner held by Master Raymond Calverie, notary of the King's court at Albi. Raymond owned a farm outside Albi and, according to his own deposition, some five years earlier in January 1299 he had issued 'a great invitation' to four guests. One of these guests brought with him a perfectus, whom he hid before dinner, revealing him afterwards to be Raymond Desiderii. All the guests had little in common except their heretical links. However, Raymond Calverie had had no previous contact with the heretics and it would seem that the young notary was trying to break into the heretical circle inhabited by his social and professional superiors. Of his guests, Hugo de Chansi was the vicarius of the town and Peire de Medencho was the procurator of the king in the dioceses of Carcassonne and Béziers. The final guest was the procurator's brother-in-law. The older men were very cautious, they kept the perfectus

hidden and two of them left the building before they allowed Raymond Calverie to meet the perfectus.⁷⁰

There were others in the area who encountered the Cathars for the first time or saw them after long absence. Raymond Desiderii and his companion were taken around the countryside by Guilhem de Mauriano from the village of Réalmont. They remembered that Amblard Vassall's father had been a supporter of heresy, but when they met two other men from Lautrec, the heretics had to ask their escort who they were.⁷¹ The ignorance of the would-be evangelists could sometimes be embarrassing. One asked Guilhem de Mauriano if it had been a long time since he had seen Bernard de Galliac of Lombers; Guilhem replied that he was dead. One of the perfecti gloomily commented that they had lost a lot of money by the death of the said Bernard, although the other was more hopeful that the dead man's brother or brother-in-law would have the money.⁷²

In Albi and the surrounding region, therefore, there does appear to have been a revival of Catharism in the mid-1290s, particularly among a younger generation of notaries and merchants. There is evidence of younger believers having to be shown how to greet the heretics.⁷³ Indeed, the growth of enthusiasm may have led this new generation of supporters to seek younger, different perfecti.

Two young citizens of Albi, Bertrand de Montégut, a retailer who had been converted two years earlier, and Raymond Calverie, the ambitious young notary, despatched a man of no social standing, Stephan Mascot, to Italy to find a perfectus called Raymond Andree. Mascot took up the story; in 1296 he arrived in Genoa. There he met Bernard Faber, himself once of Albi and Stephan asked him if he wanted to visit the springs at Acqui. Bernard

offered to lead him and on the road they revealed to each other the true reason for their visits. Bernard Faber had also been sent to look for a perfectus, but by one of the older supporters, Guilhem Golfier. On arrival at Acqui they both took the waters and while bathing they met Peire Sextayrol, a weaver, and Raymond Bonerii, who had both fled from Albi on account of their heresy. They claimed they could help the Languedocians in their quest and led them to the nearby village of Visone. There, on a wooded hill, they found three or four homes of heretics. The party entered one of them, where the dominus domus, a perfectus, scolded Sextayrol and Bonerii for their delay. He was, however, sympathetic to the two travellers and gave them a perfectus with his recommendation. This was a Lombard named Guglielmo Pagani; next morning the three of them set off and returned to Albi by sea, via Montpellier.⁷⁴

Mascot's mission was contemporary with the Autiers' stay at Acqui, but there is little further evidence to link it with their mission. However, the incident shows the Languedocian Cathars' limitations. This was not the great organised church in exile, but a small community on a hillside presided over by a nervous principal, worried when perfecti did not return on time. They could only provide one perfectus for the Albigeois, instead of the customary pair, and there is evidence that the trip was not an unqualified success. For one thing, despite only arriving in Albi on a Wednesday night, Bernard Faber announced that the heretic would have to begin the return journey on Sunday evening. On arriving in Albi, the heretic spent a few days with Bertrand de Montégut, until Sunday when the party retired to the house of Guilhem Golfier where they dined. The meal was rather embarrassing; despite his long association with heresy, Guilhem seemed unaware of the dietary requirements of the perfectus. He first

offered him chicken and then cheese, before sending out for fish. After the meal Guglielmo was taken to a secret house of Guilhem Golfier, where the believers adored, and finally Guglielmo spent the night at Bernard Faber's house before returning home via Carcassonne and Narbonne.⁷⁵ The contact between the communities was not renewed and Raymond Desiderii and Raymond del Boc continued to be the perfecti seen around the area. When the Inquisition moved in they attached little significance to the incident, beyond confirming that Guglielmo attended numerous meetings with believers.⁷⁶

The believers of Albi showed initiative in obtaining a Lombard perfectus, but there were obvious difficulties. The Languedocian community in Italy had had nearly fifty years to integrate themselves in Lombard society and, although Languedocian and Italian perfecti could live together in Italy, for an Italian to minister to believers in Languedoc was a different matter. One problem was language. A witness from Bernard Gui's inquisition in the Pyrenees reported that a native of the area returned from exile in Italy in the 1290s, with a 'Lombard' woman as his wife. The witness said she could hardly understand what the Lombard woman said.⁷⁷

The Autier revival even inspired a response from Languedocian Cathars in Sicily. The ordination of Pons Baille represented the first link between the Cathar church in Languedoc and Sicilian exiles. Pons had been led to Raymond Isarn in Sicily by Guilhem Falquet, in company with another believer. Raymond called himself a diaconus maior and is first heard of before 1300, living in Sicily with two perfecti.⁷⁸ Little is known about any of these figures, but one of the Sicilian community became a leading figure in the Autier's revival. Philip de Talayrac met Peire Autier and his son Jacques at Limoux, shortly after Holy Week in 1301, and

he helped them establish themselves in a house rented by himself in Toulouse.⁷⁹

The community in Sicily kept up links with those in north Italy and Languedoc. Guilhem Falquet had led one expedition to take Pons Baille to Sicily and now he was required to organise another one there from Lombardy. He had only reached Genoa when he met the perfectus Philip Talayrac and Audara Borrel, the last known perfecta, coming from Sicily.⁸⁰ Within a short time Philip and Audara were active in Languedoc. The community in Sicily was probably of recent origin since, apart from the expedition to Apulia some thirty five years before, there is no mention in Inquisition evidence of any fugitive community on the island. However, there were strong links between Sicily and the Languedocian communities, as the attempts to return to Languedoc clearly show. These links may originally have come from the Toulouse area, since Audara Borrel, Salas (one of Raymond Isarn's companions) and Isarn are all family names from Toulouse, mentioned in the amnesty of 1279.⁸¹

Sicily was an attractive sanctuary at this period. The island kingdom of Sicily (termed Trinacria, to distinguish it from the mainland) had crowned Frederick III, younger brother of James II of Aragon as its King in December 1295. In the subsequent war with the dispossessed Charles II of Sicily, the island was unsuccessfully attacked by French and Aragonese forces, but remained in close contact with Genoa.⁸² Cathar exiles in north Italy would have, at first, found the journey from Genoa to the island relatively easy. Most importantly, the interdict imposed after the Sicilian Vespers meant that the Inquisition posed no threat on the island.⁸³ The pattern of this later Cathar revival therefore followed earlier patterns: the heretics flourished under the Ghibelline revival.

There were also good economic reasons why the Languedocians favoured Sicily. Not only did the Genoese have long-standing commercial links with the area,⁸⁴ but merchants from Aragon had traded with the kingdom of Sicily at least from the twelfth century and shared this trade with merchants from the southern French ports of Montpellier and Marseilles. In the years after the Vespers, the number of merchants from Barcelona settling in Sicily greatly increased. Palermo was particularly popular.⁸⁵ There was a ruga Catalanorum in Palermo by 1298 and the town became the destination for Cathars from the Sabarthès who fled over the Pyrenees. This was probably the route taken in 1313 by the perfectus en route to Sicily, who was met near Tortosa in Aragon by Jean Maury of Montailou. The heretic said that there were four in his party and claimed that there were many like him in Sicily.⁸⁶ By the 1320s Sicily was one of the last refuges for Cathars, even though the Inquisition could operate there after the peace of Caltabellotta in 1302. Two Cathar believers made their way to Valencia in 1321, looking for another two of their colleagues. When they found one of them, he told them that the other was still in Sicily, where they had both gone to earn more. However, they had been unable to find any heretics there and did not know anyone. Indeed, the move to Sicily brought home how low the fortunes of the sect had sunk. On being told the news, Peire's sister declared; 'See how God's sheep are scattered.'⁸⁷

The fugitive mourned was one Bernard Baille, a relation of the perfectus Pons Baille. He had, in fact, fled to Palermo, as Peire Maury found out from Bernard's colleague Raymond Issaura on revisiting Tortosa the following Spring. Raymond described Sicily as 'a land of abundance'. However, he confirmed that it was impossible to find a perfectus there. He had returned with a view to remedying this by inviting the perfectus

Guilhem Belibaste to join them. Peire Maury broke the news to him that Guilhem had been captured and burnt. Bernard, by this time planned to join the King of Trinacria's army in Sardinia.⁸⁸

The intermittent warfare which continued until the death of King Robert I of Naples in 1343 meant that communications with the island were often difficult and this explains why two expeditions of Cathar supporters to the island had to be abandoned. In 1300 the Cathar supporters who had gone to Italy under the pretext of celebrating the Catholic Jubilee had doubts over whether they could reach Sicily and in the end returned to Southern France. Around the same time a father and daughter were also unable to go to Sicily from Genoa.⁸⁹ Both journeys were probably prevented by the sudden break in relations between Genoa and the island following the defeat of the Genoese and Sicilian fleet, by the Angevins, off the island of Ponza. Following this the Genoese hastened to reduce links with Sicily.⁹⁰

At its height the Cathar revival affected all the traditional strongholds of heresy: the Albigeois, Sabarthès and the Toulousain. However, even at its strongest, it suffered in two respects. Firstly, it was always short of active perfecti which explains why believers going to Sicily and Acqui Terme could not find the heretics. The shortage partly accounts for the second problem which was a lack of organisation. The Cathars ran the sect on a fairly informal basis from Italy. When Amiel de Perlis, a perfectus committed a serious sin, he was escorted back to Lombardy for penance at the hands of Bernard Audogni.⁹¹ This loose arrangement and the refuge abroad allowed the heretics to operate in adverse conditions, but prevented them from putting down deep roots in the communities they served.

Whatever the failings of the Inquisition in Italy, the extent of its grip on Southern French society is shown by the way the Autier revival depended on inquisitorial inactivity to succeed. The initial conversion of the Autiers occurred during the suspension of the Inquisition by Philip the Fair in his dispute with Boniface VIII. It lasted from 1291 until the end of 1297, upon which the Inquisition struck at Carcassonne and two years later at Albi. Relations between king and Papacy deteriorated once again in 1301, giving the Cathars some respite, but on the resumption in 1305 of friendly relations between king and Pope, in conjunction with the establishment of the Papal court at Avignon, the Inquisition set to work with renewed vigour.⁹²

Jaime Autier and Prades Tavernier were arrested in September 1305. Bernard Gui took over as inquisitor at Toulouse in 1308 and in the same year Geoffroy d'Ablis began operations from Carcassonne. The exploits of the latter included the arrest of the entire population of the village of Montailou over the age of 14.⁹³ Despite this, Peire Autier and his companions continued to operate in the Sabarthès and the Pyrenees. During 1309, the three Autiers were captured, Jaime, having escaped his first arrest, and all were burnt in due course. Most of his companions had ceased activity by mid-1312 and one had committed suicide in despair.⁹⁴

Catharism was able to continue until 1321 in the Sabarthès and Catalonia, through Guilhem Belibaste. However, in 1321 Arnaud Sicre, the son of a woman who had died for her faith, betrayed Guilhem to Fournier's Inquisition in Lerida in Spain. Throughout the 1320s there were further trials and burnings, including the resolution of the delays in trying those arrested in Albi at the turn of the century. The last Cathar believers to be burnt in Languedoc were at Carcassonne in 1329.⁹⁵

Perhaps the most impressive feature of the assault on the Cathars was the cooperation between the Inquisition in Languedoc and in north Italy. There was an increase in activity against the Southern French in north Italy during the first decade of the fourteenth century. Indeed, an organised search for Guilhem Autier was launched, the expenses for which were discussed at the Council of Vienne and also at Carcassonne in 1312.⁹⁶ Both heretics and Inquisition formed part of the closer links which had grown up between the two regions. Building on the economic contacts in the early thirteenth century, the intellectual life of Southern France had also been infiltrated by Italians, starting with Roland of Cremona at the University of Toulouse. The Professor of Medicine at Montpellier from 1290 to 1314 was Guglielmo da Brescia.⁹⁷ When the consuls of Albi asked four jurists from Toulouse whether they had the right to a town hall, one of them was from Piacenza and another was from Bologna.⁹⁸ Even at lower levels of society, Languedocians had contact with Italian lawyers. In the Fournier register there is one Raymond Peyre of Quie who worked for Frisco Ricomanni, an Italian doctor of law in the bourg of Carcassonne and royal advocate.⁹⁹

The Autiers' heresy had some Italian characteristics. Although it appealed to all the Cathars' traditional groups of supporters such as artisans,¹⁰⁰ peasants,¹⁰¹ merchants,¹⁰² and the minor aristocracy,¹⁰³ and it still represented anti-French feeling, among older supporters,¹⁰⁴ a significant new group of supporters emerged, mostly young and prosperous. They consisted of royal officials and rising young merchants. Friedlander has seen in this a breakdown in the relationship between secular and ecclesiastical powers, since the former were growing alarmed at the disorder and hatred stirred up by the operations of the Inquisition.¹¹⁰

The Inquisition suspected royal officials of turning a blind eye to, or even supporting the heretics. These circumstances were unique to the area of France which had come under royal control since the death of Raymond VII, but were very similar to the situation which existed in Lombardy during the period before 1270 when the Cathars had been sheltered by civic and Imperial authorities. After the end of the disputes between the king of France and the Papacy, a new era of close relationships began with the Avignon Papacy, and just as in late thirteenth century Lombardy, the Cathars' position collapsed.¹⁰⁶

The end of the Autier revival marks the end of the relationship between the Southern French and Italian Cathars. It was true that Catharism persisted into the fourteenth century in Florence¹⁰⁷ and perhaps Bologna,¹⁰⁸ but there is no evidence of any Languedocian presence in either place. In Lombardy, too, after the genuine assault on the Cathars before 1312, there is a decline in inquisitorial activity and no burnings are recorded after 1312.¹⁰⁹ The Inquisition may have let some heretics through the net, but the decline in their activities mirrors their belief that Catharism no longer posed a serious threat. Of course, there were areas where the Inquisition did not operate, or were hopelessly overstretched and this has led to the idea of communities of Southern French and Italian Cathars establishing themselves in Corsica,¹¹⁰ Slavonia¹¹¹ or the remote Piedmontese Alps.¹¹² By the nature of the situation there are few reliable sources, but there is no reason to believe that the heretics reported in these places were Cathars, rather than other Apostolic groups. The heretics discovered in the Alps in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century may have been influenced by Cathar ideas and are perhaps the most credible example of a Cathar refuge.

In terms of the relations between the Southern French and Italian Cathars this last period was probably the only one in which they cooperated closely. The reason for this was the degree of integration of Languedocian *emigrés* into the society of Piedmont and western Lombardy. As was seen in the last chapter, people of Languedocian origin or descent were in positions of political influence in Cuneo. In Southern France, the Autier revival found support among the notaries and merchants who dominated the civic oligarchies or small towns. It may well be that the impetus for the revival sprang from these social groups who combined a resentment of episcopal rights and Inquisitorial interference, with respect for the Apostolic life led by the Cathars. Even so, the Cathar church eventually split into its regional components. The Italians preferred to be harried sporadically by the Inquisition in Piedmont, while the Languedocians chose the Pyrenees or Sicily rather than repeat their exile in north Italy.

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- 2) da Alatri, 405-8, 417-8, 434-51 [for confiscation and sales]. A. Murray, 'The Medieval Inquisition', 172-4.
- 3) Cipolla, 'Il Patarenismo', 81-6. Murray, 'Medieval Inquisition', 169.
- 4) Dondaine, 'Saint Pierre Martyr', 84.
- 5) Murray, 'The Medieval Inquisition', 176-80 and Dupré-Theseider, 'Gli eretici', 255-7.
- 6) The cloth merchants were Deiano de Raymundino, [Cipolla, 'Il Patarenismo', 278-9] and Ubertus de Tabula Maior, [Cipolla, 'Il Patarenismo', 281-2].
- 7) Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 71.
- 8) Barber, Templars, and see also Walter Map in Wakefield and Evans, 154-5.
- 9) Hamilton, Medieval Inquisition, 46.
- 10) Salimbene, ed. Coulton, 201.
- 11) Muratori, vol. 5, cols. 96-110. Manselli, 352-3.
- 12) Muratori, vol. 5, 111-14 deals with the allegations of the confession fol. 1254; 117-18 with the defence of Punzilupo by the cathedral in 1300; 118-40 with the Inquisition interrogations. Duvernoy, Histoire (II), 188-90.
- 13) Muratori, vol. 5, 124. E. Dupré-Theseider, 'L'eresia a Bologna', 264.
- 14) Muratori, vol. 5, 121.
- 15) Muratori, vol. 5., 119, 130, 126, 129-30. Alias Sectas Haereticorum.' Rengarda de Verona.
- 16) Muratori, vol. 5.

127	'Haereticus'.
117-18	'credens haereticorum'; 'credens, receptator & familiaris haereticorum'.
118	Domina Venerai. She also said she saw him giving the <u>consolamentum</u> .
132-33	'nuntius'.
col. 146	he is termed 'Credientem, Defensorem & Receptatorem Haereticorum' in the final sentence.
- 17) Muratori, vol. 5, 139.

- 18) Muratori, vol. 5, 135, 139.
- 19) Muratori, vol. 5.
 134 'Quomodo decipitis Mundum, quia portatis crucem, & videmini esse multum de Ecclesia Romana ...'. He answered: 'Non. Est ibi vis, quia facio ad hoc, ut non cognoscar.'
- 20) Muratori, vol. 5, 118-9.
- 21) Muratori, vol. 5, 121, 126. G. Zanella, 'Malessere Ereticale in Valle Padana, (1260-1308)', Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa, 14, (1978), 370.
- 22) Muratori, vol. 5.
 Verona 119, 121, 123-4, 125-6
 Mantua 121
 Vicenza 122
 Ferrara passim
 Rimini 131
 Bergamo 139
- 23) Muratori, vol. 5, 125-6.
- 24) Muratori, vol. 5, 138-9.
- 25) Manselli, 354.
- 26) Murray, 'Epicureans', 149-51.
- 27) Paolini and Orioli, 91-3. Dupré-Theseider, 'L'Eresia a Bologna', 278. The letter also supplies a list of only eleven perfecti. I have preferred Paolini and Orioli's work, but in any case, both lists show similar characteristics.
- 28) Paolini and Orioli, 172-4, 95.
- 29) Dupré-Theseider, 'L'Eresia a Bologna', 278.
- 30) Paolini and Orioli, 91-3. The Frenchman was Bonaventura or Bonagura de Galicis of Mantua.
- 31) Dupré-Theseider, 'L'Eresia a Bologna', 270. Paolini and Orioli, 172-3.
- 32) Acta ... Bononie, vol. 1, 2-5. The witness is 'Onebene, condam Aymerici Spiriti de Volta Mantuana' on 9 May 1291.
- 33) Paolini and Orioli, 105. See also Dondaine, Un Traité nêo-manichéen, and 'La Hiérarchie Cathare', II, 313.
- 34) Paolini and Orioli, 104, [fol. 3v].

- 35) Paolini and Orioli, 121-2.
- 36) Dupré-Theseider, 'L'Eresia a Bologna', 275, n. 41.
- 37) Biscaro, 510, 12, 22.
- 38) For example, Biscaro, 516 [18L. 4s. 17d. imperialium] and 513 [81L. 7s.].
- 39) Only one charge seems trumped up. A certain provost of Saint Agatha, Vercelli was accused by two friars of that town of saying words which sounded heretical and contrary to the Lord Pope. This seems to be part of a private dispute, since the friars added that the provost did injury to the Dominicans. [Biscaro, 522].
- 40) Biscaro, 511. Near Cremona, they consisted of 7 men and 1 woman. Other burnings can be found in pages 504, 506.
- 41) Biscaro, 504.
- 42) Biscaro, 526. See Helena Magina, a heretic of unknown origin, who became a useful informer to the Inquisition, but apparently became poor in the process and the Inquisition made several payments to her at Christmas [pages 506, 510, 511, 514] and payments to Arnaud the Provençal [521, 523].
- 43) Biscaro, 507.
- 44) Biscaro, 529-30.
- 45) Biscaro, 531.
- 46) Storia di Genova, 100, 111-13. Runciman, Sicilian Vespers, 272-3.
- 47) Biscaro, 522, 530.
- 48) Biscaro, 544.
- 49) Biscaro, 547.
- 50) Biscaro, 543-4.
- 51) Biscaro, 545.
- 52) Biscaro, 545.
- 53) Biscaro, 505, 513, features the capture and burnings of members of the Poor of Lyons. Doat, 25: 307v.
- 54) Limborch, 81. Durand's companions were Peire Sancii and Raymond de Lantano.

- 55) The best account of the Autier revival is in Duvernoy, Histoire (II), 321-33. Guilhem Audogni at Genoa, Doat, 25: 307v.
- 56) Fournier, 566-7.
- 57) Fournier, 604-5, 609.
- 58) Duvernoy, Histoire (II), 323.
- 59) Geoffroy d'Ablis, 332-3, 370-3.
- 60) Geoffroy d'Ablis, 314-5.
- 61) Geoffroy d'Ablis, 84-95; especially 92-3 and 86.
- 62) Biget, 'Un procès d'Inquisition', 324-8.
- 63) Davis, 266. For a plausible lie which was detected, see Guilhem de Mauriano's differing accounts of the consoling of Galhard Sabaterii. [Davis, 128, 259.]
- 64) Those burnt were Galhard Fransa, Lambert de Foyssex and possibly Ysarn Colli.
- 65) Biget, 'Un procès d'Inquisition', 294-5.
- 66) Those certainly mentioned in MS Lat. 12856 were:
- Berengar Brossa
 Berengar Fumeti
 Bertrand de Monte Acuto
 Guilhem Golferii
 Jean Constancii
 Raymond Augerii
 Ysarn Colli
- There is some doubt whether Guilhem de Landas, Guiraudus de Orto or Raymond Paguti were mentioned in MS Lat. 12856, or whether those with the same or similar names, were relatives. See Davis, 289-96.
- 67) Biget, 'Un procès d'Inquisition', 278. MS Lat. 12856, fol. 16r.
- 68) Davis, 169-70, 159.
- 69) Davis, 169-70 deals with Ray Desiderii's disappearance; 225-6, 233-4, 243-4, 245-6 deal with the consolamenta of the dying.
- 70) Davis, 183-4.
- 71) Davis, 126-7.
- 72) Davis, 135.

- 73) Davis, 253-4. The evidence of Sicard de Orto where Peire de Medencho shows younger believers at Réalmont how they should conduct themselves with the heretics.
- 74) Davis, 165-6. This is the account of Stephan Mascot. Bertrand de Montégut confirms that he and Raymond Calverie sent Stephan Mascot to Italy. [Davis, 190.]
- 75) Davis. 167-8.
- 76) Davis, 189-90.
- 77) Fournier, vol. 2, 700.
- 78) Limborch, 13-4. The two perfecti were Raymond Magister and Guilhem Sales.
- 79) Limborch, 76.
- 80) Limborch, 14.
- 81) Mundy, Repression.
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| Borrel | 88, 106 |
| Salas | 109 |
| Isarn | 91, 104-5 |
- 82) Runciman, Sicilian Vespers, 271-3.
- 83) Runciman, Sicilian Vespers, 220-1.
- 84) Renouard, Les Hommes d'Affaires Italiens, 44-5. D. Abulafia, 'The Crown and the Economy under Roger II and his Successors', Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean, 1100-1400 [Variorum Reprints], (London, 1987), I, 12-13.
- 85) D. Abulafia, 'Catalan Merchants and the Western Mediterranean, 1236-1300: Studies in the Notarial Acts of Barcelona and Sicily', Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean, 1100-1400 [Variorum Reprints], (London, 1987), VIII, 228-30.
- 86) Fournier, vol. 3, 874. The heretic was Raymond, a native of Toulouse, about 40 years old, active in Gascony; otherwise unknown.
- 87) Fournier, vol. 3, 985-6. Arnaud Baille and Peire Mainz were looking for Raymond Isçaura de Carnat and Bernard Baille.
- 88) Fournier, vol. 3, 992. The story about Bernard joining Frederick's army is echoed by Bernard's brother, Arnaud. [Fournier, vol. 3, 790.]
- 89) Limborch, 81, the pretended pilgrims by Durand Barrani; 76, the father and daughter were Serdana and Guilhem Faber, of Verdun.
- 90) Runciman, Sicilian Vespers, 273.

- 91) Limborch, 68. Peire Autier is occasionally described as ancianus, for example Limborch, 81.
- 92) J.-L. Biget, 'L'extinction du catharisme urbaine: les points chauds de la répression', Cahiers de Fanjeaux, vol. 20, (1985), 312-5.
- 93) Fournier, vol. 3, 803, 1079.
- 94) Duvernoy, Histoire (II), 330-1. Peire Fils was condemned as a fugitive. Limborch, 175, 158-9, 169-70, 186-7.
- 95) Duvernoy, Histoire (II), 325-6, 331. For Albi, see Davis, 75-82.
- 96) Biscaro, 547.
- 97) Mathorez, no. 2, 86.
- 98) Biget, 'Un procès d'Inquisition', 318-9.
- 99) Fournier, vol. 3, 1238, 1244, 1254.
- 100) Duvernoy, Histoire (II), 327. Limborch, 40. For example, Mathieu Aycard, the dyer, from Ile de Tunis.
- 101) Fournier, vol. 3, 914-1033. The testimony of Peire Maury and see also E. Le Roy Ladurie, Montaillou, (Harmondsworth, 1980).
- 102) For example, many of the accused at Albi [Davis, 273-4, 279, 289, 296].
- 103) Fournier, vol. 2, 585. Roger-Bernard III, Count of Foix.
- 104) Fournier, vol. 3, 1184. There was also the story that Belibaste claimed 'it was written' that a descendent of the King of Aragon would feed his horse on the altar at Rome. [Fournier, vol. 3, 783.] Despite the disaster of Muret, faith in the Kings of Aragon lived on.
- 105) A. Friedlander, 'Les agents du roi face aux crises de l'hérésie en Languedoc vers 1250-vers 1350', Cahiers de Fanjeaux, vol. 20, (1985), 207-16.
- 106) See Dupré-Theseider, 'Gli Eretici', 238-42.
- 107) R. Davidsohn, Firenze ai tempi di Dante, trans. E. Dupré-Theseider, (Florence, 1929), 148-9. J. N. Stephens, 'Heresy in Medieval and Renaissance Florence', Past and Present, vol. 54, (1972), 25-60. Limborch, 81, has heretics visiting Florenzia but this is more likely to be Fleurance, Gers in Southern France.
- 108) Paolini and Orioli, 80.
- 109) Biscaro, 548-53.

- 110) G. Mollat, 'Les Cathares en Corse', Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, (1956), 147-50. J. M. Angebert, 'Une hérésie Cathare en Corse au XIV^e siècle: le Giovanna li', Folklore 23, no. 140, (1971), 8-13.
- 111) Biscaro, 511-2, but again the Inquisition lost interest in the area after 1300. Sanjek, 'Dernieres traces de Catharisme', 119-34. Fine, 153.
- 112) J. I. von Döllinger, Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters, vol. 2 of 2 [Dokumente], (Munich, 1890), 251-78. Merlo, 20-41. E. Cameron, The Reformation of the Heretics: the Waldenses of the Alps, 1480-1580, (Oxford, 1984).

CHAPTER NINE: A COMPARISON OF THE DOCTRINE, RITUAL AND LIFESTYLE OF THE ITALIAN AND SOUTHERN FRENCH CATHARS

In the first chapter, the theology of the Cathars in Languedoc and Italy was considered, up to around 1250. Beyond this date there was little development of intellectual dualism. However, the introduction of the Inquisition led to a body of material which demonstrates how dualist beliefs were interpreted, both by active perfecti and believers. This material is particularly abundant in the Inquisition interrogations of Southern French exiles in Italy, and will be considered in this chapter. For the Italian Cathars themselves evidence is more fragmentary, although the depositions of Cathars at Bologna, and to a lesser extent Milan, do provide some material comparable to the Southern French depositions. Although the later period of Cathar development provides little in the way of detailed discussion of belief, two full accounts of Cathar ritual were produced, to which, again, material from Inquisition interrogations is added. Finally, the chapter will compare the lifestyles of the perfecti, dealing mainly with their level of education and their methods of supporting themselves.

The basic pattern of development reflects the movement of heretical communities described in earlier chapters. The Southern French and Italian Cathars differed both in attitude and lifestyle. As has been shown, they were the dominant heresies in their respective areas and only came together when they were oppressed; by this stage, however, their beliefs had become too debased and irrelevant to the mass of their congregation to be of much consequence. However, both groups continued to draw support for the perceived purity of their lifestyle.

(A) DOCTRINE

The last systematic statement of Southern French Cathar theology can be found in the tract quoted by Durand de Huesca around 1220.¹ It put forward absolute dualist views. By the mid-1240s, Italian Cathars were divided between moderate and absolute dualism, with both Concorrezenses and Bagnolenses tending towards moderate dualism, while the Albanenses were absolute dualists. Little was added to the body of intellectual work on dualism after 1250. The Book of the Two Principles² written by John of Lugio in the 1240s remains the most original contribution by the West to absolute dualist beliefs, yet it marked the end of Cathar participation in intellectual debate. This was partly because Catholic persecution made it increasingly difficult for Cathar writers to produce and disseminate their works. However, more importantly, the absolute dualists faced considerable difficulties in defending their beliefs at an intellectual level. John of Lugio's work was a brave, but unsuccessful, attempt to answer criticism from both Catholic and moderate dualist opponents and tries to offer an intellectual justification of absolute dualism.³ His arguments are, as a result, provisional and even contradictory and it is unlikely that the beliefs he proposes are representative of the majority of Cathar believers, even within his own sect. The Book of the Two Principles is therefore of limited use in giving information about the beliefs of the members of Cathar sects at this time, and one has to turn to more popular sources for these.

These other sources present a different picture. They identify the moderate dualists as their main target. One of the most popular works attacking dualism was the Dispute between a Catholic and a Patarine heretic and this debate has been found in some twenty eight manuscripts. The

arguments put forward by the heretic belong to moderate dualism. He shows a certain facility with Biblical texts, but at root his beliefs are not logical and border on the mystical. The heretic states that God made all things, but not the evil, vain, perishable and visible things; these, he claims, were created by Lucifer. He interprets the heavens, which were made by God, to mean our heavenly souls, the earth as the earthbound souls of believers and the seas as our souls abounding with the water of doctrine.⁴

Practising inquisitors also saw the moderate dualists as the major threat. Raynerius Saccone puts the numbers of the moderate sect of Concorezzo at three times that of the Albanenses, who followed an absolute dualism. In addition, there was the small group of Bagnolenses who were also moderate dualists.⁵ There is little evidence available that sheds light on the doctrine of ordinary Cathar believers; however, what there is confirms the predominance of the moderate dualists.

One of the most decisive acts in the history of Italian Catharism was the murder of the inquisitor Peter of Verona on his way from Como to Milan in April 1252. Fragments of two Inquisition processes concerning the crime have survived. The first took place shortly after the murder in September, the second in 1295, in following the condemnation of Guglielma la Boema's supporters. The first process tells us little about the Milanese heretical community; the one exception is the minor noble, Stephano Confanoneri's, statement that the credentes de Mediolano had met and wanted the inquisitor to be killed.⁶ The second interrogation is a little more informative. One of the witnesses claimed to have said the Virgin Mary was an angel. This was a popular idea amongst the Cathars and was held in common, at least in part, by all three Italian sects. It was also a belief held by many

Languedocian Cathars.⁷ However, at the end of the 1295 process, Stephano Confanoneri was condemned as a member of the sect of Concorezzo, after repeated abjurations and broken penances.⁸

By the end of the thirteenth century, it would seem that in numerical terms, it was the moderate dualists who predominated. The reason for this was most probably the simple appeal of the moderate beliefs. They claimed that mankind was descended from the angels, trapped within the bodies of Adam and Eve and they also dismissed the Old Testament in its entirety, as a work of the Devil. Such beliefs are shown in even a comparatively sophisticated statement of moderate dualism, such as The Secret Supper.⁹

The heresy at Bologna investigated by the Inquisition in 1299 and 1300 provides a reliable example of Cathar beliefs. There was almost no attempt by those accused of heresy in Bologna to align themselves with any of the established Cathar sects, although one witness did call the heretics Bagnolenses. One of the few accused who was informed about doctrine, Bonigrino da Verona, rebutted Inquisition attempts to term him an absolute dualist, and then went on to put forward moderate dualist beliefs:

'interrogatus suo sacramento si erant duo principia et duo dii, respondit quod erat unus Deus. Interrogatus si ille Deus de quo loquebatur creaverat et fecerat serpentes dracones scorpiones et alia bruta et consimilia respondit quod non. Interrogatus quis creaverat et fecerat predicta, utrum Deus vel diabolus, respondit asserendo et cum clamore affirmando quod diabolus fecerat predicta omnia et que sunt in nocumentum et detrimentum, et gravamen hominis, et quod Deus non creasset nec creaverat ista.'¹⁰

Bonigrino here uses his emotional convictions rather than theological arguments; he did believe there was only one God, but could not conceive that this God would have made creatures injurious to man. By implication, Bonigrino allows that man may have been God's creation. In such confusion, it is no surprise to find that there were also traces of absolute dualism

in his beliefs. Examples of this can be seen in his assertion that he was one of 'Christ's sheep', that is, one of the spirits which had fallen from heaven and were now doing penance on earth, or that it was the devil who had created the soul of Judas.¹¹ These two beliefs would seem to allow the devil rather more importance than Bonigrino had previously admitted, particularly in the creation of souls.

The most important characteristic of Catharism in Bologna was the lack of emphasis on doctrine. Instead, those interrogated placed greater emphasis on personal sanctity. Bonigrino was even willing to admit that the priests of the Roman Church could sacrifice the body of Christ, absolve and bind, provided that they were good men and in a state of penance. However, he added that all men who were good christians could also do these things.¹² The 'good christians' was a popular euphemism for the perfecti.

There were few in Bologna who found good christians, of whatever type, within the Catholic Church. The Inquisition was roundly abused following the burning of the two Cathars.¹³ There was, however, respect shown among those interrogated for the characters of the two men burnt alive and for Rosafiore, the woman whose bones were exhumed.¹⁴

It was this decline in interest in theology and the growing importance of personal lifestyle which was to allow some measure of cooperation between the Italian and Southern French Cathars. There was a danger for Catharism as a distinct set of beliefs, however; declining interest in dualist theology led to the sect becoming increasingly indistinguishable from other contemporary apostolic heretics. Indeed, those mentioned above were the last Cathars burnt in Bologna. After 1300, the attention of the inquisitors turned to the Dolcinians.

At first sight there was still a strong dualist element to belief

among the Cathars of Southern France. Guilhem Orset reported the sayings of one Garnier de Cordua, a judge from Rouergue, in around 1269. Guilhem told the Inquisition that, at his assize held in a village church, Garnier had claimed that:

'duo dii erant unus benignus et alter malignus.'¹⁵

and that these words had often been said by the witness himself to various listeners. There is further evidence of absolute dualism in the testimony of a witness from Gascony. Whilst in the Inquisition prison at Toulouse, the witness had been told doctrine which echoed the Vision of Isaiah: that there were two gods who fought against each other in the sky.¹⁶

At the same time there were also those amongst the Southern French Cathars in Italy who put forward moderate dualist beliefs. Fabrissa, the woman of Toulouse who had met pilgrims from Piacenza, claimed that Lucifer had made man at God's command. God blew in the mouth of man to give him life, since Lucifer had claimed he was not able to do this himself. One of Fabrissa's listeners asked how God had sent his spirit into the work of the devil and she answered that He had placed His will there.¹⁷ The moderate dualists gained the upper hand. The version of the Vision of Isaiah disseminated by the Cathars as late as 1320 excludes all reference to the eternal war between God and Satan.¹⁸

Indeed, speculation on the nature of God can be seen in Languedoc outside the boundaries of organised heresy. Before 1275, a man from Toulouse is recorded as having declared that there were no less than seven gods, of which six had elected and promoted the seventh.¹⁹ At the other extreme, another man who had lost his son in Italy, despairingly proclaimed that there was no soul in the body except blood.²⁰

Not only are there examples of contradictory doctrines being taught, but there is also evidence that the perfecti refused to be drawn into discussions on basic beliefs. Sometime before 1274, Bernard de Montesqieu, a knight of Puylaurens, was invited to meet the 'friends of God'. These were the perfecti Guilhem Prunel and Bernard Tilhols, who had both spent some time in Lombardy. The knight asked them if they thought that the devil had created the bodies of men. The heretics denied this and countered that the belief was 'imputed to them from ill-will'. The witness added that they did not say more on the subject. Instead the heretics stressed other aspects of their life. They laid great emphasis on their purity of lifestyle and their abstinence, and went on to condemn the scandal of their persecution.²¹ The two Languedocian exiles neatly ducked the question which had so fragmented the Italian sects. This may well have been an astute decision, in view of the situation in Italy. However, there were probably more basic reasons for avoiding discussion on the fine points of theology. Although the two perfecti had many books, they would have been of limited use, since neither of the men could read.²²

(B) RITUAL

Despite the decline in the importance of dualist doctrine, there were still differences in the characters of Cathar churches in Languedoc and Italy. This is shown in their rituals. Two documents outlining Cathar ceremonies have survived. The earliest is in Latin and was composed in Lombardy between 1225 and 1250, although later interpolations were made. The other version of the rituals that we have is in Provençal; it is found in a manuscript dating from around 1280, which also contains the Bible in Provençal.²³

The Rituals are probably the most striking evidence of the international nature of early Catharism. Parts of these Rituals have been traced back to Bogomil and primitive Christian rites. Indeed, the preparation of the texts themselves was not confined to one area: although the scribe of the Latin Ritual was writing in Italy, he translated rather awkwardly from Provençal. There are many possible explanations for this, but two would correspond with the development of early Catharism outlined in the first chapter.

The Latin Ritual probably dates from the first quarter of the thirteenth century, but the practices described in it may have come from the late twelfth century.²⁴ An original copy of the Ritual may have travelled back with Mark from the Council of St. Félix. An alternative explanation is that, as the works of the Italian troubadours demonstrate, Provençal was a *lingua franca* in Italy in the early years of the thirteenth century. There are significant differences between the Latin and the surviving Provençal texts, particularly the Latin Ritual's gloss on the words 'supersubstantial bread', which was added by Italian Cathars.²⁵

The Rituals deal with the three main ceremonies of Catharism. The first was the confession made by the perfecti, which was sometimes called the apparellamentum. The second ceremony was the consolamentum, transforming the believer into a perfectus and often performed close to death. The greeting ceremony or melioramentum was the final ritual to be described, and was the way in which a Cathar believer welcomed a perfectus.

The Provençal version of the Rituals deals more with the practicalities of life as a Cathar, whereas the Latin is intended more to explain the theory behind the practice. The first rite described in the Provençal document is the confession made by perfecti, or the Servisi as it

is termed.²⁶ Its equivalent is missing from the Latin manuscript, although it may well have been included in the original version, since the text begins in mid-sentence. However, both Raynerius Saccone and Anselm of Alessandria describe confession by the Italian Cathars; Anselm, in particular, connects this with penances, involving demotion or loss of status by perfecti.²⁷ The Provençal Ritual seems to accept lapses by perfecti without recourse to such drastic measures. It concludes that perfecti involved in pastoral work would find it virtually impossible to lead a pure life:

'Cum la gent mondana andam, cum essens estam e parlam e majam, e de moutas causas ofendem, si qu'als nostres fraires e als nostrs esperitz nozem.'

As is explained in the service:

'O Senhor juja e condapna los vises de la carn, ni aias merce de la carn nada de corruptio, mais aias merce del esperit pausat en carcer.'²⁸

The apparellamentum ceremony demonstrates the Southern French Cathars' skills in running and overseeing a pastoral ministry.

The Latin Ritual's concern with theory is seen in the first rite it describes, the administration of the Lord's Prayer which was the precursor to the full consolamentum. The Latin Ritual contains a lengthy commentary on the prayer, including a later interpolation on the phrase 'our supersubstantial bread'. The role of Christ is emphasised and the author claimed that the phrase 'our father who art in heaven' was said in order to contrast with the 'father of the devil', also referred to as 'the father of the evil ones'. In addition, there are quotations from the Old Testament, all of which suggests that the Latin Ritual was the work of absolute dualists.²⁹ There is little practical detail about the ceremony in the Latin version. We know from other sources that the administration of the

Lord's Prayer consisted in the placing of a book on the believer's head, who then recited the Lord's Prayer and a 'pardon' of his past sins. The Latin Ritual simply contains a brief reminder to the believer that the Prayer must be said at all meals.³⁰

By contrast, the Provençal version concentrates on the performance of the ceremony. It is stressed that the ceremony can only go ahead if the believer is 'in abstinence' and if the 'christians' agree to administer the prayer to him. The details of the ceremony are very specific, down to the preparation of a table covered with a cloth by one of the 'good men', interspersed with three melioramenta to the presiding ancia or elder, at each stage.³¹ The use of the term ancia suggests that the Provençal Ritual dates from quite late in Cathar history, since the term was favoured by the Cathars for senior Languedocian perfecti once the structure of bishops and deacons had broken down.³²

The theological commentary which follows, dealing with the significance of the ceremony, is short and not totally clear. It contains the idea of a spiritual fall in the past and a long period of alienation from God, suggesting moderate dualism. Despite the mention of the Bible, only the New Testament is referred to, which again is consistent with moderate dualist theology.³³

The most important ceremony to the Cathars was the consolamentum. In essence this was granted by the laying on of hands and the saying of the Lord's Prayer. It could be performed, as Bernard Gui put it, 'in health or in sickness'.³⁴ If the recipient were ill or dying, the consolamentum ensured that the believer's soul achieved salvation. When administered to the healthy, it created a new perfectus, who could then carry out the pastoral work of the Cathar church. The use of one sacrament for all, in

effect, was one of the fundamental pillars of Cathar belief. There are obvious parallels with the emphasis on baptism in the early Catholic Church and indeed both the Latin and the Provençal Rituals refer to the ceremony as a 'spiritual baptism'.³⁵

Both Rituals present a version of the consolamentum as a ceremony performed in health for the creation of a new perfectus. However, the Provençal Ritual goes on to present a second version for the sick, addressing such problems as how the ceremony might be performed if the believer were bedridden and how much preaching a sick man could endure.³⁶

Again the Latin and Provençal Rituals show differing characteristics. In the Latin version, the ceremony of the consolamentum is accompanied by an extensive sermon. This does, nevertheless, provide evidence on the beliefs of the Cathars who performed the ceremony. The elder or ancianus comments on the comparison drawn in the New Testament between baptism and the saving of Noah (I Peter iii: 20-21), but concludes that, because Noah and his descendants committed shameful deeds, they could not have been saved. As a consequence, the 'Noah' and 'Ark' referred to by Peter must be interpreted as the Old Testament and Law granted by the Holy Father to his people. All those who kept to that Testament were saved.³⁷ Again there is the idea that the Old Testament was the work of a benevolent God, and that those who kept its law were saved, ^{which} is the hallmark of the accommodation with Catholic belief made by the absolute dualists.

The Provençal version deals more with the practicalities of life as a perfectus. Following the creation of the perfectus there is a short section advising him on how he should behave in a variety of situations. These range from how to enter dangerous places, how to cope with being interrupted at prayer and what the perfectus should do if he were to find

another person's belongings on the road. The explanation of the consolamentum is given purely in terms of the New Testament, which suggests a moderate dualist point of view.³⁸

Once these important differences between the two versions of the Ritual have been established, the potential for mutual recognition by the groups of Cathars employing the ceremonies can be seen more clearly. Although there were two traditions at work, the placing of the book, the laying of hands and the conclusion with the kiss of peace were essentially elements of the same consolamentum ceremony. Moreover, both consolamenta laid claim to the same early Christian tradition. The Latin ritual claims:

'Unde veri cristiani docti ab ecclesia primitiva hoc ministerium impositionis manuum visibiliter faciunt sine quo nullus salvare potest, ut creditur.'³⁹

The Provençal is more rhetorical:

'Aquest Sanh babtisme per loqual sant esperit es datz a tengut la gleisa de Deu, dels apostols en sa, et es vengutz de bos homes en bos homes entro aici e o fara entro la fi del segle.'⁴⁰

The visual aspects of the ceremony were more important than the implied theology. Indeed it may not be coincidence that none of the ceremonies makes explicit the dualist beliefs of the heretics. The Rituals may well have been devised to include as many shades of Cathar theology as possible and they illustrate that, despite the theological divisions within the Cathar movement, and the criticism by their Catholic opponents, a Cathar perfectus could be ordained with no mention of dualism. The Rituals cannot be dated with accuracy, but they do provide a possible point of cooperation for Southern French and Italian Cathars.

The best confirmation of the two Rituals' authenticity is the fact that the ceremonies they describe took place. In exile at Sirmione, Bernard Escoïani was taught the pater noster, the Gospel of Saint John and

the confession they called the servitium by a group of perfecti from Lanquedoc.⁴¹ The Provençal Ritual for the consolamentum of the sick is regularly found in Inquisition depositions from the mid-thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. A particularly good, late example is the consoling by Peire Autier and Amiel de Perles of Raymunda, the dying mother of Bernard de Maziers of Merlat. Bernard said that:

'duo homines ... adducti ad dictam infirmam de nocte ... & vidit quod dictus Petrus coram dicta infirma dicebat benedicte, sive instruendo dictam infirmam quod sic diceret, sive alias dicendo per se ipsum. Item vidit quod dictus Petrus posuit manum suam super dictam infirmam tenendo quendam librum & legendo aliqua verba & prius posuerat quendam pannum lineum album super dictam infirmam & postquam in dicto libro dictus Petrus & dictus Amelius fecerunt multas genuflexiones ibidem juxta lectum dicte infirme, & scivit & audivit a Bona sorore sua que ibidem presens erat quod illi homines erant de illis qui vocantur heretici, & receperant tunc dictam matrem suam & salvaverant sibi animam.'⁴²

There is also evidence of the covenesa, the agreement by which believers confirmed that they wanted the consolamentum administered should they fall mortally ill, which is mentioned in the Provençal ritual. Bernard later admitted to the Inquisitors that he had wanted to be of the heretics' convenencia.⁴³

Unfortunately no first-hand account has survived of an Italian consolamentum of the sick. The closest we have is the account given by Anselm of Alessandria, the Inquisitor for Milan and the March of Genoa.⁴⁴ Anselm was at his best in describing contemporary events, using evidence gathered from the people he had interviewed. He reported the usual disputes among the Italian Cathars, specifically over whether the perfectus had to be able to touch the believer in order to perform the consolamentum. The Concorezzenses maintained he did, whereas the Albanenses claimed that the perfectus could be separated from the sick man by a wall, or even by a

river. In Anselm's description, however, there are notable differences from the Provençal Ritual and even the consolamentum described above. There is no mention of the cloth, for example, which was clearly remembered by Bernard de Maziers. Anselm also records that, although the perfecti placed the book on the head of the believer, their hands were placed on the believer's shoulders. The ceremony concluded with the ominous words:

'A modo exis inter nos et penitus in hoc mundo sicut obis in medio luporum.'⁴⁵

If the instructions for the Rituals show that the ceremonies were potentially acceptable to all Cathars, the ceremonies as told to the Inquisitors reveal why the various strands of the heresy remained separate. In a culture where ritual was of paramount importance, there were several differences of practice. Some, no doubt, arose from differences of belief, such as the dispute between Albanenses and the sect of Concorezzo. However, many differences between the ceremony in Languedoc and Italy were probably no more than the result of a century's divergence from Nicetas' initial teaching. In particular, the Southern French Cathars faced increasing difficulties in reaching their believers in the course of the thirteenth century. Consequently, they made various innovations which set them apart from the Italians. The covenesa has already been mentioned, but in later Southern French Cathar practice, it was extended to allow the consolation of the believer, even if they were unconscious or unable to speak, provided that their agreement had been previously received.⁴⁶ Later still there were instances of consoled believers embarking on an endura or fast until death. This phenomenon also occurred in Italy and demonstrates how deeply the fear of arrest by the Inquisition had penetrated Catharism.⁴⁷

The final innovation amongst the Languedocian Cathars concerned the panis benedictus or blessed bread that they distributed. This was based on the Last Supper and was a practice used by both moderate and absolute dualists. The ceremony took place before a meal and, in its early form, the blessing of the bread occurred after the Lord's Prayer had been said. The bread was blessed and then broken or cut by the perfectus; it was then distributed among the believers to be eaten.⁴⁸ The significance of the bread was disputed amongst the Italian Cathars. Absolute dualists insisted that the ceremony was purely commemorative, since the bread was created evil and could in no true sense be blessed. They therefore considered the rite of lesser importance.⁴⁹

For the Languedocian Cathars, however, the rite and, more particularly, the bread itself was of increasing significance. In the early 1270s, Amblard Vassal brought bread that had been blessed by the Cathar bishop of Albi, back from Lombardy to believers in Languedoc.⁵⁰ Bernard de Bosquet, a miller, collected bread from Lombardy as early as the mid 1250s.⁵¹ There is even the possibility that the blessed bread could replace the perfecti at the time of death. Raymond Bassiers of Caraman reported in 1276 that when Na Navarra returned from a period of imprisonment in an Inquisition jail for heresy, she sought the bread from her niece. She had told the younger woman to guard it like the eye in her head and later explained that the bread was of very great value to her, because she wanted to have the 'good men' at her death, but could not have them.⁵² By the time of the Autiers, not only were perfecti recommending believers to eat a little bread at the beginning of each month, but there was also an example of bread blessed by Jaime Autier being treated as a relic, together with some gloves made by him.⁵³

Two trends can be detected here. The breaking and blessing of the bread was becoming sacramental, and appears to have become almost as important to believers as the consolamentum. This reveals the growing influence of Catholicism on the heretics. A second trend can be seen in the magical qualities that came to be attributed to the bread. Again, this mirrors the way in which such properties were attributed to the consecrated wafer from the Catholic Mass. However, whereas the Catholic Church was doing its best to prevent this tendency, most notably in the demand made at the Lateran Council of 1215 that the wafer be kept under lock and key, the Cathar perfecti encouraged it.⁵⁴ Both tendencies are important circumstantial evidence that, despite holding to absolute dualism at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Languedocian Cathars in doctrinal terms were far from their Italian counterparts, the Albanenses, by the time of their exile from Southern France.⁵⁴

(C) LIFESTYLE

The main reason for the failure of the Languedocian Cathars, in general, to forge links with Italian heretics was their determination to preserve their Languedocian way of life, which relied extensively on support from both family and native community. Exiles either returned to Languedoc or associated almost exclusively with other Southern French refugees in Lombardy. Another fundamental difference between the two groups of Cathars was the type of society in which they lived: the Italian Cathars were predominantly urban, the Languedocians rural. Although, as Violante has shown, the contado played an important part in the origins of Italian Catharism, as did the nobility in maintaining it, there were nevertheless great centres of heresy in Florence, Milan and Bologna.⁵⁵

Italian society at this time was predominantly urban and, for the Languedocians, must have proved very different from the familiar villages surrounding Toulouse, in the Lauragais. The lack of specific material from the Italian Inquisition makes comparison between the lifestyles of the Italian and Southern French Cathars over the whole period impossible. However, the Inquisition interrogations of Languedocians give an idea of the changes that occurred within the sect and these will be compared with the evidence available from Italy.

The reason why believers supported the heretics is clearly stated on several occasions in the Inquisition records from Languedoc. The main appeal of Catharism lay in the perfecti's way of life. Peire Maurel regularly travelled between the Cathars in Lombardy and those in Languedoc and he expresses the appeal of the heretics thus:

'Deus dixit de ore suo haereticis fidem, spem et charitatem quia invenietis salvationem ... multos labores patiuntur et magnam paenitentiam faciunt et austeritatem vite ducunt amici Dei quos persequitur Ecclesia Romana.'⁵⁶

One can see the influence of Catholic apostolic groups in this explanation, rather than dualism and the heretics' appeal remained substantially unchanged throughout the years of exile in Italy. Around 1297, a witness in Albi reported that two perfecti, Raymond del Boc and Raymond Desidier, boasted of their way of life. They claimed to follow the way of the apostles, to live as hermits and follow the way and penance of the blessed John in the desert.⁵⁷ The essence of the message is the same as that expressed by Peire Maurel, although an increasing use of figures associated with Catholicism can be detected. Indeed, the two perfecti from Albi appear to have rehabilitated John the Baptist, a figure generally disliked by the early Cathars. The Autier brothers also emphasised the role of

specific apostles and around the turn of the century, Alazais Azema found Guilhem Autier reading to his audience on the Saints Peter, Paul and John. The Autiers even claimed they had the same power as had been granted to Saint Peter and Saint Paul.⁵⁸

The Cathars' emphasis on their way of life was rooted in their reliance on local goodwill in Languedoc for food and shelter. In return, the perfecti offered their preaching and blessing; above all, however, they offered salvation through the consolamentum. This would send souls to Paradise so quickly, they could crash through a wall, as Peire Autier graphically put it.⁵⁹ A final gift to the sect was also generally expected in the form of a legacy.

This "spiritual economy" was further cemented by close family ties.⁶⁰ The relationship continued, even when many perfecti were forced by the Inquisition to move away from the community. Guilbert de San Michel recalled how his mother received food from local believers to supply perfecti, including Guilhem Prunel who was based in Lombardy. She continued with this until her death in 1268.⁶¹ In the early fourteenth century, Mengarde, wife of Pons Clergue of Montailou was still sending bread, wine, oil and honey to Guilhem Autier and Pons Sicre when they were in the area and the Autiers also relied heavily on their family during their mission to Languedoc.⁶² However, one aspect of their lifestyle was quite profoundly affected by the time in Lombardy and this was their relationship with money.

Allegations of usury had always been one of the standard Catholic charges against the Cathars.⁶³ Catholic writers freely accused Cathar believers of indulging in usury, but there was some hesitation whether such a charge should also be applied to perfecti.⁶⁴ Raynerius Saccone accused

those who had become perfecti of not restoring money obtained through usury or theft, adding:

'Ipsi etiam [the perfecti] dicunt usuram nulla esse peccatam.'⁶⁵

The composite Brevis Summula, written in Italy, is equally terse, twice making the charge that according to the Cathars, usury is not forbidden. However, both times this charge is made, the author goes on to note the lesser accusation that the Cathars did not ensure the restitution of any gains made through usury.⁶⁶

There is a strong measure of hypocrisy to these charges. The Catholic Church itself was turning the restitution of incerta (gains from usury where the victim was unknown or impossible to reach) by repentant lay usurers into a profitable investment for itself. Writers ranging from Stephen Langton to Dante complained at this practice, and the friars in particular were attacked both for absolving wealthy usurers and then appropriating their profits to the detriment of the victims. The most notable examples of such arrangements come from Lombardy and Tuscany; however, similar practices went on in Languedoc. Dossat reports cases of usurers being on good terms with the regular orders, even though they were Cathar believers, and Mundy shows the usurer Pons David coming to a similar arrangement with the Hospital of Toulouse as those recorded in Italy.⁶⁷ In other words the Catholic charge that the Cathars permitted usury could equally well be levelled at their own ranks and does not necessarily mean that Cathar perfecti approved of usury, much less indulged in it.

We do have evidence, however, that perfecti were involved in certain kinds of financial transactions from the beginning of the thirteenth century and these might have inspired the Catholic charges. The Cathar church was relatively wealthy in a predominantly rural environment and the

perfecti had access to substantial amounts of cash. They could and did lend small amounts to friends and supporters.⁶⁸ However, this was not done on a profit-making basis; the Cathars could not afford provoking such ill-will as was reserved for usurers.⁶⁹ A clear example of the sort of arrangement favoured is provided by Peire de la Cauna who, in 1226, borrowed 10 solidi from the perfectus Raymond d'Artvinha. Raymond's fellow perfectus Guilhem den Olivier stood surety for the loan. Peire was a believer and had previously arranged accommodation for the perfecti.⁷⁰ In an early example of perfecti returning from Lombardy around 1245, the perfectus Peire Gausbert sold 34,000 needles for six libras Melgorienses to a believer, in whose house they had stayed for nine days. In fact, the believer did not have the requisite amount of money and the local deacon of the heretics stood surety for the believer's promise to pay Peire. When the believer realised he could not pay, he gave the needles to another supporter to return to Peire Gausbert.⁷¹

In the earlier period there was little chance of this 'spiritual economy' being abused. The perfecti had numerous depositarii with whom they could leave money and the conduct of the system could be overseen by the Cathar deacons, to whom the perfecti confessed. The perfecti were usually present in the locality and could therefore perform their pastoral duties. To try and swindle them out of money owed would have involved a lengthy and acrimonious dispute, and would have invoked the risk of the consolamentum being denied on the deathbed. In some ways the long period in exile had little effect. In the 1270s, Bernard Hugo of Roquevidal provided accommodation for perfecti and also acted as a depositarius. Peire de Bugato, who was from a family of Cathar believers, asked Bernard Hugo for a loan of three solidi, to be taken from the funds of the perfecti

Guilhem Prunel and Bernard de Tilhols. Even though Bernard told the perfecti that Peire had not repaid the money, the loan was said to have pleased the heretics.⁷²

However, during the years in exile, the perfecti developed a great interest in financial matters. Their most pressing need was to develop exchange facilities, in order to travel to Lombardy. As might be expected, this was done through sympathetic believers. Guilhem Prunel and Bernard de Tilhols had their new denari of Toulouse changed into black tournois by a sympathetic moneylender of Prades in the mid 1270s.⁷³ The Cathars maintained efficient methods of collecting bequests in Languedoc during their persecution and there is evidence of donations being deposited with certain trustworthy people, such as the moneylender of Prades.⁷⁴ There was a risk, however, that the perfecti could be blackmailed by anyone seeing the consolamentum who coveted the subsequent legacy. This happened in the case of Raymunda Terrena, the maid of a rich woman, who desired a cloak left to the heretics by her mistress on her death in the early 1270s.⁷⁵

Despite such problems, the Cathar church seems to have become richer as the century wore on. Peire Maurel was in a position to lend believers the expenses to reach Lombardy on behalf of the heretic community there. Other prospective emigrants sent their savings in advance, either through nuntii or other travellers and some even offered to support relatives in Lombardy.⁷⁶ One interesting example is found in the woman of Lanta, who gave 100 solidi to a nuntius, who changed the money into tournois and delivered it to the perfecti, Peire de Prato and Stephan Donat in Cremona. This was intended as a deposit, to support her when she arrived in Lombardy. However, she later changed her mind and asked for the sum to be given to her mother, a perfecta. However, her mother was already dead and

the money presumably reverted to Cathar funds.⁷⁷

The heretics built up considerable reserves of capital by such means. Indeed, many were living in the great money-lending centres of Europe, such as Genoa, Piacenza, and Cremona. The example has been quoted of the arrangement made by Peire de Beauvilla with his perfectus cousin to do business with capital provided by the perfectus.⁷⁸

At the same time, the heretics' financial arrangements became more sophisticated. The perfectus Bernard de la Bordaria was able to lend a supporter ten solidi of Toulouse. However, he had first to consult with a depositarius, who revealed that one hundred solidi were available, left with him by a noblewoman of Fiac, in readiness should she journey to Lombardy as she wanted to do. It is possibly even more significant that Bernard felt no compunction in apparently charging the supporter interest on the loan of three solidi, even though the perfectus and his companion had enjoyed his hospitality for many days.⁷⁹ The perfecti could perhaps plead risk as a justification of his charging interest, since the debtor did not repay the loan.

It is difficult to believe that the Cathars of Languedoc did not become involved in commercial moneylending, at least indirectly. Peire de Beauvilla visited the cities of north Italy 'for his business'.⁸⁰ The same 'business' might also explain the visits of Peire Maurel to Asti, a great financial centre, where there is no evidence of a Cathar community, since as a nuntius he would be carrying considerable sums of cash.⁸¹

The decline in the infrastructure of supporters and depositarii in the 1280s and early 1290s meant that the perfecti became more directly interested in the collection of legacies left by believers. The perfecti at Albi spent much of their time on such matters and even the Provençal

Ritual for the consolamentum of the sick begins with an enquiry whether the believer is in debt to the Cathar church.⁸² This concentration on financial matters cannot have benefitted the spiritual reputation of the perfecti. Raymond del Boc and Raymond Desidiers, traipsing round the countryside of the Albigeois in search of long-forgotten debts, can hardly have presented an inspiring picture. One supporter witnessed the equally uninspiring sight of Peire Autier and three fellow perfecti arguing over the division of a legacy, from a woman of Cabardes, of thirty pounds small tournois.⁸³

It is not surprising that the Cathar church gained the reputation of extreme wealth. Peire Maury, a simple shepherd, said that the nephew of the perfectus Raymond de Castelnau had retreated to Sicily or Lombardy with the treasure of the Cathars, which he put at the unlikely figure of 16,000 pieces of gold.⁸⁴ This reputation was not wholly the fault of the heretics. Travelling to Lombardy did involve substantial expense, and equally, Lombardy had something of a reputation as a land of plenty in Languedoc.⁸⁵ This probably accounts in part for the cynical, but widely held theory that the Autiers fled to Lombardy in 1296 for financial motives. However, in their anxiety to maintain the sect the Cathars may well have added to this reputation with their emphasis on debt collection.

Real or imagined, the Cathars' wealth may account for the incidents at Albi. Support was raised for the perfecti by promising prospective believers that they would receive gold and silver from the perfecti.⁸⁶ Raymond del Boc and Raymond Desidier promised that they would make one witness 'a rich and great man' if he were to greet them as a member of the sect.⁸⁷ The most likely explanation of this is that the perfecti were offering credit in an economically backward area, based on their

experiences in Italy. Whatever the answer, the change in their financial position was one of the major cause of friction between the perfecti and the community to which they appealed for support in Languedoc.

Another reason why the perfecti may have lost support among the laity was the decline in the number of educated perfecti. By the time of the Autier revival, the standard of education amongst the perfecti had become very variable, as had the level of the theology they put forward. Again, this decline can be traced back to the erosion of the infrastructure of support available to the perfecti. Throughout their history, the Cathar perfecti had varying levels of education. According to Jordan of Saxony, although Bishop Diego of Osma recommended that Cistercian missionaries adopt the Apostolic lifestyle of their opponents, they kept their books and used them to oppose the tracts written by the Cathars, in confrontations such as that at Fanjeaux.⁸⁸ However, as Dossat has pointed out, the perfectus in the 1230s had often to find someone else, such as a clerk or notary, to read the text, whilst the perfectus then commented upon it.⁸⁹ Moreover, the book was also a sacred object to the Cathars, who used a copy of the Gospels to perform the consolamentum; possession of books does not, therefore, necessarily imply literacy.

In sources for the period after 1250, there were still cases of the perfecti finding people to read to them. Guilhem Prunel and Bernard de Tilhols returned from Lombardy in the 1270s and found a supporter, whom they apparently paid, to read their book to them. However, it was well known by the witness that they could not read. To this they replied that they had a chaplain who read to them; however, they would not reveal his name.⁹⁰ There was suspicion on the part of some believers that the

perfecti only seemed to read at a consolamentum.⁹¹ At around the same time, there were reports that the heretics respected a book from Bulgaria; no mention is made, however, of their having read the book.⁹² Bernard Escolani at Sirmione was taught the confession, the Lord's prayer and Saint John's Gospel by word of mouth.⁹³ While there were still books to read and literate sympathisers to read them, therefore, the standard of instruction by the heretics did not decline. However, when the Cathars came under pressure in Lombardy and their organisation of supporters in Languedoc collapsed between 1270 and 1290, then a divide opened up between literate perfecti, such as the Autiers, who could read the books themselves and those who were ignorant of basic doctrine, such as Belibaste.

There is a serious lack of comparable source material to shed light on the lifestyle of the Italian perfecti. A few scraps of information are available from Inquisition notes and the Cathars' own writings. A passage in Raynerius Saccone suggests that the 'spiritual economy' operated for the Italian Cathars as for the Languedocians. The former perfectus claims that the heretics gave few alms, a feature which he attributes partly to their avarice. He goes on to claim that, as a consequence:

'pauperes eorum, qui tempore persecutionis non habent victui necessaria vel ea quibus possint restaurare suis receptatoribus res et domos, quae pro eis destruuntur, vix possunt invenire aliquem qui velit eos tunc recipere ... sed divites Cathari multos conveniunt.'⁹⁴

The Latin consolamentum also provides some guidance on the life of the perfectus, using Biblical quotations to imply that the soldier of God cannot involve himself in secular activity or return to his old life. To what extent this was merely a spiritual exhortation, or actually represented a prohibition on work or trade for perfecti is not clear.⁹⁵ A similar hint at the necessity to divest oneself of material goods is made

in the consideration of the 'Universal Symbols which Refer to the Evil' in The Book of the Two Principles.⁹⁶ From the paucity and obscurity of the references, the perfecti's way of life was not such an important issue for the early Italian Cathars.

The Inquisition interrogations from Bologna provide the best comparison between the lifestyles of the Italian and Languedocian Cathars. However any similarities revealed would probably be have been exaggerated by the standardised Inquisition approach to suspects. Even so, these interrogations show that Italian believers fecit reverenciam to their perfecti, who, in turn, administered the consolamentum to the dying, preached and distributed blessed bread to believers.⁹⁷

As one might expect, the lifestyle was now as important to the Italian Cathars, since the end of their doctrinal disputes, as it had always been to the Southern French.⁹⁸ Unlike the Languedocians, a flamboyant touch was added with the reputation held by some Italian perfecti as miracle workers.⁹⁹

The Italian Cathars were almost as supportive of family structure as their Southern French counterparts. Indeed two leading consoled Cathars in Bologna were man and wife, although presumably living in chastity, and despite the fact that they roundly condemned the institution of marriage.¹⁰⁰

Other Italian teachings differed from those of the Languedocians. The punishment of malefactors was an issue for debate among the heretics in Bologna, but not in Languedoc. Whereas Bompietro claimed that it was a sin to kill malefactors, Bonigrino was asked:

'Interrogatus si est peccatum facere iusticiam de malefactoribus et si hoc erat secundum Deum, respondit quod malefactores, scilicet homicide et fures et huiusmodi poterant puniri secundum mundum, sed non secundum Deum nec Deo placet.'¹⁰¹

One of the reasons why the execution of malefactors^{was} rejected was the widely held belief that Christ and the apostles had ordered that the commandment not to kill be obeyed. This argument was used by other apostolic groups and it is significant that it is used in preference to more sophisticated Cathar theology, which was opposed to killing, since it denied the possibility of reconciling the soul through the consolamentum.¹⁰² However, in Bonigrino's evidence given above, there are signs that another Cathar belief was present amongst active believers in Italy. This was outlined by Raynerius Saccone, who claimed that the heretics believed that the secular authorities committed a mortal sin in punishing malefactors.¹⁰³

This reveals one of the key differences between the outlook of the Southern French and Italian Cathars. The issue of secular authority was never raised among the Languedocian Cathars, since for the first fifty years of their existence, they enjoyed the patronage of the secular authorities up to the highest level. Even after persecution began, heresy was such an integral part of local Languedocian communities that, as late as the fourteenth century, heretics were patronised by local nobility and their officials. However, in Italy Catharism had been forced to rely on adroit response to factional politics and the secular authorities carried out effective persecution as often as they provided protection.¹⁰⁴

It can therefore be seen that the Italian Cathars' attacks on secular authority attracted a limited audience: mainly the poorer elements of society, who did not form part of the secular power base. However, the Cathars' anti-clerical teaching drew sympathy from a much wider section of society. Although many of these sympathisers cannot be seen as Cathar credentes, persecution of the heretics nevertheless prompted outbreaks of anti-clerical feeling in Bologna.¹⁰⁵

The majority of the Italian perfecti were artisans. Three of the thirty five interrogated in Bologna were 'purse makers', for example. The perfecti served a community drawn from a similar class and range of occupations as themselves: minor artisans in the cloth industry, retailers of knives, wine and groceries, inn-keepers and a cartwright are amongst the trades thrown up during the Bologna interrogations.¹⁰⁶

There are fewer close family links among the heretical community in Bologna, many of whom came from other cities.¹⁰⁷ However, Bompietro reported that he had been taught his heretical beliefs by his parents in Ferrara. He had been married, at fifteen, to the daughter of a notorious local heretic and his sister had been married to another believer. Significantly, Bompietro's own sons did not take up their father's beliefs.¹⁰⁸ There is little evidence of perfecti being supported by relatives, although family ties were obviously important. The perfecti mentioned in the Bologna records include two brothers from Mantua and a father and son from Verona. There are plenty of examples of perfecti being offered hospitality by believers, but five perfecti either owned or rented their own houses. Moreover, professions are given for six of the perfecti: two skimmers and a mercer, in addition to the three purse-makers. This would suggest that the gap between the perfectus and the world was a small one for the Italian Cathars of this period.¹⁰⁹

(D) CONCLUSION

In looking at the doctrine, rituals and lifestyle of the later Cathars in Southern France and Italy, the conclusion must be drawn that, were it not for the link between these later groups and the Cathar sects of the twelfth century, they would be virtually indistinguishable from the other

apostolic groups of late medieval Europe. In Languedoc and Italy the heretics gained their strength from their image as holy men, supplemented in Languedoc by ties of community and residual feelings of regional identity. Within the sect, continuity and mutual recognition was ensured by their distinctive rituals, which, although based on early Christian rites, set them apart from other contemporary heretics. In terms of doctrine, virtually the only distinctive feature was the survival of the basic dualist belief which transcended the disagreements between absolute and moderate, namely that the world was an evil place and could not be the work of a beneficent deity. Although the implications of this doctrine were no longer applied to everyday life, if indeed they ever had been, the idea still held considerable appeal and this kept the Cathar identity alive and may actually have thrived through their hardships.¹¹⁰

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- 1) Thouzellier, "Liber contra manicheos" Wakefield and Evans
- 2) Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen
- 3) Borst, 12-13. Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 24-5.
- 4) Wakefield and Evans, 291.
- 5) Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 70.
- 6) Villa, 'S. Pietro Martire', 791-2:
- 7) This issue is very confused. Raynerius Saccone claims that the following Cathar sects held the belief that Mary was an angel:
 - a) old-style Albanenses, that is, followers of Belesmanza (although not John of Lugio, who specifically denies it) [Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 71, 73]:
 - b) followers of Nazarius within the church of Concorezzo. Nazarius claimed that the belief had come from the church of 'Bulgaria' [Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 76];
 - c) the Bagnolenses, under the influence of Nazarius [Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 77]; and
 - d) the Cathars of Languedoc, whom Raynerius said followed the beliefs of Belesmanza and the old-style Albanenses [Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 77].

Doubts over the Virgin's mortality are found in Doat, 25: 62v. Borst claims the belief that the Virgin Mary was an angel is more associated with radical dualism, although the Doat evidence is still open to doubt. [Borst, 163.]
- 8) Tocco, 462, 464-9. Also Ambrosiana, MS A.227 Inf., 62-3, 64-7.
- 9) Otherwise known as 'Interrogatio Johannis', Reitzenstein, 300-1, 303-4. Wakefield and Evans, 460-1.
- 10) Acta ... Bononie, 13-14.
- 11) Paolini and Orioli, 105-6.
- 12) Acta ... Bononie, vol. 1, 15. In contrast, Bompietro, a believer who was burnt at the stake, believed 'nothing' (nihil) about the body of Christ. Paolini and Orioli, 122.
- 13) Paolini and Orioli, 30. Allegations included that the friars had lovers and that the inquisitor was a heretic.

- 14) Paolini and Orioli, 148-9, 144 respectively.
- 15) Doat, 25: 179r.-v.
- 16) Doat, 25: 221r. Vision of Isiah, 105-6. Wakefield and Evans, 450.
- 17) Doat, 25: 38v.-39r.
- 'Lucifer fecerat hominem / et deus dixit ei quod faceret eum loqui; ipse vero respondit quod non poterat et tunc Deus inspiravit in os hominis, et locutus est homo ... ipsa interrogavit praedictum Fabrissam quomodo Deus misisset spiritum suum in opus diaboli et ipsa respondit quod voluntatiem suam possuerat ibi.'
- See also the witness who said that everything she had was from the devil [Doat, 25: 7v.-8r.] and the only fragment of doctrine in the Albi deposition, which was that 'ista temporalia et transitoria non fecerat diu set scelestia et eterna'. Davis, 216.
- 18) Wakefield and Evans, 456-8 and see also BÉlibaste's preaching of it [Fournier, 770-1, 982-]. On the use of moderate dualism, see Dossat, 'L'Évolution des Rituels Cathares', 27-8. For conflicts between moderate and absolute dualists, see Hamilton, 'Saint-Félix', 45-48.
- 19) Doat, 25: 226r. The witness was Guilhem le Gran of Toulouse.
- 20) Doat, 25: 20r.-v. This was Durand de Rofiac of Ulmeria in the diocese of Rouergue. He actually shared the Cathars' views on the Eucharist, although Murray would perhaps rightly term him an 'Epicurean'.
- 21) Doat, 25: 159v.-160v.
- 'interroguti ab ipso an ipsi dicerent diabolum creasse corpora hominum dixerunt quod non, ita dicebant ipsi sed imponebatur eis a malvoli nec amplius processerunt in illa materia.'
- 22) Doat, 25: 161r.
- 23) The two editions of the Latin Ritual are in Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen and Thouzellier, Le Rituel Cathare. The Provençal is found in Clédat, ix-xxvi.
- 24) See Thouzellier, Le Rituel Cathare, 25-6 for dating; 21-2 for evidence of original Provençal.
- 25) For connections with Bogomils and early Christians, see Borst, 193-6 and Lambert, 109-13. For the doctrinal significance of these rules, see Manselli, 261-8. [I am grateful to Dr Jean Dunbabin for the initial suggestion that Italian Cathars might have used Provençal as a common language.]
- 26) There has been some discussion over whether the apparellamentum also applied to believers, but see Wakefield and Evans, 777, n. 10.

- 27) Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 67-8 and Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare, III', 315. Wakefield and Evans, 367. Raynerius in particular is inconsistent: having described the confession by perfecti and derided their penance, he says that when they become Cathars:

'Hinc etiam dicendum est quod praedicta opera non iniunguntur eis cum fiunt Cathari in paenitentiam sive in remissionem peccatorum suorum.'

- 28) Clédat, x.

'When we go among the people of the world, we are with them, and we speak and eat with them and we sin in many ways, so that we harm our brothers as well as our souls.'

Clédat, xi.

'O Lord judge and condemn the vices of the flesh, have no pity on the flesh born of corruption, but have mercy on the soul held in prison.'

- 29) There is still plenty of room for controversy here. The frequent repetition of the Lord's Prayer, particularly after meals, was probably derived from Bogomil or Massalian practice, but confining the saying of the Prayer to an elect may owe something to early Christian rituals. See Borst, 191-4.

- 30) Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 151-6. Wakefield and Evans, 468-73.

- 31) Clédat, xi-xii. Wakefield and Evans, 485.

- 32) See above, Chapter 8, note 87.

- 33) Clédat, xiii-xiv.

'Quar lo pobla de Deu se departic ancianament del seu senhor Deu.'

- 34) Wakefield and Evans, 379. Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 50-2 for a discussion of the theology of ritual.

- 35) Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 157 refers to it as baptismum spirituale. Clédat, xvi, terms it lo babtisme sperital.

For the parallels with early Christian and also heretical practice from the early Middle Ages, see Duvernoy, Religion (I), 143-54. The ubiquity of baptism by laying on of hands in accordance with Acts VIII, 17, means that too much theoretical significance cannot be read into its use.

- 36) Clédat, xxii-xxvi. Wakefield and Evans, 492-4. There has been some debate over whether the absence of the consolamentum for the sick is significant for dating the Rituals. See Thouzellier, Le Rituel Cathare, 23-4.

- 37) Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 160-1. Wakefield and Evans, 478-9.

- 38) Clédat, xxi-xxii. Wakefield and Evans, 491.
- 39) Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 162.
- 40) Clédat, xvii.
 'This holy baptism through which the Holy Spirit is given, has held the church of God from the apostles until now and has come from good men to good men until this moment and will do until the end of the world.'
- 41) Doat, 25: 246r.-v.
- 42) Limborch, 185-6. Thouzellier, Le Rituel Cathare, 168-9 gives many other examples from earlier in the century and notes the minor variations.
- 43) Clédat, xxiv. Limborch, 186. For the two senses of the covenesa that it was used both as a general agreement to be consoled and that later it also implied that the perfecti could proceed if the believer was unable to speak or unconscious. See Duvernoy, Histoire (II), 159-60. Dossat, 'L'Evolution des rituels cathares', 28-9.
- 44) Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare' II, 313-4. Wakefield and Evans, 365-7. Thouzellier, Le Rituel Cathare, 163-5
- 45) Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie cathare' II, 314.
- 46) The earliest example of a covenesa or pactum I have found, in which the believer asked the perfecti to act even if he, the believer, could not speak is around 1237. Doat, 25: 262r.-v. The agreement to console even if unable to speak was never taken for granted by the perfecti. Around 1274, Guilhem Pagesii and his companion refused to console the wife of a witness, because she could not speak. Doat, 26: 111r.-v.
- 47) Borst, 197, n. 22, points out that historians have over-estimated the importance of endura. However, his assumption that it became an integral part of their spiritual life in the later stages of the sect seems odd. Fasting had always been part of the life of the perfecti. Fasting until death only arose when they were persecuted. Borst's statement that a person could live up to 75 days without food, if they had water, is misleading. These people were already seriously ill and fasting could only have hastened death. See Doat, 25: 175r.-176r. Dossat, 'L'Evolution des rituels cathares', 29-30.
- 48) For accounts of ceremony, see:
Salvo Burci, 'Liber Supra Stella', trans. Wakefield and Evans, 276.
James Capelli, Summa contra hereticos, cxlix-cl. Wakefield and Evans, 304-5.

Raynerius Saccone in Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 65. Wakefield and Evans, 331.

Anselm of Alessandria in Dondaine, 'La Hiérarchie Cathare' II, 316. Wakefield and Evans, 368-9.

For Languedocian ceremony, a good example can be found in Doat, 25: 29v.-30r. and for Italian, see Acta ... Bononie, vol. 1, 25.
Discussion on origins and precedents can be found in Borst, 201-2.

49) Salvo Burci and Raynerius Saccone explain the dispute clearly; James Capelli seems woolly about the differences and Anselm, surprisingly, does not mention it.

50) Doat, 25: 7r.-v.

51) Doat, 25: 210r.

52) Doat, 25: 228v.-229r.

'Domina Navarra mandaverat ei de muro ... quod dictum panem bene reservaret sibi sicut oculum [sic] capitis et quod dixit ... quod tantum valebat ille panus ei, qui vellet habere bonos homines in obitu, et non posset habere eos ...'

53) Limborch, 159-60 and Duvernoy, Religion (I), 215-6.

54) K. Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, (London, 1971), 38-9.

55) Violante, 'Hérésies Urbaine', 171-97.

56) Doat, 25: 46v.

'God [commended] to the heretics from his own mouth, faith hope and charity so that you will find salvation. ... They suffer many labours and they do great penance and the friends of God, who the Roman Church persecutes, pursue an austerity of life.'

See also Doat, 26: 265v.; 25: 159v.-160r.; 25: 266r.

57) Davis, 247-8.

58) On the book, see Fournier, vol. 1, 311. [It could be the same as mentioned in Geoffroy d'Ablis, 86-7.] On the power claimed by the Autiers, see Fournier, vol. 2, 567.

59) Fournier, vol. 2, 567-8.

60) Roach, 'Cathar Economy', 51-71.

61) Doat, 25: 29v.-31r. She supplied corn beans, nuts, fruit, onions, cabbages and other victuals.

62) Fournier, vol. 1, 310.

- 63) For discussion of this topic, see Borst, 188-9, Manselli, 259 and Duvernoy: Religion (I), 253-4.
- 64) For example, Piere des Vaux-de-Cernay, but even he has it as a list of sins, including robbery and murder, which the most vehement polemicist could never say were approved of by the Cathar church. Wakefield and Evans, 239.
- 65) Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 66.
'They [the perfecti] also say that usury is no sin.'
- 66) Wakefield and Evans, 357, 361.
- 67) B. J. Nelson, 'The Usurer and the Merchant Prince: Italian Businessmen and the Ecclesiastical Law of Restitution', Journal of Economic History, vol. 7 [supp], (1947), 109-12. Dossat, 'Les Cathares d'après les documents d l'Inquisition', 94, 104 n.123. J. H. Mundy, 'Charity and Social Work in Toulouse', Traditio, vol. 22, (1966), 258-65.
- 68) Doat, 25: 239r.; 21: 230r., 246r.; 24: 265r., 282v. 216v.-217r. See also A. Roach, 'The Financing of Catharism', (Reading University, The Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies, MA thesis, 1984) 43-54.
- 69) Roach, 'Cathar Economy', 53-4.
- 70) Doat, 24: 266r., 269r.
- 71) Toulouse, MS 609, fol. 1906.

Johannes Payesa, 10 kal iul. 1246: 'Item dixit quod emit a Petro Gausberti XXXta et IIIIor miliaria acuum et promisit dicto Petro Gausberti quod daret pro predictis acubus VI libras Melgoriensium et Araldus Praderii diachonus hereticorum intravit fideiussor dicto Petro Gausberti pro ipso teste et Willelmus Cavaler reddiderunt acus Arnaudc de Clerenx de ...'

The rest of the quotation is lacking from my copy of M. Duvernoy's transcription. For a translation of the remainder, see Duvernoy: Religion (I), 201. See also Manselli, 259. However, the point is that the Cathar deacon is not committing usury.

- 72) Doat, 25: 81v.-82r. Peire asked:

'utrum haberet de denariis haereticorum qui respondit ei quod habebat quinque solidos et ille petiit mutuo ex illis tres solidos, et habuit eos quos postea non restituit quod ipse testis sciat sed hoc significavit ipse testis haereticis, et fuit eodem tempore; dixit etiam quod dictum mutuum placuit haereticis.

For Peire helping heretics, see Doat, 25: 120r.; 26: 101v.

- 73) Doat, 25: 125v. B. de Puy of Prades giving evidence in April 1275:

- 74) Doat, 25: 126v.-127r. See also Duvernoy, 'Cathares et Faidits', 12-13.
- 75) Doat, 25: 105v.
- 76) Doat, 25: 17r.-v. Aladaix, wife of 'Bugarath de Palais Villa', wanted to talk to Maurel:
- 'quod diceret eam secum in Lombardiam ad haereticos, et mutuarent sibi pecuniam pro expensis ... tamen dixit sibi quod Ecclesia [the Cathars] habebat aliquos bonos, et magnos amicos in terra ista a quibus habebat peccuniam, quia de pauperibus parum, aut nihil poterat habere ...'
- Doat, 26: 35r.-v.
- 77) Doat, 25: 322v.-323r.
- 78) Doat, 25: 302v. and see above Chapter 5,
- 'Item quod ipse testis [Peire] recepit a Stephano Donati haeretico consanguineo suo praedicto centum libras imperiales ad negociandum, et tenuit eas aliquamdiu reddendo sibi medietatem lucri.'
- 79) Duvernoy, 'Cathares et Faidits', 12-13.
- 80) Doat, 25: 304r.
- 'ipse testis tenens hospitium suum Papiiae discurrebat negociando per terram Lombardiae.'
- 81) Doat, 25: 18v.
- 82) Clédat, xxii.
- 'Si crestias als quals le menester de la gleisa es comandatz si an message de crezentz malaute, anar i devo e devo li demandar en cosselh co s'es menatz vais la gleisa depuis que receup la fe, ni si es de re endeutatz vas la gleisa ni encolpatz.'
- See Roach, 'Cathar Economy', 59-61 and Doat, 24: 209r.-210v.; 24: 173v.
- 83) Limborch, 83.
- 84) Fournier, vol. 3, 780-1, 881.
- 85) Fournier, vol. 3, 646. Doat, 25: 8r.
- 86) Davis, 190, 250-1.
- 87) Davis, 224-5 and see also Doat, 26: 102r.
- 88) Jordan of Saxony, 6-7.

- 89) Dossat, 'Les Cathares d'après l'Inquisition', 87-9.
- 90) Doat, 25: 77v., 161r. respectively.
- 91) Doat, 26: 205r. ['libro ... in quo legebant vel videbantur legere']
- 92) Doat, 26: 216v.
- 93) Doat, 25: 246r.-v.
- 94) Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 68.
 'their poor who in time of persecution do not have the necessities of life or materials with which they can repay the materials and houses of their receptatores which are destroyed because of them, can hardly find anyone who would wish to receive them.'
- 95) Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 163. Wakefield and Evans, 481.
- 96) Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 113.
- 97) Acta ... Bononie, 25-7, 43-4, 85.
- 98) Paolini and Orioli, 122 n. 142.
 'Credebat quod heretici essent meliores homines de mundo et quod in eis et in fide eorum esset vera salvatio.' and see Dupré-Theseider, 'L'Eresia a Bologna', 283.
- 99) Acta ... Bonome, 45-6.
 'credens hereticorum dicebat quod heretici faciebant virtutes et miracula ...'
 'He goes on to relate how lights appeared over two perfecti who were burnt at Mantua.
- 100) Paolini and Orioli, 106-7, 122. See also Limborch, 197. and Manselli, 228.
- 101) Paolini and Orioli, 122 [Bompietro]. Acta ... Bononie, 14 and Paolini and Orioli, 102 n. 68 [Bonigrino].
- 102) Borst, 186-7.
- 103) Dondaine, Un Traité néo-manichéen, 65.
- 104) Dupré-Theseider considers the view of the late Italian Cathars more an immediate response to the burnings arranged by the Inquisition and commune. Dupré-Theseider, 'L'Eresia a Bologna', 295-6.
- 105) The situation in Bologna is outlined in Paolini and Orioli, chapter 1. For the implications of Catharism on secular authority, see Borst, 226-8.

- 106) Paolini and Orioli, 93-5. Dupré-Theseider, 'L'Eresia a Bologna', 278-81.
- 107) Dupré-Theseider, 'L'Eresia a Bologna', 275.
- 108) Paolini and Orioli, 113-4.
- 109) Paolini and Orioli, 91-3. Dupré-Theseider, 'L'Eresia a Bologna', 279-80.
- 11) Borst, 227 n. 4.

CONCLUSION

There is a tendency to think of the High Middle Ages as a period when European boundaries did not exist. This is particularly true in religious matters; Catholicism straddled Europe with its common language, its universal monastic communities and the waves of religious enthusiasm which washed across the Continent from time to time. However, Medieval Europe also contained immense regional differences. The great religious institutions were made up of people who spoke different languages. Monastic foundations played differing roles in each community and waves of religious enthusiasms addressed themselves to different local preoccupations as they crossed the Continent.

In this respect, Catharism was no different from the Catholic Church. In Southern France the heresy largely took the place of the Catholic Church in providing pastoral care. The Cathars went on to take the role of a 'national' church during the Albigensian Crusade and was instrumental in establishing Southern French cultural identity in the subsequent fifty years. By contrast, the indigenous Cathars in Italy appear as simply one more group amongst the myriad of guilds and brotherhoods that offered collective protection in the Italian cities. In their learned disputations in the first half of the thirteenth century,

the Italian Cathars provided a forum for both the discussion of doctrinal issues and for the factionalism within the sect itself. Moreover, they also provided such a forum for the expression of the anti-Catholicism that was latent in Ghibelline politics.

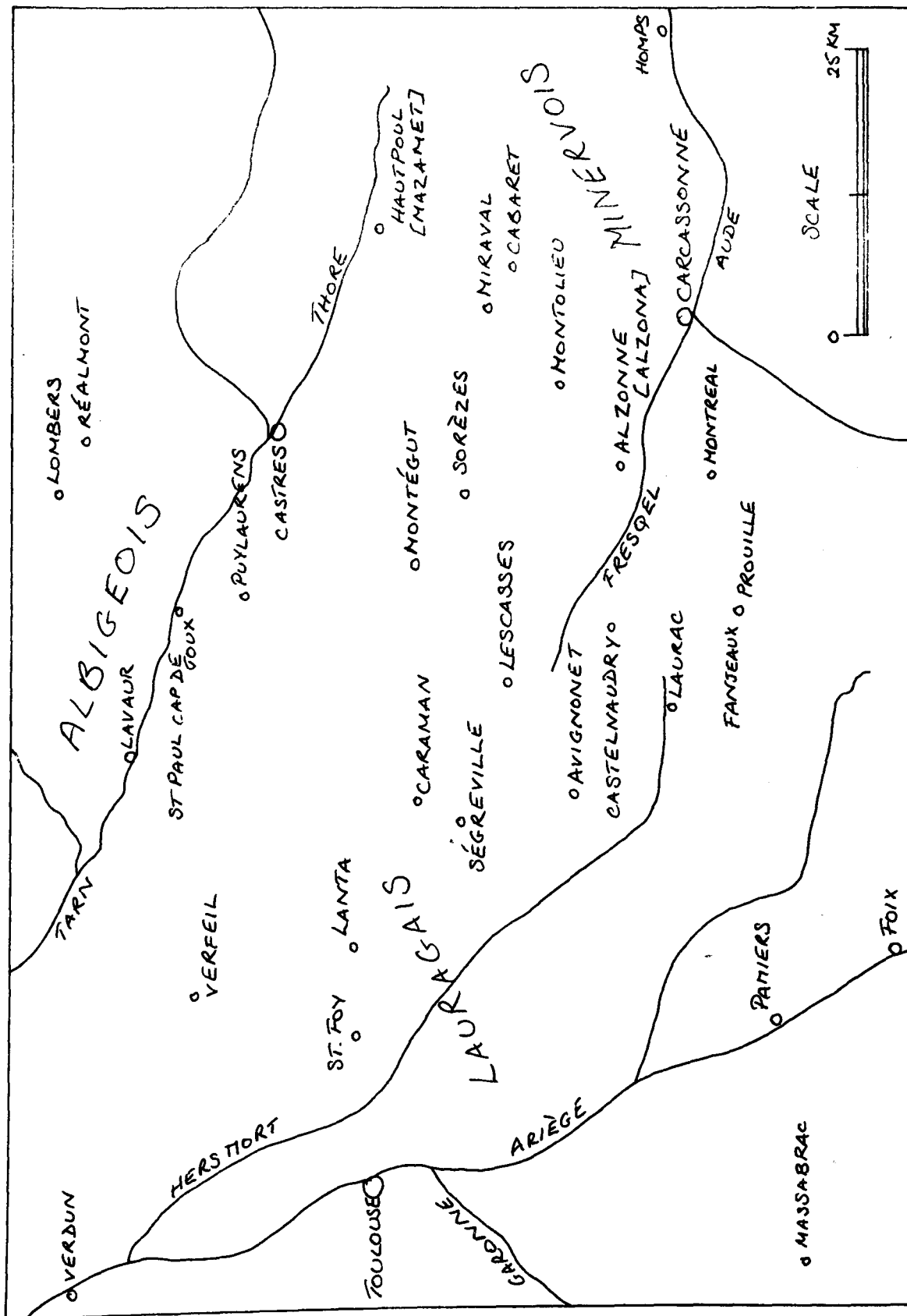
In view of these profound differences between Italian and Southern French Cathars, Nicetas' mission was a great achievement. He brought together communities of heretics with little in common, except for their dualist doctrine. However, Nicetas simply provided a starting point for a relationship between the Southern French and Italian Cathars. It was only after economic and cultural links had grown up between the two areas that Italy became the natural place of refuge for the Southern French Cathars, under threat from the Inquisition in the early thirteenth century. Even then, however, their commitment to Languedoc and the Southern French community in Italy kept the Languedocian Cathars predominantly inward-looking.

Cooperation between the Southern French and Italian Cathars developed once larger communities of Languedocians were established in the Italian towns and once these communities had started to integrate into Italian life. However, the Italian Cathars only cooperated with the Languedocians once persecution had robbed them of their intellectual and social preeminence, and made factional differences less importance. The opportunities offered by cooperation were seen in the Cathar revival of the 1290s,

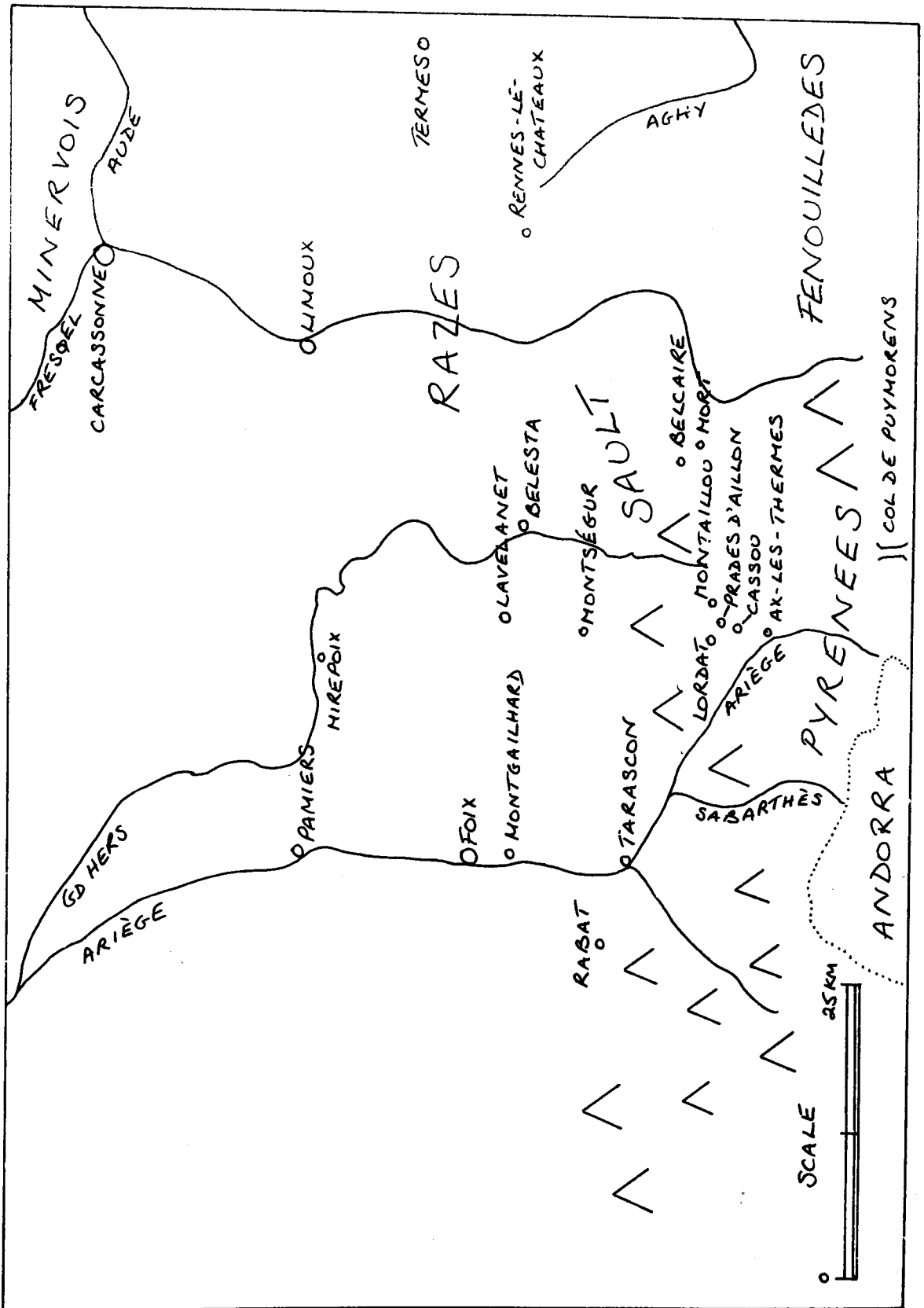
but the problems created by the fundamental differences in regional culture emerged as soon as the heretics returned to Languedoc.

This research would suggest that Catharism possessed few unifying features in itself and that these were, perhaps, more in the mind of their Catholic opponents. The relationship of the Italian and Southern French Cathars shows that Medieval Europe was a diverse place. Any attempt to understand its common history must include the study of individual regions and their relationship to one another. Indeed, an obvious subject for future research would be to explore the relationship of the various groups of Cathars in northern Europe.

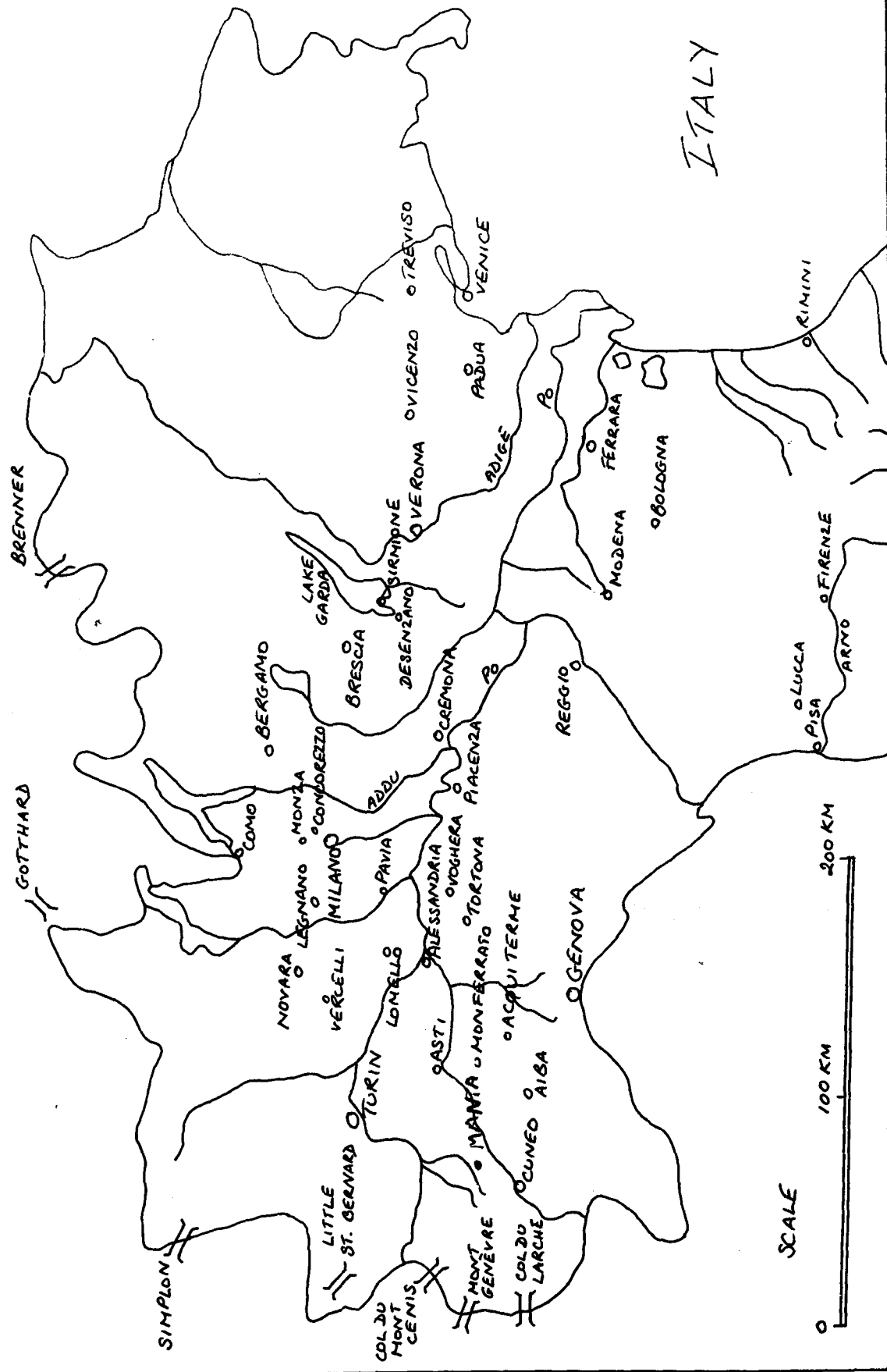
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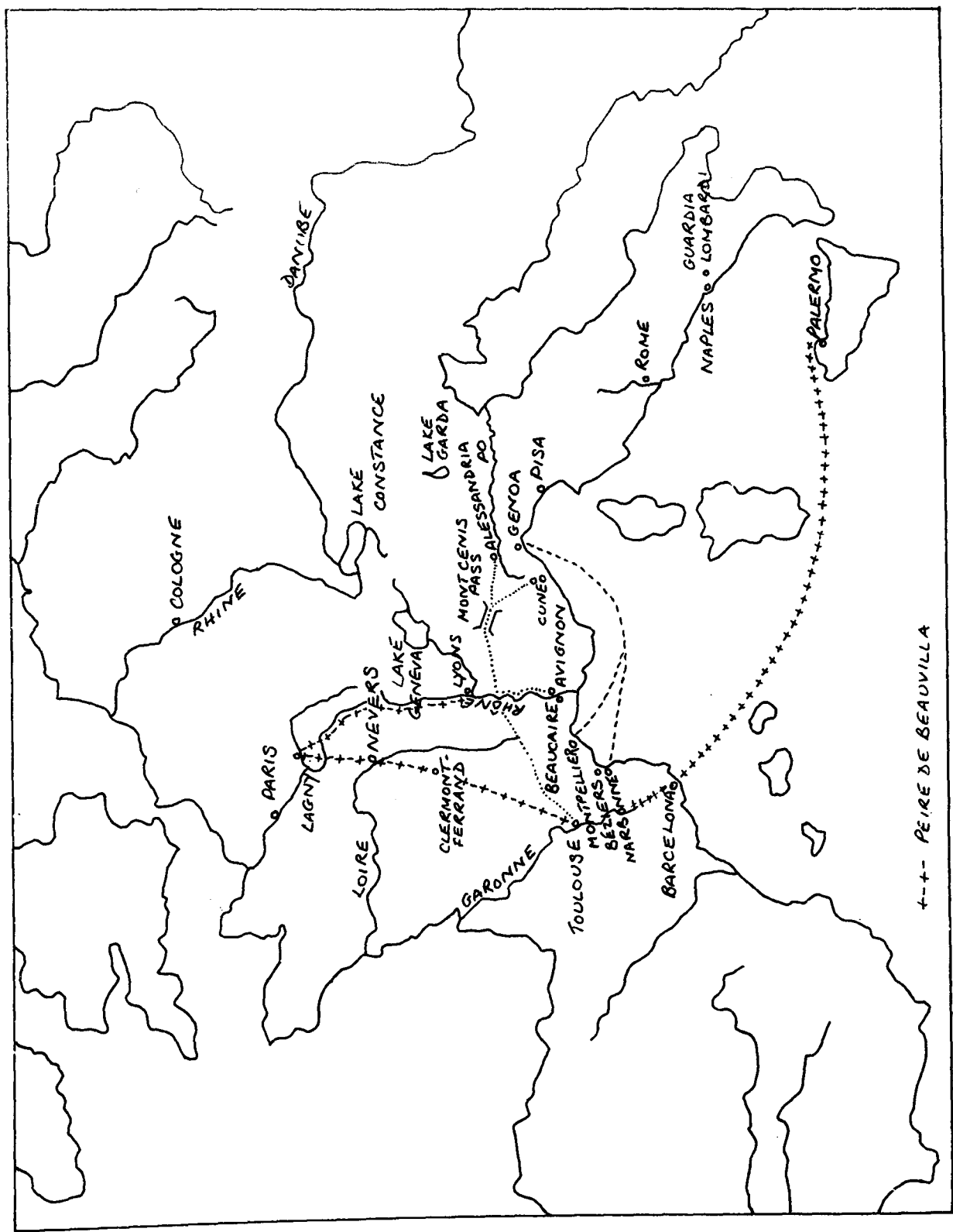
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ITALY



MEDIEVAL ROUTES BETWEEN SOUTHERN FRANCE AND ITALY



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