

Heresy and Aristocracy in  
Thirteenth-Century Languedoc

Rachael Mary Hardstaff

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University of York

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## Abstract

This thesis responds to the historiographical emphasis which has traditionally been placed on aristocratic support for Catharism in thirteenth-century Languedoc. It advocates a shift away from reliance on outdated ideas and assumptions about the aristocracy, its coherency as a group, and the bonds which both held it together and linked it to the rest of society. Instead, it looks to construct a more nuanced understanding of aristocratic support, opening up a dialogue with new work that has been done in the field of the southern French aristocracy in order to refine our understanding of social bonds as mechanisms which produced opportunities for Cathar activity and for the transmission of Cathar ideas. It also responds to the idea that the appearance of predominantly aristocratic support suggested by the inquisition records may be more a result of inquisitorial interest in elite groups than an objective reflection of reality. It does this by pushing beyond the immediate quantitative evidence and shedding light on the different modes of support that were provided to the Cathars by the aristocracy and by other social groups. Introducing other social groups as comparisons or controls helps to build a more nuanced and relative picture of aristocratic support for the Cathars, and the extent to which it can or should be considered socially distinctive.

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## Abbreviations

- 22, 23, 24 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Collection Doat, MSS 22-24; accessed in the University of York Doat Project.
- 25, 26 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Collection Doat, MSS 25-26; see *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth-Century Languedoc: Edition and Translation of Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282*, ed. and trans. P. Biller, C. Bruschi and S. Sneddon (Leiden, 2011).
- 609 Toulouse, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 609; accessed using J. Duvernoy, *Le manuscrit 609 de la bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse: Lauragais 1245-1246, 1253 – Copie Jean Duvernoy* (PDF format, 3 parts), <http://jean.duvernoy.free.fr/text/listetexte.htm> (accessed 29 May 2019). There is a scanned copy of the register at the BVMM (Bibliothèque virtuelle des manuscrits médiévaux) website, under ‘Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, 609’: <https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr>.
- A&B J. Arnold and P. Biller, ed., *Heresy and Inquisition in France, 1200-1300* (Manchester, 2017).
- Chanson* Guilhem of Tudela et al., *La chanson de la Croisade albigeoise*, ed. E. Martin-Chabot, 3 vols (Paris, 1960-72).
- Crises* Y. Dossat, *Les crises de l'inquisition toulousaine au xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle (1233-1273)* (Bordeaux, 1959).
- HGL* de Vic, C. and J. Vaissète, ed., *Histoire générale de Languedoc, avec des notes et les pièces justificatives*, 3rd edn, ed. A. Molinier et al., 16 vols (Toulouse, 1872-1905).
- Mansi *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. G. D. Mansi, 53 vols (Florence, 1759–1927, repr. Graz 1961).
- PVC, *Hystoria* *Petri Vallium Sarnaii monachi hystoria albigensis*, ed. P. Guébin and E. Lyon, 3 vols (Paris, 1926-39).



- PVC, *History* Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, ed. and trans. W. A. Sibly and M. D. Sibly (Woodbridge, 1998).
- Saisimentum* *Saisimentum Comitatus Tholosani*, ed. Y. Dossat (Paris, 1966).
- Song* *The Song of the Cathar Wars*, trans. J. Shirley (Aldershot, 1996).
- WP, *Chronicle* *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens: the Albigensian Crusade and its aftermath*, ed. and trans. W. A. Sibly and M. D. Sibly (Woodbridge, 2003).
- WP, *Chronica* *Chronica magistri Guillelmi de Podio Laurentii, 1145-1275*, ed. J. Duvernoy (Toulouse, 1996).

## Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

## A note on the names of people and places

I have anglicized the first names of deponents as they appear in the inquisition records where possible, in the interest of connecting my work to that of the wider anglophone literature on heresy. Where no suitable translation is apparent – as is more often the case with womens' names, which were drawn from a much wider pool – I have maintained the original Latin.<sup>1</sup>

I have converted place names (which appear in Latin) into modern French.<sup>2</sup> Maps 1 and 2 illustrate the modern departments where many of the places that are more frequently referred to in my thesis are located. Cases I have been unable to identify are left in italics.

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<sup>1</sup> The disparity between male and female first names is discussed in J. H. Mundy, *Men and Women at Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars* (Toronto, 1990), pp. 39-40, and P. Biller, C. Bruschi and S. Sneddon (eds.), *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth-Century Languedoc: Edition and Translation of Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282* (Leiden, 2011), pp. 124-27.

<sup>2</sup> Thanks for help with the identification and location of places are owed to Pete Biller.

Map 1: Departments and cities



Map 2: *Castra*



## Introduction

The purpose of my thesis is to investigate the validity of the historiographical emphasis which has long been placed on aristocratic support for Catharism. Jean Guiraud (1866-1953) may not have been the first to make a connection between Catharism and the aristocracy – commentators and historians had arguably been doing this since the thirteenth century itself – but he was the first to dedicate any significant space to both documenting the link, and making a substantive attempt to explain it.<sup>1</sup> This he did in a chapter of his introduction to the cartulary of Prouille, published in 1907, called ‘La noblesse Languedocienne et les Cathares’.<sup>2</sup> In this magisterial general account, Guiraud made massive use of the inquisition records to demonstrate a persistent and durable link between the nobility and the Cathars of Languedoc, in many ways setting the tone for the next one hundred years of historiography.

Guiraud came from the Lauragais, and historians have since observed the way that ‘his intimate sense of locale informed his use of the inquisition records’. This is certainly true of his chapter here, and the way that it charts noble affiliation to heresy.<sup>3</sup> His approach is to perform a vast geographical sweep of the region, showing the extent to which the nobility of each location were linked to Catharism. In this manner, he covers the *noblesse* of the Toulousain (pp. 238-39), the Lauragais (pp. 239-43) – including Mas-Saintes-Puelles, the Roquevilles, the lords of Montesquieu, and the family of Blanche of Laurac – Fanjeaux (pp. 243-47), Mirepoix and Dun (pp. 247-9), Cabardès (pp. 253-55), and the *seigneurs* of Montréal (pp. 251-52), Niort (pp. 256-58), and elsewhere in the Razès (pp. 259-60). Guiraud’s ‘vivid sense of place’ would remain a strong theme of later grand-scale Cathar histories, including those of Élie Griffé and Michel Roquebert.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For an example of this link as it was observed in the work of nineteenth-century historians, see C. Schmidt, *Histoire et doctrine des Cathares* (Bayonne, 1983, orig. 1848-49, 2 vols), i.195-96. Schmidt, notes that ‘Nearly all the barons of the land were believers of the sect [Catharism]’. He makes this assertion based primarily on chronicle accounts, and as a result, emphasises the significance of the role played by the high nobility such as the counts of Toulouse and Foix, and the Trencavels, rather than that of the petty nobility, which is highlighted by Guiraud and his followers, who worked mainly using inquisition records.

<sup>2</sup> *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Prouille, précédé d’une étude sur l’albigéisme languedocien aux xiii<sup>e</sup> et xiiii<sup>e</sup> siècles*, ed. J. Guiraud, 2 vols (Paris, 1907), i.ccxvii-cclxv.

<sup>3</sup> P. Biller, C. Bruschi and S. Sneddon (eds.), *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth-Century Languedoc: Edition and Translation of Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282* (Leiden, 2011), p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28. On Griffé and Roquebert, see below.

In 1935, Guiraud published the first volume of his second great project on heresy in Languedoc: a history of the inquisition. The tenth chapter of this volume, ‘La Noblesse Hérétique du Midi de la France’, recycled much of the material from his earlier work.<sup>5</sup> However, there are two substantial differences between the 1907 chapter and the 1935 chapter. The first is that Guiraud begins the 1935 chapter with an important additional source: the records of an enquiry conducted under Louis IX between 1259 and 1262, into the legitimacy of confiscations of property made during the earlier periods of crusade and heresy investigations. From these records, he includes a list of those who were named as *faidits*, having had their property confiscated for their involvement with heresy.<sup>6</sup> He uses this list to comment in a general way on the extent of the spread of heresy amongst the ‘middle and petty nobility of the land’, before launching into an exposition of inquisition material which practically mirrors (sometimes verbatim) his earlier work.<sup>7</sup>

The other substantial difference between the two chapters is that the analysis of the nobility’s affiliation with heresy is much more developed in his later volume. In 1907, in a sub-section of his chapter on nobility, Guiraud explores ‘the rivalry between the nobility and the clergy’, suggesting that the southern French nobility were receptive to Cathar ideas because of the animosity they felt towards the clergy, their greatest competitors for lands and revenues.<sup>8</sup> This idea is explored in much greater detail in a stand-alone chapter of his 1935 volume: ‘La noblesse meridionale à la curée des biens d’église’.<sup>9</sup> Here, Guiraud spends much more time exploring the circumstances of the nobility – and particularly of the ‘petty urban or rural nobility’ whom he describes ‘swarming’ en masse beneath the more powerful lords of the land. He surmises that the practice of partible inheritance, leaving generations holding increasingly smaller fractions of the patrimonies of their ancestors, had brought some nobles down to ‘the same state of misery as the peasants’.<sup>10</sup>

For Guiraud, these particular circumstances led the nobility to envy the wealth of churchmen, which provoked them into usurping church lands and revenues, and ultimately united them with the church’s other great enemy: the Cathars.<sup>11</sup> He argues,

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<sup>5</sup> J. Guiraud, *Histoire de l’Inquisition au moyen âge*, 2 vols (Paris, 1935-38), i.279-99.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, i.280-81.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* For equivalent passages in these vols on the Toulousain see from i.282; Lauragais from i.283; Mirepoix and Dun from i.291; Castelverdu from i.293; Montréal from i.294 and Cabardès from i.296.

<sup>8</sup> Guiraud, *Prouille*, i.261-65.

<sup>9</sup> Guiraud, *Histoire*, i.301-31.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, i.325-27.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, i.327.

moreover, that the Cathars encouraged the animosity of the petty nobility by condemning the profiteering of holy men and preaching the virtues of a simple apostolic life, and in doing so, in some ways justifying the nobility's encroachments on church property. In a seminal statement, he writes:

'I imagine that most of the nobles who made pacts with the heretics, allowing them complete freedom in their domains, were doing so much more because of their diatribes against the political and financial power of the clergy than because of any formal adhesion to their doctrine on Manichaean dualism.'<sup>12</sup>

Guiraud thus paints the petty nobility and the Cathars as political allies, a position that still carries a considerable amount of weight in the historiography. It is particularly relevant that the next historian to make a significant contribution to the field of heresy and the aristocracy, Élie Griffé, who published the first of his four-volume work on Catharism and inquisition in 1969, quoted this passage of Guiraud's in full.<sup>13</sup> That he did so is representative of Griffé's broad intention to follow in Guiraud's footsteps, which is evident not only in the many examples of noble participation taken from the inquisition records that he uses, but also in the sweeping geographical scope of his work.<sup>14</sup>

Most of Griffé's work on aristocratic participation in heresy can be found in the first of his four volumes, *Les débuts de l'aventure cathare en Languedoc (1140-1190)*. Here, he presents evidence predating the inquisition records to show the early 'attachment to error' of the knighthood. Describing the outcome of St Bernard of Clairvaux's preaching mission in Verfeil, Griffé concludes that in its early stages, heresy had more success in the *castra* than in the towns due to the fact that 'it benefitted from the protection and sympathy of the *milites*, lords of the *castra*.'<sup>15</sup> Crucially, Griffé writes that Geoffrey of Auxerre, in his letter describing the mission, finds that the hostility of the knights towards the church 'comes not so much from their attachment to error, but from their greed and opposition to the clergy.'<sup>16</sup> This sentiment aligns with Guiraud's theory that the nobility were primarily motivated by the prospect of temporal gains in their hostility to orthodox religion, and very much lays the foundations of Griffé's work.

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., i.329-30.

<sup>13</sup> É. Griffé, *Les débuts de l'aventure cathare en Languedoc (1140-1190)* (Paris, 1969).

<sup>14</sup> E.g. see É Griffé, *Le Languedoc cathare de 1190 à 1210* (Paris, 1980), pp. 34-184 and *Le Languedoc cathare au temps de la croisade (1209-1229)*, pp. 173-224.

<sup>15</sup> Griffé, *Les débuts*, pp. 42-45. Quote is p. 43.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 43.



Not content, however, with merely reproducing Guiraud's emphasis on the competition for lands and revenues between Church and nobility, Griffé adds important interpretative layers of his own. In particular, he homes in on the contentious issue of tithes, linking the animosity between the clergy and the aristocracy back to the Gregorian reformers who sought to restore the tithes to their true owners.<sup>17</sup>

These early depictions of an aristocracy primarily motivated in their religious choices by economic or political gains has only recently been challenged. It is fair to say that the majority of twentieth-century historians of heresy who came after Guiraud and Griffé have been more interested in documenting the phenomenon of aristocratic affiliation or support, than in explaining it. The contributions of Jean Duvernoy, a self-taught historian and enthusiastic editor of texts, are a good example of this. Duvernoy's work, *L'histoire des Cathares*, published in 1979, provides a multitude of examples of the involvement of noble and knightly families in Catharism, but little in the way of accompanying exposition. His 1998 introduction to *Le dossier de Montségur* – a translation of inquisition records taken from the very noble and knightly families who resided in that *castrum* – follows a similar pattern.<sup>18</sup>

In many ways Michel Roquebert, a former journalist and philosophy teacher, adhered to a similar formula to Duvernoy. Roquebert published a grand scale multi-volume general history of the Cathars between 1970 and 1998.<sup>19</sup> Like Duvernoy, he was not really interested in building on the interpretative work of Guiraud and Griffé, but more in presenting a body of evidence to support the prevalence of Catharism in different regions, in a way that only occasionally pointed to specifically aristocratic participation, for instance, in his section on the 'great Cathar lineage' of Mas-Saintes-Puelles.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, right from the introduction of his first volume, Roquebert emphasised that the nobility of the *castra*, more so than any other social group, were won over to the

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<sup>17</sup> Griffé, *Les débuts*, pp. 173, 185-97.

<sup>18</sup> J. Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme II: L'histoire des Cathares* (Toulouse, 1979), p. 205; Duvernoy, ed. and trans., *Le dossier de Montségur: interrogatoires d'inquisition, 1242-1247* (Toulouse, 1998), p.12.

<sup>19</sup> The first four vols of Roquebert's *Epopée* were published by Privat, Toulouse, between 1970 and 1989, and covered the period from 1198 to 1244. An additional volume, covering the period from the fall of Montségur until 1329, was published by Perrin, Paris, in 1998. This was, in essence, the concluding volume of *Epopée*, but not presented as such. Between 2001 and 2007, Perrin of Paris published in reduced format (differently paginated from the earlier editions) what is now a five-volume version of *Epopée*, with bibliographies updated by Roquebert. Here, with regard to the first four vols, I am working from the Privat editions.

<sup>20</sup> Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, i.115-20: 'Au Mas-Saintes-Puelles: un grand lignage Cathare; i.120-22: 'Une génération "engagée"'.

Cathar faith.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, he followed up this interest in the manifestation of Catharism in aristocratic lineages in a number of other published articles.<sup>22</sup>

Roquebert's greatest contribution to the history of Catharism and the aristocracy was his foregrounding of the social dimension of faith as an explanation for the spread of Catharism.<sup>23</sup> For Roquebert, the aristocracy were not only largely affiliated to Catharism, they also played a key role in establishing it as a popular faith in Languedoc, through the social bonds that they formed and consequent influence that they had over society. However, he was not the first to emphasise the importance of the family for the transmission of Catharism from one generation to the next. Guiraud had already commented on the spread of Cathar doctrines through education within the family in his exposition on the heretical inclinations of the lordly families of Fanjeaux, published in 1907, and repeated in 1935.<sup>24</sup> In his second volume on the Cathars, published in 1971, Griffé also drew attention to the significance for transmission through generations of the fact that young children were being brought up in families which not only favoured the 'perfects' but also exhibited nothing but disdain for the Catholic church.<sup>25</sup> However, Roquebert expended a great deal more time and energy exploring the full implications of this idea. He wrote that 'From 1170-1180 one becomes a perfect, but one is born a believer; one is not converted to Catharism, one finds it in one's cradle'.<sup>26</sup> For Roquebert, birth in Cathar households was the starting-point, and

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<sup>21</sup> M. Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, 4 vols (Toulouse, 1970-89), i.1, 13.

<sup>22</sup> See note 23, below.

<sup>23</sup> Over the years Roquebert produced work on a number of aristocratic families: 'Les seigneurs de Montgey au XIIIe siècle. Jourdain de Roquefort et sa famille', *Revue du Tarn*, 88 (1977), 509-29; 'Recherches sur la société cathare occitane au XIIIe siècle. Les Lahille de Laurac (Aude)', *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Occitanes* (1978), 47-64; 'Pierre-Roger de Mirepoix, coseigneur de Montségur, et sa famille', in *Montségur, 13 ans de recherche archéologique (GRAME)*, (Carcassonne, 1980), 55-69; 'Raymond de Péreille, seigneur de Montségur, et sa famille', *Cahiers d'Études Cathares*, 91 (1981), 39-52; 'Bérenger de Lavelanet et sa famille', *Heresis*, 18 (1991), 1-19 and 'La famille seigneuriale du Mas-Saintes-Puelles devant l'Inquisition', *Les voies de l'hérésie. Le groupe aristocratique en Languedoc, XIe-XIIIe siècles, Collection Heresis* 8 (Carcassonne, 2001), vol. 2, 165-87. Updated versions of several of these articles have been published in his *Figures du catharisme* (Paris, 2018). See also 'Le catharisme comme tradition dans la "Familia" Languedocienne', in *Effacement du Catharisme (XIII-XIVe siècles)*, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 20 (1995), 221-42.

<sup>24</sup> Guiraud, *Prouille*, p. 246.

<sup>25</sup> Griffé, *Le Languedoc cathare de 1190 à 1210*, pp. 23-33: 'L'appui sans réserve des milites'.

<sup>26</sup> Roquebert, 'Le catharisme comme tradition', 228-9: 'A partir des années 1170-1180, on devient parfait, mais on naît croyant. On ne se convertit pas au Catharisme, on le trouve dans son berceau.' This sentiment is echoed in 1998 by Anne Brenon, where she describes heresy as 'virtually a family heritage, bestowed upon infants in their cradles'. See Brenon, 'Catharism in the Family in Languedoc in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: An Investigation Based on Inquisition Sources', in *Urban and Rural Communities in Medieval France: Provence and Languedoc, 1000-1500*, ed. K. Reyerson and J. Drendel (Leiden, 1998), pp. 295, 301, 302.

individuals were believers because within their familial milieu it was natural for them to be so.

Roquebert's focus on the importance of the family, and on the early socialisation period, for the transmission of Cathar beliefs is also particularly significant because it has led him to emphasise the role played specifically by women in this process. For him, women such as Blanche of Laurac, Guillelma of Tonneins, and Garsende of Mas-Saintes-Puelles were the *grandes directrices de conscience* of their families. These women were the 'matriarchs', who firmly established the faith in their lineages and took responsibility for passing on the 'torch' to future generations.<sup>27</sup>

These ideas have proven highly influential, and are strongly echoed in the works of Anne Brenon (*Vrai visage du Catharisme*, 1989; *Les femmes Cathares*, 1992) and Gwendoline Hancke (*Les belles hérétiques*, 2001; *Femmes en Languedoc*, 2006), both of whom have written books about the roles of women in Cathar society, in the face of a climate which has otherwise been predominantly critical of earlier traditions of writing about supposed disproportionately high levels of female commitment to Catharism.<sup>28</sup> Brenon's major concern is with the family, and the way that Catharism spread within family groups. Generally in her work, Brenon denies a focus on the aristocracy *per se*, emphasising the fact that the inquisition sources show us Occitanian life 'right across the social spectrum', 'from the mightiest to the lowliest, knights, labourers, aristocrats, burghers and peasants'.<sup>29</sup> However, due to the nature of the sources, most of the examples she draws on do belong to aristocratic families. Hancke's focus on the nobility, on the other hand, is explicit in both of her works listed above, and also in her monograph, *L'hérésie en héritage* (2007), which traces the involvement in Catharism of seventeen important noble families of Languedoc from the twelfth to the fourteenth century.<sup>30</sup> Hence, like Roquebert and Brenon, she is interested in the role that family played in the spread of Catharism, but more in showcasing the relevant source material than in explaining it.<sup>31</sup> Both Brenon and Hancke usefully add to Roquebert's ideas

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<sup>27</sup> Roquebert, 'Le catharisme comme tradition', 233 and *Les cathares: de la chute de Montségur aux derniers bûchers (1244-1329)* (Paris, 1998), pp. 49-50. For examples of 'matriarchs', see Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, i.112, 296-97, 114, 115.

<sup>28</sup> A. Brenon, *Les femmes cathares* (Paris, 1992), pp. 133-34; G. Hancke, *Les belles hérétiques: être femme, noble et cathare* (Castelnaud-la-Chapelle, 2001), p. 41.

<sup>29</sup> Brenon, 'Catharism in the Family', pp. 291-92.

<sup>30</sup> G. Hancke, *L'hérésie en héritage. Familles de la noblesse occitane dans l'Histoire, du XIIe au début du XIVe siècle: un destin commun* (Cahors, 2006).

<sup>31</sup> Hancke, *Les belles hérétiques*, pp. 41-42.

about the importance of social bonds, and especially the influence of the family, by building marriage into the picture as an important means of helping Catharism to prosper in the future of the lineage, and of forging alliances with other Cathar families.<sup>32</sup> This point about alliances is picked up by Barber, who credits the strong horizontal ties that existed between the aristocratic families of Languedoc for creating the fertile grounds needed for Catharism to flourish.<sup>33</sup> Barber also thought that these strong horizontal ties existed in place of the strong vertical ties of dependency that kept heresy at bay in the north of France.<sup>34</sup>

Elsewhere in the historiography, however, vertical ties have been presented as potential channels for the spread of heresy. The idea that Catharism not only spread through noble families, but from noble families through to clients and dependents and eventually the rest of society was raised by Roquebert, in his *L'épopée cathare* series.<sup>35</sup> However, it emerged as a more fully-developed concept in his conference lecture 'Le catharisme comme tradition dans la "familia" Languedocienne', delivered in 1984 and later published in 1995.<sup>36</sup> Here, Roquebert uses the word *familia* to emphasise a definition of household which included but also extended beyond the family to dependents. He includes a number of examples, but again these lack much in the way of explanation as to the precise mode of the passage of ideas other than general exposure through contact with believers.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, the idea that Catharism could travel 'both horizontally through family connection and downwards through lines of dependency' has since been repeated by Malcolm Lambert in his general account of Catharism.<sup>38</sup>

John Hine Mundy's interest in this period comes from a slightly different angle. Mundy published his thesis, *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse, 1050–1230*, in 1954, and then after an extended break resumed his study of the social history of Toulouse in the age of the Cathars, publishing three more books between 1985 and 1997.<sup>39</sup> Mundy's

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<sup>32</sup> See family chapter, p. 39.

<sup>33</sup> M. Barber, 'Catharism and the Occitan Nobility: The Lordships of Cabaret, Minerve and Termes', in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey, 5 vols (Woodbridge, 1986-95), iii.3, 12. See also his book, *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Harlow, 2013), pp. 73-75: 'Catharism and social structure'.

<sup>34</sup> Barber, 'Catharism and the Occitan Nobility', pp. 8, 13-14, 19; *The Cathars*, pp. 73-74.

<sup>35</sup> Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, i.13.

<sup>36</sup> Roquebert, 'Le catharisme comme tradition', 221.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, esp. 222.

<sup>38</sup> M. Lambert, *The Cathars* (Oxford, 1998), p. 68.

<sup>39</sup> J. H. Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse, 1050-1230* (New York, 1954); *The Repression of Catharism at Toulouse: The Royal Diploma of 1279* (Toronto, 1985); *Men and women at Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars* (Toronto, 1990) and *Society and Government at Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars* (Toronto, 1997).

work is very significant for us because he raises a potential problem in the way that historians have relied upon inquisition records to illustrate the prominence of the heretical activity of the nobility. In his 1985 book on *The Repression of Catharism at Toulouse*, he presents convincing evidence to suggest that inquisitors deliberately focussed their attention – which he calls their ‘cone of fire’ – on the heretical activity of the rich and powerful.<sup>40</sup> Since this theory has such significant bearing on the paradigm under investigation, it is worth spending a little time summarising Mundy’s evidence base.

First of all, using the Royal Diploma of 1279, which lists the names of 278 citizens of Toulouse whose property had been confiscated for heresy between around 1221 and 1259, Mundy observed that the patricians of the city were thought to be especially suspect, making up twenty per cent of those whose property was confiscated.<sup>41</sup> Using the same document, Mundy also determined that the ‘upper elements of the social scale’ – that is urban elites as well as the aristocracy – were chronologically the first to be hit by these penalties.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, out of the first 195 people to be listed in the amnesty of 1279, all of whom were condemned by the end of 1237, twenty-three per cent were ‘demonstrably gentlefolk and patricians’, and only fifteen per cent crafts-and-tradespersons. After 1237, on the other hand, of the remaining eighty-three individuals condemned, the proportion of elites dropped to ten per cent, with that of artisans and tradesfolk rising to seventeen per cent.<sup>43</sup>

Mundy also found that the observations of contemporary chroniclers supported this pattern. William of Puylaurens wrote that, from 1232, having moved against all those who could be easily condemned, the new inquisitors began to proceed against the most important Cathar supporters, the *maiores* in the region of and surrounding Toulouse (*in hiis terris*).<sup>44</sup> Moreover, William of Pelhissou, who worked for inquisition and also acted as inquisitor, wrote that the arrest of one man, Raymond Gros, ‘delighted’ the

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<sup>40</sup> Mundy, *Repression*, pp. i, 55.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 51.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 51, 53.

<sup>44</sup> See Mundy, *Repression*, pp. 50-51, n. 24. For original text, *Chronica magistri Guillelmi de Podio Laurentii, 1145-1275*, ed. J. Duvernoy (Toulouse, 1996), p. 150, trans. in *The Chronicle of William of Puylaurens: the Albigensian Crusade and its aftermath*, ed. W. A. Sibly and M. D. Sibly (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 292-93.

Dominicans, since it gave them the information they needed to pursue the *magni burgenses*, and noblemen and noblewomen (*nobiles ac nobiles domine*).<sup>45</sup>

It is on the basis of this evidence that Mundy introduced his theory about the inquisitors' 'cone of fire', suggesting that inquisitors may have deliberately focussed their attention on the heretical activity of the rich and powerful, and that the records naturally reflect this, showing that a greater number among the elites were questioned, enquired about, and condemned.<sup>46</sup> His hypothesis has direct implications for our understanding of the link between aristocracy and heresy because it casts doubt over the idea that high levels of representation in the records necessarily corresponded to proportionally high levels of affiliation of the aristocracy to heresy. It is troubling that Mundy's insight, now more than thirty years old, has not been satisfactorily dealt with or built into our wider understanding of the relationship between Catharism and the aristocracy. This can only be seen as testament to the overriding strength of the emphasis on the narrative of aristocratic support for the Cathars in the existing historiographical paradigm.

One facet of Mundy's work which has received some attention, is his broadening of the idea that the aristocracy were proportionally more affiliated with heresy to include elites belonging to other social groups. Both Mundy and, more recently, Jean-Louis Biget (2007), make the point that wealthy, non-aristocratic, urban elites, also feature highly in the inquisition records. For Biget, this group both overlapped with the aristocracy, in that many lords possessed urban residences, and they also shared many of the spiritual demands of the aristocracy, having similarly been left without a clear place in the reformed church.<sup>47</sup>

Otherwise in his book, Biget revisits well-trodden paths. Writing that the work of chroniclers including William of Puylaurens and Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, shows 'a religious and social dichotomy', wherein 'the little people remain attached to orthodoxy, while the knights and lords adhere to dissidence', Biget supports this image in his analysis, proffering the familiar explanations of the significance of the fact that Catharism was able to spread using pre-established social networks (especially the

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<sup>45</sup> See Mundy, *Repression*, pp. 50-51, n. 25. For original text, Guillaume Pelhisson, *Chronique suivie du récit des troubles d'Albi (1234)*, ed. J. Duvernoy (Paris, 1994), 96-7; trans. W. L. Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100-1250* (London, 1974), p. 224.

<sup>46</sup> Mundy, *Repression*, pp. i and 55.

<sup>47</sup> J.-L. Biget, *Hérésie et inquisition dans le midi de la France* (Paris, 2007), pp. 23-24.

family) on the one hand, and Gregorian reform, tithes, and partible inheritance impoverishing the aristocracy on the other.<sup>48</sup>

Biget's work is, nevertheless, particularly useful because it injects a note of caution into the traditional image of ongoing antagonism between the *petite noblesse* and the Catholic church. He notes the lack of sources which allow us to study the 'role of these temporal antagonisms in the emergence of anticlericalism and heresy', in particular bemoaning the fact that the question of tithes was never raised explicitly in polemical writing, whilst at the same time drawing our attention to the fact that in a number of regions affected by heresy, tithes remained in the hands of laymen.<sup>49</sup> This is a good example of the kind of critical attitude towards prior assumptions about aristocratic involvement in heresy that this thesis aims to build on.

Without doubt, the most significant recent attempt to draw together narratives about the aristocracy and about heresy was a four-day colloquium, on heresy and aristocracy in Languedoc, held in 1995 and published in 2001.<sup>50</sup> The publication comprises three volumes: 'Structures et comportements', 'Avant et après la croisade: seigneurs et seigneuries' and 'L'imaginaire chevaleresque', each of which shines light on a relevant topic. The first looks at aristocratic power structures, the second showcases prosopographical studies of aristocratic families, and the third brings to the fore the tricky concept of aristocratic mentalities. Each of these ostensibly does the admirable work of bringing important and (at least in the case of the first and third volumes) under-researched subject matter into the sphere of heresy studies. Unfortunately, despite lofty claims there are no real attempts in these volumes to reflect on the impact of the authors' findings on traditional depictions of the aristocratic response to Catharism. However, without doubt the 'voies' has encouraged heresy studies to take steps in this direction. This can be seen, for example, in the work of Claire Taylor, who draws on historians such as Débax and Bonnassie on key subjects such as tenure and lordship to ground her discussion of heresy in Quercy within a sophisticated analysis of the social and political contexts.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Biget, *Hérésie et inquisition*. For quote and on family as a mechanism for spreading heresy see p. 22. On tithes, reform, partible inheritance, and impoverishment, see pp. 21, 27, 57-58. Particularly on these latter two points, Biget draws from his earlier work on feudal structures in Languedoc: 'Notes sur le système féodal en Languedoc et son ouverture à l'hérésie', *Heresis* 11 (1988), 7-16.

<sup>49</sup> Biget, *Hérésie et inquisition*, p. 58.

<sup>50</sup> *Les voies de l'hérésie. Le groupe aristocratique en Languedoc, XIe-XIIIe siècles, Collection Heresis* 8, 3 vols (Carcassonne, 2001).

<sup>51</sup> C. Taylor, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Medieval Quercy* (York, 2011), esp. pp. 61-70, 'Socio-political Structures and Landholding in the Twelfth Century'.

Despite these developments, there remain a number of problems with the historiography of heresy and the aristocracy overall as it currently stands. The first is that it is largely built on an old-fashioned and romantic understanding of the southern-French aristocracy, which has long sought to explain the popularity of heresy in the south of France as the natural response of a distinctively ‘southern’ culture, heavily influenced by the troubadours and their message of courtly love, and in possession of a ‘frivolous spirit’ and none-too-serious attitude towards feudalism.<sup>52</sup>

This strand grew out of the idealisation of a mythic medieval Languedoc, culturally refined and liberal in outlook, which became a powerful emblem in the post-Revolutionary world of early-nineteenth-century France. Heavily influenced by the *Chanson*, and the mythic quality of *paratge* that it attached to the southern French aristocracy, Liberal Protestant historians praised the civilisation and tolerance of the southern peoples and lamented their brutal treatment at the hands of the northern invaders.<sup>53</sup> *Paratge*, a term heavily weighted with moral connotations, stood for a sort of ideal-type meridional nobility, one that gained new meaning in the wake of the Albigensian Crusade. As an emblem of a noble civilisation under attack, it expressed yearning for a bygone era, a time when aristocratic values – loyalty, honesty, courage and generosity – set the tone for the rest of society.<sup>54</sup> Such ideas are deeply embedded in the early historiography of heresy in Languedoc – indeed, their legacy remains a tangible part of the modern-day tourist industry of the so-called *Pays Cathares*.<sup>55</sup>

These ideas are still largely responsible for shaping the way that historians of heresy understand southern French power structures as ‘different’. Historians have long questioned whether it is appropriate to use the term ‘feudalism’ to describe vertical bonds in the south of France, which are often considered regionally specific, ‘looser’ or ‘weaker’ versions of their northern counterparts, may not have existed in any

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<sup>52</sup> Schmidt, *Histoire et doctrine*, pp. 66-67.

<sup>53</sup> On this historiography, see Barber, *The Cathars*, pp. 249-59, ‘The Cathars and Occitan identity’, esp. pp. 251-53. See also C.-O. Carbonell, ‘D’Augustin Thierry à Napoléon Peyrat: un demi-siècle d’occultation (1820-1914)’, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 14 (1979), 144, 150.

<sup>54</sup> H. Débax, *La seigneurie collective: pairs, pariers, paratge les coseigneurs du XIe au XIIIe siècle* (Rennes, 2012), pp. 310-11.

<sup>55</sup> C.-O. Carbonell, ‘Vulgarisation et récupération: les mass-media’, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 14 (1979), 361-80. See also Barber, *The Cathars*, p. 257 and E. Graham-Leigh, *The Southern French Nobility and the Albigensian Crusade* (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 3.



recognisable form at all, and in any case have been seen as less significant in the power structures of the region than the strong horizontal bonds characterised by co-lordship.<sup>56</sup>

This has been significant for the study of heresy and the aristocracy in several ways. Firstly, the absence of strong vertical bonds has been seen as a reason for the ease with which heresy was able to take root and proliferate in the south of France.<sup>57</sup> Secondly, horizontal bonds have been seen as a crucial mechanism for the spread of heresy. The problems with both of these theories stem from a lack of productive conversation between historians of heresy and historians of the aristocracy. Work within the field of the aristocracy on the precise nature of bonds of co-lordship, and its place alongside feudal structures in southern France, has progressed immeasurably in recent years.<sup>58</sup> There are some signs that historians of heresy are beginning to understand the need to take these advances into account. The *Voies de l'hérésie*, discussed above, is a prime example of heresy studies opening up to consider wider fields and broader societal contexts, laying the grounds for the integration of bodies of research which have the potential to further our understanding of the link between Catharism and the aristocracy. The next step must be to bring the findings from this to bear on past assumptions about heresy and the aristocracy.

A second issue with the work of historians of heresy on the southern French aristocracy – closely related to the first in the sense that it would benefit from closer interaction with scholarship on the aristocracy – is its failure to deal with the problem of defining the group under consideration. This is significant because the traditional historiographical emphasis on the importance of aristocratic support for the Cathars relies on the existence of a clear line separating the aristocracy from the rest of society. In practice, I have found this line to be blurred at best, and at times difficult to distinguish at all.

In this thesis, I have followed heresy scholars in classifying as aristocratic anybody identified in the inquisition records by the title ‘lord’ (*dominus*), ‘knight’ (*miles*), or

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<sup>56</sup> ‘Feudalism’ here should be taken here to mean a system of land-holding, whereby an arrangement was made between a lord and his vassal for service (most often military in nature) in return for a fief – property of some sort. An oath was made, and homage – a ritual act of respect – paid by vassal to lord. See L. M. Paterson, *The World of the Troubadours: Medieval Occitan Society c.1100-c.1300* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 10, ‘Occitan’ Feudalism’, for some common problems with the term being used in a southern context. A review of this debate and the relevant literature is given in H. Débax, *La féodalité languedocienne: XI<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles; serments, hommages et fiefs dans le Languedoc des Trencavel* (Toulouse, 2003), pp. 15-16. See also Paterson, *The World of the Troubadours*, pp. 16, 19.

<sup>57</sup> Barber, ‘Catharism and the Occitan Nobility’, pp. 8, 13-14, 19; *The Cathars*, pp. 73-74.

<sup>58</sup> See co-lordship chapter, pp. 70-72.

‘lady’ (*domina*). This method has the benefit of revealing those who were marked out by contemporaries as a group set apart. However, it is not perfect – a fact which the historiography has overlooked – because in the inquisition records, lords, knights and ladies were often identified inconsistently or not at all. This problem, which makes it difficult for historians to tell exactly who was and who was not aristocratic, stems from the fact that the aristocracy of thirteenth-century Languedoc were a sociologically-defined group, which is to say that they were not yet set apart in law as were the ‘nobility’ of the fourteenth century, but rather by the public demonstration of wealth and exercise of power over others in society.<sup>59</sup> These key indicators, which were clearly evident to contemporaries, are much less easily identified by historians. Aside from the inevitable gaps in the records, historians also have to deal with problems such as how to account for social mobility and the relativity of power and wealth in medieval society. The high level of social mobility that existed within many medieval communities makes it difficult to draw clear boxes around different social groups or hierarchies. There was always a degree of fluidity to these ‘categories’.<sup>60</sup> A clear and relevant example of this is the merging of knightly and lordly statuses.<sup>61</sup> Hence, in cases in the inquisition

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<sup>59</sup> On this definition, see T. Reuter, ‘The Medieval Nobility in Twentieth-Century Historiography’, in *Companion to Historiography*, ed. M. Bentley (Abingdon, 1997), p. 179; D. Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France 900-1300* (Harlow, 2005), p. 228; C. B. Bouchard, *Strong of Body, Brave and Noble: Chivalry and Society in Medieval France* (New York, 1998), p. 2. Note that my thesis refrains from using the concept of class as a framework for discussing medieval social groups. I find that although medieval people did not think in terms of ‘class’, they did mark out certain groups in society on the basis of factors such as wealth or social standing. See Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, pp. 16, 226, 236 and *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000-1300* (London, 1992), p. 16; C. B. Bouchard, *Those of my blood’: Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia* (Philadelphia, 2001), pp. 1-2 and *Strong of Body*, pp. 1-3; J. Morsel, ‘Inventing a Social Category: The Sociogenesis of the Nobility at the End of the Middle Ages’, in B. Jussen (ed.), *Ordering Medieval Society: Perspectives on Intellectual and Practical Modes of Shaping Social Relations*, (Philadelphia, 2001), pp. 201, 222, 226.

<sup>60</sup> The extent of this mobility has long troubled historians, who have argued about whether the families who dominated eleventh- and twelfth-century society were ‘new men’ who had recently risen to power through their own strength, or direct descendants of the ‘old’ Carolingian nobility. Marc Bloch gave the former position its most forceful statement on the eve of the Second World War, arguing that by 900 a social revolution had taken place, one in which the older Carolingian aristocracy had been usurped by a new military aristocracy. See M. Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. L. A. Manyon, 2nd edn, 2 vols (London, 1962), ii.284-84. Duby, on the other hand, in his *Chivalrous Society*, set out to demonstrate that many of the French noble families of the eleventh and twelfth centuries had at least one ancestor from among the Carolingian nobility, discovering a ‘society of heirs’ – nobles who were, for the greater part, descendants of men who had a century earlier owned large tracts of land in the region. See G. Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. C. Postan (London, 1977), pp. 64, 67, 98. At present, much of the scholarship is in favour of reconciling these positions, recognising that although some great families undoubtedly survived the social and civil unrest following the break-up of the Carolingian Empire, others, in an effort to ensure their survival, made alliances with socially inferior marriage partners, in doing so permitted upwardly mobile, wealthy ‘upstarts’ entrance into their ‘charmed circle’. See Bouchard, *“Those of my blood”*, pp. 39, 56.

<sup>61</sup> See co-lordship chapter, pp. 81-82.

records where individual status was noted, the words *miles* and *dominus* were often used interchangeably. This was also a time in which there was a significant aristocratic population inhabiting towns and cities, and there is often no clear line in the records to help us distinguish between wealthy aristocratic and non-aristocratic town-dwellers, especially among the landlords who were frequently identified using the title *dominus*.<sup>62</sup>

Historians of Languedoc have attempted to define the nobility more explicitly in terms of its landholding practices. It has commonly been said of the region that the holding of land freely, as an allod rather than as a fief, signified nobility.<sup>63</sup> Unfortunately, this definition is of limited usefulness because, as Taylor has observed, it positions all allodialists in 'at least a theoretical parity with both the free-but-impoverished peasant, on the one hand, and the count of Toulouse himself on the other'.<sup>64</sup> It does not, therefore, help us to distinguish a coherent social group set apart from the rest of society. Indeed, the fact that no set amount of wealth or position of power automatically conferred aristocratic status, makes it very difficult to determine retrospectively exactly who belonged to this 'category' and who did not. The matter was very relative. This was a time in which a well-off peasant could possess more assets than a knight.

As noted above, the historiography of heresy does not acknowledge these difficulties in its references to the aristocracy. Indeed, if anything, many historians have compounded the problem, in their use of a multitude of different and unspecified terms, including 'nobility', 'petty nobility', 'aristocracy', 'rural aristocracy', not to mention various combinations of all of these. This lack of a distinct vocabulary has obscured the very real issue of how to differentiate between social groups in medieval sources.

Significantly, this is a problem which the traditional emphasis on aristocratic support for the Cathars does not engage with at all, a practice which not only erodes opportunities for nuance, but also has the potential to misleadingly add weight to claims about the significance of specifically aristocratic participation in heresy.

Historians such as Mundy and Biget, who have worked on Catharism in urban contexts, have recognised the need to include the upper echelons of urban society in conversations about heresy and social elites. It is important to continue their work by

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<sup>62</sup> See patronage chapter, p. 191.

<sup>63</sup> A fief created a dependent relationship, wherein payments or services were owed in return for the occupation and exploitation of a piece of land and the peoples or revenues associated with it. For a recent explanation of the difference between allods and fiefs and review of the relevant literature, see Taylor, *Quercy*, pp. 61-70. See also n. 56, above.

<sup>64</sup> Taylor, *Quercy*, p. 69.

accepting that overlaps exist between the activities and characteristics of the aristocracy and other social groups, and using these to enrich and broaden the conversations that we can have about heresy and the aristocracy.<sup>65</sup>

A third problem with the historiographical emphasis on aristocratic support for the Cathars is the fact that it relies so heavily on the quantity of references to the aristocracy in the inquisition records. So far, only Mundy has raised the idea that inquisitorial interest in elite groups could have produced an inflated picture of their support for Catharism. This is a significant point, with far-reaching implications for the study of heresy and the aristocracy in Languedoc, and it merits further investigation here. Unfortunately, it is difficult to find direct evidence of an inquisitorial focus on the aristocracy. It is possible, however, to learn something about the intellectual climate which informed inquisitorial decisions by looking at the body of legislation regarding heresy in the notes and decrees of various church and civic councils.

In the first place, the legislation shows that the lords and knights of the Toulousain were ascribed a clear role in the repression of heresy. Although this may seem self-evident, it is still worth taking into consideration, because it shows quite clearly that the aristocracy were treated differently in law with regard to heresy. An example can be seen in the canons of the 1229 council of Toulouse, which decreed that the ‘lords of places’ should search (*inquirere*) for heretics in their lands.<sup>66</sup> The 1233 edict of Count Raymond VII of Toulouse even laid down certain penalties for those lords who did not participate in the persecution. Lords were ordered to pay a fine of twenty-five Toulousan pounds if a heretic was discovered on their land, and had to pay one mark to the capturer of each heretic found.<sup>67</sup> The *Consilium* of Guy Foulques, moreover, explicitly distinguished between the expectations of the aristocracy, and those of ‘private persons’, with regard to actions against heretics. It states that those who exercise office ‘by the power of the sword’ (that is, secular lords), can be regarded as *fautores* (supporters of the heretics) if they omit to carry out certain tasks, such as driving out and punishing those *heretici* condemned by the Church. ‘Private persons’, on the other hand, were not expected to carry out these tasks, and were not guilty of being *fautores* if they did not, because ‘these things pertain to those who exercise

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<sup>65</sup> See e.g. patronage chapter, p. 191 and my chapter on dependency.

<sup>66</sup> Council of Toulouse (1229), *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. G. D. Mansi, 53 vols (Florence, 1759–1927, repr. Graz 1961), xxiii, cols. 191–204. English trans., A&B, p. 191.

<sup>67</sup> Edict of Count Raymond VII of Toulouse (1233), Mansi, xxiii, cols. 265–68. English trans., A&B, p. 199.

power'.<sup>68</sup> This legislation suggests that because lords were expected to maintain order over their societies, they were held to a different standard than were ordinary people in the fight against heresy. Given this, it stands to reason that their dissidence met with the full force of the inquisitorial 'cone of fire'.

The confiscation of property also, in a sense, targeted elite groups. This penalty for heresy was established in Innocent III's decretal *Vergentis in senium*, issued at Viterbo in 1199, which identified heresy with treason, and also justified the death sentence. It was reaffirmed by the Council of Toulouse (1229), and in the edict of Count Raymond VII of Toulouse (1233).<sup>69</sup> This was a successful policy for inquisitors, effectively dismantling any protection that had been afforded by the status of elite groups, whilst also cutting off the Cathars from vital material support.

How can we respond to this information? For the last fifty years and more, advances in critical approaches to inquisition texts have revolutionised our understanding of medieval heresies and inquisitorial perspectives and processes. In short, historians no longer view records of trials as 'innocent conduits of information' or 'tape recordings' of past voices, but rather as items constructed by the process and practice of inquisition.<sup>70</sup> It is high time that these techniques were brought to bear on the matter of aristocratic support for the Cathars. If, as Mundy has suggested, the representation of the aristocracy in the inquisition records may be more than proportionate to their true level of involvement, this would mean that we can no longer rely on purely quantitative assessments, because the relevant numbers may be artificially inflated. In this thesis, then, I will adopt a more qualitative approach, identifying the modes of support that were offered by the aristocracy, and by different aristocratic networks, and holding these up against the support that was offered by different social groups, in order to place

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<sup>68</sup> The *Consilium* of Guy Foulques, *Inquisitoren-Handbücher. Papsturkunden und juristische Gutachten aus dem 13. Jahrhundert mit Edition des Consilium von Guido Fulcodii*, ed. V. Bivolarov (Wiesbaden, 2014), pp. 239-45. English trans., A&B, p. 233.

<sup>69</sup> Edict of Count Raymond VII of Toulouse (1233), Mansi, xxiii, cols. 265-68. English trans., A&B, p. 200. Council of Toulouse (1229), Mansi, xxiii, cols. 191-204. English trans., A&B, p. 199. *Vergentis in senium*, in *Liber Extra*, 5.7.10, *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1879, repr. Graz, 1959), ii.782-83.

<sup>70</sup> See J. H. Arnold, 'Inquisition, Texts and Discourse', in *Texts and the Repression of Heresy*, ed. C. Bruschi and P. Biller (York, 2003), pp. 63-80, and *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc* (Philadelphia, 2001), p. 5. Arnold picks up the theme of 'inquisitor as tape recorder' first noted in A. Murray, 'Time and Money,' in *The Work of Jaques Le Goff and the Challenges of Medieval History*, ed. M. Rubin (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 15. For a review of some of the problems with reading inquisition texts, and suggestions for productive reading, see C. Bruschi, 'Magna diligentia est habenda per inquisitorem': Precautions Before Reading Doat 21-26,' in *Texts and the Repression*, pp. 81-110.

aristocratic support within the wider context of support that was offered at all levels of society.

The fourth and final problem with the historiographical emphasis on aristocratic support for the Cathars I wish to discuss here is the matter of chronology. Historians of heresy have traditionally drawn a clear distinction between the demographics of the Cathar support base before and after the 1240s. They depict the aristocracy as among the key supporters of the Cathars prior to the fall of Montségur and intense series of inquisitorial trials of the 1240s, but note that their level of participation diminished markedly subsequent to this period, when many had to flee or else face imprisonment and dispossession. Guiraud, Griffè, Brenon, Roquebert, Duvernoy and Barber do so implicitly, charting the involvement and support for Catharism of aristocratic families up until the mid-late 1240s. Some make the point more explicitly. For instance, Malcolm Lambert wrote that the events of the early 1240s – including not only the fall of Montségur, but the Trencavel revolt and response to the attack on Avignonet which preceded it – ‘mark a dividing line in the history of the pro-Cathar section of the nobility.’<sup>71</sup> Hancke, moreover, in her introduction to *L'hérésie en héritage*, divides the period of aristocratic support for the Cathars in two, the first, from 1200-1249, characterised as ‘the time of engagement’, and the second, from 1249 until ‘the end of catharism’, characterised as ‘the time of exile and abandonment’.<sup>72</sup> Biget also thought that aristocratic support gradually declined after the events of the 1240s – specifically in response to the period of severe repression which followed the revolts led by Raymond Roger Trencavel and the Raymond VII of Toulouse.<sup>73</sup> Brenon observed that a whole generation of aristocratic families of Laurac and Fanjeaux died at Montségur. For her, the fall of the *castrum* was a game-changing event. The ending of these ‘last lineages of the southern Cathar *intelligentsia* capable of military resistance’ marked a ‘decisive turning point’ in the success of anti-heretical repression.<sup>74</sup>

Romantic and popular strands in the historiography have gone so far as to equate the fall of Montségur with the end of Catharism in Languedoc, emphasising just how ingrained the idea that the aristocracy were the key supporters of the religion has been in these currents. However, serious historians have always refuted this position, arguing that

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<sup>71</sup> Lambert, *The Cathars*, p. 169.

<sup>72</sup> Hancke, *L'hérésie en héritage*, pp. 24-39.

<sup>73</sup> Biget, *Hérésie et inquisition*, p. 24.

<sup>74</sup> A. Brenon, *Le vrai visage du catharisme* (Portet-sur-Garonne, 1988), p. 241; *Les femmes cathares*, p. 238.

Catharism after the fall of Montségur has been less well documented, but continued to be practised and supported, in greater secrecy.<sup>75</sup> For Roquebert, part of the change that occurred in the latter half of the thirteenth century was that Cathar support became increasingly more bourgeois than noble.<sup>76</sup> This suggests that the continued support of other social groups may be an under-explored, yet useful, matter for investigation. Indeed, it is difficult to reconcile the idea that the aristocracy were as important to the Cathar support network as the scholarship has depicted them to be, with the fact that the Cathar support network continued to function for many decades. It is therefore at least worth exploring the idea that individuals belonging to non-aristocratic social groups played key roles in the Cathar support network both before and after the aristocratic decline in the 1240s, because it may be that their earlier supportive roles have been dominated in the records (and hence in the historiography) by an inquisitorial focus on aristocratic culpability, as outlined above.

This thesis aims to respond to these historiographical problems by producing a more nuanced understanding of the nature of aristocratic support for the Cathars, and how it compared with the support provided by other social groups. The first three chapters will look at the different social bonds that linked members of the aristocracy to each other and to other social groups. They will bring in recent developments in the field of the aristocracy to add to our understanding of the ways that these bonds acted as mechanisms for the transmission of heretical ideas and beliefs. My first chapter will address the topic of the aristocratic family, which has traditionally taken centre stage in the historiography of aristocratic support for Catharism. It will engage with this body of work as it currently stands, looking at the importance of the aristocratic family in the transmission of and continued support for Cathar ideas. Here, I will argue that our sense of the significance of aristocratic familial support could have been inflated by the greater interest of the inquisitors in aristocratic families, and suggest the need to introduce comparisons with the Cathar activity of families belonging to other social groups in order to investigate exactly how and to what extent aristocratic familial support for the Cathars was socially distinctive.

Chapters two and three will focus on aristocratic support networks that have received less attention in the scholarship. Chapter two will look at co-lordships. Co-lordship as a concept has been put to do heavy work by heresy scholars. Its prevalence as a power

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<sup>75</sup> On the romantic or 'popular' strand, see Roquebert, *Les cathares: de la chute*, p. 9, n. 1 (p. 503).

<sup>76</sup> Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, i.103.

structure has been understood as a key part of the reason why heresy proliferated in Languedoc. It is, therefore, particularly striking how little work on the phenomenon itself has progressed within the field of heresy studies. This chapter will bring advances that have been made elsewhere on co-lordship to bear on conversations about aristocratic support for heresy, using this work to investigate the precise mechanisms by which the bond of co-lordship produced socially distinctive opportunities for Cathar support.

Chapter three will look at dependency, by which I mean the vertical bonds that existed between lords and their dependents. The main purpose of this chapter is to consider the idea that Catharism spread down through vertical lines, as well as along through horizontal lines. Though it has been raised previously in the historiography of heresy, little has been done to actively assess this hypothesis, especially in terms of investigating how the transmission process itself occurred. However, as with co-lordship, the work on dependency in Languedoc has progressed outside the field of heresy studies, and in light of new ideas about the nature of these bonds, it is necessary to readdress their significance for the spread of Catharism in society. This topic also opens up avenues for entirely new conversations, concerning bonds of dependency as channels of influence that worked in both directions, and the significance of ongoing modes of participation in Catharism of social groups outside the aristocracy.

Chapters four and five focus on two concepts which have played a significant role in shaping historiographical ideas about socially distinctive forms of aristocratic support for heresy. Chapter four considers the *faiditi* and takes a critical approach to the historiographical representation of the group as fugitive knights, suggesting that, in the context of the inquisition records, the *faiditi* were not necessarily aristocratic, and that the depiction of them as such may have contributed to an exaggerated picture of aristocratic support for Catharism. This chapter will also consider the *faiditi* as part of the broader chronological narrative which has been constructed about the rise and fall of aristocratic support for Catharism. It will introduce evidence that non-aristocratic *faiditi* continued to play a more significant role in the Cathar support network than their aristocratic counterparts, suggesting that the presiding narrative may have overlooked the importance of ongoing support from non-aristocratic groups.

Chapter five looks at patronage, a concept historians have used to try and mark out aristocratic support for Catharism, but in a way which tends to fall back on assumptions about aristocratic power and wealth. I argue that patronage could be a useful analytical



tool with which to consider aristocratic support for Catharism, especially in comparison with similarly influential groups, such as urban elites, but that it must first be disentangled from broader forms of support.

Structurally, this thesis is modelled on the example set by John Mundy in his monographs on Toulouse. Family case studies are the foundations and constitute the second half of these studies. Hence in this thesis interpretive and analytical chapters form Part one, while Part two contains case-studies of three aristocratic families: the Mazerolles, the Roquevilles, and the Mirepoix-Péreilles.<sup>77</sup>

It is necessary to say a few words to define the scope of my project. First, I will not discuss the finer points of the origins, doctrine or structure of the Cathar sect, because these topics have been dealt with thoroughly elsewhere in the historiography.<sup>78</sup>

Secondly, since my project is restricted to examining the link between heresy and the aristocracy, I will not engage with the debates between traditionalists and sceptics about ‘heresy’ itself and the extent to which sects should be seen as constructs of the Catholic Church. I have, however, opted to use the vocabulary of traditional scholars, making reference to the Cathar Church and Cathar belief system, because I find the arguments in favour of the existence of Catharism as a coherent sect, even one that was not at the time called by this name, largely convincing. At the same time, I have avoided use of the term *Perfect*, or its Latin equivalents, preferring to use ‘good men’ and ‘good women’ to refer to those members of the sect who had been consoled, because I find these latter terms better capture a sense of how these holy men and women were perceived within their communities.<sup>79</sup> However, it is important to note that these terms are themselves contentious, and as such I have opted to forgo capitalisation.<sup>80</sup>

Finally, my study is limited to examining a link between the aristocracy and the Cathars. In the sources I use (described below), there is only a very thin trail of material on the Waldensians. The majority of the evidence of engagement with Waldensian preachers can be found in the penances, or *culpae*, that were recorded by the inquisitor,

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<sup>77</sup> Mundy, *Men and Women; Repression; Society and Government*.

<sup>78</sup> E.g. see Lambert, *The Cathars*, and Barber, *The Cathars*.

<sup>79</sup> M. G. Pegg ‘On Cathars, Albigenses, and Good Men of Languedoc’, *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001), 181-95 and ‘Heresy, Good Men, and Nomenclature’, in *Heresy and the Persecuting Society in the Middle Ages: Essays on the work of R. I. Moore* (Leiden, 2006), ed. M. Frassetto, pp. 227-39.

<sup>80</sup> On the problems of using ‘good men’ and ‘good women’ to refer to Cathar preachers, see C. Taylor, ‘Looking for the “Good Men” in the Languedoc: An Alternative to “Cathars”?’, in *Cathars in Question*, ed. A. Sennis (York, 2016), pp. 242-56.

Peter Seila, working within the diocese of Quercy.<sup>81</sup> These documents are slightly different from regular deposition material, in that they comprise selections made from the record of interrogation, along with a record of the punishment meted out to each individual. Although they often include more detail than you might think an inquisitor needed for this purpose, the activity recorded is not dated, and as such provides little overall sense of chronology. I have not included them here because geographically my thesis focuses on Toulouse and the region to the southwest of Toulouse, in the modern-day Aude and Ariège, where the members of my case study families lived, held their lands, and were the most active.

## Sources

### MS 609

This extraordinary manuscript, dating from around 1260, is a copy of the original that was made to document the large-scale investigation of heresy in the Lauragais carried out in Toulouse between May 1245 and August 1246 by the Dominican inquisitors, Bernard of Caux and John of Saint-Pierre.<sup>82</sup> The register is composed of 260 folios and comprises just two of at least ten original volumes. It contains the depositions of more than 5,000 men and women from the Lauragais region to the south east of Toulouse.

It is a very different document from the relevant volumes of the Doat collection (discussed next). Far more comprehensive in outlook, the enquiry has been described as something of a ‘fishing expedition’, in which many deponents were not actively targeted, but rather swept up in the inquisitors’ net.<sup>83</sup> Many denied any contact with the heretics, but their responses were nevertheless meticulously recorded. If the inquisitors were most interested in the activity of powerful or aristocratic groups, it is less explicit here. It is true that important and lordly families were often the first to be interviewed (as has been commented upon in the historiography) and that they were perhaps more

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<sup>81</sup> Doat 21, fols. 185r-212v. For more on the penances, see J. Feuchter, ‘Pierre Sellan, un viellard expérimenté’, in *Les inquisiteurs. Portraits de défenseurs de la foi en Languedoc (xiii<sup>e</sup>-xiv<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, ed. L. Albaret (Toulouse, 2001), pp. 51-53; Taylor, *Quercy*, 23-24.

<sup>82</sup> C. Douais, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Inquisition dans la Languedoc*, 2 vols (Paris, 1900), i.cliiii-clxi; Y. Dossat, *Les crises de l'Inquisition toulousaine au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, 1233-1273* (Bordeaux, 1959), pp. 56-70; M. G. Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245-1246* (Princeton, 2001), pp. 20-27.

<sup>83</sup> C. Sparks, *Heresy, Inquisition and Life Cycle in Medieval Languedoc* (York, 2014), p. 12.

often the subject of the inquisitors' questions, but they were certainly not interviewed exclusively: the deponents who appeared before Bernard of Caux and John of Saint-Pierre came from all walks of life, and were summoned, en masse, by parish, to sit before the inquisitors at the Abbey of Saint-Sernin in Toulouse.

The manuscript survives today in the Bibliothèque municipale of Toulouse. Here, I use and cite it through its online transcription by Jean Duvernoy.<sup>84</sup>

#### MS Doat volumes 22-24 and 25-26

These registers were preserved as part of the massive, seventeenth-century copying project, sponsored by the French crown and lead by Jean de Doat. This project was intended to collect together historical documents from the south of France. Happily for us, it took great interest in the subject of heresy and inquisition. Its output is held today under the name *Collection Doat* in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

This thesis was undertaken as part of the Doat Project at York, and is therefore grounded in the first instance in the transcriptions and translations of MS Doat volumes 21-24 generated by that project. They are used here with the permission of the editors, Pete Biller, Lucy Sackville, and Shelagh Sneddon.<sup>85</sup> The volumes include some depositions recorded before the inquisitors Bernard of Caux and John of Saint-Pierre in 1243-1244 and 1246-1247 (22.1r-106r and 24.237v-end respectively), many more recorded before Brother Ferrier in 1243-44, and some in the same period of time before Pons Garin and Peter Durand (22.106v-24.237v).

Unfortunately, we do not know the criteria used by Doat and his team in selecting from the documents that were available to them, and we also do not know what the full extent of the original documents may have been. These records differed stylistically from the Toulouse manuscript, spending far more time with each individual deponent. This plays

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<sup>84</sup> MS 609, Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale. There is a scanned copy of the register at the website of the Bibliothèque municipale, which can be found under 'Interrogatoires subis par des hérétiques albigeois par-devant frère': <https://rosalis.bibliotheque.toulouse.fr> (accessed 30 January 2019), and a second, more recently uploaded and clearer version at the BVMM (Bibliothèque virtuelle des manuscrits médiévaux) website, which can be found under 'Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, 609': <https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr> (accessed 30 January 2019). Jean Duvernoy's transcription is also very useful for reading this manuscript. See J. Duvernoy, *Le manuscrit 609 de la bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse: Lauragais 1245-1246, 1253 – Copie Jean Duvernoy* (PDF format, 3 parts), <http://jean.duvernoy.free.fr/text/listetexte.htm> (accessed 29 May 2019). Translations into English from this register are my own.

<sup>85</sup> The project website can be found at <https://www.york.ac.uk/res/doat/>.

to our advantage, since these records contain, amongst other things, a great deal of information on the subject of life in Montségur and on the attack on the inquisitors at Avignonet – both topics with a strong focus on the aristocracy. It is unfortunate that we cannot fully determine the extent to which this bias was a reflection of thirteenth-century inquisitorial interests, rather than that of their seventeenth-century copyists.

I have also used the depositions from Doat 25-26 in some cases. Peter Biller, Caterina Bruschi, and Shelagh Sneddon published an edition, complete with translations into English, of Doat 25 and Doat 26 in 2011, which I use and cite here.<sup>86</sup> The majority of the depositions in these volumes were recorded before the inquisitors Pons of Parnac and Ranulph of Plassac in a period of time from 1273-1280 (25.1r-26.79r). These documents contain far fewer references to the Cathars' aristocratic supporters, who had, for the most part, been wiped out by the intense periods of persecution that characterised the first half of the thirteenth century. Including them in our study thus allows us to hold up the evidence of minimal aristocratic support for the Cathars in this later period against the earlier period, up to and during the 1240s, which was purportedly characterised by enthusiastic aristocratic support.

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<sup>86</sup> For Doat 25-26, see P. Biller, C. Bruschi and S. Sneddon (eds.) *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth-Century Languedoc: Edition and Translation of Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282* (Leiden, 2011). This volume is also a useful source of information on the copying project itself, see pp. 20-33.

# Part 1: Chapters

## 1. Catharism and the aristocratic family

The theory that familial structures were key to the establishment and maintenance of Cathar support systems is longstanding in the historiography. Its origins can be traced back to the late nineteenth century, when Charles Molinier first noted that the inquisition records frequently referred to familial connections. Observing the recurrence of family names in the depositions made over the course of generations, Molinier suggested that Catharism had become part of the family 'inheritance'.<sup>1</sup>

The first statistical analysis was carried out by Richard Abels and Ellen Harrison in their article published in 1979 and best known for effectively dismantling myths about women in Catharism. Focusing solely on the depositions from the MS 609 Toulouse manuscript, Abels and Harrison were able to roughly quantify the degree to which family ties were related to individual religious preferences. In Auriac, they found that of the fifty-three women implicated in heresy, thirty-eight (72%) had one or more relatives who were also involved. Similar proportions were observed for the deponents of Villesiscle.<sup>2</sup> The fact that Abels and Harrison found so much evidence of familial relationships supported the idea that Catharism was a sect participated in by whole families more than individuals, as had been suggested by earlier historians.<sup>3</sup>

The trend for looking at familial support for Catharism increasingly came to focus on aristocratic families. As noted in the introduction, this began in earnest in 1907 with Guiraud, who explicitly emphasised a familial role in education in his observations of Catharism and Cathar beliefs running through the lordly families of Fanjeaux, and similarly made this point in his exploration of the extent to which Catharism thrived in the aristocratic families of the Lauragais: those of Mas-Saintes-Puelles and the Roquevilles, as well as the lines of Blanche of Laurac and Guillelma of Tonneins.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> C. Molinier, *L'Inquisition dans le midi de la France au xiii<sup>e</sup> et au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle: étude sur les sources de son histoire* (Paris, 1880), p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> R. Abels and E. Harrison, 'The Participation of Women in Languedocian Catharism', *Mediaeval Studies* 4 (1979), 245-46.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 250.

<sup>4</sup> *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Prouille, précédé d'une étude sur l'albigéisme languedocien aux xiii<sup>e</sup> et xiiii<sup>e</sup> siècles*, ed. J. Guiraud, 2 vols (Paris, 1907), i.ccxlvi and *Histoire de l'Inquisition au moyen âge*, 2 vols (Paris, 1935-8), i.281-82, 288-90. See also similar pattern in É. Griffe, *Le Languedoc cathare de 1190 à 1210* (Paris, 1980), pp. 108-109 (Laurac); 114, 155 (Fanjeaux), and 131 (Mas-Saintes-Puelles).

However, Michel Roquebert was the first to really capitalise on this point, as has already been outlined in my introduction.<sup>5</sup> Roquebert's ideas, particularly about women as 'matriarchs' of their families, passing on Cathar ideas and connections to future generations, were highly influential.<sup>6</sup> For Roquebert and those who followed him, childhood was not the only time in which the elders of the family took special interest in shaping the religious outlook of its younger members. Marriage choices were also an important means by which Catharism might be helped to prosper in the future of the lineage. Both Anne Brenon and Gwendoline Hancke note that those girls who did not become good women were often married into other families of ardent believers.<sup>7</sup> Hancke found that of the fifty-two daughters belonging to the Cathar families in her study, forty were married to men who also belonged to families with a strong tradition of Cathar support, with little being known of the faith of the other twelve. For her, these marriages were about creating alliances and securing families against the persecution of their faith.<sup>8</sup> Roquebert and Barber also highlight this point about the importance of such alliances.<sup>9</sup> Barber sees them as a key part of the process of building the strong horizontal ties which are frequently described by historians as providing the framework for power structures in Languedoc.<sup>10</sup> For Roquebert, this was a process which occurred over time. He makes a comparison between the 'distinct islets' that existed in records made before 1200, and the representation of later Cathar families as unwieldy interrelated 'clans'.<sup>11</sup>

Ideas about the role of the aristocratic family in terms of both ensuring the transmission of Catharism to future generations and contributing to the Cathar support network are a key feature of the historiography of heresy and the aristocracy. Below I show how

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<sup>5</sup> See introduction, pp. 18-19.

<sup>6</sup> M. Roquebert, 'Le catharisme comme tradition dans la "Familia" Languedocienne', in *Effacement du Catharisme (XIII-XIVe siècles)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 20 (1995), p. 233 and *Les cathares: de la chute de Montségur aux derniers bûchers (1244-1329)* (Paris, 1998), pp. 49-50. For examples of 'matriarchs', see his *L'épopée cathare*, 4 vols (Toulouse, 1970-89), i.112, 296-97, 114, 115. See also Brenon and Hancke for evidence of influence of his ideas. A. Brenon *Les femmes cathares* (Paris, 1992), p. 133 (on the word 'matriarch') and G. Hancke, *Les belles hérétiques: être femme, noble et cathare* (Castelnaud-la-Chapelle, 2001), p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> A. Brenon, *Le vrai visage du Catharisme* (Portet-sur-Garonne, 1988), pp. 149, 152, 155, 182, 186.

<sup>8</sup> G. Hancke, *Femmes en Languedoc: la vie quotidienne des femmes de la noblesse occitane au xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle, entre catholicisme et catharisme* (Cahors, 2006), p. 43. Note that Hancke cites Roquebert's article among her key influences. See also Hancke, *Les belles hérétiques*, pp. 42, 88-89.

<sup>9</sup> M. Barber, 'Catharism and the Occitan Nobility: The Lordships of Cabaret, Minerve and Termes', in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey, 5 vols (Woodbridge, 1986-95), iii.8.

<sup>10</sup> Barber, 'Catharism and the Occitan Nobility', p. 12.

<sup>11</sup> Roquebert, 'Le catharisme comme tradition', 234-35 and *L'épopée cathare*, i.125-26.

inquisition records can be used to reconstruct these roles with reference to my case study families.

### **The Cathar ‘inheritance’ and the familial context: Case study families<sup>12</sup>**

Sitting before inquisitors, brothers Ferrier and Pons Garin, in 1243, Helis of Mazerolles confessed to nothing short of a lifetime of participation in Catharism. Her first encounter with the good men and women had occurred more than fifty years prior to her interrogation. In around 1193, Helis often went to visit the house of the good man, Guilabert of Castres. Guilabert would become the Cathar bishop of Toulouse, and remain a highly influential figure in Helis’s circle throughout her adult life. At this time, though, she was just a *puella*, not yet old enough to partake in ritual adoration of the good men. Helis attended these occasions with her mother, Auda, the first person she named as present. It is likely that her mother (who would herself become a good woman around 1204), made possible the frequent visits Helis also made to her grandmother around the same time. Helis’s grandmother, Guillelma of Tonneins, was herself a good woman who shared a house with other good women in Fanjeaux. The thing that Helis remembered most about these visits was the treats her grandmother gave her – food and drink including bread, wine, nuts, and other fruits.<sup>13</sup>

In February 1246, *Domina* Geralda, the wife of the knight (*miles*) Estult of Roqueville, confessed to her interrogators, brothers Bernard of Caux and John of Saint-Pierre, that she came from a similar line to Helis. Indeed, her aunt was the well-known good woman, *Domina* Garsenda of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, mother of the lords of Mas-Saintes-Puelles. Garsenda and her daughter, Gallarda, lived in a house of good women in Mas-Saintes-Puelles. In around 1211, thirty-five years before her encounter with the inquisitors, and at a time when Geralda was herself a small girl (*puella parvula*), she recalled spending a week with these relatives and being taught to adore them.<sup>14</sup>

For Geralda, and for Helis, these early encounters took place entirely within the context of their families, and this would remain the case throughout much of their adult lives. Helis’s family maintained a strong and nearly constant presence in her memories of

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<sup>12</sup> The reader is reminded that fuller accounts of this dissertation's cases-study families are provided in Part 2 below, along with calendars of the depositions used in the reconstructions and family trees.

<sup>13</sup> Helis, 23.162r-63r.

<sup>14</sup> Geralda, wife of Estult of Roqueville, 609.66r.



Catharism. According to her confession, she regularly attended meetings with at least one family member – on twenty-nine out of forty-one occasions (seventy per cent of the time) – and in eight of these as many as three or four family members were present alongside her at the same time. At various points, she notes the presence of her husband, his brothers, her sisters, her sister-in-law, her sons, her daughters-in-law, her aunt, her nieces, her mother and her grandmother. This array of relatives, she recalls, participated alongside Helis in different ways and to different extents. For example, her sons, Peter and Arnold, her husband, Arnold, and his brothers, Peter and Raines, attended many of the same Cathar meetings and sermons as Helis. One sister – Gaia – appears as a companion at ten encounters in total, several of which are described as occurring ‘often’.<sup>15</sup> The majority of these occasions (nine) occurred between 1223 and 1225, and four involved trips to Montolieu, nearly forty kilometres from Gaja-la-Selve, the seat of the family’s lordship and location of the greatest number of Helis’s encounters (fifteen in total). Other relatives, including Helis’s sister-in-law, Fabrissa, another sister, Braida, her mother, Auda, and her grandmother, Guillelma, were good women themselves, and Helis visited them in the houses they kept with other good women in Montréal and Fanjeaux.

Helis may be unusual, in that her deposition is very long, even for the Doat registers, running from folios 161r to 180r of Doat 23, and in that it covered so many years, but the strong familial presence she describes is part of a wider identifiable pattern in the records. The depositions of the Roqueville family, for instance, though shorter and less detailed, as is typical of the depositions that were recorded in the Toulouse investigation, exhibit the same familial focus. Indeed, the first generation of brothers, Estult, Three Measures and Raymond all fed each other’s names, as well as that of their mother, to the inquisitor, as did Estult’s wife, Geralda, who not only spoke about the activity of her husband and his family, but also about that of her own family – her aunt Garsenda of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, and cousin, Gallarda, who visited her and Estult in their house in Baraigne in 1221 – and their continued presence in her life.<sup>16</sup>

These records do not only illustrate the importance of the family context to Catharism by means of the frequency with which familial ties were reported, but also by the order

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<sup>15</sup> On one occasion, Helis’s deposition explicitly refers to Gaia, ‘the same witness’s sister, who had gone with the same witness’, to speak with the heretic, Raymunda of Montfort, and her three daughters in Montolieu in 1223 or 1225. 23.169r-v.

<sup>16</sup> Estult of Roqueville, 609.64v-65r; Three Measures, 609.66v-67r; Raymond of Roqueville, 609.216r-v; Bernard of Roqueville, 609.228r-v; Geralda, wife of Estult of Roqueville, 609.66r-v.

in which individuals were identified. A good example of this can be found in the deposition of the knight, Gallard Ros, who was the younger brother of Bertrand and Bego of Roqueville. Gallard Ros was interrogated by the inquisitor, Hugh Amiel, in 1278.<sup>17</sup> According to his confession, in or around 1245 he witnessed two good men at the house of his brother, Bertrand of Roqueville, in Montgaillard. Table 1.1, below, shows the order in which everyone present was recorded in his deposition.

Table 1.1: Order of names in the deposition of Gallard Ros.

Number	Name	Means of identification
1 & 2	Bertrand and Bego of Roqueville	the same witness's <b>brothers</b>
3	<i>domina</i> Aicelina	the same witness's <b>mother</b>
4	<i>domina</i> India	the <b>wife</b> of the said Bertrand
5, 6 & 7	Na Vitals, Petra of Laurac and Vital of Na Savanera of Montgaillard	servants of the said house
8	Bernard Donadeu	of Montgaillard
9 & 10	Raymond of Roqueville and Peter of Roqueville	brothers of Le Carla near Montgaillard
11	Peter of Beauville	of Avignonet

This order is systematic. It demonstrates the grouping and hierarchisation of individuals based on their relationship with the deponent. The names of family members appear first, prioritising blood over marriage, then members of household staff. Even the final four individuals are ordered according to what is probably the familiarity of these individuals to Gallard Ros, with the two men linked to Montgaillard listed first.

Other depositions throw up similar patterns. The depositions of the members of our case study families, for instance, demonstrate almost without exception that family came first. For the Roquevilles, this usually meant a brother (or two). The deposition of Raymond of Roqueville, given to the inquisitor Bernard of Caux at the end of January 1246, lists a total of fourteen separate 'items'.<sup>18</sup> Of these, Raymond's brothers, or on

<sup>17</sup> Gallard Ros of Roqueville, 26.55v.

<sup>18</sup> Depositions were divided into 'items', with each one typically describing one encounter with the Cathars.

one occasion, his wife, Raymunda, are listed as present on seven occasions, and every single time, they are named first. Geralda, wife of Estult, Raymond's brother, recalled family being present at every single one of her encounters with heretics – if not her husband and his brothers, then her aunt and cousin, and likewise, on every occasion they were the first to be named. From the Mazerolles family, the depositions of the sisters-in-law, Ermengarda and Ermessens, married to Peter and Arnold of Mazerolles respectively, give priority to the names of their new family members. Ermessens's deposition, for instance, lists only four occurrences of encounters with the Cathars, with family members including her new sister-in-law, Ermengarda, and new mother-in-law, Helis, present at three, and always the first to be named.

Likewise, these depositions show that where the names of family members were divulged to inquisitors, they were almost always identified together, by which I mean that relatives were typically grouped. For example, Estult of Roqueville's deposition grouped together 'Bernard and Raymond of Roqueville, brothers of the same witness', whom he had seen visiting heretics in his own house in Toulouse in around 1226 along with five others whose presence he remembered well enough to name.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, the deposition of Geralda, Estult's wife, begins by noting that at the same house of her husband in Toulouse, in around 1228, Geralda had seen 'Estult of Roqueville, husband of the same witness, and Bego and Raymond and Three Measures, brothers'. These and six others she remembered attending the various heretics who stayed with them at different times.<sup>20</sup> Similar patterns can be found again in depositions mentioning both generations of Mazerolles brothers. The deposition of Helis of Mazerolles recounts a meeting that took place in around 1208 at the house of Fabrissa of Mazerolles, a good woman, and Helis's future sister-in-law. Present, Helis recalled 'Raines of Mazerolles, and Peter of Mazerolles, and Arnold of Mazerolles, brothers'. Then, fast-forwarding twenty-eight years to 1236, Helis's deposition records the presence of 'Peter of Mazerolles, and Arnold of Mazerolles, his brother' at a meeting in the house of Pons of La Chapelle in Gaja-la-Selve.<sup>21</sup> This was not only the case with brothers. Sisters could also be referred to together, as could parents and children. There is an example of both these groupings in the deposition of Peter of Mazerolles, made before the inquisitors Bernard of Caux and John of Saint-Pierre in July 1246. At the time of the crusade, Peter

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<sup>19</sup> Estult of Roqueville, 609.64v.

<sup>20</sup> Geralda, wife of Estult of Roqueville, 609.66r.

<sup>21</sup> Helis, 23.164r; 174r.

recalled that he saw his aunt Braida, a good woman, and her companions, again in the Roqueville's house in Toulouse. Also present were 'Géralda, wife of Estult of Roqueville, and Algaia and Ermessens, daughters of Estult of Roqueville.'<sup>22</sup>

These patterns in the inquisition records support the identification in the historiography of a strong connection between Catharism and the bonds of close family. Indeed, given these patterns, it is unsurprising that historians of heresy have traditionally seen fit to place so great an emphasis on the importance of the aristocratic family to the Cathar support network. Whilst I do not deny this importance, I do think that there is scope to add to the historiography of aristocratic support for the Cathars by approaching its flagship argument – the matter of familial support – in a more nuanced way.

## **Investigating a paradigm: Catharism and the aristocratic family**

### Inquisition and the family

In the first place, the historiographical emphasis on aristocratic families as key components of the Cathar support network would benefit from considering the possibility that, as noted in the introduction, inquisitorial interest may have been particularly focussed on the aristocracy. I would add to that the potential for the specific interest of inquisitors in aristocratic families to create an inflated impression of the role played by these families in Cathar support networks and in the transmission of Cathar ideas.

It is possible to identify evidence of such a bias in the records. For instance, there are several passages that John Arnold has highlighted as particularly demonstrative of 'a thirteenth-century suspicion that families could be a site of danger and a seed bed for heresy'.<sup>23</sup> On 10 April 1274, Raymond Hugh made a sixth addition to his deposition before the inquisitors, brother Ranulph and brother Pons of Parnac. In this statement, he accused many individuals of dealings with heresy. Particularly notable for our purposes are the accusations made against two women, as follows:

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<sup>22</sup> Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v.

<sup>23</sup> J. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc* (Philadelphia, 2001), pp. 150-51.

[H]e [Raymond Hugh] firmly believes that Terrena, the sister of William Terren the elder of Roquevidal... is a believer and friend of the heretics, because she was very close to the Fogaciers of Toulouse, who fled for heresy. Item, *she is of a family (genere) very infected with heresy...* she had as her daughter Jordana, who [became] a robed heretic in Lombardy, and she has a son, a smallholder, in Toulouse, called William Peitavin.

...

[H]e believes that Rixenda the wife of Raymond of Plausolas, is a believer of the heretics, because he heard Raymond of Séran...saying that the same Rixenda was a friend of the heretics, *and is of a family corrupted by heresy*, and she is close to Bernarda Molsairona, who was hereticated...<sup>24</sup>

As Arnold rightly emphasises, though the text ascribes these words to the deponent, they are nonetheless firmly set within the inquisitorial framework, and thus may reflect an inquisitorial agenda rather than objective reality or a more widespread public consciousness.<sup>25</sup>

There is evidence of the same inquisitorial preoccupation with the family, and particularly the aristocratic family, in the order and structure of the inquisition records. For example, a large portion of the deposition of Ermengarda, the wife of Peter of Mazerolles, made before the inquisitor, Bernard of Caux, in November, 1245, was taken from its original location, at folios 196r-v of the Toulouse manuscript, MS 609, and copied out, incompletely, at folios 123v-124r, after the deposition of Ermengarda's sister-in-law, Ermessens, and before that of her husband, Peter.<sup>26</sup>

Depositions made by members of the Roqueville family are similarly grouped in two places. The depositions of Bertrand and Bego of Roqueville, can be found on folios 43r and 43v of MS 609 respectively, and the depositions of Estult of Roqueville, his wife, Geralda, and his brother, Three Measures, on folios 64v to 65r, folios 66r to 66v, and folios 66v to 67r, respectively. The depositions in this register were ordered in the first place according to the deponent's parish, and in the second place – approximately – according to the date upon which the deponent was first interrogated. The placement of the depositions of Bertrand and Bego of Roqueville conform to these rules. Since both

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<sup>24</sup> Raymond Hugh, 25.122r-v: *est de genere multum infecto de hæresi*; 25.124r: *est de genere corrupto de hæresi*; my italics.

<sup>25</sup> Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, pp. 150-51.

<sup>26</sup> This irregularity is noted in *Crises*, p. 81.

brothers belonged to the same parish, and both sat before the inquisitor on 1 July 1245, the fact of their kinship appears merely coincidental. However, there are more than three months between the depositions of Geralda and Three Measures on the one hand, recorded on 26 February and 1 March 1246 respectively, and that of Estult, recorded on 20 June of the same year, by which time at least twenty-eight other men and women from the same parish had been interrogated.<sup>27</sup> Likewise, Peter of Mazerolles's deposition was made in July, 1246, in contrast to those of his wife, Ermengarda, and sister-in-law, Ermessens, both of which were made more than seven months earlier, in November of 1245. At least in these latter two instances, then, we can determine that family, and not chronology was the determining factor for ordering these depositions. This in turn would suggest that inquisitors expected to find familial involvement in heresy and acted accordingly, laying the depositions of family members side-by-side, so that they might be easily cross-referenced, and any lies or omissions detected immediately.

It is also worth investigating some of the different elements which contributed to the intellectual climate that lay behind the task of inquisition and arguably pointed towards a link between heresy and the family. Although there is no evidence that inquisitors were explicitly encouraged to interrogate the families of those suspected of heresy, there are several elements of the anti-heretical documentary, polemical and legal tradition of writing about heresy and its repression that speak to the idea that heresy existed within and was inherited and transmitted through family and through bloodline.

The first of these is best introduced with brief recourse to R.I. Moore's excellent and well-known article, 'Heresy as Disease'.<sup>28</sup> Here, Moore observes that the term *pestis* was 'used of almost every significant outbreak of heresy in the twelfth century'.<sup>29</sup> Building on a long-established tradition, this imagery highlighted contemporary belief in the infectious nature of heresy: the fact that because it was difficult to contain, the one could very easily become the many. A number of the laws and penalties that were

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<sup>27</sup> Including Sicard of Gabbaret, 11 May 1246, 609.67r-68r; Pons Maurin, 11 May 1246, 609.68r; Bernard Nicetz, 31 May 1246, 609.68r-v; B. of Laurac, 31 May 1246, 609.68v. There is list of a further twenty-four individuals who were interrogated but who denied all knowledge of the heretics on 17 March 1246, 609.68v.

<sup>28</sup> R. I. Moore, 'Heresy as Disease', in *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages (11th-13th C.)*, ed. W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst, *Mediaevalia Lovanensia, Series 1, Studia 4* (Louvain, 1983), pp. 1-11. See also for corruption as a common theme of the textual construction of heresy in the thirteenth century L. J. Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century: The Textual Representations* (York, 2011), pp. 171-73.

<sup>29</sup> Moore, 'Heresy as Disease', p. 2.

established to counter heresy responded explicitly to this perceived trait by enforcing isolation on the perpetrator(s). The wearing of crosses, disinheritance, imprisonment – ideally in separate cells – and even death by burning all, to a greater or lesser extent, inflicted a form of quarantine on the guilty party.<sup>30</sup>

Though not explicitly pointing to the family, the idea that heresy spread from person to person and therefore had to be removed in the manner of a disease, through quarantine or even termination of the infected party, did implicate those with whom guilty parties had the most frequent or enduring contact, and in practice, this often included their relatives.

In addition to affording the contact necessary for heresy to spread, there are strands of Church literature which suggest that the family was also perceived as the provider – in a very literal sense – of the necessary materials for transmission. Medical texts inherited from the Classical world informed medieval scholars that blood was the medium through which the disposition and characteristics of the parents were transmitted to the child.<sup>31</sup> According to this thinking, the qualities of an ancestor should be reproduced in his or her descendants. Quality of blood and, most significantly, the desire or ability to trace one's ancestry were predominantly the concern and prerogative of the aristocracy. Indeed, according to this theory, the birth of an immoral nobleman, should not have been possible. As Aelred of Rievaulx, a Cistercian ascetic, wrote in 1154, '[I]t would be an eternal disgrace to a noble spirit to be found unworthy of a glorious ancestry, and *it is against the nature of things for a good root to produce bad fruit*.'<sup>32</sup>

The sentiment here is markedly similar to that of the modern proverb, 'the apple does not fall far from the tree'. For David Crouch, the repeated use of this imagery in contemporary writing represents the significance of aristocratic lineage in the medieval world.<sup>33</sup> The strength of its presence as a concept alerts us to the fact that children were,

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<sup>30</sup> For a review of the legislative actions against heresy set out by the major regional councils in the South of France (e.g. Narbonne in 1227 and 1243, Toulouse in 1229, Béziers in 1232 and 1246, and Albi in 1254), as well as the punitive measures imposed for the different categories of guilt that emerged, see Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics*, pp. 93-99. See A&B, document 37, 'Consultation of Béziers', no.23, p. 256, on keeping prisoners 'in separate and hidden rooms, to prevent mutual perversion or the perversion of others.' For the original document, see Mansi, xxiii, cols. 715-24.

<sup>31</sup> D. Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France 900-1300* (Harlow, 2005), pp. 26-29.

<sup>32</sup> Crouch uses this quote from Aelred, see *ibid.*, 128. My emphasis. For the original text, see Aelred of Rievaulx, *Genealogia regum Anglorum*, in *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, 217 vols (Paris, 1857-66) 195, col. 716.

<sup>33</sup> For more examples of contemporary uses of this phrase, see Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, pp. 128-9. Crouch's whole chapter, 'The Power of Lineage', pp. 124-55, is useful on lineage as a concept.

broadly speaking, expected to follow in the footsteps of their parents in countenance, in ability, in nobility, and potentially also in matters of faith. However, it is worth bearing in mind that the language of transmission of faith by blood and descent did not become explicit until the case of the Jews in fifteenth-century Spain.<sup>34</sup>

There is some evidence of sentiments such as this playing a role in thinking about the transmission of heresy in the documentation concerning an inquisition in Carcassonne, which took place later in the thirteenth century. One of the key criticisms raised by the citizens of Carcassonne against the inquisitor, John Galand, in 1285, concerned the fact that he was subjecting to harsh penalties even those who were ‘of good and praiseworthy reputation *and from a family that is, going back a long way back, Catholic.*’<sup>35</sup>

The fact that the citizens of Carcassonne were appalled by the notion that an inquisitor might harass members of good Catholic families suggests that the expected behaviour of inquisitors was to focus their attention towards families with ‘bad’ reputations in terms of their members’ religious choices.

Inquisitors may have been influenced in their pursuit of heresy along familial lines by a pre-existing body of knowledge, shaped by the intellectual currents of thought circulating within their Orders, and within the wider body of church polemic and literature. The ideas that heresy travelled in the first instance through personal contacts, in the manner of infection, and in the second in the manner of personal traits, through the bloodline, were part of this wider stream of discourses, both of which implicated the family. Although these elements do not exclusively pertain to aristocratic families, they do appear to inform treatment of the aristocracy more forcefully as a result of the emphasis, noted by Crouch above, on the significance of blood and lineage as one of the defining concepts of aristocracy. Moreover, the fact that inquisitors may have already been more interested in elite support for Catharism suggests that their attention would naturally come to focus more fully on aristocratic families.

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<sup>34</sup> The online bibliography, ‘Purity of blood’ (New York, 2014), compiled by R. A. Maryks, collects together a number of primary and secondary sources which pertain to this subject matter. See *Oxford Bibliographies Online*, <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com.libproxy.york.ac.uk/view/document/obo-9780195399301/obo-9780195399301-0101.xml#obo-9780195399301-0101-div2-0002> (accessed 12 February 2019).

<sup>35</sup> See C. Molinier, *L’Inquisition dans le midi*, p. 446, n. 1; Jean-Marie Vidal, *Un inquisiteur jugé par ses ‘victimes’: Jean Galand et les Carcassonnais (1285-1286)* (Paris, 1903), pp. 39-43; trans. A&B, p. 176.



What are the implications of this? It means that, as with the figures of aristocratic support for heresy overall, the inquisition records could be showing us artificially inflated numbers of familial versus non-familial links between Cathar supporters, because inquisitors were actively seeking these out. As a result, there are potential problems with the preferred method in the historiography, which has been to rely primarily on the quantity of familial links in the inquisition records to show the extensiveness of aristocratic familial support for Catharism. An alternative way to approach this, is by focussing more on the forms of support provided to the Cathars and investigating the extent to which aristocratic families provided support in a socially distinctive way. This will be attempted below. First, we have several other historiographical conventions to consider.

#### Individual and familial decisions about faith

Historians of heresy and the aristocracy tend to take for granted the idea that children followed in their family's footsteps, which is to say that they favour an inheritance model of belief transmission. It may seem an obvious point to make, but this was not always the case.

Actors within the inheritance model lack agency; they lack the ability to make their own choices about faith. The model relies on an old-fashioned understanding of childhood as a 'plastic period', during which time religious education and training could be passively imparted.<sup>36</sup> Epitomising this, in 1896, Henry Charles Lea described childhood as a period during which 'the future man or woman is to be moulded and trained into implicit obedience to ecclesiastical formulas and authority and when the habits are to be formed which will render them docile and obedient subjects during life'.<sup>37</sup> This view is still frequently endorsed in the more recent heresy scholarship. For example, in his famous account of the village of Montailou, first published in 1975, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie wrote of a 'tradition of cultural transmission' through which 'children took over their parents' ideology', and in his general account of the Cathars (1998), Malcolm Lambert portrayed thirteenth-century Languedoc as a society in which 'the young were

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<sup>36</sup> This criticism is from Chris Sparks, and the following passage draws heavily on his analysis. C. Sparks, *Heresy, Inquisition and Life Cycle in Medieval Languedoc* (York, 2014), pp. 28-29.

<sup>37</sup> H. C. Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*, 3 vols (Philadelphia, 1896), i.400.

unobtrusively initiated state by stage into heretical beliefs and practices'.<sup>38</sup> The role played by Roquebert in establishing this model in the historiography of Catharism has already been established in the introduction.<sup>39</sup> For Christopher Sparks, there is an important difference between the depiction of people in general, and young children in particular, as open and even suggestible to the ideas and teachings of those around them, and the depiction of them as moulds, readily awaiting the imprint of information.<sup>40</sup> This difference is not always apparent in the historiography, and yet it has significant bearing on our understanding of the role played by the family in the transmission process.

In order to move beyond the idea that Catharism was somehow passively instilled in the younger generation we must ask what did the family do to actively promote Cathar beliefs in young children? Education is a key concept here. We know that individuals such as Helis of Mazerolles and Geralda of Roqueville took up the beliefs of their elder relatives, and we also know a little bit about their early contact with the Cathar faith. Helis, we know, spent time as a child visiting the house of the good man, Guilabert of Castres, with her mother in around 1193. At the same time, she also regularly visited her grandmother's house of good women in Fanjeaux. No direct mention of an 'education' in the ways of the Cathars is made in reference to either of these two locations. In fact, it was not until ten years later, as an adult visiting a house of good men in Montréal, that Helis recalled participating in the ritual of adoration. We have no evidence to suggest that she was formally taught how to do this, although of course this may simply have been omitted from her deposition. It is also possible that she picked up the process osmotically, from watching those around her, as a result of having been introduced to her mother's social and religious network.

Geralda's account is a little more explicit. She admitted that for a period of eight days when she was a child she stayed with her grandmother, Garsenda of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, and her aunt, Gallarda. During this time, she was taught to participate in the ritual of adoration, and also, presumably, witnessed first-hand a little of the way of life of a good woman.

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<sup>38</sup> E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error*, trans. B. Bray (London, 1978), p. 231. M. Lambert, *The Cathars* (Oxford, 1998), p. 74.

<sup>39</sup> See introduction, pp. 18-19.

<sup>40</sup> Sparks, *Life Cycle*, pp. 28-29.

These forms of induction into the Cathar faith may seem rather informal, but the reality is that this was probably characteristic of most of the education that the children of the regional aristocracy received in this period, religious and otherwise. Indeed, Hancke suggests that outside the relatively ad hoc teaching of the good men and women, or the Catholic equivalent – modest lessons provided by the parish priest – girls were largely educated within the family, with the mother taking a key role.<sup>41</sup> Raymonde Foreville's article on pastoral developments in the synodal statutes of thirteenth-century southern France, supports this picture. Foreville finds that the key turning point in terms of pastoral education did not come until 1246, when the council of Béziers decreed that priests were required to teach articles of the faith to their flock every Sunday in a 'simple and clear' manner (*simpliciter et distincte*). Parents were invited to bring their children, aged seven and over, so that they might also be instructed.<sup>42</sup>

Those who wished (or had been instructed) to receive the *consolamentum* themselves probably did receive more rigorous instruction, typically passing a lengthy period of time living among the good men and women. For example, Adalais, the daughter of the good woman, Forneira of Péreille, spent three and a half years living in the house held by her mother before she was able to undergo the ritual of *consolamentum* herself.<sup>43</sup> Chris Sparks notes how contemporaries and later historians alike have seized upon the similarity of this to the process of childhood oblation to orthodox religious houses.<sup>44</sup> Historians such as Abels and Harrison and Pegg have challenged the basis of this comparison, suggesting that more useful comparisons might be made with smaller, less formally organised religious houses, such as those of the later Beguines, or even with social rites of passage that involved stays in the houses of older women, and which, according to Pegg, 'all Lauragais girls seem to have undertaken in the years before their majority'.<sup>45</sup>

For young girls such as Helis and Geralda, who were inducted into the support network, there would have been no need for a formal religious education. Both followed their

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<sup>41</sup> Hancke, *Femmes en Languedoc*, pp. 212-13. See also J. H. Mundy, *Men and Women at Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars* (Toronto, 1990), p. 117.

<sup>42</sup> R. Foreville, 'Les statuts synodaux et le renouveau pastoral du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle dans le Midi de la France', *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 6 (Toulouse, 1971), 136. For the decrees themselves, see Council of Béziers (1246), Mansi, xxiii, cols. 691-703.

<sup>43</sup> Adalais, wife of Alzieu of Massabrac, 24.204r-v.

<sup>44</sup> Sparks, *Life Cycle*, pp. 52-53. On the historiography, see Abels and Harrison, 'The Participation of Women', 228-30.

<sup>45</sup> See Sparks, *Life Cycle*, pp. 52-53, for an overview of these positions. See also Abels and Harrison, 'The Participation of Women', 231, and M. G. Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245-1246* (Princeton, 2001), p. 119.

families' tradition of belief in the Cathar faith, maintaining strong links not only with the relatives who had overseen their induction, but also with the networks of Cathars and their supporters to whom these relatives introduced them. However, the crucial point here is that both did so as a result of the processes of induction that their families guided them through. These girls were afforded opportunities for their own uptake of the Cathar belief system, and they acted upon these, choosing to learn, and choosing to uphold.

The basic notion of religion as a matter of choice is a strong theme in the work of Andrew Roach. For Roach, religion in this period was characterised by choice, and by an expanding 'religious market', in which individuals made religious choices primarily based on the extent to which they viewed each option as beneficial to their chances of salvation.<sup>46</sup>

Claire Taylor has questioned ideas about individuals 'inheriting' faith from their families more specifically, using examples of families from thirteenth-century Quercy. She uses the register of Peter Seila to investigate the extent to which the families of Montauban and Gourdon included both Cathar and Waldensian supporters, and finds in the first place that very few individual deponents were found guilty of demonstrating support for both sects. She deduces from this the likelihood that individuals made informed choices about faith, rather than simply selecting those elements from each which appealed to them.<sup>47</sup> In the second place, comparing this with the religious preferences of whole families, Taylor produces statistics to show that the proportion of families with 'mixed' adherence (that is, with members who supported the Cathars as well as members who supported the Waldensians) is far higher than it was for individuals who showed support to both faiths. She concludes from this that 'families appear pluralist in confessional identity, even though their constituent members were not.'<sup>48</sup> An example she gives is of the family of the good woman, Jeanne of Avignon,

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<sup>46</sup> A. Roach, *The Devil's World: Heresy and Society, 1100-1300* (Harlow, 2005). See esp. p. 1, where Roach makes the point that the term 'heresy' itself comes from the Greek meaning 'choice' and makes reference to the 'gaudy religious market of the fourteenth century'. Salvation is also p. 1.

<sup>47</sup> See C. Taylor, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Medieval Quercy* (York, 2011), pp. 56, 160-64. Taylor uses Duvernoy's study of mixed-faith individuals on p. 161. See J. Duvernoy (ed. and trans.), *L'inquisition en Quercy: le registre des pénitences de Pierre Cellan, 1241-1242* (Castelnaud la Chapelle, 2001), p. 25.

<sup>48</sup> Taylor, *Quercy*, p. 163, table 2. Taylor finds that out of fifty-eight cases for which we have evidence for two or more members of a quercinois family in the period from c.1200-42, only in twenty-two did all the deponents admit contact with the same sect and only that sect. Moreover, within this data-set, out of the twenty-five families of three or more, there were only four in which all of the members admit contact with the same sect and only that sect.

whose relations, Arnold of Avignon, and his wife, Raymunda, invited Waldensians into their house on several occasions, and called upon a Waldensian doctor to treat their son.<sup>49</sup> Taylor also observes that some of her families contained members with orthodox beliefs. Unfortunately, these seem to have been relatively few in number. As Taylor explains, this is an inevitable result of the fact that relatively few of her sources throw light on the orthodox religiosity of the laity.<sup>50</sup> Indeed, this problem with Taylor's sources is even greater than is usual for those working with inquisition material, because *culpae*, such as those of Peter Seila, are explicitly selections that were made from the confessions about guilty acts that had first of all been recorded as depositions. Therefore, there would have been no reason for them to include records of orthodox deponents or activity.

Ultimately, Taylor does not completely dismiss the significance of familial influence in the matter of decisions about faith. Indeed, she finds that the likelihood of belonging to the same faith as one's relatives markedly increased whenever those relatives lived in close proximity to one another, sharing the same town.<sup>51</sup> Hence, even if close family were influential in the early stages of childhood, as discussed above, then their influence may not have been permanent. Indeed, as Sparks shows, individuals were subjected to the religious influences of numerous different individuals and groups throughout their lives, not only to those of their family. For example, young people working as apprentices were subjected to the influences of their employers, spouses to their spouses, and so on.<sup>52</sup>

These different influences created opportunities to break with familial 'traditions', and we can see occasional examples in the depositions of these opportunities being taken. For instance, H. Duffaut, in his monograph on the Roquevilles, identified two members of this family who entered into orthodox religious houses throughout the course of the thirteenth century. The first of these, a Raymond Peter, became the thirteenth abbot of the abbey of Grandselve, over which he was still presiding in 1221, and the second, a Bertrand of Roqueville (not to be confused with our Bertrand), became a member of the Brothers Preacher. He can be seen studying theology in Narbonne in 1288, and in Toulouse from 1289 to 1292, and in 1308 left the convent of Cahors to become prior of

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 164-65. Taylor also gives other examples here.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 159-60.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 159.

<sup>52</sup> Sparks, *Life Cycle*, *passim*. This is a theme of Sparks' book.

the convent of Toulouse.<sup>53</sup> In addition, we can consider another family that we have previously encountered: that of the good woman, Garsenda of Mas-Saintes Puelles. Although the majority of Garsenda's children seem to have followed her example, becoming supporters of the Cathar church, if not undergoing the ritual to become good men and women themselves, records show that one son, William Palaisi, became the Catholic prior of Mas-Saintes-Puelles.<sup>54</sup>

There is a more complicated example in one of our case study families. Forneira of Péreille became a good woman in around 1204, and at some point after this left her husband, William Roger of Mirepoix, and their children, of whom we have evidence of at least five, and went to live in a house for good women in Lavelanet. However, in around 1218, Forneira returned to her family one night, only to snatch away their daughter, Adalais, to raise her in the Cathar faith. Forneira took Adalais back to Lavelanet and attempted to persuade her to undergo the ritual consolation necessary to becoming a good woman herself. Eventually, Adalais relented and was consoled, living as a good woman for three and a half years. After this time, however, Adalais abandoned her mother and the sect, taking Alzieu of Massabrac as her husband.<sup>55</sup>

We do not know whether Adalais acted with her mother's consent in making this marriage, however, we can surmise that a married life with children was not what Forneira had planned for her daughter when she brought her back to the house of good women in Lavelanet. Nevertheless, as a young woman, Adalais was able, perhaps with the assistance of her husband, to break away from the life that her mother had planned for her. In Adalais's case, this 'break-out' did not represent a complete severing of ties with the Cathars. Indeed, the records show that by the 1230s, the entire family was living in Montségur, during which time Adalais often brought her own son, Alzieu (the younger), along with her on her visits to Forneira.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, the episode does show the potential for children to follow a different religious path than the one laid down by their families.

Though the historiography is useful insofar as it emphasises the role played by the family in facilitating and guiding the choices made by its youngest members, its

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<sup>53</sup> H. Duffaut, *Roqueville. Monographie du fief et de la chapelle de ce nom* (Toulouse, 1903), p. 54.

<sup>54</sup> According to the deposition of Bernard of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, 609.17r, Bernard's brother, William Palaisi, the prior of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, along with another brother, William, had forcibly removed their mother, Garsenda, and sister, Gallarda, from heresy, forcing them to eat meat, before the women relapsed and were burned.

<sup>55</sup> Adalais, wife of Alzieu of Massabrac, 24.204r-v.

<sup>56</sup> Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.276r-77r.

strongest impulses must be tempered. Historians such as Sparks and Taylor have shown that these choices were not predestined and could not, ultimately, be enforced one way or the other, and examples from my case study families support these findings.

### The transmission of Catharism in non-aristocratic families

In order to assess the historiographical significance that has been placed on the inheritance model for the transmission of Catharism in aristocratic families, we need a control group. In short, we need to introduce non-aristocratic families to conversations about inheritance and transmission. Unsurprisingly, there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that non-aristocratic families also introduced their children to Catharism, and in markedly similar ways to aristocratic families. For example, the children of non-aristocratic families sometimes became good men and women just as did their aristocratic counterparts.

Here, it is useful to bring in Sparks' excellent study of children who were consoled.<sup>57</sup> Overall, Sparks identifies twenty-two girls and six boys who underwent the Cathar rite of *consolamentum* and were 'hereticated' as children. Using his data, I have found that it is often difficult to determine the backgrounds of these young people, because the status or occupations of themselves or their close family members were not recorded. This omission in itself could suggest that the social background of many of these young people was not considered noteworthy. The fact that the inquisitorial scribes did not routinely record this information, however, even for the deponents and the people they witnessed who were aristocratic, makes it impossible to know for sure whether this was the case.

One individual whose circumstances the records make a little clearer is Pons Faure, the son of *Domina* Mateus of *Castillon*, who became a cleric. Interrogated in December, 1245, Pons told the inquisitor that as a boy of seven he had seen heretics in his mother's house, and that they had instructed and advised (*instruxerunt et monuerunt*) him to go with them to learn his letters (*adisci litteras*), which he did, freely, not knowing at the time (so he claimed) that the pair were heretics.<sup>58</sup> Pons's circumstances are unusual, in that there does not seem to have been a familial relationship between himself and the

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<sup>57</sup> Sparks, *Life Cycle*, 53-61.

<sup>58</sup> Pons Faure, 609.42r.

good men who became his educators. It appears to have been more common, where the consolation of children was concerned, for those children to have been related to the good men or women who they went to live with, whether they were aristocratic or not. For example, three of the boys identified by Sparks, Peter Jocglar and his brother, and William of Lagrasse, had fathers who were good men, and both ‘brought [them] up with the heretics’ (the Latin verb being *nutrire* in both instances) in around 1215 and 1205 respectively.<sup>59</sup> Similarly, one girl, Willelma, was brought up by two Cathar parents, Stephen Oliba and Bernarda Brezerta, undergoing the ritual of consolation herself at the age of twelve around 1207.<sup>60</sup>

Sparks’s study reveals several other deponents brought before the inquisitors who claimed to have been forced into the sect at a young age by an overly pious relative. For example, *Na Comdors* was ten years old when her mother ‘violently’ (*violenter*) forced her to become a good woman. She remained in the sect for nine months, living openly with other good women in Mas-Saintes-Puelles around 1199. It should be noted that *Comdors* was identified as ‘Na’ – short for *Domina* – in her deposition, which could be a mark of higher status, though it was also used for women to denote respect.<sup>61</sup> Similarly, a woman called *Coviens* claimed that she had only been ten or twelve when her brother, Peter Coloma, who was himself a Cathar believer, made her ‘give herself to the heretics’, and another, *Arnalda of Fremiac*, stated that during her youth (while she was *iuvenis*), her uncle, Isarn Bola, forced (*compulit*) her to enter a house of good women. *Coviens* remained living in a house of good women in Fanjeaux for two years from around 1215, ultimately leaving to take a husband, and *Arnalda* stayed with the group she joined for about six years.<sup>62</sup> It should be noted that the experiences of these young women bear some similarity to that of *Adalais of Massabrac*, who was forced into the sect by her mother, *Forneira of Péreille*, and suggest that the desire to see Catharism flourish in the next generation was not a sentiment limited to the aristocracy.

Sparks also identifies others who, though they were not consoled, did spend some time with relatives who were good men or women during childhood. For instance, *Maurina Bosc* was sent to stay with her aunt, *Carcassona*, in a house of good women where she lived for five months at the age of seven; and *Alazaisa of Toulouse* was similarly sent to

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<sup>59</sup> Sparks, *Life Cycle*, p. 59. See also William of Lagrasse, 609.133v; P. Jocglar, 609.120r, cited in Sparks.

<sup>60</sup> Willelma of Ber. R., 609.114v.

<sup>61</sup> *Na Comdors*, 609.20v.

<sup>62</sup> *Coviens*, wife of B. Mairanel, 609.161v; *Arnalda of Fremiac*, 609.160v.



live with her aunt for over a year during her childhood.<sup>63</sup> These girls spent time with relatives who were good women during their respective childhoods in similar ways to the aristocratic ladies, Geralda of Roqueville and Helis of Mazerolles, whose cases we looked at above.

It is clear from Sparks's study that having one or more family members who already belonged to the sect was a strongly influential factor across all social groups, offering the opportunity for young members to be educated in the beliefs of the Cathars and introduced to Cathar social networks. However, it also shows that patterns of Cathar support could run in families even when there is no evidence of individuals belonging to those families living as full members of the sect. Pons Faure, for instance joined with two good men who just happened to be visiting his mothers' house. Pons may not have been alone in this. Indeed, out of the twenty-eight children Sparks identifies as having become good men and women, twenty-one of these cases make no mention of family members at all.

In another relevant case, taking place in around 1205, Raymond of l'Eglise was consoled as a boy of ten, when he fell sick and his father took him to the house of the good man, William Teisseire, in Montmaur. It is unclear here whether the intention was for the good men to care for Raymond until he became well again, or whether Raymond was gravely ill and his father, fearing that he might die, took him to the good men so that he might die in the Cathar faith, and thus be saved. In any case, the fact that Raymond stayed with the Cathars for ten years shows that the lack of a family bond with the good men or women did not in itself inhibit the possibility of a young child being inducted into their faith.<sup>64</sup>

It tended to be through the family that most people had their first encounters with Catharism, if not through direct education by a family member, then by introduction to the network and faith. This seems to have been the case regardless of social background.

### **Evidence of distinctively aristocratic behaviour**

Thus far, we have primarily discussed the role of the aristocratic family in the spread of Catharism. However, historians of heresy have identified a number of other ways that

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<sup>63</sup> Sparks, *Life Cycle*, p. 36. See Maurina Bosc, 609.180v-81r; Alazais of Toulouse, 609.253v.

<sup>64</sup> Raymond of l'Eglise, 609.55v.

families showed their support for Catharism. This section outlines some of these, considering the extent to which aristocratic families might be said to have engaged in socially distinctive forms of support. Later, chapter 5 will introduce patronage as an analytical tool to formally test these ideas. Aristocratic families acted as hosts, offering shelter, protection, and a place in the home for as many nights as were needed, often also welcoming other groups of believers who came to see and speak to the good men and women. They also attended sermons together and can sometimes be seen working in concert to provide the Cathars with gifts, material support, and guides from place to place.

Guiraud, in his seminal chapter on the nobility, uses examples lifted from the inquisition records to illustrate the devotion of numerous aristocratic families. In particular, he highlights the hospitality of the Roquevilles, in the house owned by the brothers in Toulouse.<sup>65</sup> To build on Guiraud's example, drawing from one of our case study families, we can see immediately that the Roquevilles were well-known for hosting Cathars. Estult of Roqueville himself confessed that he 'held male and female heretics in his house in Toulouse sometimes for eight days and sometimes for fifteen days, and he adored them so many times he does not recall'.<sup>66</sup> Table 1.2, below, shows those occasions where Estult of Roqueville and his wife, Geralda confessed to or were witnessed hosting Cathars in one of the properties they owned.<sup>67</sup>

Table 1.2: Cathar gatherings hosted by Estult of Roqueville and his wife, Geralda.

<b>Roqueville family members present</b>	<b>Cathars hosted</b>	<b>Location of Property</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Deposition evidence</b>
Estult, Geralda	Guilabert of Castres & companion	Mas-Saintes-Puelles	1221	Estult of Roqueville, 609.64v
Estult, Bernard, Geralda	Vigouroux of Bouconne & companion	Montgiscard	1226	Estult of Roqueville, 609.64v

<sup>65</sup> Guiraud, *Histoire de l'Inquisition*, i.283-84.

<sup>66</sup> See the deposition of Estult of Roqueville, 609.64v. The depositions of Bertrand of Roqueville, 609.43v, and Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v, corroborate this point. Bertrand stated that he had seen many heretics in his uncle's house in around 1215, and Peter said the same.

<sup>67</sup> It should be noted that the property Estult held in Toulouse was co-owned with his brothers. However, he and Geralda seem to have lived there.

Geralda, Estult, Bego	Vigouroux of Bouconne & companion	Montgiscard	c.1232	Geralda, wife of Estult of Roqueville, 609.66r-v
Estult, Bernard, Raymond	Bernard of Lamothe & many others	Toulouse	c.1226	Estult of Roqueville, 609.64v
Estult, Bernard, Geralda	Two good men, unknown	Toulouse	c.1228	Estult of Roqueville, 609.64v
Geralda, Estult, Bego, Raymond, Three Measures	Bernard of Lamothe, Gerald of Gourdon, William of Soler, Raymond Gros, Guilabert of Castres & many others	Toulouse	c.1228	Geralda, wife of Estult of Roqueville, 609.66r
Geralda, Estult, Bego	Vigouroux of Bouconne & companion	Montgiscard	c.1232	Geralda, wife of Estult of Roqueville, 609.66r-v
Geralda, Estult, Garsenda, Gallarda	Garsenda of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, & her daughter Gallarda	Baraigne	c.1222	Geralda, wife of Estult of Roqueville, 609.66v
Estult, Geralda, Garsenda, Gallarda	Garsenda of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, and her daughter Gallarda	Baraigne	c.1216	Willelma of Avignonet, 609.171v
Estult, Geralda, Three Measures, Raymond	Bernard of Lamothe, Raymond Gros,	Toulouse	1221	Three Measures, 609.66v

	William of Soler & many others			
Estult, Bego	Guilbert of Castres & companion	Mas-Saintes-Puelles	c.1225	Bernard of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, 609.16v
Estult, Bego	Guilbert of Castres & companion	Mas-Saintes-Puelles	c.1221	William of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, 609.16v
Estult, Geralda, Blanche (their daughter), Bego	Raymond Sans & companion	Montgiscard	c.1231	William of <i>Cavarsell</i> , 609.65r
Estult, Geralda, Bego	Bernard Engelbert & two companions	Montgiscard	c.1236	Sicard of Gabbaret, 609.67v
Geralda, Estult, Bego, Three Measures	William Bernard Airoux & companion	Montgiscard	c.1234	Sicard of Gabbaret, 609.67r
Estult, Three Measures, Bernard, Raymond	Guilbert of Castres, Bernard of Lamothe & William of Soler	Toulouse	c.1230	Raymond Ademar of Lanta, 609.200v
Estult, Bego	Two good men, unknown	Toulouse	c.1225-7	Stephen Massa, 23.293v-94v
Estult, Three Measures	Two good men, unknown (consoling Raines)	Toulouse	c.1229	William Gairaut, 23.150r-51r
Estult, Three Measures, Bego, Geralda	Two good men, unknown (consoling Raines)	Toulouse	1228	Guy of Castillon, 23.223v-24r
Estult, Bego	Two good men, unknown (consoling Raines)	Toulouse	1209-29	Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v
Estult, Algaia, Raymond,	Bernard of Lamothe & William of Soler	Toulouse	1241	Algaia, wife of Gallard of

Geralda, Guirauda, Bego				Ségreville, 24.9v- 10r
Estult, Algaia Geralda, Bego	Dulcia and Raymunda	Toulouse	?	Algaia, wife of Gallard of Ségreville, 24.10r- 11r
Estult, Geralda	Bernard of Lamothe & companion	?	c.1227	Domina Mateuz, wife of Stephen, 609.130r
Estult, Geralda, Algaia, Ermessens (another daughter)	Two good men & two good women	Toulouse	c.1228- 29	Guy of Castillon, 23.223r-v
Geralda, Estult Algaia, Ermessens	Braida & companions	Toulouse	1209- 29	Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v

What is especially striking here is not only the sheer number of occasions that the Roqueville properties were identified as hubs of Cathar activity, but the number of occasions upon which at least one family member, besides the host and his wife, was present alongside any visiting Cathars. Inquisition evidence on other families lends itself to similar demonstrations. Roquebert outlines the enduring support offered by the lordly family of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, and especially the role played by Guillelma Meta, in accompanying her various female relatives, including her sister-in-law, Flors, her daughter, Finas, and her daughter-in-law, Maria, to Cathar sermons. He also emphasises the regular role of guide undertaken in concert by two cousins belonging to the same family, both named Jordan: Jordan ('Jordanet') of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, the son of William, lord of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, and his cousin, Jordan of Quiriès, himself a son of Guillelme Meta.<sup>68</sup> Hancke and Barber similarly highlight the support of the Mazerolles family. Barber emphasises the many meetings Helis attended at the houses of her Cathar relatives: Braida, her sister, in Montréal, and Fabrissa, her sister-in-law, in

<sup>68</sup> Roquebert, *L'épopée cathare*, i.119 on Guillelme Meta, and p. 121 on the two cousins named Jordan.

Montréal and Gaja-la-Selve.<sup>69</sup> For Hancke, Helis's faith as a whole was 'marked by a familial entourage, and she saw it in that context'. Here, Hancke refers to the fact that Helis was not only introduced to the Cathars by her family, she also attended sermons with her sisters, her sons, her daughters-in-law, and her nieces.<sup>70</sup>

However, we must be wary here. Presently, as stated above, the historiography relies too heavily on the over-representation of the aristocracy in the inquisition records. For precisely this reason, we must be cautious about reading too much into the many examples of aristocratic families engaging in Catharism in these ways. Again, non-aristocratic groups provide a useful control group, but there is a problem with this approach. It can be very difficult to trace or even recognise familial relationships outside the aristocracy, let alone to build a picture of Cathar support, because they are significantly less well-represented in the records.

Even working with this paucity of data, however, it is possible to identify some examples of non-aristocratic families participating in Catharism together, and sometimes in very similar ways to our aristocratic families. Firstly, the records show that members of non-aristocratic families attended Cathar meetings and sermons together. For example, in the deposition he made in July 1245, P. Lavander recalled that around four years earlier he had seen Raymond Barta with several good men, including William Vitalis, in a certain storehouse. Present alongside them were two women and four men. Included in the group's number, P. recalled the brothers, William and Peter Fort, both labourers (*laboratores*).<sup>71</sup> The brothers, William and Peter Donadeu, members of a great merchant family based in Cahors also attended Cathar meetings together. In 1236, when William saw that a group of four good men had come to the *mas* of Sompressac, he immediately went to tell his brother that they had arrived, and in 1240, the pair of them attended a group of good men making an *apparellamentum* together in the same *mas*.<sup>72</sup> Indeed, Catharism seems to have thrived in the Donadeu family just as it did in some aristocratic families. Grimald Donadeu, the brother of William and Peter, was himself a good man, and the father of the three brothers also

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<sup>69</sup> M. Barber, *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages* 2nd edn (Harlow, 2013), p. 44.

<sup>70</sup> Hancke, *Les belles hérétiques*, p. 41.

<sup>71</sup> P. Lavander, 609.74r.

<sup>72</sup> William Donadeu of Elbes – Grimald: 23.209v, 213r-14r; the Donadeus's father: 23.211v-12r; 215r-v.

made himself a good man in his old age, and went to live ‘among the heretics’ from 1228.<sup>73</sup>

Members of non-aristocratic families also offered shelter and supplies to the good men and women of Languedoc. Indeed, the good men and women became increasingly reliant on these kinds of support from all walks of life as persecution intensified under successive rounds of inquisition. In an example taken from a later set of depositions, recorded from 1308-1309, the notary, Peter of Gaillac, recalled seeing the Autier brothers, William, Jacques and Peter, staying in a certain room in his father’s house ‘at diverse moments and times...sometimes for two days, sometimes for five and more’. According to Peter, during these times, his mother supplied them with food that she had prepared.<sup>74</sup> The Donadeu brothers can also be seen collaborating to offer the good men similar assistance. In 1229, Peter Donadeu brought two good men to the house of his brother, William, in Mazerac. William took the men in, and Peter supplied them with food for the night.<sup>75</sup>

There are fruitful, if potentially confusing, comparisons to be made here with another Roqueville family: Peter, Raymond, and William of Roqueville, labourers (*laboratores*) from Montgaillard. Much like our case study Roqueville family, these brothers can be seen attending sermons, hosting good men and women, and even guiding them from place to place. Indeed, William Pelisser told the inquisitors in 1245 that he was convinced that Peter and Raymond of Roqueville of Le Carla in Montgaillard were ‘believers and receivers (*credentes et receptatores*) of the heretics’. They had hosted the good men, Peter Sabater and his companion, in 1242, and Bernard of Saint-Coloma and his companion, who ‘hereticated’ Bruno of Renneville earlier in 1245.<sup>76</sup> On both these occasions, their mother, Ermessens was also present, although it is unclear whether she shared the same house. Indeed, according to Pelisser, the brothers ‘still held heretics today’ – that is in 1245, at the time of William’s interrogation, and were ‘able to give advice from them’, usually concerning the *consolamentum* of sick or dying believers.<sup>77</sup> Sometimes the brothers acted together, sometimes separately, but because they shared a house, at least when hosting they were often perceived in the form of a single unit of

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<sup>73</sup> William Donadeu of Elbes, 23.215r.

<sup>74</sup> Peter of Gaillac in *L’Inquisiteur Geoffroy d’Ablis et les Cathares du comté de Foix (1308-1309)*, ed. and trans., A. Pales-Gobilliard (Paris, 1984), 57v, pp. 348-50.

<sup>75</sup> William Donadeu of Elbes, 23.210v-11r.

<sup>76</sup> William Pelisser, 609.54r-55r; Arnold Brus, 609.51r-v.

<sup>77</sup> William Pelisser, 609.54r.

involvement. All this appears to mirror very closely the participation of the family of the aristocratic Roquevilles.

Members of non-aristocratic families were also recruited as guides for the good men and women. William of Roqueville, the brother of Peter and Raymond, *laboratores*, was witnessed escorting heretics on several occasions. For example, in 1236 he was seen bringing heretics to attend several meetings – one on the land of Raymunda Rasqueiras and one in the vineyard of Bernard Mossier – and a sermon held near Avignonet.<sup>78</sup> Acting as a guide was not in itself a solely aristocratic endeavour. Indeed, all that it really required was some knowledge of the land in which one was travelling, although the ability to defend one's charges would certainly also have been an advantage. Granted, it was also often not a familial endeavour. However, occasionally family members were recruited specifically to relay information and summonses between the family group and the Cathars. Estult of Roqueville, for instance, recalled how his brother Bego had gone to fetch the heretic doctor, William of Airoux, to help Estult's wife, Geralda, in around 1231 when she lay sick with a fever.<sup>79</sup> This kind of familial endeavour was much more common when a speedy *consolamentum* was called for. In 1245, Arnold Brus sought the good men 'at the request, and most great urging of the said Bruno, his father'.<sup>80</sup> The task was not an easy one. First, Arnold went to Saint-Martin-Lalande to see Peter of *Azema*. Though at first reluctant to help, Peter was eventually able to use his own contacts, having travelled with Arnold to the town of Saint-Roman, to arrange to meet with two good men in the woods near Montesquieu, where he was told by the good men, Peter Boer and his companion, that they would meet them that night on the bridge of *del Mares* near the town of Renneville, which they did. From there, Arnold was finally able to take them to his house, where they consoled his sick father in the company of himself and his sister, Willelma.

So far, it looks entirely possible that historians, misled by the emphasis on the aristocracy in the inquisition records, may have exaggerated the significance of the role in supporting Catharism that was played by aristocratic families. However, surveying this material, I have found subtle differences, not only in the number of times that aristocratic families were witnessed supporting the Cathars, but also in the manner of

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<sup>78</sup> Escort to the land of Raymunda Rasqueiras: Arnold Alan of Laporte, 609.50v; Peter Bruni, 609.50v; William Pelisser, 609.53r-v; Bernard Colom. Escort to the vineyard of Bernard Mossier: William Pelisser, 609.53r-v. Sermon: Willelma, wife of Pons of Rival, 609.57r.

<sup>79</sup> Geralda, wife of Estult of Roqueville, 609.66v.

<sup>80</sup> Arnold Brus, 609.51r-v.



their support, that have as yet gone unnoticed in the scholarship. Indeed, the records show that members of aristocratic families played important roles in the Cathar support networks on two levels. On the ground level, they were involved in hosting, guiding, and supplying the Cathars, in similar ways to other social groups. However, on account of their elevated social position, individuals belonging to aristocratic families were also particularly suited to taking on the kinds of managerial roles, which involved overseeing these modes of support.

Hosting is a good example of this. The Roqueville brothers not only took in travelling Cathars themselves, they also directed and arranged the hospitality of others. The difference here is one of authority. Moving the Cathars from place to place could involve issuing instructions, for instance where one encountered an unwilling host. On these occasions, a strong social position would certainly have been advantageous, as would a degree of mobility, and knowledge of a wide network of potential hosts and collaborators. Raymond Brezeg recounted how in around 1230 the brothers, Raymond and Bernard of Roqueville, along with the knight, Arnold of Les Cassés, had led good men to his house, following earnest entreaties from Raymond and Arnold to allow the same good men to stay with him, which he did, on a number of occasions around the same time, ‘sometimes for eight days, and sometimes for fifteen days.’<sup>81</sup> Raymond of Roqueville was perhaps able to draw on this experience of coordinating Cathar movements some nine years later, when his wife, Raymunda, left him to become a good woman, and he took on the responsibility of arranging travel and shelter for her and her companion. This included taking Raymunda and her companion, Marquesia Ainard, to the house of Arnold of Clerens, on several occasions, firstly in around 1242, for around a four-day period, after which Raymond took them on to the house of Raymond, lord of Montmaur. Some time later, fearing their capture, Raymond was forced to bring the two good women back to Arnold’s house. Hereafter, on one occasion, he instructed Arnold and two other men to bring the ladies to a church where Raymond and his brother, Bernard, met them, and took them on to a house in Avignonet where it was hoped they might be kept safe for a while longer.<sup>82</sup> Raymond himself kept entirely silent about these matters concerning his wife, until he was explicitly questioned about her by the inquisitor, at which point he lied, saying that he believed she had died in 1241.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Raymond Brezeg, 609.226r.

<sup>82</sup> Arnold of Clerens, 609.222v-23r; Willelma, wife of Arnold of Clerens, 609.224r-v.

<sup>83</sup> Raymond of Roqueville, 609.216v.

According to Arnold of Clerens, Raymond did not restrict this policy of silence to himself. During the time when the inquisitors were making enquiries in Saint-Félix, Raymond and Bernard, brothers and co-lords of the place, called together up to twenty men of the *castrum* and threatened them to keep entirely silent about anything they had said or done in connection with the heretics, which they all agreed they would do.<sup>84</sup>

What we have evidence of here, then, is another case of aristocratic families coordinating heretical activity; in this case resistance against the inquisitors. In fact, the lord-Roqueville brothers can also be seen coordinating the provision of gifts to the good men. According to the account of Bernard Bernardus, Raymond of Roqueville gave him three fish, with instructions that he should pass them on to Bernard of Roqueville, who might then ensure it reached the good men.<sup>85</sup> In another example, Peter of Mazerolles told the inquisitors that in around 1241 or 1242, when Estult of Roqueville and his brother, Three Measures, were escorting the good men, Bernard of Mayreville and his companion, to Montesgur, Estult tried to persuade Peter to provide Bernard with a nag (a small saddle horse or pony). However, on this occasion, Peter claimed to have refused the request.<sup>86</sup> The brothers can also be seen arranging for, and even hiring, guides for the good men. On one occasion in around 1225 or 1227, the squire Stephen Massa, told inquisitors that he and Raymond of Mauremont of Tarabel had been hired by the Roqueville brothers, Estult and Bego, to guide two good men from the brothers' house in Toulouse to a cattle-shed near Lanta which belonged to Alaman of Rouaix.<sup>87</sup>

There is also a great deal that we can learn about the aristocratic family and socially distinctive modes of support for the Cathars from the Mazerolles, and especially from what the records tell us about Peter of Mazerolles and his wife, Ermengarda. We know, of course that Peter of Mazerolles was brought up surrounded by a family of Cathars and their supporters. The religious background of his wife, however, is less clear. We know that she was the daughter of Isarn of Fanjeaux, an influential lord of the *castrum* of Fanjeaux, and strong Cathar supporter. Nevertheless, Ermengarda herself does not confess to involvement with the Cathars, and nor was she incriminated in the testimony

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<sup>84</sup> Arnold of Clerens, 609.223r. 'R. de Rochovila et Bernardus fratres milites domini dels Cassers congregaverunt homines dicti castri usque ad XXti, inter quos fuerunt Petrus Bofilh, Ramundus Brezeg, R. Sirvent, Petrus Rogerii, P. Cavaerii, Petrus Molinerii, Willelmus Grailes, Bernardus Boterii senior, Bernardus Isarni et Ramundus d'Autinhac, Poncius Salamos et i.t. et quidam alii, et d. milites dixerunt supradictis hominibus comminando quod nullus dischooperiret aliquem de hiis que dixerant vel fecerant cum hereticis, et tunc omnes supradicti condixerant inter se quod bonum erat et quod ita fieret.'

<sup>85</sup> Bernard Bernardus, 609.46r-v.

<sup>86</sup> Peter of Mazerolles, 609.125v.

<sup>87</sup> Stephen Massa, 23.293v-94v.

of others, until after her marriage to Peter. Her name is first mentioned in 1239, and from that time she was often witnessed attending Cathar sermons and meetings alongside the women of the family she had married into, namely, Ermessens and Helis of Mazerolles.

Everything changed after Peter was stripped of his lands and titles, and most likely sentenced to imprisonment (although the sentence itself is lost), in the early 1240s. Rather than accept his punishment, Peter fled to the woods where he lived for some time as a fugitive. During this time, Ermengarda appears to have taken on a measure of his position, at least with regard to coordinating Cathar movement. In the first instance, this new role was primarily a direct result of her husband's condemnation and involved supplying him with aid. Several deponents confessed to the inquisitors that they had carried edible supplies including bread, wine, and meat out to her husband in the woods according to her instruction (*mandato*).<sup>88</sup> In the second instance, however, she also took on a more managerial position with regard to the Cathars themselves. For example, Arnold Dominic told the inquisitor that he received four heretics, two men and two women, into his home for eight days in 1241 according to the instruction of Ermengarda, who also came to visit them during that time. Peter Gausberti and Pons of Cales gave very similar accounts, each claiming that Raymond Aichart, Peter of Mazerolles's sergeant had brought the heretics to their homes and led them away again on Ermengarda's orders in 1239 and 1241.<sup>89</sup> According to Alazaisa, the wife of Pons of Cales, in 1240, when Carcassonne had been under siege, Ermengarda had led heretics to her home in Gaja-la-Selve – in one of the very few recorded instances of women carrying out the role of guide – and compelled her to bend her knees to them.<sup>90</sup>

In Ermengarda's case, then, the new range of roles that she took on in the wake of her husband's condemnation were only possible on account of both her aristocratic position and the familial context of her relationship with her husband. These factors combined to produce not only the obligation for her to support her husband and take on his duties, but the necessary level of influence in society to carry out these tasks.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> William Faure, 609.85v; Peter Cordis of Ferrus, 609.85r; Peter Pastadz, 609.85v; Arnold Pelicer, 609.86r.

<sup>89</sup> Arnold Dominic, 609.121v; Pons of Cales, 609.123r; Peter Gausbert, 609.122r-23r.

<sup>90</sup> Alazacia, wife of Pons of Cales, 609.197r.

<sup>91</sup> On the social status and roles of noble women in thirteenth-century Languedoc broadly, not only pertaining to Catharism, see Hancke, *Femmes en Languedoc*. Much of the first two parts of her book are useful. See esp. 'Le cadre et l'entourage social', pp. 95-118. For a modern account of the historiography of the role played by women in Catharism to date, see J. Arnold, 'Heresy and Gender in the Middle

Finally, it is not possible to speak of the aristocracy organising refuge for the Cathars without reference to the Albigensian Crusade. Indeed, Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay's account of this ongoing war, can in many ways be considered an account of the many different sieges of fortified places that were held against the lords and knights who were known to shelter heretics.<sup>92</sup> These will be discussed further in my chapter on patronage.

## Conclusion

Overall, then, familial participation in Catharism is not only the most common route from which historians have approached the matter of aristocratic support for the Cathars, it also has the potential to be an incredibly fruitful one. However, there are several ways in which the emphasis that the historiography has traditionally placed on the aristocratic family can be nuanced. Most significantly, it would benefit from acknowledging the bias in the records caused by the greater interest of the inquisition in aristocratic families, and consequently exaggerated picture of the participation of this group in Catharism. It is the existence of this bias which recommends the need to introduce comparisons with families belonging to other social groups, and not only the number of incidences of support for the Cathars of these groups, but the forms of support. These comparisons suggest that many forms of aristocratic familial support for the Cathars were not socially distinctive. However, they do point to the fact that the occupation of a higher social status enabled aristocratic families to take responsibility for directing the operational activities that were carried out in support of the Cathars.

Finally, although in this latter sense in particular the aristocratic family provides a useful avenue for nuancing our understanding of aristocratic support for the Cathars, on the other hand it has also had the potentially detrimental effect of dominating the historiography and overshadowing other social bonds that existed within aristocratic networks and which facilitated and encouraged aristocratic support for Catharism. My next chapters will focus on opening up this field of study by investigating these bonds, their influence on aristocratic support for Catharism, and the extent to which this can or should be seen as socially distinctive.

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Ages', in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, ed. J. Bennett and R. Karras (Oxford, 2013), pp. 496-508.

<sup>92</sup> See patronage chapter, pp. 218-19.

## 2. Catharism and co-lordship

The historiography of aristocratic support for Catharism has traditionally dealt with co-lordship in a very narrow way. Historians have seen co-lordship as key to the structuring of southern society in terms of strong horizontal networks, rather than in terms of the strong, vertical, feudal bonds, more familiar in the north, which have traditionally been cast as necessary for keeping heresy in check. These horizontal bonds – which were built on, and closely related to, the familial connections considered in the previous chapter – are seen in a general way as channels for the passage of heretical ideas, but the precise mechanisms involved in this have not been explored.

In Languedoc, and elsewhere, ‘co-lordships’ were the formal horizontal bonds that existed between two or more lords who exercised power over territories, rights, and peoples ‘in the same degree of lordship’.<sup>1</sup> This statement about parity within co-lordships is crucial, because it renders the relationship entirely different from the more widely studied lord-vassal relationships characterised by dependency and the holding of fiefs.

There is a long history of writing about co-lordship. Scholars have always been aware of its existence in medieval Languedoc, and that it usually occurred as a result of succession by means of partible inheritance.<sup>2</sup> However, until fairly recently, as noted above, the interest of historians in co-lordship has largely been limited to positioning it as a conceptual foil to feudalism.<sup>3</sup> This traditional narrative has recently come under attack, most forcefully by H  l  ne D  bax. D  bax argues that scholars have mistakenly assumed that the strong horizontal ties formed between co-lords existed in place of the vertical, lord-vassal ties more familiar to historians, when in fact evidence suggests that in practice the two systems often co-existed alongside one another, if not always in perfect harmony then at least in working order. D  bax’s first book, *La f  odalit  *

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<sup>1</sup> H. D  bax, *La seigneurie collective: pairs, pariers, paratge les coseigneurs du XIe au XIIIe si  cle* (Rennes, 2012), p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> For a review of this early literature, see G. Butaud, ‘Remarques introductives: autour de la d  finition et de la typologie de la coseigneurie’, *M  langes de l’  cole fran  aise de Rome – Moyen   ge* 122 (2010), online journal: <http://journals.openedition.org/mefrm/591> (accessed 20 March 2018), para. 1, esp. n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> For a review of this literature see D  bax, *La seigneurie collective*, p. 11 and *La f  odalit   languedocienne: XIe-XIIe si  cles: serments, hommages et fiefs dans le Languedoc des Trencavel* (Toulouse, 2003), pp. 15-16. For some of the problems with using terms related to ‘feudalism’ in a southern context, see L. M. Paterson, *The World of the Troubadours: Medieval Occitan Society c.1100-c.1300* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 10.

*languedocienne* (2003), introduced co-lordship in a new way: as a subject that could be studied in its own right. Her second book, *La seigneurie collective* (2012), brought this possibility to fruition, tackling vital but long over-looked problems such as how co-lordships were established, how they were expressed in the records, how frequently and how typically they occurred, and how, as relationships, they were variously experienced and managed.<sup>4</sup>

This second text without doubt established Débax as the leading authority on co-lordship in Languedoc, but she has not been the only scholar to publish on the subject. In the year 2000, Pierre-Yves Laffont wrote an article on co-lordship in the Vivarais. Using a combination of archaeological and written sources he found evidence to suggest that roughly a third of lordships in the region in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were held by two or more lords.<sup>5</sup> This article was reworked to incorporate, amongst other things, examples from elsewhere in France, and published in 2010 along with a collection of articles in the open access journal, *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Âge*. This collection included a number of papers that had been given at two conferences on the subject of co-lordship held in May 2004 and May 2005 at the University of Nice. These brought cases from a number of different regions of Italy and France into the conversation, including Tuscany, Piedmont, Comtat Venaissin and Provence. They were edited by Germain Butaud, who contributed an article and also wrote a valuable introduction to the subject.<sup>6</sup>

The fact that the last twenty years have born witness to such an increase in interest and in volume of published work on the subject suggests that co-lordship is finally being given the attention it deserves. Developments in this field have, moreover, constituted a key part of the driving force behind a wider historiographical shift in our understanding of 'typical' power structures in this period. Historians are, all the time, moving away from the traditional imagery of one lord ruling over his family's territories until death, when the reins were handed over to his eldest son. Instead, a more complex picture is emerging, one which lays emphasis on the prevalence of regional variation, partible inheritance, and power-sharing in medieval European society. As a result, the days of

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<sup>4</sup> Débax, *La féodalité languedocienne*, pp.221-25, *La seigneurie collective*, pp. 11-17.

<sup>5</sup> P.-Y. Laffont, 'Contribution à l'histoire de la coseigneurie dans le Midi aux XIe, XIIe et XIIIe siècles. L'exemple du Vivarais et de ses abords', in *Regards croisés sur l'œuvre de Georges Duby. Femmes et féodalité*, ed. A. Bleton-Ruget, M. Pacaut and M. Rubellin (Lyon, 2000), pp. 99-113.

<sup>6</sup> 'La coseigneurie', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Âge* 122 (2010), online journal: <http://journals.openedition.org/mefm/591> (accessed 20 March 2018).

painting these flexible, durable, and, above all, extensive, practices as archaic or somehow inferior to feudalism or primogeniture, must surely be numbered, and not before time.

It is a pity that so few historians of heresy have taken this body of work into account.<sup>7</sup> The reason for this is relatively straightforward: these developments in the field of co-lordship are still relatively new, and for various reasons, discussed further in the introduction, the field of heresy studies has been slow to incorporate new work, especially from outside its own sphere. What this means is that, although heresy historians have always known about co-lordship, in the sense that they have been able to identify individuals who shared the lordship of their *castrum* as the *coseigneurs* of that *castrum*, their ideas were and are still largely mired in an old-fashioned understanding of co-lordship as an inferior means of power distribution in comparison with the strong vertical bonds represented by feudalism.

Such an understanding has led some historians to speculate that ties of co-lordship left Languedoc more vulnerable to heresy than did the strong vertical (feudal) ties around which northern societies were principally structured. This point has been made succinctly by Barber:

‘Strong feudal ties which, as the Capetians showed, contained the potential for tighter control over wilful vassals, were lacking in Languedoc where confederations among equals were much more common...The kings of Aragon, counts of Toulouse, Foix, and Comminges and viscounts of Béziers and Carcassonne had seldom been able to exercise close control over these networks; consequently, when the cathars appeared there was little hope of undermining those who supported or tolerated them, even had the will been present.’<sup>8</sup>

This stance, which has so clearly fed into ideas about the importance of aristocratic support for the Cathars, is undermined by Débax’s position, which sees horizontal and vertical bonds existing harmoniously in the south of France. Débax argues that historians have over-simplified our understanding of southern power structures, and

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<sup>7</sup> For exceptions to this, see *Les voies de l’hérésie. Le groupe aristocratique en Languedoc, XIe-XIIIe siècles*, Collection *Heresis* 8, 3 vols (Carcassonne, 2001) and Claire Taylor, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Medieval Quercy* (York, 2011), discussed above in the introduction, pp. 23-24.

<sup>8</sup> M. Barber, *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages* 2nd edn (Harlow, 2013), pp. 73-74. Robert Moore was writing along similar lines early in his career. R. I. Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 233-35. See also M. Lambert, *The Cathars* (Oxford, 1998), p. 68.

consequently underestimated the historical significance of feudal ties in the south of France. This leads us to question whether these same historians, in the field of heresy studies, may have read too much into evidence such as Raymond V's plea that he could do nothing to reign in his heretical nobles, or the fact that the southern lords were not immediately able to organise an effective resistance to the crusaders.

By comparison with vertical bonds, heresy historians have long emphasised the significance of strong horizontal bonds, not only in shaping southern power structures, but also in providing fertile grounds for the transmission and unbridled prosperity of the Cathar faith. However, these historians are generally guilty of glossing over the nuances of these kinds of bonds. Guiraud in particular can be found speculating based on his own assumptions about what would and what would not have been practical. Noting the existence of large numbers of co-lords, such as those of Mirepoix in the charter of 1207, Guiraud suggested that such an unwieldy group would have necessitated the election of a single head to govern the possessions of the group. In the Mirepoix case, he suggested that Peter Roger, the first lord to be named, would have held this place.<sup>9</sup> With no proof or argument to support his idea, this effectively reads as an anxious attempt to shoehorn the evidence into the classic feudal model of a lord surrounded by his vassals. Indeed, I suggest that it represents a wider trend among heresy historians of misinterpreting, or simply avoiding, these sources on account of the uncomfortably alien picture – entirely foreign to the traditional feudal model – which they evoke.

With similarly little in the way of evidence, heresy historians have dismissed the practice of partible inheritance, where most co-lordships originated, as detrimental, overall, to the well-being and longevity of aristocratic families, speculating that with the power of the lordship being increasingly parcelled up and eaten away, the lords involved were left with smaller and smaller pieces over which to fight. Beginning with Guiraud, a causal connection between the phenomenon of co-lordship and the alleged poverty of the *petite noblesse*, has persisted in the historiography. Historians have suggested that this alleged self-imposed poverty contributed to the virulent anti-clericalism of the aristocracy, and thus ultimately to the heretical choices of the group.<sup>10</sup> There is a good deal of evidence to suggest that this was not the case. As I will demonstrate below in my chapter on 'Patronage', partible inheritance did not

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<sup>9</sup> J. Guiraud, *Histoire de l'Inquisition au moyen âge*, 2 vols (Paris, 1935-8), i.326-27. See below for the charter.

<sup>10</sup> See introduction, pp. 15-17.



necessarily result in poverty. Many co-lords and families with shares in co-lordships were in fact very wealthy.<sup>11</sup>

A great deal of the work that historians of heresy have generated around the topic of co-lordship has built on misinterpretations and assumptions. There is thus a great deal of scope to add to this conversation by developing our understanding of co-lordship as a bond which facilitated or even encouraged support for Catharism. Furthermore, because bonds of co-lordship, unlike familial relationships, more usually existed within exclusively aristocratic circles, studying these bonds provides a clear opportunity to take historiographical conversations about the significance of aristocratic support for Catharism in a new direction.

### **Co-lordship: the evidence**

Evidence of co-lordship can be found in any number of sources. Débax, Butaud, and most of the other historians who contributed to the 2010 collection of articles on co-lordship, built their investigations using sources that were explicitly intended to document aristocratic activity and feudal relationships. Both Débax and Butaud identify certain groups of documents as particularly useful for revealing evidence of co-lordships. These include documents designed to confirm the division of rights between co-lords, as well as those intended to amend these divisions, documents which otherwise detailed agreements forged between the lords, and those which described the lords acting in concert.<sup>12</sup> Butaud suggests that the rise of notarial practices in the towns was probably responsible for the increase in surviving records of this kind from the mid-twelfth century onwards.<sup>13</sup>

The majority of the historians writing for the collection used similar documents. Simone M. Collavini considered a range of sources including records of divisions of rights and land transactions in his article on *seigneurie* in Tuscany. Luigi Provero also primarily

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<sup>11</sup> See patronage chapter, p. 195.

<sup>12</sup> For a review of the different sources from which co-lordship can be inferred, see Butaud, 'Remarques introductives', para. 5; Débax, *La seigneurie collective*, pp. 19, 22-47. See also her appendix, 'Pièces justificatives', pp. 341-429, which includes the Latin transcriptions of a huge range of relevant documents on co-lordships. Débax primarily worked from the lay cartularies of Trencavel and the Williams of Montpellier – documents which she had already mined in the course of researching her first book on feudalism in Languedoc. See her *La féodalité languedocienne*, pp. 17-19. These include, amongst other things, records of oaths and homages, infeudations, wills, property disputes and transactions and donations.

<sup>13</sup> Butaud, 'Remarques introductives', para. 6.

focussed on documents detailing divisions of rights (and the disputes which ensued) in his study of power-sharing in southern Piedmont. Laure Verdon and Butaud himself, used documents that had been produced by specific investigations. Verdon's article is interested in the 1289-1295 investigation into the non-noble acquisition of traditionally noble assets undertaken by Charles II, the Count of Provence. Butaud, on the other hand, primarily focussed his exploration of *coseigneurie* in the Comtat Venaissin on the 1253 survey of Alphonse of Poitiers, the Count of Toulouse, the purpose of which was to inventory all of his newly acquired rights, revenues, fiefs and properties.<sup>14</sup>

These kinds of documents are particularly useful because they tend to show the lords of a particular *castra* grouped together and identified as such. Documents of this kind typically featured either a record of the lords acting in concert – for instance by swearing allegiance to a common overlord – or a record of (or amendment to) the division of rights.

Inquisition records quite clearly do not fall into either of these categories, but there are other contemporary documents which do. The lists of the co-lords of Mirepoix in 1207 and 1223 have been commonly used by historians of both heresy and co-lordship. However, they are important for my study because I will be discussing many of the individuals who appear in these lists in detail in the following pages.

Table 2.1: 19 May 1207, thirty-five men, ‘omnes domini et milites castru hujus’ (all the lords and knights of this castrum), signed a document granting certain customs to the inhabitants of the town of Mirepoix.<sup>15</sup>

1	Peter Roger of Mirepoix [the elder]
2	Esquieu, son of Peter Roger of Mirepoix
3	Raymond of Rabat
4	Roger Isarn of Fanjeaux
5	Isarn Batala
6	Jordan of Marliac

<sup>14</sup> S. M. Collavini, ‘Formes de coseigneurie dans l’espace toscan’, L. Provero, ‘Pluralità di poteri e strutture consortili nelle campagne del Piemonte meridionale (xii-xiii secolo)’, L. Verdon, ‘La noblesse au miroir de la coseigneurie’, and G. Butaud, ‘Aperçus sur la coseigneurie en Comtat Venaissin (XIIIe-XVe siècles)’, in *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome – Moyen Âge*.

<sup>15</sup> C. de Vic and J. J. Vaissète (eds.), *Histoire générale de Languedoc, avec des notes et les pièces justificatives*, 3rd edn, ed. A. Molinier et al., 16 vols (Toulouse, 1872-1905), viii, cc. 541-46, 136, lxxxv.

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| 7  | Bertrand of Marliac                              |
| 8  | Arnold Roger [of Mirepoix]                       |
| 9  | Peter of Roumengoux                              |
| 10 | Roger of Ventenac                                |
| 11 | Guillermus, brother of Roger of Ventenac         |
| 12 | Guillermus of Mirepoix <sup>16</sup>             |
| 13 | Guiraud [of Salles of Mirepoix <sup>17</sup> ]   |
| 14 | Gallard [of Mirepoix <sup>18</sup> ]             |
| 15 | Primart [of Mirepoix <sup>19</sup> ]             |
| 16 | Isarn of Fanjeaux                                |
| 17 | Hugh of Manses                                   |
| 18 | Bernard Hato                                     |
| 19 | Guillermus Ianincus                              |
| 20 | Bertrand, brother of Guillermus Ianincus         |
| 21 | Guillermus Ademar                                |
| 22 | Vitalis of Bousignac                             |
| 23 | Ramundus, brother of Vitalis of Bousignac        |
| 24 | Peter Raymond of Dalou                           |
| 25 | Guillermus of Lespinas                           |
| 26 | Peter Raymond, brother of Guillermus of Lespinas |
| 27 | Peter Roger of Bousignac                         |

<sup>16</sup> This could be William Roger of Mirepoix, brother of Peter Roger the elder. Duvernoy suggests this (see his *Le dossier de Montségur: interrogatoires d'inquisition, 1242-1247* (Toulouse, 1998), p. 18), but I have not found any other evidence to support it.

<sup>17</sup> Two items in the deposition of Arnold Roger of Mirepoix, 22.107r-10v and 22.115v-16r, group a Gallard of Mirepoix and a Guiraud of Salles of Mirepoix together with a Primart of Mirepoix, as brothers. It is therefore my opinion that these were likely those brothers, and not Gallard and Guiraud of Fanjeaux, as Duvernoy suggests in his *dossier de Montségur*, p. 18.

<sup>18</sup> See n. 17, above.

<sup>19</sup> See n. 17, above.

28	Guillermus of Mirepoix
29	Bertrand of Roumengoux
30	Hugh of Laroque-d'Olmes
31	Arnold Berengar
32	Arnold Holincus
33	Peter Guiraud
34	Bertrand of Malespine
35	Bernard of Loupia

Table 2.2: 27 Marth 1223, twelve men and women of Mirepoix, ‘domini hujus castris Mirapiscis’ (the lords of this castrum of Mirepoix) swore an oath of allegiance to the Count of Foix.<sup>20</sup>

1	Peter Roger [of Mirepoix the younger]
2	Isarn [of Fanjeaux], brother of Peter Roger
3	Lupus of Foix
4	Bernard of Durban [Lupus of Foix on his behalf]
5	Raymond Sans of Rabat
6	Arnold Roger [of Mirepoix]
7	Gallarda [Arnold Roger on her behalf]
8	Bernard Batala of Mirepoix
9	Ath Arnold of Châteauverdun
10	Isarn of Castille
11	Bernard of Arvigna
12	Arnold of Lordat [Bernard of Arvigna on his behalf]

<sup>20</sup> *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, viii, cc. 767-8, 226, cxlv.

Even documents of this kind can be limited in their usefulness thanks to a perennial problem with the identification of co-lords: the terminology used is persistently unclear. Of course, explicit terminology was used by contemporaries to designate co-lordship. However, Débax, whose erudite and meticulous work on the language of co-lordship in the sources should really be read in its entirety, has found that the most clearly recognisable term, *condominus*, did not come into use until late in the thirteenth century and did not fully establish itself in contemporary sources until the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>21</sup> Instead, she finds that other terms were used to signify division. The Latin *pars* gave rise to several expressions indicative of co-lordship which were more frequently used in Languedoc, with individuals identified as *dominus in parte*, or *dominus pro parte*.<sup>22</sup> Further means of identification were rooted in the prefix *par*, meaning ‘equal’: *pararius*, *pararia*, *parciarius*, *parcerarius*, *particeps*, *paragium*, and *pariagium*. *Societas*, *consortes* and *consortium* could also be used to signify communities of lords.

Despite this range in vocabulary, Débax finds that ‘the passage of the word *dominus* into the plural is the simplest way to reveal the presence of co-lordship.’<sup>23</sup> This is the form that is used in the identification of the lords of Mirepoix – the *domini et milites castris hujus* and the *domini huius castris* (see tables 2.1 and 2.2).

However, other documents, less explicitly intended to document cases of co-lordship can be used for this same purpose. Indeed, historians have praised Débax’s multi-layered approach, which unearths evidence of co-lordship in troubadour poetry and archaeological sites as well as in the more usual charters and documents.<sup>24</sup> In her archaeological work, Débax largely follows in the footsteps of Pierre-Yves Laffont who published articles in 2000 and 2010 which introduced architectural evidence as a potential avenue for researching co-lordship, in conjunction with the more typical

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<sup>21</sup> Débax, *La seigneurie collective*, pp. 49-69. Olivier Guyotjeannin in particular praises Débax’s interest in and exploration of language – and the contemporary terminology used to evoke co-lordship. See his review of Débax’s book in *Annales du Midi: revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale* 121 (2009), 280. See also Butaud, ‘Remarques introductives’, para. 3, for some examples of early documents using the term. Significantly, it does not appear in the administrative documents of Alphonse of Poitiers, and appearances in thirteenth-century documents in general are rare.

<sup>22</sup> Butaud, ‘Remarques introductives’, para. 7.

<sup>23</sup> Débax, *La seigneurie collective*, p. 50.

<sup>24</sup> See F. L. Cheyette’s review of Débax’s, *féodalité languedocienne*, in *The Medieval Review*, published online: <https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/tmr/article/view/15845/21963> (accessed 4 April 2018); T. Evergates review in *The American Historical Review* 118 (2013), 1581, and F. Guilhem and M. Yoan’s review of *La seigneurie collective*, in *Annales du Midi: revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale* 121 (2009), 279.

textual approach. Focusing primarily on the castral network of the Vivarais, Laffont found evidence to suggest that co-lordship could manifest physically in the *castra* environment through the multiplication of fortified towers.<sup>25</sup>

Bringing different types of sources to bear on discussions of co-lordship can prove fruitful, allowing the exploration of new avenues and, as I will argue, particularly aiding the qualitative study of relations between co-lords. Inquisition records provide a new, if potentially challenging, route through which to consider the phenomenon of co-lordship.

Inquisition sources are not like charters; they do not make it easy for the historian by collecting together the names of various co-lords under a concise heading. However, within the context of confessions about heresy, the depositions do identify a great many lords. Sometimes, careful cross-referencing of the depositions allows us to find evidence of several individuals who were identified as the lord of the same *castrum* at the same time. This is evidence of co-lordship.<sup>26</sup> The inquisition records suit this method very well, because although they do not consistently assign titles, they are prolific and persistent in their investigations of the same regions and individuals.

As shown in table 2.6, at the end of this chapter (pp. 104-109) there is a lot that the inquisition records can tell us about co-lordship in Languedoc in the first half of the thirteenth century. For example, it is immediately evident just how persistent a phenomenon co-lordship was in this region. The surviving records from the tribunals of the 1240s show evidence that twenty *castra* were presided over by more than one lord in the period from 1206 to 1246, and that in thirteen of these cases, the two or more lords presided over the *castrum* within the same five years of one another, suggesting in all likelihood that they were co-lords. The majority of these cases (ten) show evidence of at least two co-lords presiding over their *castrum* at one time.<sup>27</sup> Two – Mas-Saintes-Puelles and Roquefort – show evidence of at least four co-lords presiding over their *castrum* at one time, and one, Mirepoix, shows evidence of at least six co-lords ruling simultaneously.

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<sup>25</sup> Laffont, 'Contribution', pp. 99-113 and 'Les manifestations architecturales de la coseigneurie: châteaux et coseigneuries en France', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Âge*.

<sup>26</sup> This method is approved by both Débax and Butaud. See Débax, *La seigneurie collective*, p. 23 and Butaud, 'Remarques introductives', para. 4.

<sup>27</sup> Cambiac, Cambon, Gaja-la-Selve, Labécède, Les Cassés, Montgaillard, Montmaur, Montségur, Saverdun, and Villesisclé.

It is also immediately clear how often co-lordships were held within certain families. For instance, the inquisition records reveal cases of co-lordship in all three of my case study families. The brothers, Peter and Arnold of Mazerolles were co-lords of Gaja-lal-Selve. The Roqueville brothers, Raymond and Bernard, were co-lords of Les Cassés, and the cousins, Raymond of Peréille and Peter Roger of Mirepoix, were co-lords of Montségur. This is not surprising as co-lordships were usually created by partible inheritance. That is, when the old lord (or lady) died, the lordship was inherited by their heirs who, rather than dividing the territory up, governed it on equal terms ('in the same degree of lordship'). It should be noted, however, that this did not always translate into an equal share of the lordship in terms of territory, goods, or revenues, and that new lords were often joining what was already a *seigneurie collective*.

There are problems with the inquisition records as purely quantitative sources of co-lordship. The first and most obvious of these is that, unlike documents such as the Mirepoix charters, inquisition records were not intended to identify a group of co-lords engaging in a common purpose. Indeed, it is only the particular interest of the inquisitors in the aristocracy that allow us to use their records to hunt for co-lords at all. A related aspect of this is the inconsistency of identification of lords by their titles in the inquisition records. This could be a result of two factors: first, severe editing by an inquisitorial machine that had grown increasingly familiar with local power structures, and second, the limited knowledge deponents had of lords outside their own personal sphere of operation. The likelihood of this second factor is indicated to some extent in the records by the fact that a significant proportion of instances show that where lords were identified as such by other deponents, these deponents were residents of that lord's *castrum*. Indeed, as can be seen in table 2.6, the co-lords of the *castra* of Cambon, Cambiac, Montgaillard, and Villesiclé were all unanimously recognised only by residents of their *castrum*. Of course, there were exceptions to this as well, Montségur being an obvious one, largely because it drew residents from all around, and its lords were thus known to many. In all likelihood, then, a combination of these factors served to ensure that many lords identified in the records by name and not by title have slipped through the net of our quantitative investigation.

The form of identification used in the records is another issue here. For example, Peter Roger of Mirepoix was the lord of Mirepoix, but Bernard of Roqueville was the lord of Les Cassés. We cannot infer from reference to '*Dominus* Bernard of Roqueville' that Bernard was a lord of Roqueville – a family's origin did not necessarily correspond to

the seat of their power. For this reason, I have not included any references to ‘*Dominus* X of [*castrum*]’ in my survey, only those to ‘X, *dominus* of [*castrum*]’. This has doubtless resulted in the exclusion of a number of legitimate cases, and has also really hampered our ability to identify the female lords and co-lords of Languedoc. Of course, we expect that far fewer women than men would have held lordships in this period in their own right. At the same time, however, my data does not do justice to the numbers of female lords in Languedoc because it is much harder to prove that a ‘*domina*’ was a lord in her own right, rather than the wife or blood relative of a lord or knight. For example, belonging to my case studies, Helis of Mazerolles, Geralda of Roqueville, and Raymunda, the wife of Raymond of Roqueville, were not (as far as we know) lords in their own right, and yet all were at some point in the depositions identified as *Domina*.<sup>28</sup>

All these factors combined suggest that although the inquisition records can help us to identify some quantitative evidence of co-lordship, the picture we are able to compile of co-lordship in Languedoc is patchy, at best. For this reason, it is advisable to use these records in conjunction with other sources which reveal a more comprehensive picture of co-lordship in this region, such as the charters of Mirepoix.

Charters, just like inquisition records, have their limitations. Typically, they provide us with a snapshot glimpse of the lords of a *castrum* at a particular time. In this sense, the Mirepoix charters are especially useful, in that two snapshots allow us to make certain comparisons. The most striking thing about the Mirepoix charters is the numbers of co-lords that they reveal to us – thirty-five in 1207 and twelve in 1223. Far more, it should be noted, than the six we are able to identify as co-lords in 1209 from the inquisition records.

Leading on from this, the most obvious difference here, between the two charters, is the significant drop in numbers of co-lords from 1207 to 1223. A decreasing number of co-lords goes against traditional narratives of co-lordship which describe the numbers increasing over time exponentially, ultimately de-stabilising and undermining local power systems. However, according to Débax’s more nuanced exploration of co-lordship, although increasing numbers of co-lords could ultimately prove de-stabilising, the more successful co-lordships established sets of rules to prevent this and which could even result in the consolidation of lands over time.<sup>29</sup> Whilst this kind of operation

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<sup>28</sup> *Domina* Helis: Three Measures, 609.66v-67r. *Domina* Geralda: Geralda of Roqueville, 609.66r-v. *Domina* Raymunda: Raymond of Roqueville, 609.216r-v.

<sup>29</sup> Débax, *La seigneurie collective*, p. 339.



may have had an impact in Mirepoix, in this case the drop in numbers of lords can more plausibly be attributed to the Albigensian Crusade, which began in 1209, and lasted (somewhat sporadically) until 1229. Although this war is known for its distinct lack of traditional battlefield confrontations, it still caused many deaths, affecting even the highest nobility on both sides, through skirmishes, siege warfare, imprisonment and disease. It also relied heavily on the confiscation of land as a punishment for disloyalty to the crusaders or resistance to their Christian cause, resulting in the frequent changing of hands of lands, rights, properties and revenues.

However, there is another potential explanation for the difference in numbers of co-lords. This concerns the different formulae used in each charter to identify the individuals listed. Whereas, in the second act of 1223, the twelve individuals listed are identified as ‘the lords of the *castrum* of Mirepoix’ (*domini huius castris Mirapiscis*), the first act of 1207 included both the *domini* and the *milites* of Mirepoix (see tables 2.1 and 2.2, above).

Were *milites* co-lords? Débax certainly thinks so. She includes the 1207 charter in her appendix under the heading ‘Les 34 coseigneurs de Mirepoix (Ariège) accordent des coutumes au *castrum*’.<sup>30</sup> Nor is she alone in making this assumption. As noted above, the 1207 charter of Mirepoix is a popular and accessible source among scholars of both heresy and aristocracy, having been published in volume eight of the *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, and is frequently used to show just how large the numbers of co-lords could become. As of yet, however, historians have not taken into consideration the possibility that the *milites* included in this charter were not co-lords.

To some degree, the decision to include *milites* among the co-lords is supported by a long history of work on the idea that the lordly and knightly classes were merging in this period, classically theorised by Bloch in his *Feudal Society*.<sup>31</sup> Georges Duby would later describe this merger, as a process of ‘cultural diffusion’, wherein at the same time as knights gradually began to emulate aristocratic styles of dress and architecture, and even adopt the title *dominus*, lords and even princes began to define themselves by their

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 398, doc. 64.

<sup>31</sup> M. Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. L. A. Manyon, 2nd edn, 2 vols (London, 1962), ii.283-331. Bouchard and Crouch give useful reviews. See C. B. Bouchard, *Strong of Body, Brave and Noble: Chivalry and Society in Medieval France* (New York, 1998), pp. 10-14; D. Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France, 900-1300* (Harlow, 2005), pp. 244-45.

military prowess and to title themselves ‘knight’.<sup>32</sup> What this means in practice is that *miles* and *dominus* were used in documents, including inquisition records, to refer to individuals of the same status.

However, we cannot infer from this work that, as titles, the two were equivalents. Indeed, to be a lord suggested holding power over land, revenues, property or men, whereas to be a knight suggested a certain level of investment in a military career. Therefore, if some proportion of the men named – and we cannot know how many – were *militēs* and not, in fact, lords (*domini*) of Mirepoix, then this charter cannot be used to indicate the frequency of division of power amongst the southern lords. Of course, it is possible that all of the men identified were both *militēs* and *domini*, but we cannot know this, and we cannot assume that it was the case.

The apparent drop in the number of co-lords could be, therefore, at least in part, a result of this difference in the status of individuals included in the count. Some of the individuals identified in the 1207 document may have been knights, and not lords, and thus neither they nor their descendants were required to swear an oath to the Count of Foix in 1223.

These charters do not only speak of difference, they also reveal elements of continuity in terms of the various families that held shares in the lordship of Mirepoix from 1207 to 1223. Only two names appear in both documents – those of Isarn of Fanjeaux and Arnold Roger of Mirepoix – both of whom belonged to the Mirepoix family tree. However, many more members of the Mirepoix family appear in either one of the charters. For example, in the act of 1207, of the thirty-five lords named, at least four belonged to the Mirepoix family: Peter Roger the elder of Mirepoix, his sons Esquieu and Isarn of Fanjeaux, and his nephew, Arnold Roger. We may be able to add one *Guillermus* of Mirepoix to this list (two were named), who may have been William Roger, brother of Peter Roger the elder, and father of Arnold Roger.<sup>33</sup> What is more, we can use the inquisition records to add to these connections. They tell us that Peter and Bertrand of Roumengoux were also related to the Mirepoix family. Peter was Arnold

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<sup>32</sup> Duby first presented the idea that behaviour and ideas at one time associated with a specific social group had the potential to trickle through medieval society, infiltrating other social levels, at a conference in 1966, shortly after which it was translated by Rodney Hilton and published in the British social history journal, *Past and Present*, and then in his *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. C. Postan (London, 1977), pp. 171-72, 174. See also Crouch, *Birth of Nobility*, pp. 191-92, 207-208, 212 and C. B. Bouchard, *Those of my blood: Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia* (Philadelphia, 2001), pp. 5, 28-30.

<sup>33</sup> Duvernoy assumes that this is the case, but it is by no means clear from the charter. See Duvernoy, *dossier de Montségur*, p. 18.

Roger's nephew, and Bertrand was identified as the kinsman (*consanguineus*) of Peter Roger the elder.<sup>34</sup> A similar pattern can be observed in the charter of 1223. Once again, the Mirepoix family stand out, counting amongst their number Peter Roger the younger, son of the Peter Roger in the act of 1207, his brother, Isarn of Fanjeaux, and their cousin Arnold Roger.

The charters show that several other families also had members included in the group of co-lords of Mirepoix in both 1207 and 1223. The lordly family of Rabat was represented by Raymond of Rabat in 1207 and Raymond Sans of Rabat in 1223, and the family of Marliac was represented by Jordan and Bertrand of Marliac in 1207 and Bernard of Arvigna in 1223. As mentioned above, family was a significant determining factor in the make-up of co-lordships, so the fact that we are able to identify the same families holding shares in the Mirepoix lordship over time is not a surprise. Siblings typically inherited shares from one or the other of their parent's portion. We can see this happening in Mirepoix, as the portion of the lordship held by Peter Roger the elder of Mirepoix in 1207 had passed to his sons, Peter Roger the younger of Mirepoix and Isarn of Fanjeaux by 1223, and we know from the inquisition records that Peter Roger the elder probably died before 1209.

More distant relatives could gain a foothold in the lordship as families grew and branched off, and over the course of several generations, lordships that had been held by brothers came to be held by cousins. Again, there is evidence of this in the charters. In 1207, the brothers Peter Roger the elder and William Roger of Mirepoix had stakes in the lordship, but by 1223, these had passed to their sons, the brothers Peter Roger the younger and Isarn of Fanjeaux, and their cousin, Arnold Roger. It was probably through a similar process of steps that Arnold Roger's nephew, Peter of Roumengoux came to gain a foothold in the lordship.

Finally, there were those who we are unable to identify as related to the Mirepoix family: in this instance, where so many lords were involved, they represent the majority. There are two possible scenarios here. Either everybody identified in these charters was related to the Mirepoix family, but the evidence to support this is either hidden or non-existent, or the majority of the individuals identified in the charters were not related to the Mirepoix family. This second scenario is entirely plausible. Co-lordships were not only established as a result of partible inheritance. As the fortunes of the families

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<sup>34</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.109v; 136v.

involved changed, portions may have been sold off and bought up by other lordly families, resulting in the inclusion in the co-lordship of a range of families and individuals.<sup>35</sup> In fact, Laure Verdon found in her study of co-lordship in late thirteenth-century Alpine Provence, that measures eventually had to be taken to prevent non-nobles from acquiring the necessary territories to gain access to the lordly community.<sup>36</sup>

The charters of Mirepoix indicate that a number of lordly families were invested in the co-lordship of Mirepoix. What do we know about them? Other lordly families identifiable from the acts include those of Rabat, Marliac, Roumengoux, Manses, Bousignac, and Laroque-d'Olmes, and we know from Arnold Roger's deposition that Guiraud of Salles, Primart, and Gallard were likely the brothers and knights of Mirepoix.<sup>37</sup> Of these territories, the majority fall within the region immediately surrounding Mirepoix. Bousignac, Roumengoux and Manses were all within three miles of Mirepoix as the crow flies. Laroque-d'Olmes and Ventenac were within eight and ten miles respectively. Only Marliac and Rabat were further afield – at a distance of twenty-two and twenty-three miles from Mirepoix respectively. However, at least in the case of Rabat, it may have been that the lords did not sit in Rabat itself. Raymond of Rabat of the act of 1207 was identified as being from Laurac – a mere eleven miles from Mirepoix.<sup>38</sup> The Mirepoix-Peréille family were also tied to the lordly family of Rabat by marriage: Arpais, daughter of Raymond of Peréille was married to Guiraud of Rabat.

Overall, then, the network of co-lords was made up of aristocratic families from Mirepoix – or from relatively near to Mirepoix. These families would have known each other. At the very least they all came together to collectively bear witness to relevant acts, or swear to oaths, as these charters show. They were also tied by marriage, as well as blood, as seen in the marital union between the families of Rabat and Mirepoix-Peréille. The repetition of families suggests that, as we would expect, shares in the lordship were passed down to the next generation. One thing we do not know is whether individuals who did not (as far as we know) share familial links with the other lords, could have bought into the lordship.

These charters permit an interesting study of the co-lordship of Mirepoix, however, they also provide us with a potentially misleading picture of co-lordship in Languedoc in

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<sup>35</sup> Débax, *La seigneurie collective*, p. 86.

<sup>36</sup> L. Verdon, 'La noblesse au miroir de la coseigneurie'.

<sup>37</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.107r-10v; 115v-16r.

<sup>38</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.109r.

terms of the numbers of lords that were typically involved. For instance, Débax finds that the numbers of co-lords in Languedoc seem to vary between two and twelve, and that although greater numbers did occur, they were not the norm.<sup>39</sup>

The charters also give quite a one-dimensional picture of co-lordship. They tell us very little beyond the fact that these lords co-existed at these times and came together for these two specific purposes. Most documents of this kind are subject to these same problems. They reveal little about the relationship between co-lords itself – how it functioned on a day to day basis, how it worked as a social bond and, crucially for our study, whether it played any role in influencing or inciting aristocratic participation in Catharism. It is here that inquisition records have the potential to make a most valuable contribution to the study of co-lordship, shining light on the dynamics of co-lordly relationships in a way inaccessible to other genres of sources. Crucially for our investigation, this means that we can use inquisition records to ask the question: how did bonds of co-lordship facilitate or encourage aristocratic support for Catharism?

## Co-lordship and Catharism

### 1. Cathar peacemaking and the co-lords of Montségur

As we saw in the previous chapter, the inquisition records show many instances of individuals participating in Catharism together, some of which were socially distinctive, and some of which were not. Participation in Cathar peacemaking was one socially distinctive way in which co-lords can be seen jointly demonstrating their support for Catharism.<sup>40</sup>

In Montségur, probably around the year 1242, the two co-lords of the *castrum*, Raymond of Peréille and Peter Roger of Mirepoix, were involved in a dispute, during which time two men, William of Arnave and Pons Arnold of Châteauverdun came to try and make peace between them. Five deponents confessed to the inquisitors that they had witnessed this event. Their testimonies have been summarised in table 2.3, below.

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<sup>39</sup> Débax, *La seigneurie collective*, p. 69, and Laffont, 'Contribution', p. 106.

<sup>40</sup> The following discussion draws upon Pete Biller's study of Cathar peacemaking in Languedoc. See his article, 'Cathar Peacemaking', in *Christianity and Community in the West: essays for John Bossy*, ed. S. Ditchfield (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 1-23.

Table 2.3: Testimonies recording dispute between Raymond of Peréille and Peter Roger of Mirepoix.

<p><b>Gallard of Le Congoust,</b> 22.161r-v</p>	<p>c. 1239. William of Arnave and Pons Arnold of Châteauverdun came to Montségur to make a peace and agreement between Raymond of Péreille and Peter Roger of Mirepoix, which they did at the sermon of Bertrand Marty in the presence of other good men and three more named men, after which everyone adored the good men.</p>
<p><b>Jordan of Péreille,</b> 22.206r-v</p>	<p>1242. William of Arnave and Pons Arnold of Châteauverdun came to Montségur to make peace between Peter Roger and Raymond of Peréille. After this, they accompanied Peter Roger and Jordan of Peréille to see Bertrand Marty, and everyone adored the good men.</p>
<p><b>Bernard Cairola,</b> 22.274v-275r</p>	<p>c. 1242. William of Arnave and Pons Arnold of Châteauverdun, knights, came to Montségur to make peace between Raymond of Peréille and Peter Roger. Bertrand Marty held talks with the knights about making peace, but they could not agree and did not make peace. Four other men were present during this, and afterwards everyone adored the good men.</p>
<p><b>William of Bouan of Lavelanet,</b> 24.78r</p>	<p>c. 1242. William of Arnave and Pons Arnold of Châteauverdun came to make peace between Raymond Peréille and Arnold Roger of Mirepoix.</p>
<p><b>Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix,</b> 24.200r-v</p>	<p>1243-4. Pons Arnold of Châteauverdun, knight, came to Montségur to appease and pacify the discord between Raymond of Peréille and Peter Roger about the division of the castle, which he did.</p>

In another case, between 1240 and 1242, a group of men came from Laroque d'Olmes to make peace with the co-lords of Montségur, which they did, 'in the hand and authority of Bertrand Marty'. Four deponents bore witness to this. Their testimonies are below, in table 2.4.

Table 2.4: Testimonies recording dispute between the co-lords of Montségur and the men of Laroque d'Olmes.

<p><b>Raymond of Péreille</b>, 22.221r-v</p>	<p>c. 1241. A number of men from Laroque d'Olmes (fifteen named) came to Montségur, to make peace with Raymond of Peréille and Peter Roger of Mirepoix. They made peace in the house of Bertrand Marty, 'in the hand and power of the same Bertrand Marty', in the presence of six other named men, after which everyone except two of the men from Laroque adored the good men.</p>
<p><b>Berengar of Lavelanet</b>, 24.64v-65r</p>	<p>After 1240. Men from Laroque d'Olmes (fourteen named) came to Montségur, and made peace with Peter Roger of Mirepoix and Raymond of Peréille 'in the hand and authority of Bertrand Marty, bishop of the heretics', in the presence of four other named men, and everyone present adored the good men.</p>
<p><b>Arnold Roger of Mirepoix</b>, 22.121r-v</p>	<p>1242. There was a disagreement between Peter Roger and the men of Laroque d'Olmes. Eight named men came from Laroque d'Olmes to Montségur, and Bertrand Marty 'arranged a peace between the said men and the said Peter Roger.' The parties submitted to Bertrand Marty's arbitration, and he made peace between them. It was agreed that men of Laroque d'Olmes would give Peter Roger 200 shillings. of Toulouse. Four other men of Montségur were present, not including Raymond of Peréille. Afterwards everyone adored the good men, and received the peace from them.</p>
<p><b>Gallard of Le Congoust</b>, 22.167r-v</p>	<p>c. 1240. There was a disagreement between Peter Roger and the men of Laroque d'Olmes. Twelve named men came from Laroque d'Olmes to Montségur, and both parties submitted to the arbitration of Bertrand Marty, and he settled the lawsuit or quarrel between them amicably. Raymond of Peréille and four other named men were present. After the settlement, everyone adored the good men, and received the peace from them.</p>

The records of these disputes and the involvement of the Cathars in their resolution show co-lords seeking a religious (Cathar) framework for their dispute resolution. This framework is evident in the above disputes in two key ways. First, there is the role in proceedings played by Bertrand Marty, a Cathar bishop who had resided for some time in Montségur. Secondly, there are the elements of Cathar ritual that adorned these proceedings. The fact that both of these elements place the task of managing the co-lordship firmly within a Cathar framework indicates that dispute resolution may have been one way in which the bond between co-lords facilitated participation in Catharism.

Bertrand Marty is depicted as a key figure in the settlement of both disputes outlined above. In the dispute between the two co-lords themselves, Bernard Cairola observed that Bertrand Marty had held talks with the lords. Gallard of Le Congoust and Bernard Cairola cited attendance of those involved at the Cathar bishop's sermon – in Gallard's account, the peace was even forged at the sermon. Jordan of Peréille claimed that the lords and knights involved in the dispute ended the affair with a visit to the Cathar bishop. In the dispute between the co-lords and the men of Laroque d'Olmes, Bertrand Marty appears to have played an even more active role in the settlement itself. The depositions of both Raymond of Peréille and Berengar of Lavelanet repeat the phrase about the peace being made 'in the hand' of Bertrand Marty. The depositions of Arnold Roger and Gallard of Le Congoust even state explicitly that both parties submitted to the arbitration of Bertrand Marty.

Elements of Cathar ritual are also clear in the above proceedings. For example, three of those who witnessed the dispute settlement between the co-lords recalled that it ended with everyone present adoring Bertrand Marty and the other good men. As noted above, Gallard of Le Congoust even thought the peace itself had been concluded at a Cathar sermon. Accounts of the dispute settlement between the co-lords and the men of Laroque d'Olmes tell a similar story. All four witnesses recalled that the event ended with adoration of the good men, and two, Arnold Roger of Mirepoix and Gallard of Le Congoust, also recalled that everyone present had 'received the peace' – that is the kiss of peace, which was typically given twice, 'sideways on the mouth' – from Bertrand Marty and the other Cathars.

A markedly religious flavour was normal in the settlements presided over by Cathar dignitaries, which often concluded with the audience and parties involved adoring the



good man, and sometimes also ‘receiving the peace’.<sup>41</sup> Of course, it is only because of these elements of Cathar ritual and the role played by Bertrand Marty and other leading good men that the inquisitors were interested in recording accounts of these disputes at all. They were not interested in temporal negotiations or relationships except where they involved heresy or heretics. We, on the other hand, are very interested in these relationships, and especially in how they may have exposed the individuals involved to opportunities for participation in or support for Catharism. Dispute settlement certainly appears to have facilitated participation in this way.

Was this form of participation socially distinctive? Out of the total of thirteen cases of dispute settlement identified in MS 609 and Doat 22-24, members of the aristocracy can be seen playing key roles in twelve. In the vast majority of these, as in the two Montségur cases, members of the aristocracy made up one or both of the parties involved in the dispute, but in one case the involvement was less direct. Pons Guilabert claimed that it was his lord who encouraged him to settle his differences with an opposing party, which he did, in 1225.<sup>42</sup>

One thing that we cannot be sure of is whether this picture is a true reflection of Cathar dispute settlement in this period, or whether it merely reflects inquisitorial interest in the aristocracy. This problem, so close to the heart of my thesis, is difficult to navigate. Let us take a step back for a moment and consider whether any useful comparisons can be gleaned from the study of orthodox modes of conflict resolution. John Hine Mundy’s work on the law courts of Toulouse may help us here. For Mundy, the mediation of one’s civil disputes, regarding matters such as property, wills, contractual engagements and so on, using the courts was the ‘distinguished mark of knightly and burgher society organised in strong family groups.’ Indeed, he finds that one of the most common private documents produced by these groups in Toulouse was the record of a pact arranged between two families to their mutual satisfaction.<sup>43</sup>

How did it work? To paraphrase Mundy, influential local people were appointed as assessors – individuals who at once were charged as witnesses, guarantors, judges of enforcement, and also usually ‘played some part in bringing the litigants into accord’. Hence pacts were placed ‘into the hands’ of assessors, who did not possess personal

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<sup>41</sup> Biller, ‘Cathar Peacemaking’, p. 9.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., pp. 12-13. See also Pons Guilabert, 609.111v.

<sup>43</sup> J. H. Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse, 1050-1230* (New York, 1954), pp. 140-41.

rights of justice, as did the lord, but carried out their work according to the authority vested in them by the parties involved.<sup>44</sup> There are useful comparisons to make here. As with cases that involved the good men, Mundy suggests that the courts of Toulouse were primarily used by the town's elites – not only those of aristocratic background (burghers also had a significant presence in Mundy's survey), but certainly those who possessed some degree of social standing. This may have been something that was changing. In Marseilles, for instance, Daniel Lord Smail finds that ordinary people were becoming increasingly eager to use the courts from around the middle of the thirteenth century, as can be seen by the substantial sums they were willing to pay for the privilege.<sup>45</sup> In Toulouse and its regions in the first half of the thirteenth century, however, evidence suggests that ordinary people more often looked elsewhere, to their parish priest, or even the Waldensian equivalent, for the resolution of minor disputes.<sup>46</sup>

So why would the Cathars have been more closely associated with the aristocracy? The majority of the Cathar peacemaking cases, and especially those of a highly public nature, such as the resolutions made at Montségur, tended to be presided over by high-ranking good men – certainly deacons, and often bishops.<sup>47</sup> It is possible, Biller suggests, that these dignitaries could have 'selected' aristocratic cases, in doing so passing over the more run-of-the-mill disputes.<sup>48</sup> It is conceivable that something like this was attempted – perhaps in order to mirror Catholic hierarchies, whereby bishops would not have been expected to deal with the minor incidences of everyday parish life.

Potentially, then, we must admit the possibility of a scenario wherein further down the social scale, passing beneath the notice of the inquisitors, the local matters of ordinary Cathar believers were resolved by less well-renowned good men, or perhaps even good women. Of course, without supporting evidence, this is impossible to determine. With the 'cone of fire' firmly directed at the aristocracy, we cannot know for sure whether the disputes of ordinary Cathar believers were resolved within Cathar or orthodox frameworks.

We can be sure, however, that the public resolution of a high-profile case, such as those which involved the co-lords of Montségur, constituted a significant display of power for

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 140.

<sup>45</sup> D. Lord Smail, *The Consumption of Justice: Emotions, Publicity, and Legal Culture in Marseille, 1264-1423* (London, 2003), pp. 4-5, 11.

<sup>46</sup> Biller, 'Cathar Peacemaking', p. 13.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

all parties involved. As in the secular courts, many witnesses were present at the disputes mediated by the good men. The dispute involving Peter Roger and Raymond of Peréille, was witnessed by at least five men, and that in addition to the two parties, the knights who had been brought in to mediate, and Bertrand Marty himself. The numbers present at the dispute between the co-lords of Montségur and the men of Laroque d'Olmes were much greater, largely because at least fourteen men made up the Laroque party. At least six men of Montségur witnessed proceedings, in addition to the parties themselves. These proceedings thus give us a very real sense not only of how the elites of Languedoc sought to resolve conflict, but of how they wished to be seen resolving conflict.

The public nature of dispute settlement made launching or becoming involved in a dispute a valuable means of affirming status through the demonstration of a distinct, legally defined relationship with another party, and with a Cathar dignitary.<sup>49</sup> First of all, the submission of powerful lords to the arbitration of Cathar dignitaries reaffirmed the extent of elite support for Catharism in a unique and socially distinctive way. In Montségur, this support and the relationship that it represented between the Cathars and the aristocracy was key to the *castrum*'s success as a place of refuge for the Cathars and their believers.

Secondly, although co-lords were by no means the only groups with access to this form of dispute resolution, they do represent a useful angle from which to study this specific form of aristocratic support because their cases reveal information about the nature of the relationship that existed between them, which contradicts prior assumptions in the historiography. The historiography, particularly within the realm of heresy studies, has long characterised co-lordship as a flawed system of governance. Co-lordships have been seen as weak and unwieldy due to their originating from the practice of partible inheritance, producing ever growing numbers of lords sharing ever smaller pieces of territory, leading to impoverishment, and intense cases of rivalry and competition between lords.

Alliances between lords could be fragile at the best of times, and co-lordship, with the changes it wrought on the equilibrium of power with each new generation can only have exacerbated this. The dispute between the co-lords of Montségur could be seen as evidence of rivalry, and of this inherent weakness of co-lordships. That despite the close

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<sup>49</sup> Smail, *Consumption of Justice*, p. 12.

ties of blood and marriage that they shared, their relationship was threatened – according to Philippa, Peter Roger’s wife and Raymond of Peréille’s daughter – by the contentious matter of property division. At the same time, however, the same case could be interpreted as evidence of the strength of the bond between the co-lords. Indeed, we could remark upon the extraordinary fact that despite the pressure-cooker environment in which the lords had been residing, intermittently, for at least a decade, they were still open to re-negotiating the division of property, in the interest of preserving the strength of a united patrimony and their own enduring alliance. Débax finds that, at least to some extent, the sources are to blame for the overwhelmingly negative portrayal of co-lordship, on account of their tendency to highlight periods of discord and instances of conflict. As a result of this bias, there is little focus in the historiography on the collaboration between co-lords, or the consolidation of their shared territory. I would suggest that sometimes episodes of conflict do not so much highlight internal weakness as attempts to address and resolve existing problems by re-negotiating former agreements.<sup>50</sup> This may not have been an amiable affair, but it does suggest willingness to adapt.

The ability to adapt, then, can be emphasised as crucial to the success of the co-lordship. Co-lordships could become unwieldy, and to prevent this, lords had to establish certain rules which would, in theory, ensure the long-term prosperity of the co-lordship, by preventing the number of lords from multiplying *ad infinitum* without the necessary sources of revenue for their continued support. Débax finds that typical responses included the circulation of certain shared rights and properties between lords, and establishing in writing the boundaries of what could or could not be ceded or acquired. Any decisions that were made of course depended on previous arrangements that were in place, and success depended on their ability to collectively adapt these agreements to current circumstances.<sup>51</sup>

Historians of heresy need to move away from the notion that co-lordship was some sort of weakness or failure of southern French society, a poor alternative to feudalism, and an eminently unstable, or even suicidal practice. Better to conceive of it as Débax has endeavoured to do, as a phenomenon in its own right, and one which, much like lordship more generally, manifested itself in many different forms, with varying degrees

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<sup>50</sup> Débax, *La seigneurie collective*, p. 261. Débax suggests that vows of peace and agreements about regulation were made and re-negotiated more frequently in co-lordships.

<sup>51</sup> Débax, *La seigneurie collective*, p. 123.

of success, and with that success being dependent on the lords themselves and their ability to adapt to changing circumstances and negotiate their relationships, rather than any flaws in the system overall. Modernising our understanding of co-lordship in this way will help us to reject outdated theories of impoverished lords flocking to support the new heresies, and instead to study the bond objectively as a potential source for the social facilitation or encouragement of Cathar support.

## 2. Division and co-operation within the co-lordship of Montségur

Division within co-lordship may sound like a contradiction in terms but, looking at the matter from a practical point of view, Débax observes that co-lords had to come up with ways to share in the lands, properties, revenues, and men, held within the lordship. She finds that formal division occurred in one of three principal ways: division of revenues or profits, division of time allocated to certain properties or to preside over certain rights, or division of the spatial territory of the lordship, and power over all those rights and/or men which fell within those bounds.<sup>52</sup> Crucial issues, such as defence, were also typically a matter for collective concern. For example, if a collective of lords decided together to build a wall around their *castrum*, then that wall became part of the goods held in common by the lordship.<sup>53</sup> In theory, the building of the wall was an act of collaboration. However, in practice, for the sake of convenience group decisions were often carried out by individuals – whether by somebody jointly appointed by the decision-makers, or by one of the decision-makers themselves. In our wall-building analogy, for instance, though the project may be financed and even overseen collectively, in practice, day-to-day decisions regarding the opening and closing of the gate – important decisions, with the power to collectively differentiate between the enemies and friends of the lordship – would have been carried out by individuals. The other lords had to have faith in the fact that whoever was in control of the gate at any one time would act in accordance with the collective good of the lordship, and any predefined set of values, alliances, or rivalries. In these circumstances, it is easy to see how work carried out for the collective good of the lordship could have been divided in

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<sup>52</sup> On division of revenues, see *Ibid.*, pp. 138-45. See also Butaud, 'Remarques introductives', para. 6. On division by time, see Débax, pp. 161-76, esp. p. 161. On division by space, see Débax, pp. 183-93, esp. pp. 183-84, 186, 193.

<sup>53</sup> Débax, *La seigneurie collective*, p. 250.

this way, ultimately leading individuals to take on separate roles within the co-lordship, but to a collaborative end.

Débax works primarily with the kinds of documents that provide explicit facts about the arrangements that were agreed upon, amended or disputed between co-lords. The inquisition records do not do this. However, particularly in the context of Montségur, they do represent a new source that we can use both to test Débax's ideas and to set in a new light an apparent division in the roles that were carried out by the lords of the *castrum*.

Despite sharing the Cathar faith and the desire to protect it, the two lords of Montségur, Raymond of Péreille and Peter Roger of Mirepoix, appear to have played markedly different roles with regards to offering the Cathars their support. Michel Roquebert describes these succinctly, contrasting Raymond of Péreille's role as *fondateur* (founder) of Montségur as a stronghold and a refuge for Cathars and their believers, with Peter Roger of Mirepoix's role as the *castrum's condottiere* (military commander). His framework is valuable in the sense that it breaks down the qualities of the two men, looking at the dynamics of their relationship and considering how it functioned within the strict confines of the *castrum*. However, his interpretation would benefit from being brought into conversation with Debax's work on division and co-operation within co-lordship. Taking this into account helps us to look beyond the apparent emphasis on difference, in terms of the characters, approaches, and actions of the two lords, and instead focus on the matter of their shared goals and values, and integrated approaches and actions.<sup>54</sup>

Raymond of Péreille's life, as we know about it from the inquisition records, was intimately tied to the key stages of the development of Montségur.<sup>55</sup> Raymond told the inquisitor that he was first approached by the good men about rebuilding the *castrum* of Montségur as a fortress and refuge for them in 1204. He did this in response to the 'urging and request' of Raymond Mercier of Mirepoix, Raymond Blasquo, and other good men who came to him in around 1204. The majority of the renovation works must

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<sup>54</sup> The following discussion draws upon Roquebert's work on the co-lords of Montségur. See his recently published articles in *Figures du catharisme* (Paris, 2018), pp. 359-408, 'Raymond de Péreille: le fondateur', and 409-39, 'Pierre-Roger de Mirepoix: le condottiere'. Note that both owe a lot to his earlier articles: 'Raymond de Péreille, seigneur de Montségur, et sa famille', *Cahiers d'Études cathares* 90 (1981), 25-46, and 'Pierre-Roger de Mirepoix, coseigneur de Montségur, et sa famille', *Montségur, treize ans de Recherche archéologique* (G.R.A.M.E) (Carcassonne, 1980), pp. 55-69.

<sup>55</sup> Roquebert, *Figures du catharisme*, pp. 360, 368, 381-82.

have been completed by the time the crusaders arrived in 1209, because Raymond himself recalled that a number of Cathars and their believers had sought refuge there around this time.<sup>56</sup>

The next stage that we know of in the establishment of Montségur as a Cathar refuge occurred in 1232. According to Berengar of Lavelanet, at this time a number of influential good men, including Guilbert of Castres, Bernard of Lamothe, and John Cambiaire, came to Montségur and ‘requested and petitioned Raymond of Péreille, the lord of the said *castrum*, to harbour the said heretics within the *castrum* of Montségur, so that the church of the heretics might be able to have its head and home (*caput et domicilium*) in the same *castrum*, and from there could send out and protect its preachers.’ After many requests, Raymond agreed, and Berengar notes that the first ordinations were performed in the fortress soon afterwards.<sup>57</sup>

For Roquebert, Raymond’s initial hesitation at this prospect, suggests that although he permitted the request of the good men, Raymond played little or no active role in managing the fortress after it had been established as the headquarters of Catharism in Languedoc.<sup>58</sup> Indeed, it may have been with this purpose in mind that Raymond introduced his cousin, Peter Roger of Mirepoix, to the *castrum*, possibly even sweetening the deal by offering Peter Roger the hand of his daughter, Philippa, in marriage.<sup>59</sup>

We know that Peter Roger of Mirepoix arrived on the scene shortly after Raymond made his agreement with the good men.<sup>60</sup> Of the two lords, Raymond of Peréille was definitely the elder. He was born between 1185 and 1190. This would put him at between fourteen and nineteen years old, when he first agreed to rebuild Montségur, in his forties when he agreed to allow the *castrum* to become the head of Catharism, and in his mid-to-late fifties when the *castrum* eventually fell in 1244.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Raymond of Péreille, 22.217v.

<sup>57</sup> Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.43v-44v.

<sup>58</sup> Roquebert, *Figures du catharisme*, pp. 382, 384, 385.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 386.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 360.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 381. Raymond’s deposition describes him as a boy (*puer*) in around 1199, suggesting that he had not yet reached his majority, but that he was old enough to be taken to hear Cathar sermons, and to remember this forty-five years later. Raymond of Péreille, 22.214v.

Peter Roger was probably around ten years younger than Raymond.<sup>62</sup> A number of sources attest to the fact that he held seigneurial rights in Montségur.<sup>63</sup> This is also implied in the deposition of his own wife, Philippa, according to which these rights and the matter of their division were the subject of the 1242 conflict between Peter Roger and Raymond of Péreille.<sup>64</sup> Roquebert suggests that Peter Roger likely acquired his share in the lordship of Montségur as a result of his marriage to Raymond of Péreille's daughter, Philippa.<sup>65</sup>

Raymond had never been a fighter, did not even have a squire, and certainly had no army of his own.<sup>66</sup> He needed the combative persona of Peter Roger to secure Montségur's new role as the headquarters of the Cathar Church. Peter Roger, having recently lost any claim on Mirepoix to the newly established lordship of Levi, confirmed by the French crown in 1230, by contrast seems eager to step into this role, quickly establishing himself as the commander of the garrison, and director of day to day management of the *castrum*.<sup>67</sup>

There are numerous ways in which the records show Peter Roger carrying out this role. The most striking is his leading of the attack on the inquisitors at Avignonet in May 1242. Table 2.5 breaks down the stages of the role played by Peter Roger of Mirepoix in this attack, as it was recounted in varying degrees of detail by seven different deponents.

Table 2.5: The role played by Peter Roger of Mirepoix in the attack on Avignonet.

Actions taken by Peter Roger of Mirepoix	Witnesses
William of Plaigne arrived at Montségur with letters for Peter Roger from Raymond Alfaro, the Count of Toulouse's <i>bailli</i> . Upon receipt of these letters, Peter Roger gathered together his men to leave Montségur, and led them to the woods near Gaja-la-Selve	Arnold Roger of Mirepoix, 22.129v-31v
	Peter Vignol of Balaguiet, 22.256v-58r
	Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.284v-87r
	Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.293v-95v

<sup>62</sup> Roquebert, *Figures du catharisme*, p. 423. Roquebert finds that Peter Roger first appeared in written records in 1216, witnessing the customs of Tarascon, but was not included in the 1207 list of co-lords of Mirepoix, suggesting that he was born between 1194 and 1202. This would make him between forty-two and fifty years old at the time of the surrender of Montségur.

<sup>63</sup> P. of Carraz, 609.38v; Arnold John, 609.206v. This is also confirmed in WP, *Chronica*, p. 182, trans. in WP, *Chronicle*, p. 107.

<sup>64</sup> Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.200r-v.

<sup>65</sup> Roquebert, *Figures du catharisme*, p. 409.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 385.

<sup>67</sup> On Peter Roger's dispossession, see Roquebert, *Figures du catharisme*, pp. 385-86, 425.



	Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.67r-68r
	Imbert of Salles, 24.160v-67r
Told the men to follow Balaguier, Bernard of Saint-Martin and William of Lahille on to Avignonet, and ‘do as they did’	William Arnold, 609.37r-v
Asked for the skull of the inquisitor to be brought to him, so that he could drink from it	Arnold Roger of Mirepoix, 22.129v-31v
	Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.284v-87r
Called out by some sergeants who returned wearing the scapulars of inquisitors: ‘Tell Peter Roger and Raymond of Péreille to come and hear brother William Arnold’s sermon!’	Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.256v-58r
Rejoiced when the men returned having killed the inquisitors	William Arnold, 609.37r-v
Called William Adémar ‘Traitor’ for failing to bring him ‘the cup of Brother William Arnold’s head’	Imbert of Salles, 24.160v-67r

It is evident that Peter Roger played a key role in instigating the attack. He gathered together his men and led them to the woods near Avignonet, where they were met by Peter of Mazerolles and his soldiers from Gaja-la-Selve. Peter Roger may not have led the attack on the inquisitors himself, but he appointed three of his knights, Balaguier, Bernard of Saint-Martin and William of Lahille, to do this, and afterwards appeared delighted by their success – barring the fact that they had failed to bring him William Arnold’s skull as a trophy to drink from.

A similar managerial role is evident in the ways that Peter Roger organised the defence of the *castrum* of Montségur and secured supplies for its inhabitants, rallying their supporters and buying (or raiding) supplies from local sources.<sup>68</sup> Peter Roger’s ongoing communication with his brother and fellow former co-lord of Mirepoix, Isarn of Fanjeaux, also fits neatly within the bounds of this narrative. According to the

<sup>68</sup> Roquebert, *Figures du catharisme*, pp. 385-86. Bernard Cairola, 22.273v-74r.

deposition of the sergeant, Imbert of Salles, Peter Roger was very interested in the activity of Raymond VII, Count of Toulouse, and particularly in whether the count was planning to send aid to relieve the inhabitants of the *castrum* of Montségur. A number of messages were passed between him and Isarn of Fanjeaux in the lead up to the surrender of the *castrum*. Peter Roger wrote in 1243 to ask Isarn if the count was ‘carrying out his business’. The messengers returned, bringing word from Isarn that the Count was ‘carrying out his business well, and had taken a wife and would come before the feast of Christmas’, adding that in the meantime, Peter Roger and all those others residing in Montségur should ‘keep well’.<sup>69</sup> In 1244, Isarn of Fanjeaux sent three good men to Peter Roger in Montségur, with the message that the inhabitants of the *castrum* should ‘hold themselves [steady] until Easter, for the Count of Toulouse was coming with assistance from the emperor [Frederick II].’<sup>70</sup> This ongoing dialogue between the two men, characterised by an increasing need to gain – and impart – reassurance that relief was imminent, depicts Peter Roger as deeply invested in securing the future of the *castrum* of Montségur.

Where is Raymond of Péreille in this picture? The answer: barely visible. His involvement in the above initiatives is limited to a single mention in the inquisition records. Peter Vignol of Balaguier recounted that upon their return from Avignonet some sergeants wearing the scapulars of the inquisitors had called out ‘Tell Peter Roger and Raymond of Peréille to come and hear brother William Arnold’s sermon!’.<sup>71</sup> This grizzly recollection is interesting for its inference that although Raymond of Peréille was not directly involved in organising the expedition or in the killing of the brothers, his opinion and his approval of the mission were important. Just like Peter Roger, he was a known Cathar supporter. He had shown support at the very least for the intention behind the attack on Avignonet and it was expected that he would share in its success.

This picture is markedly different from the one painted by Roquebert in one crucial way. For Roquebert, Raymond of Péreille was not involved in these directives at all. In truth, we cannot know the extent to which Peter Roger conducted his activity as a result of prior collaboration between himself and Raymond of Péreille. The fact that both lords were pursuing the shared objective of supporting and protecting the Cathars of Montségur and their believers, though, is significant in its implication of a more

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<sup>69</sup> Imbert of Salles, 24.168r-v.

<sup>70</sup> Imbert of Salles, 24.168v.

<sup>71</sup> Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.256v-58r.

integrated and cohesive approach than Roquebert's interpretation allows for and should not be ignored.

Overall, then, recognising co-lordship as the key framework for the relationship that existed between Raymond of Péreille and Peter Roger of Mirepoix aids our understanding of the seemingly different roles played by the two men as constituent parts of the same lordship, and of their seemingly quite different actions as steps that were motivated by shared goals and values. In this collaborative sense, co-lordship facilitated aristocratic support for the Cathars.

### 3. The co-lords of Mirepoix and their support for the Cathars

The co-lordship of Mirepoix provides a useful case study for thinking about other ways that the bond between co-lords facilitated aristocratic support for Catharism. As we have seen (tables 2.1 and 2.2), we know of thirty-five knights and lords of Mirepoix in 1207 and twelve co-lords in 1223. Surviving inquisition records make it possible to trace the participation of these lords in Catharism through the first four decades of the fourteenth century.

First of all, the depositions suggest that Catharism was popular among the co-lords of Mirepoix from at least the early years of the thirteenth century. Arnold Roger of Mirepoix's deposition explicitly states that 'he had seen that the heretics maintained their houses publicly at Mirepoix. And the same witness, with the other lords of the said *castrum*, supported [*sustinebat*] the said heretics there'. Although Arnold Roger did not give a precise date, nor the names of all of these lords, he did identify more than eighty men from Mirepoix who attended the sermon of the Cathar deacon, Raymond Mercier, in around the year 1209, fourteen of whom were co-lords of Mirepoix.<sup>72</sup>

- |   |  |    |                     |
|---|--|----|---------------------|
| 1 | Raymond of Péreille                    | 8  | William Ademar      |
| 2 | Raymond of Rabat                       | 9  | Primart of Mirepoix |
| 3 | Peter Roger of Mirepoix [the<br>elder] | 10 | Gallard of Mirepoix |
| 4 | Jordan of Marliac                      | 11 | Guiraud of Salles   |

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<sup>72</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.108v-10v. Quote is at 22.109r.

5	Bertrand of Marliac	12	Bertrand of Roumengoux
6	Arnold Roger [of Mirepoix]	13	P. of Roumégoux
7	William Roger [of Mirepoix]	14	Hugh of Laroque

The idea that these lords supported the Cathars of Mirepoix at this time, by frequently attending their sermons, is supported by a similar list of names of attendees in the deposition of Raymond of Péreille. In total, Raymond was able to recall the names of twenty-eight attendees, eleven of whom were co-lords of Mirepoix.<sup>73</sup>

1	Raymond of Péreille	7	Bertrand of Marliac
2	Raymond of Rabat	8	Arnold Roger [of Mirepoix]
3	Peter Roger of Mirepoix [the elder]	9	William Roger [of Mirepoix]
4	Vital of Bousignac	10	William Ademar
5	R. of Bousignac	11	Primart of Mirepoix
6	Jordan of Marliac		

What is more, according to Arnold Roger's statement, a number of these lords, including Peter Roger the elder of Mirepoix, Raymond the elder of Rabat, Jordan of Marliac, Bertrand of Marliac and William Adémar of Vals the elder, 'surrendered themselves to the heretics at their deaths'.<sup>74</sup>

Elsewhere in his deposition, Arnold Roger stated that he attended the deathbed consolation of his uncle and fellow co-lord, Peter Roger the elder of Mirepoix, in around 1209, along with eight other co-lords of Mirepoix.<sup>75</sup>

1	Raymond of Rabat the elder	5	Peter of Roumengoux
2	Primart of Mirepoix	6	William Adémar

<sup>73</sup> Raymond of Péreille, 22.215r-16r.

<sup>74</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.107r-10v.

<sup>75</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.115v-16r.

- |   |                               |   |                     |
|---|-------------------------------|---|---------------------|
| 3 | Gallard of Mirepoix           | 7 | Bertrand of Marliac |
| 4 | Guiraud of Salles of Mirepoix | 8 | Jordan of Marliac   |

It seems common, if not expected, for co-lords to have attended the deathbed consolation of their fellows. Arnold Roger also attended the consolations of two other lords of Mirepoix: B. Batala of Mirepoix, and Ath Arnold of Châteaueverdun, in 1226 and 1230 or 1232 respectively.<sup>76</sup>

A number of the co-lords of Mirepoix were also witnessed attending the consolations of several other high-profile individuals, including the relatives of other co-lords. For example, three men bore witness to the deathbed *consolamentum* of Alzieu of Massabrac the elder, which took place in Peréille, probably in around 1225 or 1226. All three recalled the presence of two co-lords of Mirepoix: Arnold Roger and Isarn of Fanjeaux, both of whom attended with their wives.<sup>77</sup> Two also recalled the presence of B. Batala of Ventenac. In addition, according to Arnold Roger, he and four other co-lords of Mirepoix, B. of Arvigna, Peter Roger of Mirepoix the younger, and Bertrand and Peter of Roumengoux of Queille, were present at the *consolamentum* of Raymond of Arvigna in 1228 in Dun.<sup>78</sup> Arnold Roger and Peter of Roumengoux were also present at the *consolamentum* of Fabrissa of Marliac in 1240.<sup>79</sup>

Many of the co-lords of Mirepoix sought refuge in Montségur, especially following the dispossession of their lands by the crusaders, formally ratified by the French crown in 1230. Some of them, including the Mirepoix family themselves, were blood relations of Raymond of Péreille, the lord of Montségur, and as mentioned above, Peter Roger the younger, one of their own, was about to gain a share of the lordship for himself.

Raymond, Peter Roger, and Arnold Roger we know were long-term residents of the *castrum*, regularly attending Cathar sermons, adoring the Cathars, lending them military support, and supplying them with victuals. Peter Roger of Bousignac also stayed for a long time in Montségur from 1229 and returning at some point between 1236-1238. Both times Raymond of Péreille and Arnold Roger attested to the fact that he had often

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<sup>76</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.114r-v; 142v-44r.

<sup>77</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.139v-40r; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.50v-51v; Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.163r-64r.

<sup>78</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.116r-v.

<sup>79</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.124v-25r.

adored the Cathars there.<sup>80</sup> Peter of Roumengoux often came to visit Bertrand Marty and his companions from around 1237, and Bernard of Arvigna also came to visit the good men in 1241, despite the fact that at the time he was the *bailli* of Montgiscard for the Count of Toulouse.<sup>81</sup>

The Latin verb used in the deposition of Arnold Roger, *sustinere*, covers a range of meanings, from toleration all the way up to the physical provision of sustenance, protection and support. The example which follows is the widespread attendance of sermons, which indicates a primarily passive form of support, but the fact that a number of these lords sought the Cathar rite of *consolamentum* at the point of death suggests a more active uptake of Cathar belief systems.

In addition, the fact that a number of lords were seen attending the *consolamenta* of fellow co-lords and their relatives, suggests that this lordly community existed as a network of mutual support between the co-lords and their families in a capacity that predated any role it played in the Cathar support network. Indeed, the fact that attendance at these end-of-life rituals does not appear to have been mandatory – many co-lords did not attend – indicates that connections between a large group of co-lords were loose and flexible, stronger between some lords than others, corresponding more closely perhaps to friendships or familial alliances than to the kind of direct obligations more often produced by lord-vassal relationships. These interactions suggest that the group of lords were not only tied to one another in a political or economic sense, the bonds between them also responded to religious or personal inclinations.

#### 4. Family, co-lordship and Catharism

As stated above, co-lordships were commonly shared within families, and most often by siblings. For this reason, the work we did in the previous chapter is most pertinent, and worth briefly re-visiting. In the previous chapter we looked at the Roqueville brothers and the extent of their involvement in Catharism. Two of these brothers, Raymond and Bernard, were the co-lords of Les Cassés, and there are many ways in which we have documented their joint participation in Catharism, including attending sermons and

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<sup>80</sup> Raymond of Péreille, 22.228v; Arnold Roger, 22.144v-45r.

<sup>81</sup> For Peter of Roumengoux: Arnold Roger, 22.136v; Raymond of Péreille, 22.229r; Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.160r; 170r. For Bernard of Arvigna: Jordan of Péreille, 22.211v-12r; Arnold Roger, 22.139v-40r.

hosting and guiding Cathars. We also looked at the propensity of the members of aristocratic families to jointly undertake distinctively organisational roles in their support for the Cathars. In the case of the Roquevilles brothers, Raymond and Bernard, this included arranging for shelter, co-ordinating supplies, and even threatening the local population of their *castrum* not to reveal anything about the Cathars or the activity of their followers to the inquisitors.<sup>82</sup>

Previously, we considered this activity within a purely familial framework. It is at least worth noting that co-lordship would have lent an additional dimension to this relationship. Certainly, we saw all of the Roqueville brothers engaging in Catharism in many of the same ways, but there are instances where the specific relationship between co-lords appears to have lent particular weight to an occasion or encounter. For instance, it is helpful to consider the meeting that Raymond and Bernard called in Les Cassés, with the specific purpose of applying pressure to the men of the *castrum*, within the context of co-lordship. The two men, representing a united front, used their shared power to attain a common goal in protecting themselves, other Cathar believers, and the Cathars themselves.

Another example of this, moreover, is alluded to in the *Chanson*. According to William of Tudela, in the early stages of the crusade, ‘at least ninety-four of these fools and traitors [Cathars] were found concealed in a tower at Cassés, hidden away there by their friends the Roquevilles’.<sup>83</sup> Raymond and Bernard are not specified, but the fact that they, and not their brothers, were the co-lords of Les Cassés does suggest that they were the ones orchestrating this mass concealment. In these cases, it is useful to consider co-lordship as an additional layer to the traditional story which has placed such emphasis on an uncomplicated picture of the family as the key social unit to have encouraged Cathar support.

## Conclusion

Historiographically speaking, co-lordship has not been a particularly well or widely understood as a phenomenon by historians of heresy. Much of the work that has been done on co-lordship within this field is still marred in ongoing debates about feudalism,

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<sup>82</sup> See family chapter, pp. 65-66.

<sup>83</sup> Guilhem of Tudela, *La chanson de la Croisade albigeoise*, ed. E. Martin-Chabot, 3 vols (Paris, 1931), i.200 *laisse* 84, trans. in *The Song of the Cathar Wars*, ed. J. Shirley (Aldershot, 1996), 48.

and the extent to which co-lordships represented a weaker form of governance than the strong feudal bonds which were necessary to keep heresy at bay. Bringing more recent work in the field of study of the aristocracy to bear on our knowledge of co-lordship broadens our understanding of it as a relationship characterised by negotiation and collaboration, not, as is sometimes presumed, only by weakness and antagonism. This more nuanced picture of southern power-holding and power-sharing is useful for historians of heresy, because it helps us to view co-lordship as a bond which not only let heresy in, but which facilitated specific forms of interaction with and support for Catharism. Many of these were not distinctive to co-lords, nor even to the aristocracy. Some were perhaps arguably more influenced by the familial bonds at play than by those of co-lordship. However, co-lords also worked together to support the Cathars in unique and socially distinctive ways. The most obvious of these is the patronage of Raymond of Péreille and Peter Roger of Mirepoix, which can be seen in their collaboration to provide the Cathars with a safe haven at Montségur, and also in their joint submission to prominent good men in negotiations for peace, both between themselves and other parties. It could be argued that the specific context of Montségur makes it difficult to credit co-lordships more generally with the facilitation or encouragement of Cathar support. However, even though the involvement of the Cathars in negotiations in this way was not unique to co-lords, it was without doubt the need for ongoing negotiation characteristic of successful co-lordships which drew out this specific form of interaction with and support for the Cathars.

Much of this work on co-lordship is relatively new, and is evolving all the time. It is my hope that by adding inquisition records to the arsenal of source material that can be used to shed light on co-lordship I have not only contributed more data to the field, but data of a significantly different kind and with the potential to lend a more qualitative understanding to the nature of relations between co-lords.



Table 2.6: Co-lordship in Doat 22-24 and MS 609.

<i>Castrum</i>	Lords	Year 'item' took place	Text	Deposition	<i>Castrum of deponent (MS 609)</i>
Cambiac	Jordan Sais	1243	<i>...Iordani Saissii et Willelmi Saissii dominorum de Cambiac...</i>	Martin of Caselis, 609.237v	Cambiac
		1245	<i>...Jordanus Sais dominus de Cambiaco...</i>	Jordan Sais, 609.238v	Cambiac
	William Sais	1243	<i>...Iordani Saissii et Willelmi Saissii dominorum de Cambiac...</i>	Martin of Caselis, 609.237v	Cambiac
		?	<i>...Willelmus Sais dominus de Cambiaco...</i>	Raymond Sicard, 609.239r	Cambiac
		1245	<i>...dicto domino [William] de Cambiaco...</i>	Ermessens, wife of William Vicar of Cambiac, 609.239v	Cambiac
Cambon	Raymond Bernard	1246	<i>...Ramundus Bernardi dominus de Cambo et de Cuco...</i>	Raymond Bernard, 609.242v	Cambon
	Raymond Berengar	? Recent	<i>...dominorum militum de Cambo, scilicet Ramundi Berengarii...</i>	Bernard Bertrand, 609.243v	Cambon
		c. 1221	<i>...R. Berenguerii dominum de Cambo...</i>	Pons Rex the elder, 609.243v	Cambon
		c. 1232	<i>...Ramundi Berengerii domini de Cambo...</i>	Raymunda, wife of Raymond Sais, 609.244r	Cambon
		1245	<i>...Ramundus Berengarii miles dominus de Cambo...</i>	Raymond Berengar, 609.244r	Cambon
Castille	Aicard	1236	<i>...Aicardum militem dominum loci [Castille]...</i>	Peter Garni, 609.44v	Montgaillard
	Sicard of La Nouvelle	1230	<i>...Sichardum de Novila dominum de Castilho...</i>	Raymond Ademar of Lanta, 609.201r	Lanta
Gaja-la-Selve	Arnold of Mazerolles	c. 1242	<i>...Arnaldum de Mazerolis dominum de Gaia...</i>	Raymunda, daughter of Raymond Jocglar, 609.41r	Saint-Martin-Lalande
	Peter of Mazerolles	1246	<i>...P. de Mazerolis dominus de Gaiano...</i>	Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124r	Gaja-la-Selve
Gardouch	Baraigne of Gardouch	c. 1236	<i>...Varanha dominus de Gardog...</i>	Stephen Donat, 609.43v	Montgaillard

	Raymond of Baraigne	c. 1215	<i>...Ramundum de Varanha dominum de Gardoch...</i>	B. Guilabert, 609.110v	Gardouch
Labécède	Peter Rigaud	c. 1234	<i>...P. Rigaut dominum de la Besceda...</i>	P. of Saint-Michel, 609.80r, 80v	Saint-Michel-de-Lanès
		c. 1233	<i>...Petrus Rigaut dominus de La Besceda...</i>	P. of Saint-Michel, 609.80v	Saint-Michel-de-Lanès
		?	<i>...Petri Rigaldi et...qui sunt domini de Valle Drulia et Beceda...</i>	R. of Venerque, 609.232r	Vaudreuille
		1235-36	<i>Petrus Rigaudi, et Sancho, fratres domini de Beceda,</i>	Peter of Saint-Michel, 23.89r	
	Sans	c. 1231	<i>...Sanchius dominus de Beceta...</i>	Arnold Caldeira, 609.121r	Labécède
		?	<i>...et Sancho militum qui sunt domini de Valle Drulia et Beceda...</i>	R. of Venerque, 609.232r	Vaudreuille
1235-36		<i>...Petrus Rigaudi, et Sancho, fratres domini de Beceda,</i>	Peter of Saint-Michel, 23.89r		
Les Cassés	Bernard of Roqueville	?	<i>...B. de Rocovila domini de Cassers...</i>	Peter of Valeris, 609.215v	Saint-Félix
		? Recent	<i>...R. de Rochovila et Bernardus fratres milites domini dels Cassers...</i>	Arnold of Clerens, 609.223r	Les Cassés
	Raymond of Roqueville	1246	<i>...Ramundus de Rocovila miles dominus fidels Cassers...</i>	Raymond of Roqueville, 609.216r	Saint-Félix
		? Recent	<i>...R. de Rochovila et Bernardus fratres milites domini dels Cassers...</i>	Arnold of Clerens, 609.223r	Les Cassés
Mas-Saintes-Puelles	Bernard of Mas-Saintes-Puelles	?	<i>...Bernardo domino del Mas...</i>	B. Cogota, 609.2v	Mas-Saintes-Puelles
		1226	<i>...B. de Manso miles dominus eiusdem castris...</i>	Arnold Jordan, 609.3v	Mas-Saintes-Puelles
		1245	<i>...Palaisinus del Mas filius B. domini de del Mas...</i>	Palaisin of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, 609.15v	Mas-Saintes-Puelles
		1245	<i>...Na Saurimunda uxor B. domini del Mas militis...</i>	Saurimunda, wife of Bernard of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, 609.21v	Mas-Saintes-Puelles
		?	<i>...et B. del Manso seniore...dominos de Manso...</i>	Ermengard Boera, 609.23r	Mas-Saintes-Puelles
		1220	<i>...B. de Manso dominum illius castris...</i>	Estolt of Roqueville, 609.64v	Montgiscard

	William of Mas-Saintes-Puelles	1245	<i>...W. dicti domini del Mas...</i>	Pelegina, wife of Isarn of Montserver, 609.2v	Mas-Saintes-Puelles
		1245	<i>...Na Fauressa uxor Willelmi domini del Mas...</i>	Fabrissa, wife of William of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, 609.14v	Mas-Saintes-Puelles
		?	<i>...W. del Mas et W. filium ipsius Willelmi et...dominos de Manso...</i>	Ermengard Boera, 609.23r	Mas-Saintes-Puelles
	Jordan of Mas-Sainte-Puelles	1245	<i>...Iordanus dominus de Manso miles...</i>	Jordan of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, 609.15v	Mas-Saintes-Puelles
		?	<i>...et Iordanum...dominos de Manso...</i>	Ermengard Boera, 609.23r	Mas-Saintes-Puelles
	Aribert of Mas-Saintes-Puelles	1245	<i>...Aribert dominus del Mas miles...</i>	Aribert of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, 609.16v	Mas-Saintes-Puelles
	Gallard of Mas-Saintes-Puelles	?	<i>...et Gualhardum dominos de Manso...</i>	Ermengard Boera, 609.23r	Mas-Saintes-Puelles
William, son of William of Mas-Saintes-Puelles	?	<i>...W. del Mas et W. filium ipsius Willelmi et B. del Manso seniore et Iordanum del Aribert. et Gualhardum dominos de Manso...</i>	Ermengard Boera, 609.23r	Mas-Saintes-Puelles	
Mirepoix	Isarn of Castille	1246	<i>...Ysarnum de Castilho consanguineum i.t. dominum de Mirapisce defunctum...</i>	Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124r	Gaja-la-Selve
	Peter Roger, father of this P. Roger of Mirepoix	1209	<i>...Petrus Rogerii, pater istius P. Rogerii de Mireapisce...domini quondam castris de Mirapisce...</i>	Arnold Roger, 22.108v-109r	
		1209	<i>...et P. Rogerii de Mirapisce, pater istius Petri Rogerii...militis, domini castris de Mirapisce...</i>	Raymond of Péreille, 22.215v	
	Raymond of Rabat	1209	<i>...et R. de Ravat, pater Raimundi de Ravat de Lauraco...domini quondam castris de Mirapisce...</i>	Arnold Roger, 22.108v-109r	
		1209	<i>...et R. de Ravat et...militis, domini castris de Mirapisce,</i>	Raymond of Péreille, 22.215v	

		1224	<i>...Raimundus de Ravat, dominus de Mirapisce...</i>	Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.64r	
	Jordan of Marliac	1209	<i>...et Iordanus de Marlhac...domini quondam castris de Mirapisce...</i>	Arnold Roger, 22.108v-109r	
		1209	<i>...et Iordanus de Marlac...milites, domini castris de Mirapisce...</i>	Raymond of Péreille, 22.215v	
	Bertrand of Marliac	1209	<i>...et Bertrandus de Marlac, domini quondam castris de Mirapisce...</i>	Arnold Roger, 22.108v-109r	
		1209	<i>...et Bertrandus de Marlac, milites, domini castris de Mirapisce...</i>	Raymond of Péreille, 22.215v	
	Vital of Bousignac	1209	<i>...et Vitalis de Bossenac...milites, domini castris de Mirapisce...</i>	Raymond of Péreille, 22.215v	
	R. of Bousignac	1209	<i>...et Vitalis de Bossenac, et R. de Bossenac, frater eius...milites, domini castris de Mirapisce...</i>	Raymond of Péreille, 22.215v	
Montesquieu	Bernard of Montesquieu	1233	<i>...Bernardi domini de Monte esquivo ...</i>	Arnold Aribert, 609.99v	Montesquieu
		1235	<i>...B. de Monte esquivo dominum castris de Monte esquivo...</i>	W. of Villèle, 609.101r	Montesquieu
	William Raymond	1205	<i>...Willelmi Ramundi domini de Monte Esquivo ...</i>	Stephen John, 609.99r	Montesquieu
Montgaillard	W. Peter	c. 1215	<i>...W. Petri domini de Monte Galhardo ...</i>	Peter Garni, 609.44v	Montgaillard
	William Dessus	1233	<i>...Wjllelmi Dessus domini de Montgalhart...</i>	Bernard Mosses, 609.46r	Montgaillard
	Gardos	c. 1231	<i>...Gardos, dominus Montis Galhardi...</i>	Raymond Unaud, 22.87r	
Montmaur	William Fort	c. 1237	<i>...Willelmus Fort dominus de Bell oforti et de Monte Mauro ...</i>	Bernard Mir, 609.187v	Saint-Martin-Lalande
	Bertrand	1246	<i>Bertrandus dominus de Monte mauro</i>	Bertrand of Montmaur, 609.231v	Montmaur
	Sicard of Belfort	1245	<i>Sichardus de Belloforti domicellus dominus de Monte mauro</i>	Sicard of Belfort, 609.231v	Montmaur
Montségur	Peter Roger of Mirepoix	1242	<i>...et P. Rotgerii...dominos dicti castris Montis Securi milites...</i>	P. of Carraz, 609.38v	Saint-Martin-Lalande

		1241	<i>...Petrum Rogerii dominum de Monte Securo...</i>	Arnold John, 609.206v	Préserville
	Raymond of Péreille	1242	<i>...et P. Rotgerii et R. de Perelha socerum ipsius...dominos dicti castris Montis Securi milites...</i>	P. of Carraz [Caratz?], 609.38v	Saint-Martin-Lalande
		c. 1213	<i>...Raymundus de Perella, dominus dicti castris [Montségur]</i>	Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.155r	
		1232	<i>...Ramundo de Perella, domino olim dicti castris [Montségur]...</i>	Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.44r	
Roquefort	Vezeianus of Roquefort	?1229	<i>...Vezeianus de Rocafort et...domini castris de Rocafort...</i>	Marquesia, wife of the late Bertrand of Prouille, 23.96v	
	Sicard of Roquefort	?1229	<i>...et Sicardus de Rocafort...domini castris de Rocafort...</i>	Marquesia, wife of the late Bertrand of Prouille, 23.96v	
	William of Roquefort	?1229	<i>...et Guillelmus de Rocafort, maritus ipsius testis...domini castris de Rocafort...</i>	Marquesia, wife of Bertrand of Prouille, 23.96v	
	Arnold Corb	?1229	<i>...et Arnaldus Corb, domini castris de Rocafort...</i>	Marquesia, wife of the late Bertrand of Prouille, 23.96v	
	Jordan	c. 1220	<i>...Iordanum dominum de Rupeforti et de Duroforti...</i>	William Peter, 609.229v	Nogaret
Saint-Michel	B. of Saint-Michel-de-Lanès	1245	<i>...B. dominus de Sancto Michaele de Lauragues miles</i>	B. of Saint-Michel-de-Lanès, 609.80v	Saint-Michel-de-Lanès
	Bernard of Marcusvienh	c. 1233-34	<i>...Bernardi de Marcusvienh, domini castris de Sancto Michaele...</i>	Peter of Saint-Michel-de-Lanès, 23.90v	
Saissac	Isarn Jordan of Saissac	c. 1231	<i>...Ysarni Iordani domini de Sayxac...</i>	Arnold Caldeira, 609.121r	Labécède
		c. 1227	<i>...Isarnus Jordani dominus de Saxiaco...</i>	Peter Rigaut, 609.232r	Vaudreuille
		c. 1227	<i>...Isarnum Iordani dominum de Saxiaco...</i>	William Bernard, 609.232v	Vaudreuille
	William	c. 1221	<i>...Willelmus dominus de Saxiaco...</i>	Rixendis, wife of Pons Gaules, 609.251r	Castelnau
Saverdun	Arnold of Villemur	1209-29	<i>...Arnaldum de Vilamur dominum de Savarduno...</i>	Peter of Mazerolles, 609.125v	Gaja-la-Selve
		c. 1241	<i>...Petrus de Vilamur, et Arnaldus de Vilamur, frater eius, domini de</i>	Arnold Roger, 22.125v	

			<i>Savarduno...</i>		
		1239-1240	<i>...P. de Vilamur, et Arnaldus de Vilamur, domini de Savarduno...</i>	Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.160v	
	Peter of Villamur	c. 1241	<i>...Petrus de Vilamur, et Arnaldus de Vilamur, frater eius, domini de Savarduno...</i>	Arnold Roger, 22.125v	
		1239-1240	<i>...P. de Vilamur, et Arnaldus de Vilamur, domini de Savarduno...</i>	Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.160v	
Vaudreuille	Peter Rigaud	?	<i>...Petri Rigaldi et Sancho militum qui sunt domini de Valle Drulia et Beceda...</i>	R. of Venerque, 609.232r	Vaudreuille
	Sans	?	<i>...Petri Rigaldi et Sancho militum qui sunt domini de Valle Drulia et Beceda...</i>	R. of Venerque, 609.232r	Vaudreuille
Villemur	Bertrand	?	<i>...Bertrandus, dominus de Vilamur...</i>	Bernarda Targueira, 22.2r	
	Arnold	1226	<i>Arnaldi, domini de Villamur,</i>	Arnold Helias, 22.53r	
Villesisclé	Peter Rigaud	1206	<i>...Petrus Rigaudi et Galhardus domini de Vilha siscla...</i>	Florencia, wife of Pons Peter, 609.180v	Villesisclé
		1246	<i>...Domina Brunissen, quondam filia P. Rigaudi domini de Villasiscla...</i>	Domina Brunissen, 609.181r	Villesisclé
	Gallard of Villesisclé	1206	<i>Petrus Rigaudi et Galhardus domini de Vilha siscla</i>	Florencia, wife of Pons Peter, 609.180v	Villesisclé

### 3. Catharism and dependent relationships

For a long time, historians have deduced from inquisition records that heresy passed easily from person to person along horizontal, familial lines. However, it was not until Michel Roquebert's article, 'Le catharisme comme tradition dans la "familia" Languedocienne', was published in 1985, that vertical ties of dependency were introduced as similarly plausible routes for the spread of heretical ideas. Building closely on the work of scholars who had emphasised the important role played by the aristocracy and the aristocratic family in the spread of Cathar popularity in thirteenth-century Languedoc, Roquebert wrote about dependency ties as channels for the transmission of Cathar ideas strictly within the context of the *familia*, or 'household'.<sup>1</sup>

More recently, Chris Sparks made a similar comparison between ties of family and of dependency with reference to Jeremy Goldberg's apprenticeship model. Goldberg sees employers as acting *in loco parentis* for the apprentices they took on, assuming responsibility for the apprentice's wellbeing and imposing the family's own moral code for the period of the apprenticeship. Sparks suggests that such circumstances in the towns of medieval Languedoc may have led to the exposure of apprentices to the religious preferences and induction to the religious networks of their employers, in a manner modelled on the introduction of a child to the beliefs and connections of their parents.<sup>2</sup> The problems with adhering too rigidly to such a model as this have already been outlined above, in my family chapter, but it is important to recall briefly here that just as children were not passive objects onto which ideas and beliefs could be imprinted, neither were dependents.<sup>3</sup>

In general, the link between the beliefs of lords and their dependents has remained an under-explored area of the historiography for several reasons. In the first place, the current academic climate is not particularly receptive to the kind of 'top-down' model

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<sup>1</sup> M. Roquebert, 'Le catharisme comme tradition dans la "Familia" Languedocienne', in *Effacement du Catharisme (XIII-XIVe siècles)*, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 20 (1995), pp. 221-42. Roquebert's ideas about the vertical spread of heresy through dependency ties have been repeated (less discerningly) in recent texts, including M. Lambert, *The Cathars* (Oxford, 1998), p. 68. On Roquebert's contribution to the historiography see my introduction, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> C. Sparks, *Heresy, Inquisition and Life Cycle in Medieval Languedoc* (York, 2014), pp. 78-80. J. Goldberg, 'Orphans and Servants: The Socialisation of Young People Living Away from Home in the English Later Middle Ages', in *Adoption et fosterage*, ed. M. Corbier (Paris, 1999), p. 242 and 'Masters and Men in Later Medieval England', *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. D. M. Hadley (Harlow, 1999), pp. 56-7.

<sup>3</sup> See family chapter, pp. 49-55.

which represents the passage of ideas from lords to their dependents. In the second, as shown in the previous two chapters, studies of heresy and power structures in southern France tend to be dominated by ideas about the strength of horizontal networks, with vertical ties either being overlooked, or depicted as a weakness which allowed heretical ideas to gain a foothold and flourish in the region. My main goal is to push this discussion beyond the vague idea that heresy passed from lords to their dependents, by looking at the specific ways that different types of dependent relationships produced opportunities for the spread of Cathar ideas.

Ideas in the historiography about exactly what constitutes a ‘dependent relationship’ are conflicted. Much of the confusion originates from the primary sources themselves, and the fact that identical language – that of ‘being someone’s man’ – is used to designate both serfdom and vassalage.<sup>4</sup> Although this certainly does not mean that contemporaries did not recognise the difference between these states, it does complicate the matter of distinction for historians.

A more nuanced understanding of dependency has already developed in other fields. Many historians now represent dependency less as a black and white matter, and more in terms of a graduated scale.<sup>5</sup> In this chapter, I challenge the top-down model and the emphasis it places on the importance of aristocratic support for Catharism, by looking at dependency in the inquisition records as representative of a spectrum of roles, relationships and expectations and, consequently, as a potential facilitator of the spread of Cathar ideas and beliefs in a variety of different ways.

The depositions occasionally refer to dependent relationships using language such as ‘his/her lord’, ‘the lord of the same witness’, ‘his man’, ‘his peasant’. Far more commonly, however, they refer to various forms of household or ‘service’-based dependency – and it is important to note here that I do not mean ‘service’ in the feudal sense of a lord-vassal relationship, but in the sense of contractual employment of an individual by a lord, with the understanding of some role being carried out in service of that lord. This included the household servants, also known as *familia*. It could include long-term, (often) live-in dependents, such as maids and some *baiuli* and *servientes*;

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<sup>4</sup> H. Débax, *La féodalité languedocienne: XI<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles; serments, hommages et fiefs dans le Languedoc des Trencavel* (Toulouse, 2003), pp. 187-89.

<sup>5</sup> G. Fourquin, *Le paysan d'occident au moyen âge* (Paris, 1972), p. 71; L. M. Paterson, *The World of the Troubadours: Medieval Occitan Society c.1100-c.1300* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 134-37; F. L. Cheyette, *Ermengarda of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours* (London, 2001), pp. 127, 165.



dependents who themselves belonged to the aristocracy, such as *domicelli*, *domicellae*, and sometimes *scutiferi*; temporarily hired dependents, such as some *nuncii*, *baiuli* and *servientes*, and dependents who acted as official representatives of their lord, such as *baiuli*. However, even using the inquisition records to analyse the participation in Catharism of this group can be problematic. Though many dependents were referred to in the depositions, they were rarely the deponents.

Table 3.1: Dependents as deponents in the inquisition records.

Type of dependent	No. deposed	Record of deposition	Word count	Total no. identified
<i>Maids (ancillae/ pedissecae)</i>	3	Anglesia wife of P. Rateri, 609.91r	197	55
		Raymunda, wife of Arnold of Bonnac, 609.200r-v	349	
		Willelma, 609.134v	162	
<i>Baiuli</i>	3	John Gandil, <i>baiulus</i> of En Mainier of Belflou, knight, 23.217v-219v	469	62
		Oth of Barèges, 22.44r-46r	475	
		W. Faure, 609.85v	173	
<i>Scutiferi</i>	3	Peter of Corneilhan of Montgey, 24.19r-23v	1007	30
		Bernard Mir, 609.30r-v	364	
		Stephen Massa, 23.292r-304r	2612	
<i>Domicelli</i>	6	Arnold of Corbarieu, 22.71r-v	140	20
		Jordan of Quiriès, 609.17v-18r	421	
		Peter of Puy, 609.181v	69	
		R. Adémar, 22.69r-70v	332	
		Sicard of Belfort, 609.231v	72	
		Vilarius of Villar, 23.102r-105v	827	
<i>Domicellae</i>	1	Pelegrina, wife of William Gasc, 22.29v-31r	201	11
<i>Nuncii</i>	5	Arnold Martin, 609.252r	202	31
		Guillelm of Saint Cogot, 609.181v	55	
		Pons Sicre of Ilhat, 22.232v-237r	967	
		Raymond Biat, 609.249r	121	
		Raymond Boer, 23.143r-149r	1252	

<i>Servientes</i>	2	Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.249v-258v	1736	32
		Raymond of Avignonet, 609.103v-104	125	
<i>Nutrices</i>	0			7

Compared with the total numbers identified, the figures show that *domicelli* – the highest status dependents – were by far the most likely to be called before the inquisition, followed by the messengers (*nuncii*). Overall, male dependents were far likelier to appear before the inquisitor. Our survey counts only four female deponents, three of whom were maids, and the other a *domicella* who was mostly questioned with regard to Waldensianism.

In addition, the depositions of dependents sometimes suggest that they were questioned specifically about the heretical activity of their lords. For example, three men, including two *baiuli* of Peter of Mazerolles, confessed to having assisted Peter after he had been condemned for heresy, when he was living as a fugitive in the woods of Gaja-la-Selve from around 1244. William Faure, Peter of Mazerolle's *baiulus*, said that he had often taken food and drink to Peter in the woods, and that he had seen Peter with his wife, Ermengarda, in the house of Adam Vitalis, another of Peter's *baiuli*. Adam Vitalis, also Peter of Mazerolle's *baiulus*, had already confessed that he had often had Peter of Mazerolles stay in his house after he had been condemned, and that once Peter's wife, Ermengarda, had stayed as well. Lastly, Peter Cordis of Ferrus said that he had often carried food and drink to Peter of Mazerolles, but that he had done so on the order (*mandato*) of William Faure, *baiulus* of the same Peter of Mazerolles.<sup>6</sup> Both Adam and Peter Cordis said that apart from these instances, they had never had any contact with the Cathars. However, at the very least, William Faure appears to have been more involved than he admitted, not only aiding his lord, but directing the aid of others. A William Faure was also identified by a number of other deponents. According to W. of Cailhavel, 'William Faure' not only hosted two good women, Bruna and Rixen, in his house around 1238, he also was himself 'later a heretic'.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, 'William

<sup>6</sup> William Faure, 609.85v; Adam Vitalis, 609.85r; Peter Cordis of Ferrus, 609.85r.

<sup>7</sup> W. of Cailhavel, 609.71v.

Faure' (or 'Fabri) is too common a name for us to be sure that he was talking about William Faure the *baiulus*.

The fact that all three of these deponents only spoke of heresy in the context of their lord's involvement seems to be significant, but it could be interpreted in different ways. The men may have been uninterested in heresy, and thus portrayed their actions in the strict context of providing service to their lord. Alternatively, they may have seen Peter of Mazerolles – notorious Cathar supporter, already wanted by the inquisition – as a convenient figure to hide behind. It is unlikely, given their positions as *baiuli* in Peter's household, that William Faure and Adam Vitalis, in particular, had no further contact with heretics than this, but it is not for us to prove their culpability or innocence one way or the other. Rather, the point here is that the prioritisation by the inquisitors of records relating to the aristocracy has the potential to both minimise the involvement of dependents, and make the involvement of dependents appear firmly entrenched in the context of lordship. This is clearly demonstrated in the depositions by the fact that so many heretical encounters or actions of dependents are recorded as having taken place in the presence of their lords, as we will see below.

Despite these limitations, the records contain a great deal of information on the ways in which different household or 'service'-based dependents adopted Cathar belief systems and engaged with the Cathars, that has not yet been paid due attention in the historiography. This appears in the form of both the depositions of dependents, and in references to dependents in other depositions.

### Household dependents

By 'household dependents', I refer to long-term, and often but not always live-in dependents, who would have been included within the group of household servants sometimes in Latin called the *familia*, but perhaps in English best known as 'domestics'.<sup>8</sup> However, there are problems with even this slightly laboured definition. Some groups of servants, such as the *ancillae* or *pedissecæ* – both translated as 'maids', or 'maidservants' – fit quite clearly into this group. Others resist such simple

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<sup>8</sup> In the inquisition records, *familia* can refer to a broader group of individuals tied by dependency. For example, Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.255v-58r, referred to Peter Roger leaving Montségur to instigate the attack on Avignonet with his *familia*. 'Domestics' is used in J. H. Mundy, *Society and Government at Toulouse in the Age of the Cathars* (Toronto, 1997), p. 76.

classification. For example, *serviens*, had two very distinct meanings. It could have the menial or even servile connotations associated with the traditional role of ‘servant’, but it could also refer to a military rank below that of knight – the ‘sergeant’. The translation is entirely dependent on context.<sup>9</sup>

To an extent, the roles of *baiuli* and *nuncii* (bailiffs and messengers) could overlap with those of the household servant. The records show that individuals identified in these ways could be interchangeably sent on errands or used as guides, as well as providing general household services, such as serving drinks, and thus being present in the house of their lord when various good men and good women and their believers were visiting. However, *baiuli* could also act as official representatives of their lord at the level of the *castrum*, and both *nuncii* and *servientes* could also be hired on a temporary basis, and in such cases cannot really be considered members of the household – although they may have appeared so to visitors. To a lesser extent, squires could also be used in similar capacities to household servants – more so *scutiferi*, than the (typically) socially superior *domicelli* – as well as to carry out a more military function. Some may even have shared a house with their lord. However, others were important lords in their own right and ran households of their own. For these reasons, it is often difficult to draw clear distinctions between groups of servants based on the identifications made in the depositions.<sup>10</sup>

Though they were not permanent members of the household, we are on safer grounds with *domicellae* (‘damsels’ or ‘ladies-in-waiting’) and *nutrices* (‘nurses’ or ‘wet nurses’) who would definitely have been included as part of the *familia* for the period of their employment. Again, there was often a degree of overlap in some of the roles that these women carried out, and also with those of the maids, who were respectively identified more often as *ancillae* in the Toulouse register, MS 609, and more often as *pedissecae* in Doat 22-24. A *nutrix* was employed in the first instance to care for infants, but often stayed on with the family to care for successive children. Like maids, they were often given bequests in the wills of their respective employers, signifying the close relationship shared with them.<sup>11</sup> *Domicellae* were typically from socially superior

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<sup>9</sup> *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources: A-L* (London, 2012), p. 3051. *Serviens*: one engaged in military service, esp. in fulfilment of feudal obligations, but not including knights.

<sup>10</sup> See Mundy, *Society and Government*, p. 77 on the different roles played by *servientes* and *nuncii*.

<sup>11</sup> Mundy, *Society and Government*, p. 76.

(even aristocratic) backgrounds, hence the common English translation, ‘ladies-in-waiting’, whereas maids and *nutrices* were typically of lower social status.

Nevertheless, the depositions tell us that it could be difficult even for contemporaries to correctly identify the roles of female household dependents. For example, a woman called Finas, who lived in the house of Austorga of Rouzégas, was identified by Raymunda, an *ancilla* of the house, as a *domicella*, but she was identified by Raymunda’s husband, Arnold of Bonnac, as another *ancilla*.<sup>12</sup> This suggests that there must have been at least some conceptual overlap between maids and *domicellae*.

Table 3.2: Locations of encounters of female household dependents with the Cathars.

	Maid	<i>Domicella</i>	<i>Nutrix</i>
Total number of references	85	14	12
Number of encounters in presence of their lord	63	12	8
Encounters in house of lord	66	4	7
Encounters ‘elsewhere’ <sup>13</sup> in presence of their lord	5	4	1
Encounters outside company of their lord	22	2	4
Encounters ‘elsewhere’ outside company of their lord	8	2	2

Table 3.2, above, shows the numbers of maids, *domicellae* and *nutrices* who were seen or who confessed to encountering Cathars in the presence of their lord or lady, or elsewhere. Overall, they correspond with what we would expect for this group. The encounters of more than three quarters of these women occurred in the presence of their lords, and the vast majority (69.3%) took place in the home of that same lord.

The statistics for the *domicellae* are particularly consistent. Out of fourteen *domicellae*, twelve were identified alongside their lord or, as was more often the case, their lady. It is worth noting, in addition, that of the exceptions to this, the lord of one was not recorded and therefore may have been present. The other, a *domicella* called Calva, was taking food to the good women, Brunissende and her companion, in the house of Na Ava in 1241, as she had been instructed to do by her lady, Veziada, the wife of Isarn Bernard.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Raymunda, wife of Arnold of Bonnac, 609.200r-v; Arnold of Bonnac, 609.200r.

<sup>13</sup> Either in someone else’s house, in transit, or in some public location.

<sup>14</sup> Na Ava, 609.156v. For the unnamed lord, see Arnalda of Lamothe, 609.202r.

Encounters with the Cathars that took place in the presence of the dependent's lord, and in that lord's house, typically arose as a result of the line of duty, which is to say that the requirements and the circumstances of the service owed to the lord by their dependent produced encounters with the Cathars and their believers. They were not actively pursued by the dependents themselves.

On the face of it, this evidence would appear to support the 'top-down' model, because it shows lords exposing their dependents to Cathar connections and ideas. However, these figures also show that a significant number of household dependents encountered Cathars 'elsewhere' – either in somebody else's house, or in some public space, such as the woods or on the road – outside the presence of their lords. One third of the references to nurses and more than a quarter of the references to maids describe encounters of this type, although it should be noted that these figures include two individuals who, like Calva, were following the orders of their lord.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, these initial figures strongly suggest that dependents also actively sought encounters with the Cathars.

These cases of dependents actively seeking encounters with the Cathars independently of their lords appears to have increased over time. Table 3.3 shows the dates at which those interrogated in the 1240s recalled encounters between dependents and the Cathars. These figures show that, prior to 1220, it was unusual for female household dependents to be recalled (or asked after) in the depositions at all. This seems to have changed after 1220, when we see a marked increase in the numbers identified. In the 1220s, the vast majority of these (83.3%) were identified in the presence of a lord, with similarly high numbers (77.8%) identified in the home of their lord. After 1230, there is actually a slight increase in the proportion identified with their lord (to 86.4%), but a significant drop (to 70.5%) in the proportion identified in their lord's home. This drop is amplified in the 1240s. Not only do numbers identified in the house of their lord fall to 55.8%, overall numbers identified in the presence of their lord fall to 69.8%. The corresponding increase in numbers identified encountering Cathars outside the presence of their lord, and away from their lord's home, from just one in the 1230s to ten in the 1240s, is striking.

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<sup>15</sup> These cases are discussed further below.

Table 3.3: The dates of encounters of female household dependents with the Cathars.

	Total	In presence of lord	In lord's home	Somewhere else in presence of lord	Somewhere else outside presence of lord
before 1200	0	0	0	0	0
1200-1209	1	1	0	1	0
1210-1219	1	1	1	0	0
1220-1229	18	15	14	2	0
1230-1239	44	38	31	6	1
1240-1249	43	30	24	1	10

According to table 3.3, female household dependents were becoming more independent in terms of seeking to actively engage with Catharism. This change needs to be considered as it took place within the context of increasing persecution. The activity of the inquisitorial tribunals that are the focus of this study peaked between 1244 and 1246. In general, Languedoc in the 1240s was a much less stable environment for Cathar believers and for the mobility of the Cathars than it had been forty, or even twenty, years previously. Long-term and especially relapsed Cathar supporters were targeted by inquisitors. Members of the regional aristocracy – many of whom ended up seeking refuge in Montségur – were under particular scrutiny. It was becoming rarer for these families to host large gatherings of believers, or to provide the necessary floorspace for preaching. One result of this was that household dependents had to seek their encounters elsewhere. For example, Arnalda of Caussade and Selva, respectively the maid and *nutrix* of Jordan of Lanta, were both witnessed visiting the good women, Arnalda of Lamothe and her companion, in the house of Hugh of Les Canelles near Lanta around 1241.<sup>16</sup> Jordan of Lanta was certainly already known to the inquisitors at this point. There is no record of him being called before the inquisitors, but his father, William Bernard, was a well-known good man. Moreover, of the total ten references to female household dependents encountering Cathars away from their lords in the 1240s,

<sup>16</sup> Arnalda of Lamothe, 23.33v-34v.

six were freely and deliberately visiting Cathars who were being sheltered in the house of some other acquaintance.<sup>17</sup>

Table 3.4: Types of participation of female household dependents in Catharism.

	Maids			<i>Domicellae</i>			<i>Nutrices</i>		
	No. refs.	Lord present	No. individuals	No. refs.	Lord present	No. individuals	No. refs.	Lord present	No. individuals
Total	85	63	55	14	12	10	12	8	7
Adoration	40	34	31	9	8	6	7	5	5
Sermon	10	10	8	4	4	1	1	1	1
Present at consolation	7	6	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
Guides	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Spoke with Cathars	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
Ate or drank with Cathars	5	5	3	0	0	0	1	1	1
Brought things to Cathars	3	0	3	1	0	1	0	0	0
Consoled	5	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	0

As table 3.4 shows, female household dependents participated in Catharism in a number of different ways. Of course, these dependents had very little control over the actions of their lords. Sometimes Cathar activities such as the preaching of a sermon or consolation of a household member took place in the house of a lord, and other than report the matter to inquisitors or local authorities (which was not unheard of), there was very little dependents could do. This, in itself, did not make them active participants in Catharism. Other participants attended for social or religious reasons, but household dependents were sometimes present merely by virtue of the position they held in their lord's household and indeed may not even have been present in the room, or fully aware that the ritual was occurring under the roof.

In total, seven maids were present at *consolamenta*, four of whom were present in the house of their lord, while the lord or lady or a member of their family was being consoled. Guillelma the *pedisseca* of Taysseiras, mother of P. of Auque, was present

<sup>17</sup> Raymunda, *ancilla* of Peter Martin: Johannes Pagesa, 609.190v. Willelma, *ancilla* of Raymond Arquer: Willelma, *ancilla*, 609.134v. Bernarda of Camps, *pedisseca* of Pons William: Peter Fogasset of Caraman, 23.317r-v. Savina, *pedisseca* of Bertrand of Allemands: Joanna, 23.276r-v. Unnamed *domicella*: Arnalda of Lamothe, 609.202r.



when Taysseiras was consoled around 1225.<sup>18</sup> Na Estancia, *ancilla* of Fabrissa and Guiraud Artus, was present at the consolation of Stephana, a woman of Caraman, which took place in the house of Guiraud Artus around 1239,<sup>19</sup> and Proba, the *ancilla* of Arnold Isarn, was present in the house in Saint-Martin-Lalande when Arnold Isarn's young son was consoled around 1238.<sup>20</sup> One *ancilla*, Gallarda Angelina, was present for the failed *consolamentum* of her lady, Brunissende. When Brunissende fell ill, she had gone to stay in Beauteville with her son, Raymond Pons, taking her maid with her. Gallarda was thus present, along with two servants of the house of Raymond Pons, Ber. of Capestang and Jo. of Catalonia, when the good men came to the house, but were unable to console her, as Gallarda and the servants told Arnold of Villeneuve, another son of Brunissende, because she had already lost the ability to speak. The fact that Gallarda and the servants were able to tell Arnold what had happened suggests that even if they had not been directly present with the lady Brunissenda and the good men, they at least had an intimate knowledge of what had occurred and can therefore hardly be considered passive bystanders.<sup>21</sup>

Of the remaining three, one took place in the house of the maid's lord, and the other two happened elsewhere, but nevertheless still with the respective maids in the company of their lord.<sup>22</sup> In fact, without exception, where maids were present at these rituals, they were attending in the company of their lord, or in the house of their lord, or both. This need not imply that their role was passive or their views indifferent. It is likely that the presence of these household dependents would not have been recalled – especially by deponents who were not part of the household, which six out of the seven deponents were not – or consequently recorded, had they not shown some level of interest or participation in the proceedings.

This is difficult to prove, because the depositions seldom describe any activity beyond the physical presence of witnesses at *consolamenta*. However, records of Cathar sermons, another form of 'participation' which could be considered passive, often concluded with probably the best-known and certainly most frequently reported form of ritual engagement with the Cathars: adoration.

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<sup>18</sup> P. of Auque, 22.77r-v.

<sup>19</sup> Willelma, wife of Bernard Unaud, 609.95v.

<sup>20</sup> Peter Pages, 609.78r.

<sup>21</sup> Arnold of Villeneuve, 609.116r.

<sup>22</sup> The *ancilla* of Na Pros: Faure of Pechermier, 22.8r. Aladaicia, *pedisseca* of Peter Daide: Peter Daide, 23.127v-29r. Na Estancia, *ancilla* of Fabrissa Artus: Willelma, wife of Bernard Unaud, 609.95v.

Eight maids, one *domicella* and one *nutrix* were witnessed or confessed to hearing a Cathar sermon. This occurred most commonly in the 1230s and 1240s, which is easily explained by the well-attended and regular sermons taking place in Montségur from around 1236 onwards. In total, there are twelve references to household dependents, male and female, attending the sermons of Bertrand Marty in Montségur up until the fall of the *castrum* in 1244, including two maids, a *baiulus*, and the *domicella* of Peter Roger of Mirepoix and his wife, Phillipa; a maid and two *nuncii* of Raymond of Péreille, and the maid of Arpais and Guiraud of Rabat.<sup>23</sup> These sermons, held on Sundays and feast days in Bertrand Marty's own house in the hilltop fortification, were popular events, attended by those families seeking refuge in the *castrum*, and their *familia*. Many attested to the fact that once the sermon was over, everybody present adored the Cathars.<sup>24</sup> Cathar sermons were often accompanied or followed by this ritual adoration. The oft-repeated gesture is written out formulaically in the records, making it difficult to know whether the pattern ever varied. It appears to have involved repeated bending of the knees and of the phrase 'Bless me', addressed to the Cathar, on the part of the believer.<sup>25</sup>

Inquisitors always asked the deponent whether they had adored the Cathars, or seen anyone adore them, suggesting that engaging in this ritual was considered a significant indicator of devotion, and thus of guilt. They may have been correct in this assertion. Individuals do not appear to have acted out ritual as a matter of course. Exceptions are often made in the list of those present, and deponents made it clear when they had been told or 'taught' (*docebant*) to perform it, and what they thought about this, for example, if they had been 'unwilling' to adore (*noluit adorare*). Those that did either confess to performing the ritual, or who were recalled having done so, therefore were likely participating of their own volition, to show respect to the Cathars, and dependents were often included. In total, dependents were witnessed or confessed to hearing Cathar sermons sixty-five times. On fifty-seven of these occasions (87.7%), the dependents

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<sup>23</sup> Aladaicis Ferreria and Prima, *pedissecae* of Peter Roger of Mirepoix and his wife, Phillipa: Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.259r-60v; Arnold Oliver, 22.237r-43v. Ferrier, *baiulus* of Peter Roger: Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.157r-58r. Raissagua, *domicella* of Peter Roger and Phillipa: Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.277v-79r. Pons Sicre, *nuncius* of Raymond of Péreille: Pons Sicre of Ilhat, 22.233r-34r. Péreille, *pedisseca* of Raymond of Péreille and his wife, Corba: Bernard Cairola, 22.270r-72r. Raymunda of Lapasset, *pedisseca* of Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat: Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.259r-60v. William Peter, *nuncius* of Raymond of Péreille: Fays, the wife of William of Plaigne, 22.288r-89v.

<sup>24</sup> E.g. Pons Sicre, 22.233r-34r.

<sup>25</sup> The ritual of adoration or *melioramentum* is a well-documented, if controversial, subject in the historiography of heresy. See J. Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme I: La religion des Cathares* (Toulouse, 1976), pp. 208-11; M. G. Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245-1246* (Princeton, 2005), pp. 92-103. Note that here I am merely constructing events from the depositions I have read.

(and often everyone present) adored the Cathars. Out of the fifteen occasions, listed above, in which female household dependents heard Cathar sermons, they also adored the Cathars thirteen times (86.7% – a very similar proportion).

In both of these cases – being present at the consolation of a lord or at a Cathar sermon – a new picture is beginning to emerge, one in which the household dependent cannot be seen as an accessory to the event, but often as an active participant: not merely present, but involved.

Adoration, moreover, did not just occur at sermons. The gesture could be prompted by any encounter with the Cathars. As can be seen in the table showing the activities of the female household dependents above, only ten individuals were seen or confessed to hearing Cathar sermons, whereas forty-two were seen or confessed to adoring Cathars.

Many of these interactions between household dependents and the Cathars were recorded in the depositions made by the good woman, Arnalda of Lamothe. Arnalda and her companions and guides travelled extensively from the mid-1220s up until she was interrogated by inquisitors in 1244. Throughout this period, Arnalda stayed with numerous hosts and, fortunately for us, was often able to recall the members of each household as well as those who had visited her and adored her during her stays. The female household servants Arnalda recalled performing this ritual, comprising of three maids, three *domicellae* and four *nutrices*, are included in the statistics above.<sup>26</sup> The male household servants included P. of Aumont, *nuncius* of the house of Arnold of Bonnac, where Arnalda and her companions had stayed for around two months in 1225; B. Fissa, *nuncius* of the house of Pons of Saquet and his wife Gensers in Toulouse, where Arnalda had stayed for three months around 1230 and William, *nuncius* of the house of Terren of Nouguéris, where Arnalda had stayed around 1240.<sup>27</sup> Other male household dependents observed adoring visiting Cathars in the houses of their lords include W. of Cailhavel the *baiulus* of Gallard of Festes and Guavada, *serviens* of the

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<sup>26</sup> Arnalda of Lamothe's depositions can be found at 609.201v-203r and 23.1r-49v. Female household dependents witnessed by Arnalda adoring herself and her companion included Arnalda of Caussade, maid of Jordan of Lanta, 609.202r; Cortezia, maid of Pons Saquet, 609.202r; Garsens, maid of Arnold Bonnac, 609.202r; Garsen, *domicella* of Longa, 23.13v-14r; Navarra, *domicella* of *domina* Assaut, 23.46r; Pelegrina, *domicella* of Assaut, 23.33r-v; Aienta, *nutrix* of *domina* Assaut, 23.33r-v; Conberta, *nutrix* of Assaut and Raymond Unaud, 609.202r; Maria, *nutrix* of Pons Saquet, 209.202r; Selva, *nutrix* of Jordan of Lanta, 23.33v-34v.

<sup>27</sup> B. Fissa: Arnalda of Lamothe, 23.19v-20r. P. of Aumont: Arnalda of Lamothe, 609.203r. William: Arnalda of Lamothe, 609.202r.

former monk, Guilbert Alzieu, who adored Peter Coma and Bosfil on the three or four occasions they visited his lord around 1221.<sup>28</sup>

Some household dependents took an extra step, visiting Cathars and adoring them when they stayed elsewhere. As Arnalda of Lamothe recalled, Arnold Pons and Auriol of Lantarais, *nuncii* of Alaman of Rouaix, adored her in a certain hut in the woods of the Lantarès where she stayed for fifteen days in 1234, and Selva, the *nuncia* (a rare female messenger) of Bernard of Goudourville, adored her in the house of Hugh of Les Canelles, along with her lord and the *nutrix* and maid of Jordan of Lanta, not far from Lanta, where she stayed for two days in 1241 or 1242.<sup>29</sup>

It is rare to find explicit reports of household dependents having spoken with Cathars. This paucity of data is a result of the fact that whether or not a deponent had spoken to Cathar men or women or witnessed anyone speaking to them was not an avenue of questioning consistently pursued by the inquisitors in their interrogation of any subject. Therefore, it is likely that many such instances slipped beneath their radar. Out of a total of just eight cases of dependents speaking with Cathars, only one was the act of a household dependent. Helis of Mazerolles reported that she and Guillelma of Belpech, her *domicella*, spoke with the good women, Raymunda of Cuq and her companion, near Gaja-la-Selve around 1237.<sup>30</sup> The fact that this event occurred and was deemed relevant to report and have recorded may be linked to the fact that *domicellae* were, as noted, typically of higher status than most household servants, as were the other seven individuals (eight cases) who were observed or confessed to speaking with Cathars.

Within this group, as within the records as a whole, a more commonly reported activity was sharing a meal with Cathars. Inquisitors were interested in the rituals performed by the Cathars during meals, such as the blessing of bread, which is reported in a lot of depositions, so they specifically asked deponents who had hosted Cathars whether they had shared meals with them. It was common for these meals to be shared by household dependents as well, even if sometimes members of the household did not share a table with the Cathars. Three maids and one nurse were witnessed sharing a meal with the Cathars. Several of these cases were reported by Arnalda of Lamothe. Her deposition states that when she had stayed in the house of the knight, Guilbert of Le Bousquet, in

<sup>28</sup> W. of Cailhavel: W. Arveu, 609.150r. Guavada: Raymond of Roqueville, 609.216v.

<sup>29</sup> *Nuncii*: Arnalda of Lamothe, 23.22r. *Nuncia*: Arnalda of Lamothe, 23.33v-34v.

<sup>30</sup> Helis, 23.173r.

Toulouse for three months in 1226, she often ate not only with his wife and three daughters, but with Guillelma, the *pedisseca* of the house as well.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, when she had stayed with Pons of Saquet and his wife in Toulouse for three years from around 1230, she had often eaten with Pons's wife, Gensers, the *pedisseca* of the house, Raymunda, the *nutrix* of the house, Maria, and a certain *nuncius* of the house, B. Fissa.<sup>32</sup> On another occasion, when Arnalda was staying for two months with her companion's brother, Terren of Nougu ris, in 1234, Terren and his wife and their *nuncius*, Raymond Arnold, adored them, and they ate the food that Terren provided for them, and blessed the bread for Terren and his wife and their *nuncius* to eat.<sup>33</sup>

There is also evidence that lords sometimes took household dependents along with them to visit good men and women, and that they all ate together, under the roof of their host. In 1232, Peter Daide of Pradelles brought his *pedisseca*, Aladaicia, with him when he attended the consolation of Brunissenda in the farmhouse that belonged to the good women. Following the ceremony, according to Peter, everyone, including the maid and more than twenty other men and women adored the women and received the peace from them, and then ate together with them at the same table.<sup>34</sup> Additionally, there are occasions where household dependents can be seen visiting Cathars and eating with them outside their lord's company. For example, Pons Sicre of Ilhat, the *nuncius* who lived with Raymond of P reille, claimed that he often ate with the Cathar deacon, Raymond of Saint-Martin, and his companions, in Monts gur in 1243, but not at the same table.<sup>35</sup>

Granted, this last example appears as an exception, rather than the rule: household servants do not appear to have commonly left the house of their lords to share food and companionship with the Cathars – although it would perhaps be safer to say that such incidents were rarely recorded by inquisitors. Nevertheless, all of the examples listed above show significant evidence of the active participation in Catharism of household dependents, through the voluntary sharing of social occasions teeming with religious significance.

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<sup>31</sup> Arnalda of Lamothe, 23.16v.

<sup>32</sup> Arnalda of Lamothe, 23.19v-20r.

<sup>33</sup> Arnalda of Lamothe, 23.23r-v.

<sup>34</sup> Peter Daide, 23.127v-29r.

<sup>35</sup> Pons Sicre of Ilhat, 22.234r-v.

There were also many ways that household dependents were involved in Catharism over which they had little control or choice. These consisted of duties expected of household dependents and variously dictated to them as and when required by their lord, and carried out as a part of the obligation they had to the lord whose service they were in. For example, male household dependents were fairly frequently required to act as Cathar guides, leading groups of good men or women to or from a particular destination. In 1230, B. Fissa, the *nuncius* of Pons Saquet, attended his lord, guiding Arnalda of Lamothe and her companion to his lord's cattle shed.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, in 1233, R. of Lanès, the *baiulus* of Bernard of Saint-Michel-de Lanès, led Bertrand Marty and his companion back to his lord's house.<sup>37</sup>

Two cases state still more explicitly that the dependents were acting in response to the orders issued by their lords. In 1226, W. Isarn, *nuncius* of Gallard of Festes, on the orders (*mandato*) of his lord, and in the company of several others, led Gallard's mother, a good woman, and her companion to Fonters, taking them right up to the gates.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, in 1232, Raymond Boer, *nuncius*, claimed that his lord, Raymond Isarn of Arbonnens, commanded him to bring Bertrand Marty and his companion to his house (that is, his lord's house), where he preached a sermon.<sup>39</sup>

Sometimes the Cathars themselves employed household dependents to act in a similar capacity. According to Raymunda, wife of the late Gondaubou, around 1229, she gave hospitality to W. Bertrand of Lanta and four men, who were themselves *nuncii* of the Cathars, tasked with taking their lords to the house of Raymond Johannis.<sup>40</sup>

A similar scenario involved household dependents, male and female, being told to take items – usually gifts of food – to the Cathars. This unavoidably produced encounters, whether the dependents desired them or not. Examples of this include Bernard Oth, Lord of Niort, who ordered one of his *baiuli*, Capdebueue to deliver corn to the Cathars, and another to take wine and fish.<sup>41</sup> As noted above, Veziada, the wife of Isarn Bernard, sent her *domicella*, Calva, two or three times with food for the Cathars in 1241.<sup>42</sup> Pelegrina, wife of Isarn of Montservier, sent her *ancilla* to the Cathars with two loaves

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<sup>36</sup> Arnalda of Lamothe, 23.19r-20r.

<sup>37</sup> P. of Saint-Michel-de Lanès, 609.80r.

<sup>38</sup> Bernard Calvet, 609.163v.

<sup>39</sup> Raymond Boer, 23.144r-v.

<sup>40</sup> Raymunda, wife of the late Gondaubou, 609.5r.

<sup>41</sup> Bernard Oth, 24.85r; 99r.

<sup>42</sup> Na Ava, wife of the late P. Roca, 609.156v.

of focaccia and some wine, and Helis of Mazerolles sent her *nuncius*, Peter John, to the Cathars with an eel in 1225 and in 1231, Peter of Corneilhan, himself a squire, sent five eels to the Cathars with his *pedisseca*.<sup>43</sup> In a slightly ambiguous case, around 1230 or 1231, Peter Grimaut, a labourer of Montgey said that Pons Bat, the *baiulus* of Jordan of Roquefort, often brought food to the Cathars. This may have been of the *baiulus*'s own doing, but given that the Cathars were being held in Peter's house on the orders of the same Jordan of Roquefort, it seems likely that Jordan himself was behind the initiative to have food sent to them.<sup>44</sup>

A more convincing case of a household dependent providing food for the Cathars of their own volition is that of Bernarda of Camps, the former *pedisseca* of Pons William. According to Peter Fogasset of Caraman, around 1241 Bernarda went to the hut where the good woman, Guillelma of Les Feuillants, was staying with her companions, in the wood of *Rapa Esput*, where she was one of five visitors to the Cathars, and one of three to offer them gifts of bread and wine.<sup>45</sup> Here, it appears very much as though Bernarda attended the gathering with the intention of visiting the Cathars, and of staying a while. She was not simply performing an errand on the behalf of her lord, she was a part of the Cathar support network in her own right.

Action and volition are even more self-evident in the act of being consoled oneself. In total, I have found evidence of six household dependents who were consoled.

Ermengarda Gosina, a maid in the house of William Peter of Lux, was consoled on her deathbed. She was mentioned more than any other household dependent. In total, she was referred to by name in the depositions eleven times. Her presence was recalled in the house of William Peter when Cathars were visiting or giving sermons. She was often observed listening to sermons and adoring the Cathars afterwards in the period between 1232 and 1238.<sup>46</sup> Two deponents testified to the fact that she was consoled. The knight, P. Raymond Gros, happened to mention that Ermengarda was 'later a heretic and burned' (*postea hereticam et combustam*).<sup>47</sup> The knight, Arnold of Villèle,

<sup>43</sup> Pelegrina, wife of Isarn of Montservier, 609.3r. Helis: Helis, 23.173r; Peter of Corneilhan of Montgey, 24.21r-v.

<sup>44</sup> Peter Grimaut of Montgey, 24.16r-v.

<sup>45</sup> Peter Fogasset of Caraman, 23.317r-v.

<sup>46</sup> Ermengarda Gosina: Aimeric of Villèle, 609.101r; P. Raymond Gros, 609.101v; Ar. of Villèle, 609.101v; B. Fabri, 609.103r; *Domina* Helis, wife of B. de Montesquieu, 609.108r; *Domina* Irelanda, wife of William of Villèle, 609.107v-108r; *Domina* Willelma, wife of Raymond William of Deyme, 609.65v; Peter Garni, 609.44v; R. of *Cambelho*, 609.101v; Raymond of Avignonet, 609.103v.

<sup>47</sup> P. Raymond Gros, 609.101v.

gave a little more detail, stating that Ermengarda was, at an unspecified time (though it must have been between 1238 and 1245), *infirmā* in the house of her lord, William Peter, and hereticated (*hereticata*) by G. of Lager and his companion, in the presence of William Peter, Arnold and his brother, and two other men.<sup>48</sup> The fact that Ermengarda was consoled on her deathbed suggests that she was deeply affected by the extensive exposure to Catharism, which seems to have been exclusively facilitated by her lord, who regularly hosted Cathars in his house. There is no evidence of her encountering Cathars in any other contexts.

In the other instances I have identified, there is less evidence of the potential influences involved in the decisions of individual household dependents to undergo the ritual of consolation. However, it is clear that some did so whilst continuing to serve their lords, suggesting at the very least that their lords were not adverse to having Cathars in the house. According to the deposition of Peter Simon, the *claviger* (key-keeper) of the house of Bernard of Villeneuve around 1226 was a good man.<sup>49</sup> Arnold Jordan testified that when he stayed with William Arnold of Ferran in 1218, he saw William's maid, *heretica*, living publicly in the same house, and Arnold of Clerens testified that Willelma Isarn, *ancilla* of the Roqueville's house in Toulouse, was consoled in the house of Stephen of Pexiora by Stephen Dominic and his companion.<sup>50</sup> Interestingly, according to Bernard Nisetz, another employee of the Roqueville house, Raymond Lager, who we know was present during the time when Bernard of Lamothe and his companion stayed in the house around 1226, was also himself 'later a heretic'.<sup>51</sup> The Roqueville brothers were well-known Cathar hosts throughout the 1220s and 1230s, and around 1236 Sicard of Gabbaret noted Raymond's presence in the house again, when B. Engilbert and two of his companions were staying there and debating on the topic of matrimony. Raymond must have been consoled around this time. Arnold of Villeneuve reported that he had seen him along with three other good men, including R. Gros and B. Bonafos, in the woods of Labastide around 1235, and between 1236 and 1238 B. of Laurac named him as a good man, reporting that he had been seen with his companion in Montgaillard.<sup>52</sup> What we do not know is the extent to which either Willelma Isarn or

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<sup>48</sup> Arnold of Villèle, 609.101v.

<sup>49</sup> Peter Simon, 609.252v.

<sup>50</sup> Arnold Jordan, 609.3v; Arnold of Clerens, 609.223v.

<sup>51</sup> Bernardus Nisetz, 609.68r.

<sup>52</sup> Arnold of Villeneuve, 609.84r; B. of Laurac, 609.68v.



Raymond Lager were influenced in their decisions to become Cathars by their lords at that time: the Roqueville brothers.

Bego of Roqueville was present at the encounter in Montgaillard reported by B. of Laurac, suggesting that the link between the lords and this particular dependent was maintained after the consolation, but we know nothing of either Raymond or Willelma's religious preferences before their employment in the Roqueville house. Their employment in the markedly pro-Cathar household may have forged their first links with Catharism, but it is also plausible that their period of employment had been commenced, at least in part, because they had some pre-existing ties with the faith that were known to their would-be lords. The lords could in this case be assured of the loyalty and amenability of their dependents regarding the matter of faith. As we will see below, dependents could not be relied upon to perform tasks for their lords which involved the Cathars in some way, or even to keep quiet about Catharism as far as their lords were concerned. A shared faith could be seen as an assurance of loyalty. Thus, in the way that Cathar families tended to marry their children to those of other Cathar families, it seems possible that Cathar households would employ servants from Cathar households. Unfortunately, there is little direct proof of aristocratic families of Cathar supporters acting in this way with regard to household dependents, but there is more to be said on this below, when we turn to look at higher-status dependents.

Raymond Lager may have maintained the relationship he had with his former lords after leaving his position, but things were not always so straightforward. In one particularly interesting case, we see a maid ask her former employer for assistance. According to Domina Marquesia, wife of the knight, Peter Raymond Gros, she saw Dulcia, her *ancilla*, and her companion, *hereticae*, in a certain garden outside Montesquieu around 1234. Then, 'the same Dulcia, *heretica*, asked the same witness to give her something [i.e. some charity – *faceret sibi aliquid boni*], because she was obliged <to do this>'. Marquesia told the inquisitor that she had refused this request, and was, moreover, 'unwilling to give her <anything>. Nor did she receive her, nor did she adore <her>...' <sup>53</sup> It is possible here that we are looking at a clash between religious and temporal hierarchies, with the key issue being deference, and to whom it was owed.

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<sup>53</sup> *Domina* Marquesia wife of Peter Raymond Gros, 609.108r. 'Dixit tamen quod ante dictam confessionem vidit extra villam de Monte Esquivo in quodam orto Dulciam ancillam i.t. et s.s. hereticas, sed nullum vidit ibi cum eis, et tunc ipsa Dulcia heretica petebat ab i.t. quod faceret sibi aliquid boni, quia tenebatur, sed i.t. nichil voluit ei dare nec recepit eam nec ad. nec vidit ad.'

Dulcia had been Marquesia's maid, below her and owing her deference. Now, however, Dulcia had moved to occupy a position above Marquesia's on the religious plane – a good woman, compared to Marquesia, who was a mere 'believer', and now expecting Marquesia to show her deference, through ritual adoration and the provision of charity, even going so far as to tell her former employer that this was her duty. Perhaps it was because she was put out by this inversion of power that Marquesia refused. In any case, it is useful to consider the lord-dependent relationship in this light: as a channel through which ideas and influences passed in both directions.

### **Officials (*baiuli*)**

*Baiuli* were the official representatives of power-wielding individuals or institutions at local levels such as those of the town or *castra*. Lords had *baiuli*, and so too did religious institutions such as monasteries, and municipal officers such as consuls. In the inquisition records, it is often difficult to tell exactly who a *baiulus* represented or was working for. In total, out of sixty-four different *baiuli* identifiable in the inquisition records for this period, forty were identified by the lord they served, nineteen were identified by the *castrum* they served, and three were identified by both, leaving only two who were not identified by lord or by *castrum*.<sup>54</sup>

This is important because it immediately flags up the potential for variance within this group. Individuals known as *baiuli* could perform a wide range of different functions depending on who their lord was and what his expectations were. As we saw in the section above, *baiuli* sometimes carried out, at least in part, the roles of other household servants. However, at the other end of the social spectrum, my survey counts at least ten different *baiuli* of the Count of Toulouse, one of whom was Pons of Latour of Laurac, a knight, and figure of significant standing in his own right, and the depositions show that he was seen in the company of two knights, dictating terms to Peter of Mazerolles, lord of Gaja-la-Selve.<sup>55</sup> This powerful side of the *baiuli* has yet to be adequately explored in

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<sup>54</sup> William Bernard, *baiulus* of Montgaillard for the Count of Toulouse: Arnold Roger, 22.139v-40r. W. Gras, *baiulus* of Montauriol for Pons and Bernard of Latour: Pons Aigra, 609.142r. Peter Catalan of Fenouillèdes, *baiulus* of Roquefort for Bernard Oth: Pons Botier, 24.101r-v. The *baiuli* for whom no lord or *castrum* was named were John Gandil, 23.218r-19v, and W. Hugh (Bernard of Cailhavel, 609.152v).

<sup>55</sup> Peter of Mazerolles, 609.125r. For a general account of the *baiuli* of the Count of Toulouse in this period, see L. Macé, *Les comtes de Toulouse et leur entourage: XIIe-XIIIe siècles: rivalités, alliances et*

the historiography, and yet it will be shown to have important bearing on both our understanding of dependency as a category, and of the participation in Catharism of dependents.

Table 3.5: Types of participation of *baiuli* in Catharism.

	No. refs.	Lord present	No. individuals
Total no. of references to <i>baiuli</i> minus those acting against Cathars <sup>56</sup>	66	11	53
Adoration	30	8	26
Heard preaching	6	3	6
Present at consolation	1	1	1
Guides	7	1	7
Spoke with Cathars	1	0	1
Ate or drank with Cathars	4	1	4
Brought things to Cathars	5	0	5
Assisting condemned person	2	2	2
Consoled	1	0	1

As noted, *baiuli* were often used by their lords similarly to household servants, in that they could be ordered to run errands which led them into contact with Cathars. Bernard Oth used his *baiulus*, Peter of La Pomarède to take wine and fish to Guilbert of Castres and his companion around 1222, and used another *baiulus*, Capdebueue, to deliver fourteen sesters of corn to the Cathars sometime between 1233 and 1235.<sup>57</sup> Jordan of Roquefort similarly used his *baiulus*, Pons Bat, to take food to the good women, Aladaicis and her companion, who were being harboured by Peter Grimaut around

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*jeux de pouvoir* (Toulouse, 2000), pp. 128-33. A number of these were identified in the inquisition records – Bernard of Laroque: Raymond Sirvent, 609.82r; Bertrand of Laroque: Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.254r, Jordan of Péreille, 22.210v, Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.66r; Bertrand of Gaillac: G. of *La Lena*, 609.170r; Macip: Arnold Roger, 22.145v-46r; Oth of Barèges: 22.45v; Peter of Alan: Peter Fogasset of Caraman, 23.313r-14r; Pons of La Tour the Elder of Laurac: Peter of Mazerolles, 609.125r; Raymond of Alfaro: mentioned in many of the depositions on the attack on Avignonet, see e.g. Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.284v; Raymond of Mercier: Gaucelin of Miraval of Puylaurens, 23.112r-v; Raymond of Rocaut: Pons Carbonel of Faget, 24.35v-37r; William Bernard, *baiulus* of Montgaillard for the Count of Toulouse: Arnold Roger, 22.139v-40r. There are also unnamed *baiuli* of the Count of Toulouse referred to in the depositions of Rixende, wife of William Gaig of *Roiols*, 609.209v and Raymunda, wife of W. P. of Baziège, 609.60r.

<sup>56</sup> A large proportion of *baiuli* were involved in taking action against the heretics (see section below).

<sup>57</sup> Bernard Oth, 24.85r; 99r.

1230-1231 according to Jordan's orders.<sup>58</sup> This role could be continued even after a lord had been condemned by inquisitors for supporting Catharism. In these instances, the former lord displaced the Cathars as the recipient of aid. For example, Adam Vitalis and William Faure, both the *baiuli* of Peter of Mazerolles before he was condemned, continued to assist him after he was forced to flee inquisitors in the period from around 1244. William Faure said that he often took bread, wine and meat to Peter to the place where he hid in the woods of Gaja-la-Selve, and he also arranged for others to do this.<sup>59</sup> Adam Vitalis said that Peter often came to his house and shared a meal with him, and sometimes stayed the night, one time with his wife, Ermengarda.<sup>60</sup>

However, the overall pattern of interaction of *baiuli* with the Cathars differed markedly from that of household dependents as a result of the greater level of independence from the lord typically enjoyed by the *baiulus*, especially on a public stage. For comparison, I have included relevant figures for female household dependents. The inquisition records show much greater independence in the activities of *baiuli* overall, than of household dependents. For the *baiuli*, out of 84 references, just thirteen (15.5%) occurred in the presence of a lord, and just nine (10.7%) in the house of the lord, compared with 74.8% and 69.4% as the respective figures for household dependents. At the other end of the spectrum, there are in total seventy-two references to *baiuli* (85.7%) acting outside the company of their lord, compared with 19.8% of household dependents. There were also comparatively more opportunities for *baiuli* to participate in Cathar activities or to hold Cathar encounters in their own homes, which we see referred to on eight occasions.

Table 3.6: Locations of encounters of *baiuli* with the Cathars.

	<i>Baiuli</i>	Female household dependents <sup>61</sup>
Total number of references	84	111
In presence of their lord	13	83
In house of lord	9	77
'Elsewhere' in presence of their lord	5	10
In own home in presence of their lord	2	1
Outside the company of their lord	72	22

<sup>58</sup> Peter Grimaud of Montgey, 24.16r-v.

<sup>59</sup> W. Faure, 609.85v, and Peter Cordis of Ferrus, 609.85r.

<sup>60</sup> Adam Vitalis, 609.85r. W. Faure also witnessed this, 609.85v.

<sup>61</sup> Including maids, *nutrices* and *domicellae*.

'Elsewhere' outside company of their lord	59	12
In own home outside company of their lord	6	1

This greater level of independence leads us to challenge the notion that, for this group at least, the lord-dependent relationship was a significant influence on Cathar beliefs formed or actions carried out. Certainly, the physical presence of the lord in the course of day to day participation, such as hearing sermons or adoring Cathars, seems to have been less important. Out of the six *baiuli* who were witnessed attending Cathar sermons, only three attended in the company of their lord, and only two did so in the house of that lord.<sup>62</sup> Of those *baiuli* who were witnessed ritually adoring the Cathars, only eight, less than a third, did so in the presence of their lords, compared with 85% of household dependents.

Moreover, participation in ways that we saw above were sometimes on the instruction of lords – such as taking food to Cathars, or guiding them from one place to another – more often appear to have been performed of the *baiulus*'s own volition. For example, Bernard of Port, *baiulus* of Bernard Oth, was named among those who brought food to Guilabert of Castres and his companion when they were staying in Bernard Oth's house. Bernard of Porte was one of only two of the men who adored the Cathars, suggesting that he had come there freely to see them.<sup>63</sup>

As noted in the table above, there are seven references to *baiuli* being used as guides. None of these states explicitly that the *baiuli* were ordered to carry out this service, but the fact that two of them, R. of Lanès, *baiulus* of Bernard of Saint-Michel-de Lanès, and Raymond of En Aves, *baiulus* of Bernard of Marquein, led Cathars back to the houses of their respective lords at the very least suggests that these actions were supported by their lords.<sup>64</sup> However, the other five appear to have acted freely. John Gandil, the *baiulus* of En Mainier of Belflou, did so in response to a request made by the Cathars

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<sup>62</sup> Ferrier, *baiulus* of Peter Roger of Mirepoix attended the preaching of heretics in Montségur in the period up to the fall of the *castrum* (1236-44): Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.157r-58r. Catalan, *baiulus* of Bernard Hugh of Festes, attended the preaching of heretics in the house of his lord around 1233: W. Arveu, 609.150r. Bernard of Porte, *baiulus* of Bernard Oth, lord of Niort, attended the preaching of heretics in the house of his lord in 1230: Bernard Oth, 24.86v-87v.

<sup>63</sup> Bernard Oth, 24.89r-v.

<sup>64</sup> R. of Lanès: P. of Saint-Michel-de-Lanès, 609.80r. Raymond of En Aves, *baiulus* of Bernard of Marquein: P. of Saint-Michel-de-Lanès, 23.90v-91r.

themselves. In 1240, two good men asked him to take them to Belflou.<sup>65</sup> The circumstances of the other instances are less clear. Around 1238, William Faure, the *baiulus* of Saint-Martin, had brought two good women to the house of Pons Johannis, because one of them had a broken arm, and there was known to be a *medicus* in attendance there.<sup>66</sup> Around 1232, Raymond Corriger, *baiulus* of Vaure, had accompanied the sick good man, Raymond of Mas, from the house of Bernard Hugh to the house of Peter Mello,<sup>67</sup> and on a certain night around 1242, according to Pons Aigra, W. Gras, the '*baiulus* of Montauriol for Pons of Latour and Bernard of Latour, brought two good men to the *castrum* of Montauriol.<sup>68</sup>

Table 3.7: The dates of encounters of *baiuli* with the Cathars.

	Total number of references	In presence of their lord	In house of lord	Elsewhere in presence of their lord	In own home in presence of their lord	Outside the company of their lord	Elsewhere outside company of their lord	In own home outside company of their lord
1200-1209	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
1210-1219	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1220-1229	14	3	2	3	0	11	6	2
1230-1239	20	5	4	1	0	16	14	1
1240-1249	41	5	2	1	2	36	29	3

*Baiuli* had more freedom to participate in Catharism independently of their lords than did the average household dependent. Moreover, as with household dependents, this independence appears to have increased over time. Table 3.7 shows a drop in the number of encounters between *baiuli* and Cathars that took place in the presence of the *baiulus*'s lord from 21.4% in 1220s to 12.2% in 1240s. The corresponding increase

<sup>65</sup> John Gandil, 23.218r-19v.

<sup>66</sup> Pons Johannis, 609.35r.

<sup>67</sup> Isarn Boquet, 609.253r.

<sup>68</sup> Pons Aigra, 609.142r.

from 42.8% to 70.7% is entirely taken up by numbers of *baiuli* who encountered Cathars ‘somewhere else’ (i.e. not on their own property or the property of their lord) away from their lord. As we saw with household dependents, it is likely that this increasing independence can be explained by structural changes in the Cathar support network brought on by the mounting persecution.

Because of the special status they enjoyed as the representatives of their lords and *castra*, *baiuli* had always possessed some measure of power over others. They were, of course, supposed to use this power to aid their lords in the pursuit and capture of heretics.<sup>69</sup> Conversely, some used it in support of the Cathars. For example, around 1209, Raymond Bernard, the *baiulus* of Raymond of Falgar, who was the prior of Villepinte, sent Pons Maurin to take fish to the good woman, Forneira, in Saissac.<sup>70</sup> It is worth noting here that this early case of Cathar support by a dependent was exhibited by the *baiulus* of the Catholic prior of Villepinte and that his support cannot therefore be linked to the religious preferences or activities of his lord.

My suggestion is that the lengthy and disruptive period of crusade, followed by inquisition, gave some *baiuli* greater freedom to use the power that had been afforded them by virtue of the official capacity of their roles as representatives to further their own interests. These interests, independently of the religious preferences of their lords, often included Catharism and, especially from the late 1230 onwards, we see *baiuli* seizing aristocratic powers and becoming significant supporters and protectors of Cathars in their own right.

This can primarily be seen in the increase in reports of *baiuli* issuing orders in support of the Cathars which previously we might have expected to see them ordered to carry out themselves. For example, Ermessens Boneta claimed that she had only received three good women for four days around 1236 on the insistence of William Hugh, *baiulus* of Fanjeaux.<sup>71</sup> In another case, in 1242, a man identified in the records simply as ‘P.’ claimed that when he was staying with William of *Saint Nazario*, the *baiulus* of Saint-Nazaire, William had instructed him and another man to guide two good men away from the town.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> For more on the legislation involved, see below, p. 153.

<sup>70</sup> Pons Maurin, 609.180r.

<sup>71</sup> Ermessens Boneta, 609.161v.

<sup>72</sup> P., 609.38r.

Even more significant are several cases of *baiuli* exerting pressure on entire communities. Oth of Barèges, a *baiulus* of the Count of Toulouse, confessed that he had publicly, in church, forbidden everyone from receiving the inquisitor's penances, at the time when they were being issued in Moissac, threatening that if they did, he would arrest them and seize their goods.<sup>73</sup> He claimed to have taken such extraordinary action at the command of his lord, the Count of Toulouse, who 'did not consider them [the inquisitors] as judges'. The inquisitors were clearly interested in such a claim, and pressed Oth for proof ('Asked if he had special letters from the lord Count for this, he said that he does not recall or remember'). Oth did confess to several prior encounters with the Cathars, but it is difficult to say whether this could have led him to oppose the inquisitors in his own right.

There are cases of *baiuli* orchestrating similar actions more clearly of their own volition. For instance, according to Pons Aigra, W. Gras, *baiulus* of Montauriol, gathered together the people of that *castrum* in Lent of 1245, when they were about to go to Conques to confess to the inquisitor there, threatening them: 'Beware that no-one speaks badly about the other, because if I should get to know that you are doing this, I will seize anyone doing this and confiscate all his goods'. As a result of these threats, according to Pons, nobody except him told Ferrier the truth about the matter of the heretics.<sup>74</sup> This is the only instance I have come across of this kind of order being issued by anybody but a lord.

Another unique case was reported by Peter Fogasset of Caraman. Around 1241 or 1242, Pons William of Verdun, the *baiulus* of Caraman, encouraged the men of that *castrum* to 'terrify' (*terrarent*) master Peter, chaplain of Vitrac and of Les Sallières, who was pursuing heretics, so that 'he would not dare to pursue them'. This they did, enlisting the help of master Peter's companion in collecting tithes, John Bernard. John Bernard led master Peter and his clerk to a certain pass of En Auger, and the other men attacked him, so that he fled, and killed his clerk, throwing the body into a well.<sup>75</sup>

This evidence suggests that *baiuli* do not fit the top-down model of heresy transmission. Even relatively early on in the rise in popularity of Catharism, *baiuli* appear to have participated with some degree of freedom from their lords. As time progressed, and the

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<sup>73</sup> Oth of Barèges, 22.45v.

<sup>74</sup> Pons Aigra, 609.142r. 'Caveatis quod nullus loquatur mala de alio, quia si ego scirem quod faceatis, ego caperem illum qui faceret et publicarem omnia bona sua.'

<sup>75</sup> Peter Fogasset of Caraman, 23.313r-14r.



political situation in Languedoc became increasingly chaotic, this independence grew, with some *baiuli* manipulating their elevated social positions to become significant protectors of the Cathars in their own right.

### **Aristocratic and military dependents**

As noted above, dependency refers to a relationship between a lord (or lady) and their man (or woman). Dependents did not, therefore, belong to a particular social station, but could range from lowly household servants all the way up to knights and lords of substantial means (and sometimes households and even territories of their own) in their own right.

In practice, male aristocratic dependents held positions which we usually translate into English as those of 'squires'. In Latin they could be either *domicelli*, *scutiferi*, or, in certain circumstances, *armigeri*, and female aristocratic dependents were *domicellae*, 'damsels' or 'ladies-in-waiting'. Above, we discussed some of the ways that the role of the *domicellae* could overlap with that of a maid. Similarly, historians such as Linda Paterson, who have worked extensively on the function of the squire, have found that a large part of the role of the *scutifer* significantly overlapped (especially in the twelfth and early-to-mid-thirteenth century) with the role of the household servant.

According to Paterson, literary sources show that in Occitan *escudier* was sometimes used synonymously or in close context with *servent*, the Occitan for 'servant', or in a military context, 'sergeant' (Latin: *serviens*), and even sometimes overlapped with *garson*, 'serving boy', a word often used pejoratively in descriptions of pillaging, treachery, and general misdeeds. It is hard to ignore the implication that much of the *scutifer's* work must have been of a menial nature.<sup>76</sup> Indeed, Paterson finds that the literary sources show him running errands, delivering messages, keeping watch, and serving at the lord's table. However, there was also often a distinctive military slant to the *scutifer's* work. It especially involved caring for the knight's horse, rubbing down and saddling, accompanying a lord on long journeys or to war, and leading the lord's charger. Paterson finds it unclear from the literary sources whether squires routinely

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<sup>76</sup> L. M. Paterson, 'The Squire in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey, 5 vols (Woodbridge, 1986-95), i.139.

participated in the battle itself but, as will be demonstrated below, the inquisition registers strongly suggest that they did, at least in minor skirmishes.<sup>77</sup>

Paterson describes the status of the *scutifer* rising towards the end of the thirteenth century, gravitating towards a role similar to that which, earlier in the century, had been carried out by a *domicellus*. The *domicellus* typically claimed a more elevated social rank than that of the *scutifer*, and usually belonged to an aristocratic family. Paterson finds no evidence of *domicelli* with common roots in the literary sources. This can be much harder to discern from the inquisition records, as inevitably higher-ranking *domicelli* are easier to place within the context of their families.

Although the duties of the *domicellus* could include some domestic services, Paterson found that these were often of a more intimate nature with the lord, and could include attending the lord upon rising and retiring, and helping him to dress, wash, and don his armour. The military functions of the *domicellus* were also befitting of his higher rank. He was expected to engage in battle alongside his lord, fighting as a knight or near-equivalent, and was certainly positioned above the rank of the sergeant.<sup>78</sup>

Sparks notes that the distinction in the inquisition records can be less clear, and that although the Occitan terms, *escudier* and *donzel*, had their Latin parallels in *scutifer* and *domicellus*, decisions regarding translations were made spontaneously by scribes who were not always local. ‘In practice,’ he notes, ‘the two seem to have been used interchangeably.’<sup>79</sup> I would agree up to a point, in that I think mistakes were sometimes made. At the same time, however, I do think that there are clear distinctions in certain behaviours, especially regarding the respective levels of independence of *scutiferi* and *domicelli*, which are reflected in the means of identification of individuals, and suggest that colloquial differences in meanings may have carried through.

One important note to bear in mind: Paterson’s work forcefully debunks the myth that the medieval Occitan squire was, universally, a young nobleman, the apprentice of a knight, learning the trade before taking on his master’s craft. Doubtless, this was sometimes the case, especially with *domicelli*, but it is not to be routinely presumed: ‘squire’ encompasses both those considered ‘in training’, and those who never expected

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<sup>77</sup> Paterson, *World of the Troubadours*, p. 49 and ‘Squire’, pp. 135, 141.

<sup>78</sup> Paterson, *World of the Troubadours*, pp. 49-51 and ‘Squire’, p. 141.

<sup>79</sup> Sparks, *Life Cycle*, p. 7.

to rise beyond that status.<sup>80</sup> Thus, squires were not always young men, and they did not always come from aristocratic backgrounds.

Because of the importance of the military role of the squires, it will be useful to discuss them alongside the *servientes*, and here I mean the sergeants, rather than the household servants discussed above, although again, there would have been a good degree of overlap between these positions. The men who held them could therefore be expected to perform a range of domestic or military tasks, or both. As what we think of as servants, they would perform general chores such as running errands, preparing meals and lighting fires. However, as men-at-arms they were also a valuable military resource, if of a lower grade than the knight. According to Paterson, literary sources routinely show them engaging in the heat of battle, but also performing more menial behind-the-scenes tasks such as assisting in siege work, keeping watch and defending an entry point.<sup>81</sup> The inquisition records paint sergeants as an important part of the garrison at Montségur, and especially highlight their involvement in the attack on the inquisitors at Avignonet.

There were certainly important differences in the dependents I have grouped together under this heading, but also significant overlap in functions to merit discussion of them as a group. One thing that they have in common, moreover, is that they are rarely discussed under the same heading as household dependents, which is to say that it has not been suggested that they followed their lords into Catharism. Fortunately, the higher social status of these individuals means that there is more relevant inquisition material on them, and it is worth spending some time considering their participation in Catharism, and the extent to which it may have been influenced by the religious inclinations of their lords.

*Domicelli*, *scutiferi*, and *servientes* occupied a status somewhere in between that of the aristocracy and that of a servant. They could be identified with a lord or even in the lord's house alongside visiting Cathars, but as is shown in table 3.8, below, they also often exercised a considerable degree of freedom outside their lord's company. Indeed, these figures show some clear differences between the expected role and status of the *domicellus* and that of this *scutifer*, as mentioned above. Out of sixty-eight cases of

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<sup>80</sup> Paterson, *World of the Troubadours*, pp. 82-83 and 'Squire', pp. 133-34; Sparks, *Life Cycle*, p. 77.

<sup>81</sup> Paterson, *World of the Troubadours*, p. 47.

*scutiferi* confessing to or being witnessed encountering Cathars, thirty-three of these took place in the presence of their lord. The corresponding figure for *domicelli* is zero.

Table 3.8: Locations of encounters of aristocratic dependents with the Cathars.

	<i>Scutifer</i>	<i>Domicellus</i>	<i>Domicella</i>
Total number of references	68	38	14
In presence of their lord	33	0	12
In house of lord	2	0	4
‘Elsewhere’ in presence of their lord	12	0	4
In own home in presence of their lord	0	0	0
Outside the company of their lord	35	38	2
‘Elsewhere’ outside company of their lord	29	30	2
In own home outside company of their lord	3	4	0
Montségur	22	3	4 <sup>82</sup>
Avignonet	8	0	0

Moreover, the way that *scutiferi* and *domicelli* were respectively identified in the records clearly shows that the *scutiferi* had a much stronger conceptual link to the lord they served. Out of the thirty individual *scutiferi* identifiable in the inquisition records, twenty-seven are identified by the lord they served, for example, ‘Alzieu of Massabrac, *scutifer* of Arnold Roger of Mirepoix,’ but only one *domicellus* was identified in such a way.<sup>83</sup>

I have included the relevant statistics for the *domicellae* in table 3.8 to show that although the *domicellae* were of equivalent social status to their male counterparts, the *domicelli*, the difference in gender placed a significant wedge between the two in terms of the duties they were expected to perform. *Domicellae* were very closely conceptually linked with their lords, or more often, with their ladies (of the ten identifiable individuals, eight are identified by means of the lord they served) and very often witnessed in the presence of their lord, even physically residing in his house. By

<sup>82</sup> These four references all denote the same person – Raissagua, the *domicellus* of Peter Roger of Mirepoix and his wife, Philippa.

<sup>83</sup> Alzieu of Massabrac: Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.255v-58r. The *domicellus* was Sicard of Belfort, *domicellus* of the Lord of Montmaur, 609.231v.

contrast, *domicelli* and *scutiferi* are far more seen apart from the company of the lord, sometimes even encountering Cathars in the households they ran for themselves.

Table 3.9: The dates of different types of participation of the *domicelli* in Catharism.

	Total no. of references	Adoration	Heard preaching	Present at consolation	Guides	Spoke with Cathars	Ate or drank with Cathars	Brought things to Cathars	Assisting condemned person	Consoled
1200-1209	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1210-1219	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
1220-1229	3	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0
1230-1239	20	11	7	0	3	3	1	0	0	0
1240-1249	8	3	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0

It is significant, however, that the patterns of encounters for both *domicelli* and *scutiferi* played out differently over time than those of the other dependents we have looked at. As shown in table 3.9, the participation in Cathar activity of the *domicelli* peaked in the 1230s, and decreased markedly in every form into the 1240s. This corresponds well with the notion that *domicelli* often belonged to aristocratic families. Their activity, heretical or otherwise, would have been severely disrupted by the increasing inquisitorial activity and corresponding persecution of aristocratic families in this period. Although, as we can see, contact with the Cathars continued into the 1240s, it would likely have been more secretive in nature, and thus less widely reported.

The fact that the pattern of encounters for *scutiferi* differs again, as shown in table 3.10 below, highlights the need for distinction between these two groups. These figures show that, unlike the other dependents we have looked at, the *scutiferi* increasingly encountered Cathars alongside their lords. Encounters in the presence of a lord increased from 13.3% in the 1220s, to 33.3% in the 1230s, all the way up to 89.7% in the 1240s. This massive increase in the 1240s can be easily explained by the specific location of the majority of these encounters. Twenty-two out of the twenty-six encounters that occurred in the presence of a lord took place in Montségur.

Table 3.10: The dates of encounters in different locations of the *scutiferi* with the Cathars.

	Total number of references	In presence of their lord	In house of lord	Elsewhere in presence of their lord	In own home in presence of their lord	Outside the company of their lord	Elsewhere outside company of their lord	In own home outside company of their lord
before 1200	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1200-1209	4	1	0	1	0	3	3	0
1210-1219	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1220-1229	15	2	0	2	0	13	11	1
1230-1239	21	7	1	4	0	14	11	2
1240-1249	29	26	0	26 (22) <sup>84</sup>	0	3	3	0

This pattern is, to a large extent, reflected in the forms of Cathar participation we see the *scutiferi* engaging in over time, as is shown in table 3.11. There is a significant peak in activities that would have taken place in the late 1230s and 1240s in Montségur, such as adoring the Cathars and hearing their sermons, which the *scutiferi* did alongside their lords. The records show that a number of *scutiferi* were present in Montségur, during the siege and for the eventual fall of the *castrum* in 1244, alongside their lords, and that many were also involved in the attack on the inquisitors at Avignonet in 1242. This is also true of sergeants (see tables 3.12 and 3.13).

Table 3.11: The dates of different types of participation of the *scutiferi* in Catharism.

	Total no. of references to <i>scutiferi</i>	Adoration	Heard preaching	Present at consolation	Guides	Spoke with Cathars	Ate or drank with Cathars	Brought things to Cathars	Assisting condemned person	Consolated
before 1200	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1200-1209	4	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	0	0
1210-1219	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1220-1229	15	1	0	4	6	0	0	0	0	0

<sup>84</sup> Figures in brackets show the number of encounters which took place in Montségur.

1230-1239	21	9	3	4	2	1	2	0	2	0
1240-1249	29	15	11	1	1	2	1	1	1	1

Table 3.12: *Scutiferi* of Montségur.

<i>Scutifer</i>	Deposition evidence
Alzieu of Massabrac, <i>scutifer</i> of Arnold Roger of Mirepoix	Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.258r
Domingo, <i>scutifer</i> of Raymond Roger of Toulouse	Arnold Roger of Mirepoix, 22.135v
Peter Landric, <i>scutifer</i> of William of Lahille	Jordan of Péreille, 22.204r-205v
Raymond of Rabat, <i>scutifer</i> of Guiraud of Rabat	Bernard of Scopont, 609.246v
Stephen Massa, <i>scutifer</i> of Raymond Roger of Toulouse	Stephen Massa, 23.292r-304r
Barrau, <i>scutifer</i> of Bernard of Saint-Martin	Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.284v-286r
Peiron, <i>scutifer</i> of Bernard of Saint-Martin	Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.58r-60r
Peter Pons of Saint-Martin, <i>scutifer</i> of Bernard of Saint-Martin	Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.255v-258r
Raymond Ventenac, <i>scutifer</i> of Arnold Roger of Mirepoix	Arnold Roger of Mirepoix, 22.117v-118r
William of Narbonne, <i>scutifer</i> of Raymond of Marceille	Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.58r-60r

Table 3.13: *Servientes* of Montségur.

<i>Serviens</i>	Deposition evidence
Arnold Dominic	Jordan of Péreille, 22.204r-205v
B. of Carcassone	Jordan of Péreille, 22.204r-205v
Garnier	Jordan of Péreille, 22.204r-205v
P. Aribat	Jordan of Péreille, 22.204r-205v
R. Maurin of Péreille	Jordan of Péreille, 22.204r-205v

William Raymond of Avignonet	Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.250v-252r
Bartholomew of Belcaire	Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.255v-256r
B. of Mazères	Jordan of Péreille, 22.204r-205v
Imbert of Salles	Jordan of Péreille, 22.204r-205v
Peter Vignol of Balaguier	Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.252v
William Guitbert of Mirepoix	Arnold Roger of Mirepoix, 22.122r-v
William Raymond of Laroque	Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.250v-252r
Dominic Textor	Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.250v-252r
John Rex of Scopont	Jordan of Péreille, 22.204r-205v
P. Vitalis	Jordan of Quiriès, 609.17v
William of Aragon	Jordan of Péreille, 22.204r-205v
Bernard of Scopont	Jordan of Péreille. 22.204r-205v

At this point, then, the participation of the *scutiferi* in Catharism appears inextricably linked to that of their lords and the aristocratic families they served. Such a supposition on the surface appears to support a top-down model of heresy transmission from lords to their *scutiferi*. However, there are several reasons why we should be cautious before casually presuming that this kind of system was in fact operating in Montségur.

Firstly, there is the matter of personal belief versus obligation to serve a lord. Michel Roquebert, in the course of his exposition on the special impact of Montségur on the personal belief of all its inhabitants, draws a distinct contrast between ‘old-time’ noble believers and sergeants, for whom, in the majority of cases, he finds there is no evidence of participation in Catharism prior to their residence in the ill-fated *castrum*.<sup>85</sup> He notes that Peter Roger of Mirepoix, upon instigating the attack on Avignonet, made no ideological plea, but instead relied on the promise of rich booty to tempt his allies and sergeants into battle – and that this seems to have worked.<sup>86</sup>

It is not clear what conceptual space the *scutiferi* occupy in such an exposition. Some, such as Alzieu of Massabrac, belonged to aristocratic families, and had ties with Catharism that went back decades. Others, such as Barrau and Peter Landric came away from Avignonet with rich plunder, as did many sergeants, raising the possibility that

<sup>85</sup> Roquebert, ‘Le catharisme comme tradition’, 221-42, 228.

<sup>86</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.129v-31v.



they may have had more material objectives in mind.<sup>87</sup> Serving a lord was, after all, a way of making a living above all things, and at the level of the *scutifer*, a high proportion of certain kinds of encounters had always been produced at the behest of the lord. For example, the depositions show that in six out of the ten cases of *scutiferi* acting as guides for the Cathars they were doing this explicitly in response to orders issued.<sup>88</sup> Several of them involved one *scutifer*, Stephen Massa, hiring himself out to perform services for other lords in return for payment.<sup>89</sup>

Roquebert finds a high uptake of the Cathar rite of *consolamentum* amongst the sergeants of Montségur, arguably the strongest demonstration of adherence to the Cathar faith.<sup>90</sup> However, I have found relatively little evidence of aristocratic dependents undergoing the transition. The table above shows only one *scutifer* consoled upon his deathbed: Raymond of Ventenac, the *scutifer* of Arnold Roger of Mirepoix. According to Arnold Roger, in 1243 his *scutifer*, Raymond of Ventenac upon being mortally wounded in Montségur, asked Arnold Roger to allow him to ‘surrender himself to the good men, that is, the heretics’. Permission presumably having been granted, three good men came to Arnold Roger’s house to perform the ritual and receive the *scutifer*.<sup>91</sup> The role played here by Arnold Roger, Raymond’s lord, is striking. Not only was he required to grant permission for the ritual to be carried out, it was also carried out in his own home, in the presence of himself, his wife, and several of their acquaintances, including the knight, Berengar of Lavelanet.

Another fascinating account of a squire’s consolation concerns the *armiger*, William of Garnès. *Armiger*, literally ‘arms-bearer’, can also be translated as ‘armour-bearer’, with the latter perhaps being the better translation in this context, which suggests a distinction between the lord or knight who bears the weapons, and the man or men who take care of them for him.<sup>92</sup> Raymond Unaud, knight of Lanta, told the inquisitor that around 1231, when his *armiger*, William of Garnès, was captured and held by the *capitouls* of Toulouse, William sent a message to him, requesting that he bring Cathars so that he might be consoled. Together with Alaman of Rouaix, Raymond Unaud

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<sup>87</sup> Peter Landric, *scutifer* of William of Lahille, plundered the purse of William Arnold, and Barrau took the inquisitor’s knife: Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.255v-58r.

<sup>88</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.132r; 133v-34r; Bernard Calvet, 609.163v; Peter of Saint-Michel-de-Lanès, 23.92r; Stephen Massa, 23.301r-302r.

<sup>89</sup> Stephen Massa, 23.292v-93v.

<sup>90</sup> Roquebert, ‘Le catharisme comme tradition’, 228.

<sup>91</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.117v-18r.

<sup>92</sup> *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources: A-L* (London, 1975), p. 127, ‘Armiger’.

brought the good men, William of *Le Soler* and R. of Gramont, to William, at the gallows outside the Château Narbonnais and, as he had asked, they consoled him before he was hanged.<sup>93</sup>

Both cases show the lords of the squires playing a key role in the consolation process. However, the nature of that role is slightly different. In the first case, as Raymond of Ventenac's lord, Arnold Roger had to grant his permission to release the *scutifer* from service so that he could become a good man. In the case of William of Garnès, Raymond Unaud's role was more direct. He was required to use his secular power to bring the good men to William, so that William could be consoled. Thus, both cases required the cooperation of the lords, but in different ways.

Does the importance of the lords in these instances and encounters – including the above consolations, the time spent in Montségur, and involvement in the attack on Avignonet – suggest that Catharism passed from lords to their *scutifers*, in accordance with a top-down model? The consolations of the squires above most forcefully reject this narrative. The lords collaborated in bringing about these final rituals, but only under the direction of their dependents – the impulse for participation in Catharism in these cases came from ‘below’ – that is, from the dependents themselves.

Should we see the participation of aristocratic dependents in Catharism more generally as actively sought, or does it better fit the narrative of a dependent carrying out an obligation to their lord? Here, I urge caution. Some dependents were, undoubtedly, influenced in their actions by personally held religious beliefs, which may have existed long before the lord-dependent relationship came into play, and others were following orders. Individuals were motivated by one factor or the other, or sometimes both, and the inquisition records rarely make it easy to distinguish which particular forces were at play in a given case.

Moreover, I have to agree with Roquebert that Montségur was a special case. The specific environment of the *castrum*, especially in the years leading up to its ultimate surrender, had a significant effect on the religious impulses of some of the inhabitants. Here, Catharism was a social norm. Cathar sermons were held in the house of Bertrand Marty, weekly and on feast days, taking the place of the Catholic Mass. *Scutiferi* and sergeants attended with their lords in much the way that household servants sometimes

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<sup>93</sup> Raymond Unaud, 22.86v.

attended the preaching of Cathars in the houses of their lords. Sometimes, afterwards, they adored the Cathars, as their lords did. However, one has to wonder whether within the restricted confines of the *castrum* these activities merely represented a social occasion, a break from the norm, or even a counter to boredom, rather than representing a belief that had, as Roquebert puts it ‘engulfed’ them.<sup>94</sup>

A second reason why it would be a mistake to presume that high numbers of *scutiferi* participating in Catharism in Montségur suggests the operation of a top-down model of heresy transmission is because evidence suggests that aristocratic dependents were often already in contact with Cathars, and sometimes had a history of participation in Cathar activity prior to entering into service. Indeed, one of the advantages of looking at these dependents is that we are often able to trace this prior participation, and consequently examine alternate influences on individual belief.

Family is key here, and much of this discussion builds on my first chapter on the aristocratic family. *Domicelli* and *scutiferi* often belonged to aristocratic families of Cathar believers and supporters who were likely to have influenced their decisions to participate in Cathar activity long before the lord-dependent relationship was even established. For example, Alzieu of Massabrac, the *scutifer* of his uncle, Arnold Roger of Mirepoix, in 1242, was the son of Adalais of Massabrac, who had spent time as a good woman in her youth, with her mother (Alzieu’s grandmother), Forneira of Péreille, before leaving to take a husband. She married Alzieu of Massabrac the elder, who was consoled upon his deathbed in the late 1220s or early 1230s in Péreille, in front of many witnesses.<sup>95</sup> Alzieu the squire himself admitted to the fact that he had been a believer in the Cathars ‘since the age of discretion,’<sup>96</sup> and noted, moreover, with a narrative remarkably similar to those of Helis of Mazerolles and Geralda of Roqueville, that when he was a boy (*puer*) around 1234, he often went with his mother to visit his grandmother who was a good woman. They ate together with Forneira, his grandmother, and her companions, and often adored them.<sup>97</sup>

Alzieu’s case represents several common patterns: firstly, a strong family influence regarding the matter of belief coming into play from a young age, and secondly a young man given a position as a *scutifer* for a relative, in this case an uncle. Peter William of

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<sup>94</sup> Roquebert, ‘Le catharisme comme tradition’, 228.

<sup>95</sup> Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.50v-51v; Arnold Roger, 22.139v-40r.

<sup>96</sup> Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.284r.

<sup>97</sup> Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.276r-77r.

Roqueville seems to have grown up under similar circumstances. In fact, the Roqueville family produced at least two *scutiferi*: Gallard Ros, the younger brother of Bertrand and Bego of Roqueville, and Peter William the younger, Gallard Ros's nephew, the son of Bertrand of Roqueville, neither of whom are otherwise included in this study of dependency, which focuses on the earlier registers.

As has been mentioned previously, the Roqueville family were notoriously involved in Catharism across a number of generations. Although the depositions never explicitly reveal the lords of Gallard Ros or Peter William, in the case of Peter William, it seems likely that he, like Alzieu of Massabrac, was the *scutifer* of his uncle, Bego, because at one point in his deposition he mentions that he did not speak to the Cathars his party came upon in the woods, because he was kept apart, holding his uncle, Bego's, hawk.<sup>98</sup>

Acting as a squire for a family member in itself appears to have been a relatively common occurrence. For example, the depositions also identify Raymond of Rabat as the *scutifer* of his brother, Guiraud of Rabat, who had married into the Péreille family, and Peter of Corneilhan as the *scutifer* for his brother, Isarn *Tren Visa*.<sup>99</sup>

In the Roqueville case, however, the fact that the lords of these *scutiferi* went unidentified in itself highlights an important point: all of the participation in Catharism of these two men fits firmly within a familial framework. Cathar belief was such a strong element in this family's cultural heritage, that it completely overshadowed any other bond in terms of influence over personal faith, or at least this is the impression given by the inquisition records.

Given the trend for familial participation in Catharism, it made sense to select aristocratic dependents from within the family pool, specifically because they were known to adhere to the Cathar faith. Moreover, where lords for whatever reason chose to select their dependents from outside the immediate family group, there is evidence that they may have returned to the same trusted families. For example, Bernard of Saint-Martin, one of the knights who ended up in Montségur and played a lead role in the

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<sup>98</sup> Peter William of Roqueville, 25.135r.

<sup>99</sup> Arnold Roger's deposition, 22.129v-31v, identifies Guiraud and Raymond of Rabat as brothers, and Stephen Massa's deposition, 609.246v, identifies Raymond as Guiraud's *scutifer*. Peter of Corneilhan, 24.19v-20r.

attack on Avignonet, took the brothers, Barrau and Peter Pons of Saint-Martin, as his *scutiferi*.<sup>100</sup>

A similar model to this has often been raised in the context of aristocratic families selecting marriage partners for their children, as was discussed in my chapter on the aristocratic family, above. The reasons for this are apparent. Whether husband and wife or lord and dependent, a smoother relationship was guaranteed within the confines of a shared faith. A lord could be more secure in their religious affiliations if the risk of incrimination from his or her own household could be minimised. The best way to ensure this was by adopting a highly selective process in taking on dependents.

For the aristocracy, ties of blood overlapped with ties of dependency in much the same way that ties of blood overlapped with ties of co-lordship – and the bonds were all the stronger for it. Family was an important influential factor for determining the faith of the aristocracy, and aristocratic dependents were no exception to this. If the lord-dependent relationship played a role, then that role was about facilitating continued exposure to the Cathars. Within this group, the introductions had already been made.

## Tenants

The relationship between lords and their tenants was different again. In the historiography, discussion about tenancy is often dominated by debate over the extent to which serfdom existed in the region, but in fact, as Cheyette states, the two concepts, tenancy and serfdom, were far from synonymous.<sup>101</sup> Tenants were not necessarily the ‘property’ of their lords in the way the serfs were. However, as Mundy has observed, the lord’s peasants (*rustici*) and ‘own men’ (*homines proprii*) were often treated much as serfs, as ‘income-bearing possessions’, individuals who ‘together with their families and tenancies, were pledged, sold or given as gifts by those who “owned” them.’<sup>102</sup>

Of course, a wide range of individuals and families could hold land of their lord (or lords), and as such the relationship encompassed a wide range of agreements and expectations on behalf of both parties involved. Many of these played out publicly, in

<sup>100</sup> Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.255v-58r.

<sup>101</sup> Cheyette, *Ermengarda of Narbonne*, p. 152.

<sup>102</sup> Mundy, *Society and Government*, p. 38.

what Cheyette describes as the ‘theatre of lordship’. This included the ritual performance of services or provision of goods, and it was through such acts as this that the lord maintained presence in his territory even when physically absent.<sup>103</sup>

The extraordinarily varied nature of this relationship inevitably makes it difficult to determine how far and in what ways this kind of dependent relationship could have produced opportunities for dependents to become involved with Cathars or with Catharism. Unfortunately, inquisition records of the 1240s are of limited use here. They rarely record the lord-tenant relationship, and when they do, the language used is ambiguous. In several places, individuals are referred to as being the ‘peasant’ (*rusticus*) or ‘man’ (*homo*) of a lord, but especially in the latter case, and as we have mentioned previously with other types of dependency, the language used to designate tenancy is identical to that which is used to signify vassalage. We are therefore often reliant on contextual clues as to the kind of relationship represented in a given circumstance.

The few solid examples of tenancy I have identified in the records give a significant impression, which is unfortunately undermined somewhat by their paucity, but which nevertheless merits some discussion here: they suggest that the lord-tenant relationship did facilitate encounters with the Cathars, but not necessarily in ways we might expect.

First of all, two brothers, Jordan and William Sais, the co-lords of Cambiac, both claimed that Peter Gausbert, Arnold Faure and Pons Faber – in each case, ‘the men of the same witness’ – were good men, and lived openly in their *domus hereticorum*, putting the dates at which they remembered this at 1220 and 1210 respectively.<sup>104</sup>

Jordan’s account was the more detailed. His deposition included the admission that not only did he see (*vidit*) two of those particular good men (Peter Gausbert and Arnold Faure), ‘his men’, he adored them, bending the knee three times and saying ‘Bless us’.<sup>105</sup>

I do not know if it was unusual for a lord to adore a Cathar who was ‘his man’. We looked above at the case of a maid who had become a good woman and a former employer who refused to adore her. This suggested the potential for tension to result from a clash of religious and temporal hierarchies of power. Here, where Jordan admits that he adored ‘his men’, there is no such suggestion, and if Jordan was troubled by the

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<sup>103</sup> Cheyette, *Ermengarda of Narbonne*, p. 128.

<sup>104</sup> William Sais, 609.238r; Jordan Sais, 609.238v.

<sup>105</sup> Jordan Sais, 609.238v.

public inversion of power that occurred when he adored his men, it does not show in his deposition.

In another case, around 1230 the knight, Raymond of Roqueville, saw two good men, Raymond Sais, Cathar deacon, and his companion, Bernard Bruni, two or three times in the house of a man named Bonet, where a *rusticus* of Raymond of Roqueville's, Raymond Sirvens, was living at the time.<sup>106</sup> Also present on various occasions 'not together but separately' were two other knights, Raymond's own brother, Bernard, and Arnold of Cassés, and another *rusticus* of Raymond's, William Aimeric. According to the deposition, everyone heard the preaching of the Cathars and adored them. Raymond of Roqueville's deposition also states that around the same time he saw Guilabert of Castres, Cathar bishop, and his companion, Peter Sicard, in the same house where Raymond Sirvens lived, and all of the previously mentioned individuals were present. The good men stayed for around eight days, during which time Raymond of Roqueville confessed that he adored them, and that he saw others adore them.<sup>107</sup> It is very unusual for dependents to be identified hosting Cathars, without having been given specific instructions to do so, and that does not seem to have been the case here. Thus, although in these cases, Raymond Sirvens, the *rusticus*, was not himself a good man, he can nevertheless be identified as an active Cathar supporter.

Indeed, in both these cases and that of Jordan Sais above, the traditional narrative is truly reversed. Here, the lord-dependent bond is still important for facilitating encounters with Cathars, but the impetus for Catharism originates with the dependents. The relationship that these lords, Jordan of Sais and Raymond of Roqueville, had with their tenants, produced opportunities for them – the lords, not the tenants – to participate in Catharism.

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<sup>106</sup> Several historians have, I believe, mistranslated this episode, suggesting that Raymond of Roqueville, like Jordan Sais, adored his *rusticus*, but the Latin clearly states that the *rusticus* only happened to be living in the house ('Item vidit in dicta domo dels Bonets in qua manebat tunc Ramundus Sirvens rusticus i. t. Ramundum Sancii diachonum h. et Bernardum Bruni ter vel quater, et v c e d. Bernardum de Rocovila fratrem i. t. et dictum Arnaldum dels Cassers nunc combustum et Wilhelmm Aimerici rusticum i. t. non simul sed divisim, et o. et i. t. aud. pred. d. h. et ad. eos'). See Mundy, *Society and Government*, p. 83, and Mark Pegg, *Corruption*, p. 97.

<sup>107</sup> Raymond of Roqueville, 609.216r-v.

### Catharism and conflict in the lord-dependent relationship

So far in the course of this investigation, we have primarily looked at cases of dependents who appear to have supported the Cathars. Some of these individuals did so indirectly, by following the orders of their lord, but many appear to have actively sought out encounters and willingly lent their support for a variety of motives. This latter case suggests that a top-down model of heresy transmission, from lords to their dependents, at the very least does not give a complete picture of the different ways that groups belonging to different social backgrounds either first came into contact or maintained contact with the Cathars.

Here, I challenge the top-down model by showing that dependents did not necessarily follow the faith of their lord – be it orthodox or heretical; they were not passive receptacles waiting to be told what or who to believe. Indeed, the records show that some of them defied the orders of their lords if the acts required of them did not fit with either their own religious or moral sensibilities, or their personal ambitions.

Table 3.14: The actions of dependents against the Cathars.

Dependent	Frequency	No. individuals	Actions against Cathars	No. individuals acting against Cathars
<i>Baiuli</i>	84	62	18	12
<i>Domicella</i>	14	10	0	0
<i>Domicellus</i>	38	20	2	2
Maid	85	55	4	4
<i>Nuncius</i>	44	31	3	3
<i>Nutrix</i>	12	7	1	1
<i>Scutifer</i>	68	30	3	1
<i>Serviens</i>	45	32	3	_108

Table 3.14 shows that *baiuli* were by far the most active group in terms of actions taken against the Cathars (21.4% of references to *baiuli* in the inquisition records show them acting against the Cathars, and at least 19.4% of individual *baiuli* identifiable in the records were witnessed acting against the Cathars).<sup>109</sup> This does not mean that *baiuli*

<sup>108</sup> In all cases these actions were carried out by unidentified groups of *servientes*, not individuals.

<sup>109</sup> ‘at least’ because the names of *baiuli* are often not recorded, so where there are several *baiuli* identified for a lord they have only been counted once if no names are given.



were ‘more orthodox’ than other dependents. Rather *baiuli* appear so often in this context because the positions they held and the obligations they had to their lords required them to carry out acts directed against heretics as part of the ongoing and increasingly vehement persecution. By law, lords were not permitted to appoint *baiuli* who were suspected of heresy. If a *baiulus* who had already been appointed was suspected of heresy, he had to be immediately removed, or indeed if he was simply ‘not found to be very thorough and diligent against heretics’ he would lose his goods and any chance of reinstatement.<sup>110</sup> *Baiuli* were expected, along with lords and knights, to vigilantly and painstakingly engage in the task of ‘pursuing, searching for, capturing and punishing heretics’.<sup>111</sup> They were also obliged to lend ‘help and support’ to anyone who sought to capture heretics.<sup>112</sup>

The inquisition records do show *baiuli* engaging in this kind of activity. For example, a *baiulus* of Vaure received two captured heretics in 1245; a *baiulus* of the Count of Toulouse received a good man who was the son of Rixenda and William Gaig around 1244; Aribert and Pons William, the *baiuli* of Caraman, were known for capturing heretics and enquiring into the religious conduct of the inhabitants of the castra up until around 1241, and Bernard of Laroque, *baiulus* of the Count of Toulouse, captured a man named William around 1243, believing that he held Cathars in his house.<sup>113</sup> There is even one recorded instance of a *baiulus* (Peter of Alamans, *baiulus* of Puylaurens) acting as a witness to the deposition of the knight, Bartacius, for the inquisitorial tribunal of Brother Ferrier.<sup>114</sup> Unsurprisingly, references to this kind of activity increased in line with the level of persecution. Out of the fifteen dated references to *baiuli* taking actions against heretics, eleven (73.3%) occurred after 1240.<sup>115</sup>

On the surface, these *baiuli* appear to have acted as tools for their lords to carry out orthodox policies against heresy. However, one does not have to dig much deeper to

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<sup>110</sup> Edict of Count Raymond VII of Toulouse (1233), Mansi, xxiii, cols. 265-68. English trans., J. Arnold and P. Biller (eds.), *Heresy and Inquisition in France, 1200-1300* (Manchester, 2017), p. 199. Council of Toulouse (1229), Mansi, xxiii, cols. 191-204. English trans., A&B, p. 192, 196.

<sup>111</sup> Edict of Count Raymond VII of Toulouse (1233), Mansi, xxiii, cols. 265-68. English trans., A&B, p. 198.

<sup>112</sup> Council of Toulouse (1229), Mansi, xxiii, cols. 191-204. English trans., A&B, p. 193.

<sup>113</sup> The *baiulus* of Vaure: Alianus of Vaure, 609.236v. The *baiulus* of the Count of Toulouse: Rixenda, 609.209v. The *baiuli* of Caraman: Peter Fogasset of Caraman, 23.334r-34v; 341v-42r. Bernard of Laroque: Raymond Sirvent, 609.82r.

<sup>114</sup> Bartacius, 24.116v.

<sup>115</sup> There are also two witness reports of cases of *baiuli* taking actions against heretics in the 1220s, and two in the 1230s. Actions taken were similar to those described above. Ainar and William Hugh, the *baiuli* of Fanjeaux (1233): Bernard of Cailhavel, 609.152v. The *baiulus* of the Archbishop of Narbonne (1229): Florensa and Raymunda, 609.5r-v.

find examples in the inquisition records of *baiuli* who do not fit this overly simplified model. Indeed, several depositions indicate that, far from rigidly adhering to the duty to persecute and capture heretics bestowed upon their lords, *baiuli* acted with a certain degree of discretion, and were not above accepting the odd bribe in return for looking the other way or even relinquishing their charges.

According to Bernard of Cailhavel around 1233 Ainard, *baiulus* of Fanjeaux, and Pons William, another *baiulus*, captured four good men including Bertrand Marty in the house of P. Fornier. Following this incidence, Bernard recalled that a certain woman, Caussida, the wife of Raymond Fornier, had tried to find out if Bertrand Marty could be recovered from the *baiuli* in exchange for a sum of money – namely, 300 shillings of Toulouse. She collected small amounts from at least eight men, including Bernard himself. That same night, after the money and goods collected were delivered, Bertrand Marty was released.<sup>116</sup>

In another example, Peter Arnold told the inquisitors that around 1241 he and the other men of Cambiac heard that Bertrand of Allemands and William Sais, the lord of Cambiac, had given something to Pons William, the *baiulus* of Caraman. Peter Arnold and the other men of Cambiac then gave William Sais seven shillings, ‘so that he would love them’. Peter Arnold claimed that he only heard later that his lord had paid the sum in exchange for the liberation of Raymond Fort, Cathar deacon of Cambiac, who had been captured.<sup>117</sup> According to Peter of Fogasset, the matter did not rest there. While he was being escorted to Toulouse by the *nuncii* of the Count, Raymond Fort was somehow released. Then, Bertrand of Allemands, a friend of the good man, probably involved in the break out, returned to the *baiuli* of Caraman, Aribert and Pons William, and appealed that they let the matter stand – ‘that they should not concern themselves with those who had abducted the said heretics...and that he would make it worth their while – that is, he would have each of them given a hundred shillings of Morlaàs.’ Following up on this promise, Bertrand then ‘made his tally’ for the *castrum* of Caraman and for the land of the Caramanès – to which ‘all the men of Caraman’ contributed, bar a few exceptions. As a result of this bribery, and upon receipt of the 100 shillings for Aribert, and only half that for Pons William, who may have been a

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<sup>116</sup> Bernard of Cailhavel, 609.152v.

<sup>117</sup> Peter Arnold, 609.239r.

*sous- baiulus*, the two officials, agreed to no longer concern themselves with the matter.<sup>118</sup>

These incidences reveal the extent to which *baiuli* had the freedom to act according to personal discretion. Though they had to be seen to act on behalf of their lords, they were no mere instruments of his will. *Baiuli* were also mediators. The dynamic of power was different, but their positions also required them to engage with and respond to the people of the *castra* and towns. This opened them up to negotiation and, sometimes, bribes. An openness to bribery, such as we have seen in the above cases, reveals the prioritisation by *baiuli* of personal gains over and above implementing the policies of their lords. This is by no means equivalent to a rejection of the lord's orthodoxy, but it does illustrate a certain degree of flexibility with regard to upholding that orthodoxy, in the event of the action required nullifying a potential source of income.

Personal discretion was the key factor regulating the decisions about matters of faith and fidelity made by all dependents. Whether or not to incriminate a lord by denouncing them to the inquisitor, or whether to risk incurring a lord's wrath by refusing to lend support to the Cathars were potentially life-altering decisions for both the dependents themselves and the lords they served. Dependents had to consider their motives carefully. Loyalty to a lord, or at least to the income represented by the relationship with a lord, weighed against fear of inquisition, but personal faith was also an important regulating factor for many.

Claire Taylor and James Given have both written about the lord-dependent bond as a focal point for the structuring of resistance to inquisition, with very different findings. Focusing on Quercy, Taylor found that the bonds forged between lords and their networks of influence were crucial to the structuring of resistance to inquisition. To support this, she cites the fact that the sentences of Peter Seila reveal nobody who informed on the lords of Gourdon, the most obvious 'nucleus of social and political influence' to have promoted adherence to the Cathars. Moreover, they likewise indicate that Bertrand of Fortanier, lord of Gourdon, offered no evidence against any of his dependents. Taylor finds, therefore, that loyalty across these relationships was mutual

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<sup>118</sup> Peter Fogasset of Caraman, 23.334r-v. Peter Fogasset identifies Pons William as a *baiulus* at 313r-14r, and as a *sous-baiulus* at 334r-v. On this endeavour, and for a broader sense of the activity of some of the characters involved, see W. L. Wakefield, 'Heretics and Inquisitors: The Case of Auriac and Cambiac', *Journal of Medieval History* 12 (1986), 233.

and assured.<sup>119</sup> However, as Taylor notes, the religious landscape in Quercy differed markedly from that elsewhere in Languedoc. In Quercy, aristocratic support for the Cathars emerged much later. Indeed, the lords of Quercy initially supported the crusaders, and Taylor argues that it was only in response to the policy of imposing northern lords, even over regions such as Quercy which had demonstrated their loyalty, that the lords of Quercy began to dissent and allow Catharism to take root in their lands.<sup>120</sup> In Languedoc, on the other hand, Catharism had been endemic amongst the aristocracy for much longer. Given finds little evidence of solidarity in the bonds between lords and their dependents. Indeed, he suggests that these bonds were readily open to inquisitorial exploitation.<sup>121</sup>

Similarly, in my own research on lordship and dependency in Languedoc, I have found many cases of individuals denouncing the Cathar activity of their lords. Perhaps the most explicit (and certainly the most often cited) of these is the case of Raymunda, wife of Arnold of Bonnac and maid of the house of Peter and Austorga of Rouzégas.<sup>122</sup> According to Raymunda's deposition, one night in 1245, she and her husband heard some men entering the house. Both knew they were good men, and later found them hidden inside a vault in the storeroom. The very next day, they went to Caraman and told Peter Dellac, *baiulus* of Caraman that there were heretics in the house of their lord, and that he could capture them if he wished.<sup>123</sup> The story was confirmed by her husband, Arnold. No motive was given, but Arnold's deposition states that the *baiulus* agreed to compensate the informants with a silver mark, which suggests that this may have been about more than performing a simple act of good faith.<sup>124</sup>

This is the only case where the story of incrimination is included as part of the narrative, but there are many instances in the records of dependents incriminating their lords. For example, Bernard Guilabert and Pons Guilabert both incriminated their lord, Raymond of Baraigne. Bernard said that in 1217 Raymond had told him to give up his horse to a good woman and take her to Gardouch.<sup>125</sup> Pons said that, around eight years later,

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<sup>119</sup> C. Taylor, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Medieval Quercy* (York, 2011), pp. 212-13.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>121</sup> J. B. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc* (London, 1997), pp. 176-77.

<sup>122</sup> For more on the case of Raymunda and her husband, Arnold, see Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society*, p. 177 and Mundy, *Society and Government*, pp. 78-9.

<sup>123</sup> Raymunda, wife of Arnold of Bonnac, 609.200r-v.

<sup>124</sup> Arnold of Bonnac, 609.200r.

<sup>125</sup> B. Guilabert, 609.110v.

Raymond had compelled him to make peace with another man, ‘in the hand of the heretics.’<sup>126</sup> Both Raymond Biat the *nuncius* and Stephen Massa the *scutifer* said that they had given food to the Cathars at the insistence of their respective lords, Peter Martin of Viviers and Raymond Roger of Toulouse. Bernard of Cailhavel repeatedly incriminated his lord, Bego of Fanjeaux, claiming that, around 1233, Bego had firstly hosted a Cathar sermon, and secondly contributed towards a bribe to secure the freedom of Bertrand Marty. Finally, in 1235, Bernard claimed that his lord, Bego, had been ‘hereticated’.<sup>127</sup> The lords of Montségur were also incriminated by a multitude of sergeants and knights living within the *castrum*, and there are many other examples of such incriminations.<sup>128</sup> These cases imply dependents, likely fearing for themselves, could be quick to turn on their lords.

Several individuals appear to have acknowledged the possibility of being denounced by dependents, and taken it into account in their dealing with Cathars. For example, when Bernard of Cessero of the Minervoises had two good women, a mother and daughter, staying in his house in Auriac in the Winter of 1244, he sent for a man, Raymond Raseire, to bleed him. Raymond happened to be the son and brother of the good women staying in Bernard’s house, but he did not speak to them while he was there. Bernard asked him why this was, and Raymond said that Bernard should have Guillelma, his *nutrix*, leave his house, because Raymond feared her. Only then would he speak with his sister.<sup>129</sup> The deposition does not explicitly state it, but the implication is that Raymond feared a connection being made between him and his relatives who were good women. In another case, Arnold of Clerens told the inquisitor that the good women, Raymunda and Marquesia, had to be brought quickly back to his house after staying for some time with Raymunda of Montemaur in 1242. This was done because the two women feared capture – ‘it was said that a certain *ancilla* wished to sell them’.<sup>130</sup> The

<sup>126</sup> Pons Guilbert, 609.111v. On Cathar peacemaking, see P. Biller, ‘Cathar Peacemaking’, in *Christianity and Community in the West: essays for John Bossy*, ed. S. Ditchfield (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 1-13. See also co-lordship chapter, pp. 85-91.

<sup>127</sup> Bernard of Cailhavel, 609.152r-53r.

<sup>128</sup> Further examples include P. Garriga and Peter of Lafage who both claimed that their respective ladies, Nassia of *Mailner* and Bruna, were heretics: P. Garriga, 609.182v; Peter of Lafage 609.192v. Both William Guibert of Montgey and William Vitalis claimed that their respective lords, Jordan of Roquefort and Mir of Camplong, had ordered them to harbour heretics for a time: William Guibert of Montgey, 24.13r-v; William Vitalis, 609.192r. Bernard Mir claimed that his lord, Aimeric of Montréal, had eaten with his mother, Blanche, and sister, Mabilia, female Cathars, in Laurac: Bernard Mir, 609.30r.

<sup>129</sup> Bernard of Cessero of the Minervoises, 23.182r-v.

<sup>130</sup> Arnold of Clerens, 609.222v.

fear that dependents might go against their lords and act in this way pervades these accounts.

What is more, the mistrust appears to have been both mutual and justified. The lords listed in table 3.15, below, also denounced their dependents to the inquisitors for participating in Cathar activity. Many of the dependents listed above as having incriminated their lords claimed that they had only engaged with the Cathars because they were following their lord's orders. These dependents include William Vitalis, Bernard and Pons Guilabert, William Guitbert of Montgey, Raymond Biat, Stephen Massa and Raymond Boer.<sup>131</sup> However, only Raymond Boer, the *nuncius* of Raymond Isarn of Arbonnens, claimed to have attempted to resist his lord. According to his deposition, Raymond made it explicitly clear to his lord on several occasions that he did not wish to harbour Cathars in his house in Génerville. On one such occasion, in 1240, he claimed to have hurried away from the orchard of his lord, Raymond Isarn, where Raymond Isarn was upbraiding him for refusing to take Cathars into his house. Nevertheless, one night, Raymond Boer claimed that his lord, apparently unheeding of his *nuncius*'s wishes, brought good men to his house. Raymond Boer allowed the good men inside to warm themselves, but after that had Raymond Isarn take them away.<sup>132</sup>

Table 3.15: Lords and ladies who denounced their dependents to the inquisitors.

Lord or lady	Deposition	Dependent denounced
Arnold Roger of Mirepoix	22.117v-18r	R. of Ventenac, <i>scutifer</i>
	22.124r	R. of Laroque of Malléon, <i>scutifer</i>
	22.132r	Arnold of Laroque, <i>scutifer</i>
Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat	22.259r-60v	Raymunda of Lapasset, <i>pedisseca</i>
Berengar of Lavelanet	24.64v	William Jordan of Lordat, <i>baiulus</i>
Bernard Oth, lord of Niort	24.86v-87v, 89r-v	Bernard of Porte, <i>baiulus</i>
	24.99r	Capdebueue, <i>baiulus</i>
	24.85r	Peter of La Pomarède, <i>baiulus</i>
Faure of Pechermier	22.7r	Arnold of Bazas, <i>nuncius</i> .

<sup>131</sup> Raymond Boer, 23.145r-v.

<sup>132</sup> Raymond Boer, 23.144v-45v.

Geralda, wife of Estult of Roqueville	609.66r-v	<i>Ancilla</i>
Helis of Mazerolles	23.166v	Adalais of Mirepoix, <i>domicellae</i>
	23.173r	Guillelma of Belpech, <i>domicellae</i>
	23.173r	P. John, <i>nuncius</i>
Jordan of Saissac	23.53v-54r	Bonet of Labruguière, <i>baiulus</i>
Marquesia	609.108r	Dulcia, <i>ancilla</i>
Pelegrina, wife of Isarn of Montservier	609.3r	<i>Ancilla</i>
Peter Daide	23.127v-29r	Aladaicia, <i>pedisseca</i>
Peter of Mazerolles	609.125r	Raymond Aicart, <i>serviens</i>
P. of Gardouch	609.45r	Willela, <i>domicella</i>
Philippa, wife of Arnold William	23.257v-59r	Guillelma of Belberaud, <i>nutrix</i>
	23.258r-v	Bernad Vasco, <i>bubulcus</i> (cowherd)
Raymond Arrufat	609.250v	Bernarda Provinciale, <i>nutrix</i>
Raymond of Péreille	22.226v	B. Martin, <i>baiulus</i>
William Raymond	609.232v	Susanna, <i>ancilla</i>
William Vitalis of Dreuilhe	609.254r	Arnold William, <i>nuncius</i>

Is this picture of lords imposing their will – and their faith – on hapless dependents accurate? Or is it an impression generated deliberately by dependents looking to shift responsibility away from themselves? Several depositions in the inquisition records reveal deponents who were caught out by inquisitors bending the truth in this way. For example, William Vitalis, claimed that he had only harboured good men and good women in his house in 1234 because he was ordered to do so by his lord, Mir of Camplong, ‘and he did not dare to do otherwise’, and for this reason he was unwilling to adore them, even though they taught him how. However, when the inquisitors read out a prior confession to him, William was pushed to admit that he had in fact often seen Cathars, and adored them and eaten with them and believed in them.<sup>133</sup> In another case, it is revealed in the deposition of Oth of Barèges, that the inquisitor had requested proof of Oth’s claim that he had only threatened the inhabitants of Moissac not to receive penance from the inquisitor because he had been ordered to do so by the Count

<sup>133</sup> W. Vitalis, 609.192r.

of Toulouse. In the event, Oth was unable to provide any ‘special letters’ to support his claim.<sup>134</sup>

These examples suggest that dependents were not always as innocent as they liked to make out! More generally, this evidence supports Given’s theory that lord-dependent bonds in Languedoc were wide open to exploitation by inquisitors. These bonds were primarily (but not uniquely) characterised by employment. They were not – or at least not to such an extent – characterised by romantic notions of fidelity which may have offered some protection to ties of blood or vassalage. Dependents sometimes acted against their lords’ wishes, and sometimes took actions against their lords themselves. Evidence of this discredits the notion that a top-down system, in which dependents undiscerningly and universally took on board the faith of their lords, could have been in operation.

## Conclusion

Overall then, the evidence suggests a more nuanced picture of the ways that religious ideas spread from person to person than is represented in the top-down model used by Roquebert. In the first place, we must do away with the notion of ‘passive’ participants in Catharism. It is likely that dependents were sometimes introduced to Catharism or Cathars by their lords, or at least introduced to new modes of participation as a result of the everyday activities that were expected of them. However, dependents made their own choices about participation and support, and there is a great deal of evidence of dependents engaging in Cathar activity outside the company of their lords.

Unsurprisingly, the patterns of this engagement differ according to the type of dependency. A key contribution of this chapter has been to push beyond presiding depictions in the historiography of heresy of dependents as a homogeneous group, and to consider the different types of relationships included in the category of dependency, and the different ways that these encouraged and facilitated support for Catharism of dependents and the lords they served. We have found that whereas household dependents grew increasingly independent in their participation in Catharism, gradually seeking more and more contact outside the context of lordship, and *baiuli* became

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<sup>134</sup> Oth of Barèges, 22.45v.



significant protectors of Cathars in their own right, aristocratic dependents, such as *scutiferi*, largely influenced by the heightened level of persecution, became increasingly dependent on their lords in their interactions with the Cathars. We have found evidence of dependents actively encouraging the participation in Catharism of their lords. The top-down model does not take the potential for multiple and mutual influences into account.

Overall, the conclusions of this chapter suggest, in the first place, that an understanding of the aristocracy as the source of the spread of Cathar support through society via their dependents is far too simplistic, drawing as it does on an unsophisticated understanding of dependent relationships. In the second place, our findings suggest that the aristocracy may not have played such a defining role in the process of transmission as historians once thought.

#### 4. *Faiditi*

The *faiditi* of the inquisition records were men – there were no female *faiditi* in these records – who were dispossessed during and after the Albigensian Crusade on account of proven or suspected associations with heresy. Like the Cathars themselves, *faiditi* were fugitives, pursued by the inquisitors, and as such many became reliant for support upon the same networks to which they had once contributed.

The *faiditi* are relevant to this thesis because the historiography of heresy in Languedoc has long cast them exclusively as members of the aristocracy, and especially the knighthood. Anne Brenon, Megan Cassidy-Welch, Mark Pegg and Stephen O’Shea have all explicitly defined *faiditi* as ‘knightly’ or ‘noble’.<sup>1</sup> Many others, including Jean Guiraud, Élie Griffé, and Michel Roquebert, have implicitly reinforced this point of view by exclusively writing about *faiditi* who were knights.<sup>2</sup>

I argue that although there may be contexts in which this definition is appropriate, the inquisition records are not among them. This is significant because representation of the fundamentally aristocratic character of the *faiditi* has dominated narratives concerning dispossessed or exiled Cathar supporters from different social backgrounds. This in turn has fed into an exaggerated picture of aristocratic support for Catharism.

I think that the association of the *faiditi* with the aristocracy in the work of historians of heresy, has primarily come about as a result of their drawing on narrative sources of the Albigensian Crusade. It is unsurprising that the *faiditi* as they were represented by the authors of the *Chanson* and the *Historia Albigensis* were knights, because knights featured heavily in these narratives of the crusade. I especially think that the way the word *faiditz* is used in the *Chanson* represents a key part of why the term has come to have such strong associations with the aristocracy. The anonymous continuator was very much concerned with the plight of the fallen south, a motif he strongly associated with the crusaders’ defeat of the southern aristocracy and consequent loss of *paratge*, a

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<sup>1</sup> S. O’Shea, *The Perfect Heresy: The Revolutionary Life and Death of the Medieval Cathars* (London, 2000), p. 107; A. Brenon, ‘Catharism in the Family in Languedoc in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: An Investigation Based on Inquisition Sources’, in *Urban and Rural Communities in Medieval France: Provence and Languedoc, 1000-1500*, ed. K. Reyerson and J. Drendel (Leiden, 1998), pp. 307-308; M. Cassidy-Welch, ‘Memories of Space in Thirteenth-Century France: Displaced People After the Albigensian Crusade’, *Parergon* 27 (2010), 120; M. G. Pegg, *A Most Holy War: the Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom* (Oxford, 2008), p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. Roquebert’s section on the *faidit* knights of Limoux. Roquebert, *L’épopée cathare*, 4 vols (Toulouse, 1970-89), iii.350-53.

difficult term with close semantic links to concepts such as nobility, culture, honour and courtliness.<sup>3</sup> Unsurprisingly, then, his *faiditi* usually bore arms, and usually belonged to aristocratic families.

These depictions of *faiditi* warriors filtered through into the relevant translations of these works. Hence, W. A. Sibly and M. D. Sibly, in their translation of Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay's *Historia Albigensis*, define *faiditi* as 'outlawed and dispossessed members of the southern aristocracy', and Janet Shirley's translation of the *Chanson* almost always renders the Occitan *faiditz* as 'dispossessed knights'.<sup>4</sup> Shirley's translations are sometimes justified by context. For example, where *faiditz* is accompanied by *cavalers* or in one case *baro*.<sup>5</sup> However, at other times, the aristocratic character of the *faiditz* is not explicit in the text, and yet Shirley still uses 'dispossessed knights' or 'dispossessed lords'. For example, *laisse* 194 reads: 'They [Countess Alice of Montfort and her companions] travelled through the woods *per paor dels faizis*', which Shirley translates as 'for fear of the dispossessed knights'.<sup>6</sup>

It is notable that for the *Chanson*'s French translator, Eugène Martin-Chabot, who retains the modern French equivalent *faidits*, the word could refer to any 'chevaliers, ecuyers, bourgeois ou paysans' who had proven unwilling to submit or be taken prisoner by the crusaders, and consequently had been forced to abandon their home.<sup>7</sup> For him, then, the word did not necessarily bear connotations of aristocracy. This lack of an explicit connection with the aristocracy is evident elsewhere in the historiography of the crusade. For example, both Philippe Ménard and Linda Paterson wrote about *faiditi* as armed opponents of the crusaders, but neither inferred from this that they were aristocratic.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, echoing Martin-Chabot, Ménard wrote of the *faiditi* that 'They no doubt belonged to all classes of society (knights, squires, bourgeoisie, peasants), but

<sup>3</sup> On *paratge*, see H. Débax, *La seigneurie collective: pairs, pariers, paratge les coseigneurs du XIe au XIIIe siècle* (Rennes, 2012), pp. 305-16.

<sup>4</sup> W. A. Sibly and M. D. Sibly (ed. and trans.), *The History of the Albigensian Crusade* (Woodbridge, 1998), lxii. For examples in *Song*, see the next note.

<sup>5</sup> For examples of this, see Guilhem of Tudela, *La chanson de la Croisade albigeoise*, ed. E. Martin-Chabot, 3 vols (Paris, 1931), trans. as *The Song of the Cathar Wars*, ed. J. Shirley (Aldershot, 1996). See *laisse* 161 (*Chanson*, ii.136-37; *Song*, p. 93); *laisse* 163 (*Chanson*, ii.152-53; *Song*, p. 96); *laisse* 177 (*Chanson*, ii.240-41; *Song*, p. 114) and *laisse* 183 (*Chanson*, ii.282-83; *Song*, p. 124).

<sup>6</sup> *Laisse* 194 (*Chanson*, iii.84-85; *Song*, p. 147). For other examples, see *laisse* 102 (*Chanson*, i.232-33; *Song*, p. 54); *laisse* 209 (*Chanson*, iii.238-39; *Song*, p. 178) and *laisse* 186 (*Chanson*, ii.302-303; *Song*, p. 129).

<sup>7</sup> *Chanson*, i.232-3.

<sup>8</sup> P. Ménard, 'Rotiers, soldats, mainadiers, faidits, arlots: réflexions sur les diverses sortes de combattants dans la Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise', *Perspectives médiévales* 22 (1996), 167; L. M. Paterson, *The World of the Troubadours: Medieval Occitan Society c.1100-c.1300* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 43, 57-59.

they are characterized by the fact that they lost their property.’<sup>9</sup> Paterson’s study of the different terms that were used to identify ‘Knights and auxiliary troops in the Occitan epic before 1230’, finds that *faiditz* unfortunately do not appear anywhere except the *Chanson*, rendering it difficult to comment further on the meaning of the term within this genre.<sup>10</sup>

A quick survey of the way that the term has been used in other contexts, however, serves only to demonstrate further that the link that historians of heresy have drawn between *faiditi* and the aristocracy may be inappropriate. What these sources do show is that the term *faiditi* was increasingly used in reference to individuals who had been involved with heresy.

The *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch (FEW)*, traces the semantic evolution of the term *faiditus* from something akin to ‘enemy’, more towards ‘banished’ or ‘outlaw’.<sup>11</sup> The *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, supports this, noting in addition that the term was often used to refer to ‘one outlawed for rebellion’.<sup>12</sup> This meaning changed again in the context of thirteenth-century Languedoc. As Justine Firnhaber-Baker explains, the Albigensian Crusade was the key turning point here. The need to justify the violence of the Crusade led polemicists to forge a close connection between those who practised heresy and those who made war, casting both as violators of the peace (*violatores pacis*). This link prompted a change in the meaning of the term *faiditus* from ‘someone involved in a feud to someone involved in heresy’.<sup>13</sup>

This development can be observed in much of the contemporary documentation. First of all, the many oaths that were sworn in 1214 by several of the most important secular lords of Languedoc, the counts of Foix and Comminges, Viscount Aimeric and the inhabitants of Narbonne, and the consuls of Toulouse, to abjure heresy and refuse aid to the heretics and their believers and supporters, included a statement saying that they would also refuse *auxilium*, *consilium* and *favor* to the *fayditis* and *exeredatis*.<sup>14</sup> This

<sup>9</sup> P. Ménard, ‘Rotiers, soldats’, 166-67.

<sup>10</sup> Paterson, *World of the Troubadours*, p. 43.

<sup>11</sup> Walter Von Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 25 vols (Tübingen, 1959-69), xv.96.

<sup>12</sup> *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources: A-L* (London, 1975), p. 914, ‘Feiditus’. See also C. du Fresne du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, 10 vols (Niort, 1883-87, repr. 1954), iii, col. 309, ‘faida’.

<sup>13</sup> Justine Firnhaber-Baker, *Violence and the State in Languedoc, 1250–1400* (Cambridge, 2014), p. 32.

<sup>14</sup> These oaths are virtually identical. For the oath of the Count of Foix, see *Layettes du trésor des chartes*, ed. J. B. A. T. Teulet, 5 vols (Paris, 1865-1909), i.399, no. 1068. For the oath of the Count of Comminges, see *HGL*, viii.643-44, no. 172. For the oath of Viscount Aimeric and the inhabitants of

reinforces the idea that there was a strong conceptual link between *faiditi* and the *heretici*.

At times, this link is less apparent. For example, a reference in the 1229 negotiations for peace between King Louis IX and Raymond VII includes an explicit distinction between *faiditi* who were and those who were not *heretici*. The record of negotiations states that the *faiditi* who have been banished from the land by the Church, the King, or the Counts of Montfort, or those who had left of their own accord, are to be fully restored to their former conditions, in terms of their inheritances, *unless they are heretici*. This clause is repeated using very similar language in the final Peace of Paris of 1229.<sup>15</sup> It suggests that *faiditi* were understood as sometimes being involved in heresy.

*Faiditi* also made an appearance in the conciliar legislation. The 1233 Edict of Raymond VII decreed that violators of the peace, including *faiditi* among other disruptive bands, robbers, brigands and so on (*ruptarii, predones, latrunculi, stratores*), should be driven from the land.<sup>16</sup> Four years earlier, it had been decreed by the 1229 Council of Toulouse that nobody should even have any ‘friendship, familiarity or truces with *faiditi*’, or others who have made war, and that this was to be punishable by means of financial reparation.<sup>17</sup> These uses suggest that *faiditi* were associated with heretics in the sense that both threatened the peace.

Finally, the 1246 Council of Béziers issued a decree ordering that the goods held from churches of those who *de haeresi condemnantur*, should revert to the churches, and then, at the end, that ‘We order the same to be observed regarding the goods of *faiditi*.’ In a sense, this juxtaposes the *condemnati* and the *faiditi*, whilst still drawing a clear line of distinction between them.<sup>18</sup>

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Narbonne, see *HGL* viii.646, no. 173. For the oath of the Consuls of Toulouse, see *HGL* viii.648, no.174. On these oaths, see Sibly and Sibly, *History of the Albigensian Crusade*, pp. 226-27, n. 45.

<sup>15</sup> *HGL* viii.888-89, no. 271, ‘nisi inveniantur heretici’. *HGL* viii.881, no. 270, ‘Item omnes illi qui nati sunt de terra illa & faiditi fuerunt pro Ecclesia et domino rege Franciae & comitibus Montisfortis & adherentibus eis, vel propria voluntate recesserunt ab eadem terra, nisi sint haeretici, integre restituantur in statum pristinum quoad hereditates, in terra quae remanebit nobis.’

<sup>16</sup> Edict of Count Raymond VII of Toulouse (1233), Mansi, xxiii, cols. 265-68.

<sup>17</sup> See Council of Toulouse (1229), Mansi, xxiii, cols. 202. English trans., A&B, p. 196. ‘Item statuimus ut aliquis amicitiam, familiaritatem, vel treugas non habeat cum fayditis, vel aliis qui guerram moverunt: de bonis suis expenas faciat contra illos, & damna data restituat, alias ad utilitatem domini puniendus.’

<sup>18</sup> Council of Béziers (1246), Mansi, xxiii, col. 692, A&B, pp. 203-204.

This link in the contemporary material has filtered through into modern scholarship. This can be seen most clearly in the connection that some have made between *faiditi* and *fautores*. Stephen O’Shea defines *faidits* as *fautores*, and Mark Pegg treats the two words as interchangeable, both carrying the meaning ‘exiles, rebels, patrons of heretics, men without honor’.<sup>19</sup> Although it is true that there is overlap between the meanings of the two terms, they are definitely not synonyms. *Fautor* derives from the Latin word *faveo* (I favour, I support), and means ‘one who promotes the interests (of)’, ‘patron’, or ‘supporter’.<sup>20</sup> In the context of the conciliar legislation of thirteenth-century Languedoc, it was used to mean supporters of the heretics. It is, therefore, a bit of a leap to claim that it meant the same thing as *faiditus*, the use of which, as we have seen in the above texts, suggests that its precise definition may have differed according to context.

First and foremost, this means that we should approach the *faiditi* of the inquisition records with an open mind. Unsurprisingly, given the purpose of these texts, where the word is used it is always to identify somebody who was guilty of heresy to some degree. However, as is shown in table 4.1, below, it was by no means used exclusively to identify aristocratic supporters of the Cathars. This in fact aligns with what we have already observed: that there is little outside the *Chanson* to suggest that *faiditi* referred to an exclusively aristocratic group. The difference between the two columns in the table is that the first represents the number of times that the word *faiditus* was used in the records overall, including repeated references to the same individuals, whereas the second represents the number of different individuals who were identified as *faiditi*.

Table 4.1: The social backgrounds of *faiditi* in the inquisition records.

	No. of references to <i>faiditi</i>	No. of individual <i>faiditi</i> reported
Aristocratic	8	6
Not aristocratic	2	2
Unknown social background	29	24

<sup>19</sup> O’Shea, *The Perfect Heresy*, p. 107. See also the index, p. 321, where entry is ‘Faidits (fautores)’. Pegg, *Most Holy War*, p. 117.

<sup>20</sup> *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources: A-L* (London, 1975), p. 911, ‘Favere’.

Certainly, these figures show that many members of the aristocracy were identified as *faiditi*. However, this may well reflect the bias of the records rather than the social reality. Indeed, at least two men are identified as *faiditi* who were not aristocratic: Raymond Brezeg and Raymond Sirvens. Raymond Sirvens was the *rusticus* of Raymond of Roqueville, and Raymond Brezeg was his associate, equally subject to the orders of Raymond of Roqueville.<sup>21</sup> In addition to this, it is likely (if difficult to prove) that many of those twenty-four individuals belonging to unknown social backgrounds were also not aristocratic, because members of the aristocracy are often identified in the text with the use of a title such as ‘lord’, ‘lady’, or ‘knight’.

This already casts significant doubt over the traditional identification of the *faiditi* as aristocratic. However, in order to fully respond to the historiographic construction of *faiditi* as aristocratic, we first need to investigate whether the *faiditi* of the inquisition records interacted with Cathars in socially distinctive ways.

In doing this, this chapter draws on material from the inquisition trials that took place in the 1270s and have survived in the Doat 25-26 documents in addition to the Toulouse 609 manuscript and Doat 22-24. These later records are used more in this chapter than elsewhere in the dissertation, because one of its aims is to investigate patterns of adherence across a wider chronological range, bringing discussion of the period of declining aristocratic involvement, following the fall of Montségur and the inquisitorial trials of the 1240s, to bear on the historiographical emphasis on aristocratic support for the Cathars.

In modern scholarship, the term *faiditus* is heavy with connotations of aristocracy. However, in the inquisition records themselves, I find that the meaning of *faiditi* as a category overlaps significantly with two other categories, those of the *fugitivi* and the *condemnati*. Individuals labelled *faiditus*, *fugitivus* and/or *condemnatus* in the inquisition records had all been marked out on a social level because of their participation in heresy. Individuals proven guilty were condemned (*condemnatus*) and sentenced accordingly. In cases where the *condemnatus* was judged relapsed (*relapsus*), they would be removed from society, sentenced to either perpetual prison or, in the case of those who had been previously warned, death by burning. Many fled rather than face such a fate. According to the canons of the 1243/4 council of Narbonne, in terms of

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<sup>21</sup> Raymond of Roqueville, 609.216r.

inquisitorial categories of guilt, such individuals were classified as ‘rebels’ for failing to abide by (or even present themselves to hear) the sentences they were given.<sup>22</sup> They became fugitives (*fugitivi*). Thus, a person who was *condemnatus* often ended up a *fugitivus*, and a *fugitivus* had often been a *condemnatus*. This degree of overlap can be seen in the inquisition records where the terms are used either in concert by the same deponent (or scribe) or by different deponents (or scribes) to label the same individual, as is shown in table 4.2, below. This overlap in meaning is even more apparent in the deposition of Petronilla, the wife of Daide of *Bras*, whose deposition states that she was asked whether she had ever seen a *fugitivum pro haeresi*. In the following statement, it is recorded that she had indeed, William from Albi, who told her that he was a *faiditus de terra*.<sup>23</sup>

Table 4.2: Overlap in use of the terms *faiditus*, *fugitivus*, and *condemnatus* in the inquisition records.

Individual	Terminology used	Deposition	Date
Barta	<i>condemnatus</i>	Ar. of Roumagne, 609.112v	c. 1244
	<i>faiditus</i>	Peter of Beauville, 25.316v-17r	c. 1251
John of Roumégoux	<i>faiditus</i>	Amblard Vassal of Laroque, 25.186v-87r	1266-72
	<i>fugitivus</i>		
Peter Bess	<i>fugitivus</i>	Amblard Vassal of Laroque, 25.186v-87r	1266-72
	<i>faiditus</i>		
Peter of Mazerolles	<i>faiditus</i>	Peter of Beauville, 25.316v-17r	c. 1251
	<i>condemnatus</i>	William Faure, 609.85v	1244
Sicard of Roumégoux	<i>fugitivus</i>	Amblard Vassal of Laroque, 25.185r-v	c. 1266-70

<sup>22</sup> Council of Narbonne (1243/4), Mansixxiii, cols. 355-66. A&B, pp. 240.

<sup>23</sup> Petronilla, wife of Daide of Bras, 25.4v.



	<i>faiditus</i>	Amblard Vassal of Laroque, 25.185r-v	c. 1266
Peter of Beauville	<i>fugitivus</i>	Peter of Beauville, 26.1r-2r	1279
	<i>condemnatus</i>	Peter William of Roqueville, 25.131v-12v	1263-64

It was unusual for *condemnatus* and *fugitivus* to be used to refer to the same individual, because these terms were each favoured by different registers. Whereas the tribunals of the 1240s that produced the Toulouse 609 and Doat 22-24 documents preferred to use the legal status *condemnatus* to describe errant individuals, the scribes from the Doat 25-26 tribunals in the 1270s more commonly used *fugitivus*. This inconsistency is demonstrated in table 4.3, below, where the numbers in brackets represent the numbers of individuals referred to using each term, as opposed to the total number of times the terms were used in each of the registers. The disparity could be explained as a result of the spate of condemnations which occurred in the 1240s meaning that for many, *condemnatus* was the more relevant description, whereas by the 1270s, those who had been condemned a long time ago had become fugitives. This result could indicate that the *fugitivi* in the later registers had avoided condemnation, or perhaps had managed to evade contact with the inquisitors entirely, for example by fleeing to Italy, although we can see from table 4.2, above, that at least for Peter of Beauville this was not the case.

Table 4.3: Use of the terms *faiditus*, *fugitivus*, and *condemnatus* in different sets of inquisitorial registers.

	Toulouse 609	Doat 22-24	Doat 25-26	Total
<i>Faiditus</i>	13 (13)	3 (3)	23 (18)	39 (34)
<i>Condemnatus</i>	85 (25)	13 (9)	5 (5)	103 (39)
<i>Fugitivus</i>	1	0	76 (65)	77 (66)

It is useful to look at these categories together because although in practice *condemnatus* and *fugitivus* were often used to refer to the same individuals in the inquisition records as *faiditus*, they do not carry the same connotations of aristocracy in the historiography of heresy. Therefore, including them in the discussion allows us to build a more balanced picture of the individuals and groups who were persecuted for their involvement with Catharism. Their inclusion also permits the introduction of more data to our study.

Table 4.4: The social backgrounds of *condemnati* and *fugitivi* in the inquisition records.

	No. references to <i>condemnati</i>	No. individual <i>condemnati</i> reported	No. references to <i>fugitivi</i>	No. individual <i>fugitivi</i> reported
Aristocratic	85	14	4	4
Not aristocratic	3	3	19	15
Unknown social background	15	14	54	47

Despite common use by historians of heresy, the word *faiditus* appears relatively rarely in the inquisition records. In total, in the Toulouse and Doat registers, the word *faiditus* was used on only thirty-nine separate occasions, and as we saw in table 4.1 above, in the majority of these instances it is impossible to determine the social backgrounds of the individuals identified. This is also true of some *condemnati* and many *fugitivi*, as is shown in table 4.4 above, but at the very least we can say that the inclusion of these groups introduces more identifiable cases, which will help us to assess the experiences of aristocratic and non-aristocratic *faiditi*, *condemnati*, and *fugitivi* in the following sections. It also shows a clearly identifiable chronological pattern signified by the greater numbers of aristocratic *condemnati*, who dominated the registers of the 1240s, and the greater number of non-aristocratic *fugitivi*, who were a significant presence in the registers of the 1270s. We will return to this shift in the status of individuals persecuted for their associations with Catharism below.

### A support network for *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati*

In many ways, aristocratic *faiditi*, *fugitivi* or *condemnati* do not appear to have behaved or been treated differently from their non-aristocratic equivalents. All those who were condemned by or who fled from the inquisitors suffered the loss of their position in society, and as a result many became dependent on the very support network in which they had once played vital roles.

The inquisition records allow us to trace this transition because, as noted above, knowingly associating with individuals who had been condemned for being *credentes* or *fautores* of the heretics was a crime in and of itself, and inquisitors routinely questioned deponents about it. This practice is explicit in the deposition of Petronilla, the wife of Daide of *Bras*, recorded in 1273, which states: ‘Asked whether she ever saw a *fugitivum pro hæresi* she said that she did.’<sup>24</sup>

In Petronilla’s deposition, as in almost every deposition which records the witnessing of a *faiditus*, *fugitivus* or *condemnatus*, this question was clearly posed only after the original line of questioning, concerning the sighting of, or interaction with a Cathar, had been concluded. Thus, in the Toulouse 609 register, it is common to find phrasing identical or similar to that which is recorded in the deposition of Adam Vitalis:

On the year and day aforesaid, Adam Vitalis, sworn in as a witness said the same [i.e. that he never saw a heretic or heard one preaching]. Nevertheless, he said that he often saw Peter of Mazerolles, *de heresi condemnatum*, lord of the same witness, in the same witness’s own house in Plaigne, and he often ate and drank and slept there.<sup>25</sup>

This manner of phrasing and organising the text strongly implies that association with *faiditi*, *fugitivi* or *condemnati* was not perceived to be as serious a crime as direct association with the Cathars themselves. However, it was serious enough to merit investigation, allowing us to see the ways that *faiditi* came to draw assistance from their former networks.

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<sup>24</sup> Petronilla, wife of Daide of *Bras*, 25.4v.

<sup>25</sup> Adam Vitalis, 609.85r. For other examples of similar phrasing, see Hugo Teuler, 609.60v; P. Pastadz, 609.85v; Peter of Puy, 609.181v; Huga, 609.183r.

Key forms of support, and the distribution of the social backgrounds of the recipient *faiditi*, *fugitivi*, and *condemnati* are recorded in table 4.5, below. In total, there are 219 references to *faiditi*, *fugitivi*, and *condemnati* in the Toulouse and Doat registers, not including those occasions where the terms were included in the question.<sup>26</sup> These references represent a total of 110 individuals – with many being repeatedly identified using these terms.<sup>27</sup> The aristocracy featured in between forty and sixty per cent of these references. The percentage of aristocratic individuals – excluding repeated references to the same individuals – is lower, between twenty-three per cent and forty per cent, suggesting that repeated references were more likely to be made to aristocratic *faiditi*, *fugitivi*, or *condemnati*. This could either be explained by the fact that members of the aristocratic support network were better connected, or that the inquisitors were been more interested in recording the activities of the aristocracy. Although both sets of figures show significant proportions of references to aristocratic *faiditi*, they also indicate that many non-aristocratic *faiditi* received similar kinds of support from their networks.

Table 4.5: The types of support given to *faiditi*, *fugitivi*, or *condemnati* from different social backgrounds.

	Received	Ate with	Received overnight	Sent things
No. references to <i>faiditi</i> receiving this aid	101	70	34	45
No. individual <i>faiditi</i> receiving this aid	48	34	21	22
No. references (aristocratic)	44	32	13	26
No. individuals (aristocratic)	14	8	6	9
% aristocratic references	43.6	45.7	38.2	57.8
% aristocratic individuals	31.8	23.5	28.6	40.9

<sup>26</sup> For example, see Petronilla, 25.4v, quoted in the text above.

<sup>27</sup> For example, Alaman of Rouaix was referred to as *condemnatus* on twenty separate occasions.

Of the various forms of interaction and support lent to both aristocratic and non-aristocratic *faiditi*, *fugitivi*, and *condemnati*, receiving them was by far the most common. In total, forty-eight individuals were witnessed being given refuge in somebody else's home, of whom fourteen were aristocratic. The records include references to the knights Bartacius, Catbertus, Peter of Mazerolles, Raymond Arnold of Puy, Raymond of Cabaret, Raymond Roger of Toulouse, William Alfaric and William Faure, all of whom received shelter in the early 1240s, and several of whom received shelter on many occasions.<sup>28</sup> Arnold of Roumagne told the inquisitors that Raymond Roger and Bartacius often came to his house in around 1241.<sup>29</sup> In January 1246, *Domina* Veziada, wife of the knight, Pons of Castille, told the inquisitor that her sister, *Domina* Brunissens, received Raymond Arnold, William Faure, Raymond of Cabaret and Raymond of Puy two or three times in around 1241. This was later corroborated by *Domina* Brunissens, herself, and her son, Peter of Puy, both of whom were interrogated on 30 June 1246.<sup>30</sup>

Both Arnold of Roumagne and Brunissens admitted that they had not only received *condemnati* knights, but shared food with them and permitted them to stay overnight. In fact, such generosity was commonly meted out to many *faiditi*, *fugitivi*, and *condemnati* by their receivers, regardless of social background. There were altogether 101 references to *faiditi*, *fugitivi*, or *condemnati* who were received (representing forty-eight individuals). In thirty-four cases (involving twenty-one individuals, six of whom were identifiably aristocratic), they were also permitted to stay overnight, and in fifty-one (involving twenty-nine individuals, eight of whom were identifiably aristocratic) they also shared food or a meal with their host.

As suggested, generosity within the support network was not uniquely offered to aristocratic *faiditi*, *fugitivi*, and *condemnati*. Arnold of Clerens confessed that he had often given refuge to Raymond Sirvens, the aforementioned *rusticus* of Raymond of Roqueville, and his companion, Raymond Brezeg, after good men were captured in

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<sup>28</sup> For example, see the depositions of Raymond Aiffre, 23.85r-v, Peter of Puy, 609.181v; *Domina* Brunissen, wife of the late P. of Pennautier, 609.181r, Ar. of Roumagne, 609.112v; Pons Faure of Villeneuve-la-Comptal, 24.121r-v.

<sup>29</sup> Ar. of Roumagne, 609.112v.

<sup>30</sup> *Domina* Veziada, wife of Pons of Castille, 609.181v; *Domina* Brunissens, wife of the late P. of Pennautier, 609.181r; Peter of Puy, 609.181v.

their house. Arnold's deposition states that he often allowed the two into his home, and that they ate and slept there in around 1235.<sup>31</sup>

There appear to have been some individuals who specifically concerned themselves with locating lodgings for *faiditi*, *fugitivi*, and *condemnati* in need. In the time between 1266 and 1272, Peter of Rouzet, not only hosted the *faiditus*, Amblard Vassal of Laroque, and four of his companions in the house he shared with his mother and brother in Quercy, he also sourced places for the female *fugitivi*, Astruga of La Barthe and Petrona Rothanda, to stay.<sup>32</sup>

Supplying the *faiditi*, *fugitivi*, and *condemnati* with food or other provisions was another, arguably lower-risk, way of lending support. The records tell us that a number of knights, including Bartacius, Raymond Roger, William Faure, Raymond Arnold of Puy, Catbertus, Raymond of Cabaret, and Peter of Mazerolles, all received food during their time as *condemnati*. Peter of Mazerolles, in particular, we know was kept supplied for a period of around two years while he was hiding in the woods between 1243 and 1245.<sup>33</sup>

Again, however, supplies were not exclusively reserved for the aristocracy. Indeed, some individuals seem to have been widely recognised as hospitable to passing *faiditi*, *fugitivi*, and *condemnati*, in the same way that many were to the Cathars themselves. For example, Amblard Vassal heard that Raymunda Pradier 'would willingly give the same witness a meal if he passed by there,' and he heard the same of Raymunda of La Combe. Taking advantage of this open offer, Amblard and his travel companion, Peter Bess, ate twice in Raymunda's house, and she also had wine sent to them on at least one occasion in 1272 (although it is unclear to which Raymunda he is referring).<sup>34</sup> These examples show that the *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati* shared some similar experiences in terms of the support they received from their former networks, regardless of their social backgrounds.

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<sup>31</sup> Arnold of Clerens, 609.223r, 224v.

<sup>32</sup> Amblard Vassal of Laroque, 25.186v-87r.

<sup>33</sup> William Faure, 609. 85v; Peter Cordis of Ferrus, 609.85r; P. Pastadz, 609.85v and Ar. Pelicer, 609.86r.

<sup>34</sup> Amblard Vassal of Laroque, 25.188r-89v.

## Refuge in Lombardy

For many, relying on the Cathar support network for aid was not a permanent solution. A number of aristocratic and non-aristocratic *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati* attempted to escape the reach of the inquisitors by fleeing to Italy. Caterina Bruschi has written extensively on these ‘mass migrations’, which occurred in direct response to the hardening of inquisitorial policy, the first during the period after the Albigensian Crusade, especially after the fall of Montségur in the 1240s, and the second in the 1270s.<sup>35</sup> These travels were well documented by the inquisitors, who were interested in the connections between two regions which were known for their high levels of Cathar support.<sup>36</sup>

Travelling to Italy to escape persecution was an option available to anyone able to make the journey, not just the aristocracy. The routes that were most commonly taken by fugitives were probably those that already existed and had, prior to the ‘mass migrations’, primarily been used by merchants, especially those linked to the cloth trade.<sup>37</sup> A pre-established route would certainly have made the journey appear less daunting and would have meant that many of the people who embarked on the journey south into Italy would already have known about the houses where they could find shelter along the way, or if not, then they would have known where to find the individuals who could help them.<sup>38</sup>

The records show that many fugitives travelled along these routes into ‘Lombardy’, which according to Bruschi appears to refer to a much larger area in the inquisition records than the Lombards themselves would have understood it to mean. The most frequently mentioned towns and cities were Pavia, Cremona and Piacenza, followed by Genoa, Cuneo and Alessandria. The highest numbers of established hospices and meeting places were recorded in Pavia and Piacenza.<sup>39</sup> It is, however, worth noting that

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<sup>35</sup> C. Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics of Languedoc* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 59, 75. The following discussion draws upon Bruschi’s work on Cathar migration. See also A. Roach, *The Devil’s World. Heresy and Society, 1100-1300* (Harlow, 2005), pp. 149-51.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60, esp. n. 17. Bruschi notes that these ideas about pre-existing routes, not established in direct response to inquisitorial persecution, have not been popular in the historiography, but they have actually been around since 1938 – see J. Guiraud, *Histoire de l’Inquisition au moyen âge*, 2 vols (Paris, 1935-8), ii.245-65.

<sup>38</sup> Bruschi, *Wandering Heretics*, pp. 59-60.

<sup>39</sup> Bruschi, *Wandering Heretics*, pp. 77-78 and the footnotes to these pages.

the depositions also refer to towns and cities as far afield as Bologna, Naples, Sicily and Rome.<sup>40</sup>

In total, there are forty references to *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati* either making the trip to Italy, or who had already settled there. These references relate the experiences of thirty individuals, although it must be noted that this number only includes those who were identified as *faiditi*, *fugitivi*, or *condemnati* in the inquisition records, and it is likely that many others made similar journeys.<sup>41</sup> These people belonged to a broad range of social backgrounds. For example, Raymond Baussan listed twenty-two *fugitivos propter hæresim* from the Toulouse region who had lived in Alessandria from around 1264, including one cleric (Pons Fogacier), two money-lenders (William Ferrand and Arnold Lombard), two diggers (William of Péreille and Raymond Isarn of Saint-Martin-Lalande), and two weavers (Peter Massa and Bernard Prim). As for the aristocratic contingent, Raymond and Bernard of Roqueville, two brothers belonging to one of our case study families, fled to Lombardy and settled down in Cremona, where they chose to make the ultimate commitment to their religion and become good men.<sup>42</sup>

Regardless of social background, it seems to have been desirable for many who left to try and take family members with them, or at least arrange to meet up with family members either en route or after reaching their destinations. Of the Toulousans listed by Raymond Baussan, five – Aimery Sirvent, Arnold Lombard, John of Na Arnaud, William Corona of Rabat and William of Péreille – had their wives with them. Pons Fogacier, the cleric, had fled with his brother, William Corona of Rabat, and his wife had also brought their son, Peter, and Arnold Lombard, the money-lender, and his wife had made the journey with her sister, Sybil.<sup>43</sup>

For those who were not familiar with the journey, or who were travelling separately, it was sometimes necessary to employ messengers or guides to assist them. For some, this proved an expensive affair. For example, Bernard Escolau told the inquisitors that his father, Peter, paid a guide forty shillings of Tournois to take him to Pavia in Lombardy, where he stayed with him for four years.<sup>44</sup> In a further case, Amblard Vassal told the

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., pp. 58, 76.

<sup>41</sup> There are many more such examples in Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics*, esp. pp. 50-99, 'Catharism and its mobility', and *passim*.

<sup>42</sup> Peter of Beauville, 25.301r.

<sup>43</sup> Raymond Baussan, 25.146v.

<sup>44</sup> Bernard Escolau, 25.244v.



inquisitor how Peter of Roumégoux had summoned him into the woods, accusing him of wishing to hand over the good men and their believers. According to Amblard, in order to get rid of him, Peter had even offered to take him to Lombardy and cover his expenses for the trip.<sup>45</sup> Amblard did not accept, but the fact that the issue of expenses was raised at all suggests that they may have discouraged poorer fugitives from making the journey.

However, the journey did not have to incur great costs. The deposition of Peter of Laurac of Montgaillard states that when, in around 1256, Peter of Beauville wished to take his wife into Lombardy, he paid Peter of Laurac just twelve pennies to bring her on a pony as far as Montréal. We learn from a later deposition that Peter of Beauville's wife did complete the journey. Peter William of Roqueville told the inquisitor in 1274 that she was present when he had stayed in Peter of Beauville's lodging in Piacenza. Unfortunately, though, the date of the visit was not recorded.<sup>46</sup> As this kind of endeavour shows, although one might need access to some base level of resources to secure the necessary payment, this did not have to be prohibitive, and would have been helped in some cases by the fact that many of the services that were provided within the Cathar support network, for the Cathars themselves, but also for the *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati* as we saw above, were performed in kind, as a result of favours owed or previously established ties with others in the network.

### **Pre-existing ties of the *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati***

Heresy sentences were designed to separate individuals from normal society, whether by issuing crosses to mark them out as different, or by physically separating them by means of imprisonment, or even death. Despite having evaded their punishments, *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati* were still marked out by their associations with heretics. Effectively, their old status, which allowed them to live freely in society, had to be abandoned, as they were forced away from public life into hiding.

The question is: did this level the playing field? Were *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati* perceived as belonging to a single group within the Cathar support network, defined by their new marginal position in society? Or did social background create differentiation?

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<sup>45</sup> Amblard Vassal of Laroque, 25.185r-v.

<sup>46</sup> Peter William of Roqueville, 25.131v-32v.

Pre-existing ties are crucial to the way we think about answering this question. On the one hand, all *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati*, regardless of social background, benefited from the social ties they had previously forged. Many stayed in touch with their families, who often assisted them with such basic matters as locating shelter and supplies. For example, a Willelma Alboara confessed that she had taken in her son, a good man, and another *fugitivus*.<sup>47</sup> Peter of Beauville noted that India of Roqueville was keeping her husband, Bertrand, hidden in their house in Montgaillard in around 1251, and Amblard Vassal told inquisitors that around 1268, Arnold, the brother-in-law of John Barrau, one of Amblard's companions, brought John and Amblard some cake, a gourd full of wine, and a piece of salt meat.<sup>48</sup> Former colleagues could also prove useful in this sense. For example, Amblard Vassal also noted a time when one of his companions, John of Roumégoux, used his former connection with Peter Guiraman, who had 'woven with him for a long time', to secure them lodging in Peter's house in Figeac sometime in between 1266 and 1272.<sup>49</sup>

However, at the same time, social background shaped these pre-existing ties, and had a significant effect on what they could achieve. Indeed, the records indicate that aristocratic or otherwise influential *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati* were more often able to use their positions in society to secure the assistance they needed for their new lifestyles. This was especially true of dependent relationships. For example, Peter of Mazerolles was able to live for several years as a *condemnatus* in the woods near Gajalla-Selve, once the seat of his lordship, thanks to the assistance of five individuals, two of whom had been former dependents of Peter's, and the others who had been coerced by Peter's greatest ally, his wife, Ermengarda, who herself admitted that she often saw Peter after he had been condemned.<sup>50</sup> Adam Vitalis, who had been Peter's *baiulus*, often hosted his former lord in his house in Plaigne, where Peter sometimes stayed the night, and sometimes shared a meal.<sup>51</sup> The others all confessed to taking food and drink to Peter in his woodland hideout. William Faure, who is similarly described as Peter's *baiulus*, seems to have done this of his own volition – he specifically notes that he continued to perform this task even after Peter sent him away.<sup>52</sup> Peter Cordis claimed

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<sup>47</sup> Willelma Alboara, wife of P. of Alboara, 609.75r.

<sup>48</sup> Peter of Beauville, 25.317r-v. Amblard Vassal of Laroque, 25.186v-87r.

<sup>49</sup> Amblard Vassal of Laroque, 25.189r-v.

<sup>50</sup> Ermengarda, wife of Peter of Mazerolles, 609.196v.

<sup>51</sup> Adam Vitalis, 609.85r; William Faure, 609.85v.

<sup>52</sup> William Faure, 609.85v: *etiam postquam dimisit baliviam*.

that he only took food to Peter because he was following the orders of William Faure.<sup>53</sup> Similarly, P. Pastadz and Arnold Pelicer both claimed to have been following the orders of Peter's wife, Ermengarda.<sup>54</sup>

Peter was not the only one who came to rely on connections such as these. According to Philip Carbonel of Mirepoix, Peter Roger of Mirepoix, *condempnatus de haeresi*, had come to his house in Tarascon in the Sabarthès, one night, probably between 1242 and 1245. Not knowing who was there, Philip answered, and when he saw it was Peter Roger, 'could not deny him entry', suggesting that Philip did not possess the authority to deny entry to Peter Roger, whom he still perceived as a great lord.<sup>55</sup>

Another revealing case here is that of the knight, Gerald Unaud, who seemed to believe (incorrectly, as it happens) that his pre-existing connections might be used to repair his relationship with the Catholic church. Whilst staying with Peter William of Roqueville in Piacenza in around 1263, Gerald asked Peter William to take a message to his wife, Mirota. This message was essentially an attempt to goad Mirota into using her influence with the church to change its opinion of him.<sup>56</sup> Peter William admitted that he never delivered this message, so we do not know whether Mirota was amenable to her husband's appeal, but the very fact that Gerald had thought that she might be able to alter his sentence suggests that he expected their connections could pay off.

The ability to exploit pre-existing connections was not exclusive to aristocratic *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati*. It was also used by other influential fugitives. Peter of Beauville provides a good example of this. Peter, who was often referred to as a *nuncius* by other deponents, in fact played a far more important and wide-ranging role in the Cathar support system than the modern translation 'messenger' really gets across. Indeed, Bruschi finds that he owned a number of residences and had hospices in Pavia, Avignon, Cuneo and Piacenza, which were used as stopping points, to facilitate the trips that he and many others made between Languedoc and Lombardy.<sup>57</sup> However, for some reason, perhaps because he did not wish to incriminate or increase the chance of capture of his wife, Peter called upon his tie with the knight, Bego of Roqueville, for aid in

<sup>53</sup> Peter Cordis of Ferrus, 609.85r.

<sup>54</sup> P. Pastadz, 609.85v; Ar. Peliceri, 609.86r.

<sup>55</sup> Philip Carbonel of Mirepoix, 22.200r.

<sup>56</sup> Peter William of Roqueville, 25.132v-33r. Message: 'si ipse esset in loco dictae dominae, et e contra ipsa in loco dicti Guiraudi, [et] haberet tantum posse cum ecclesia quantum ipsa habebat, ipse Guiraldus curaret qualiter videret eam.'

<sup>57</sup> Bruschi, *Wandering Heretics*, pp. 68-69. See also Peter of Beauville, 25.304r, 323r, 310v, 319v.

ensuring his wife's safe passage, at least as far as Montréal. In response, Bego ordered the squire, Peter of Laurac, to escort her on a pony.<sup>58</sup> There are several records in the depositions of Peter acting in the company of the fugitive brothers, Bego and Bertrand of Roqueville, and it is clear that they shared a close relationship, despite differences in social background. For example, Peter told the inquisitor that he had heard the preaching of two good men, Pons of Sainte-Foy and Peter of Prat, in the house of Bertrand of Roqueville and his wife, India, on three occasions in 1251. Bego had also been present, along with his and Bertrand's mother, Aicelina.<sup>59</sup> Around the same time, Peter recalled that when he had been in the house with the brothers and two other good men, Bertrand had found out that the *bailli* of Saint-Romain intended to come there to search for good men, prompting a hasty escape made by all of them through 'a certain hole in the wall'. The group reconvened in the brothers' vineyard, from where the good men went their separate way and Peter and the Roqueville brothers returned to the house late that evening.<sup>60</sup>

Another influential figure of questionable aristocratic status is Alaman of Rouaix. Based on evidence from the mid-twelfth century onward, the Rouaix family appears to have been on the margins of nobility.<sup>61</sup> They initially appeared in Toulouse as part of the count's service personnel, and were probably of rather modest means.<sup>62</sup> However, there were some hints of aristocratic status from the beginning of the thirteenth century. For example, from November 1222, Alaman himself was in training to become a knight under Sicard of Montaut, in the household of William Unaud, lord of Lanta.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, another family member, Aimeric, a descendant of the brother of Alaman's grandfather, bore the title *dominus* during the time when he was a consul of Toulouse in 1270 and 1271, an honorific which at this time and in this context was indicative of noble status.<sup>64</sup> For Mundy, it was the family's continuing attachment to Catharism which hampered their 'attempts to enter the nobility'.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Peter of Laurac of Montgaillard, 26.70v.

<sup>59</sup> Peter of Beauville, 25.317r-v.

<sup>60</sup> Peter of Beauville, 26.1r-2r.

<sup>61</sup> The following passage draws upon Mundy's study of the Rouaix family. See his *The Repression of Catharism at Toulouse: The Royal Diploma of 1279* (Toronto, 1985), pp. 251-67.

<sup>62</sup> Mundy, *The Repression*, p. 252.

<sup>63</sup> Mundy, *The Repression*, pp. 256-57.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 265. For further discussion of 'class' and its vocabulary in the Toulousan context, see Mundy, *Society and government at Toulouse in the age of the Cathars* (Toronto, 1997), pp. 32-38, 'B. Classes and orders'; pp. 93-99, 'B. knights and Nobles' and pp. 99-104, 'C. Order definitions'.

<sup>65</sup> Mundy, *The Repression*, p. 267.

In the inquisition records, Alaman's name is often mentioned alongside those of other knights, suggesting that he kept company with the aristocracy. What is more, it is clear that his position in society, even after he was condemned, was secure enough to ensure that he received hospitality from certain individuals, such as the knight, Amelius of Bosquet, who confessed that he had given food to Alaman twice, but added that he had done so 'more out of fear than love.'<sup>66</sup> Amelius appears not to have been alone in feeling this way. The deponent Poncius Cavet told the inquisitor that he 'often saw Alaman of Rouaix, condemned for heresy, his lord, in his own house [Poncius's house]; and he ate and drank and slept there, because he did not dare to forbid [him] anything he wanted to do to him and with him.'<sup>67</sup> There is evidence that at least ten individuals received Alaman of Roaix into their homes, probably throughout the early 1240s, although unfortunately only two of the items are dated. Alaman often stayed with Arnold of Roumagne, Pons Cavet, Iacobus of Villèle and Peter Barot. He was invited to eat with P. of Gardouch, Mateuz, Arnold of Roumagne, Ermessens of Mazerolles, Pons Cavet and Peter Barot, and he stayed overnight in the houses of P. of Gardouch, Arnold of Roumagne, Pons Cavet and Peter Barot. Peter of Monts also received Alaman's family: his son and both of his daughters, and Pons of Cavet received his entire *familia*.<sup>68</sup> This suggests that whether or not Alaman and his family were formerly accepted into the ranks of the aristocracy (and it should be noted I have counted him as such for the purpose of the above surveys), it was his fearsome reputation which carried the weight to secure whatever assistance he desired even subsequent to his condemnation. The connections between *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati*, and the power of the individuals with whom they had pre-existing relationships come together here, suggesting that power and influence were preserved despite the loss of the more traditional and tangible trappings of aristocracy.

At the other end of the social spectrum, there is evidence that individuals lacking in these kinds of connections could struggle under the weight of a heresy condemnation. At the beginning of the first of his surviving depositions, recorded in 1276, Arnold of Cimordan is described as 'a fugitive from the prison of Toulouse'. Apparently fleeing

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<sup>66</sup> Amelius of Bosquet, 609.213v.

<sup>67</sup> Pons Cavet, 609.205r. The Latin of the last section of this ('quia non erat ausus quicquid vellet sibi et secum facere prohibere') is complicated, and it is possible that a mistake was made in the transcription. Many thanks are owed to Shelagh Sneddon for her help in translating it.

<sup>68</sup> P. of Gardouch, 609.45v; Mateuz, wife of P. of Gardouch, 609.45v; Ar. of Roumagne, 609.112v; Ermessens, wife of Arnold of Mazerolles, 609.123v; *Domina* Mateuz, wife of Raymond Stephen, 609.130r; Pons Cavet, 609.205r; William Barrau, 609.205v; Iacobus of Villèle, 609.205v; Bernard Paget, 609.205v; Peter Barot, 609.210v.

prison because he lacked the basic resources for survival, such as food and clothes, Arnold lived as a fugitive for a number of years. He worked for the abbot of Feuillants, assisting with the grape harvest and collection of wood. Rather than receive payment, Arnold claimed that he revealed himself to several officials at the abbey, trying to bribe them to reconcile him, or to further his cause for reconciliation. However, this was to no avail – he was simply told by the abbot that he must return to prison. He eventually got married, and as he put it, ‘lived in many other places, incognito to all except Bernarda, his wife, now deceased, and Peter, his son’, until the inquisitors eventually caught up with him.<sup>69</sup> Arnold’s story gives the impression of someone desperately trying to claw back a place in society, only able to have a life outside prison by hiding the truth from those around him.

In general, then, we can say that on the one hand, aristocratic *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati* shared many of the experiences of their non-aristocratic counterparts, in terms of the kinds of aid they received from their support networks, and of the refuge many sought across the border. This ought to be taken into account in the historiography, which too often uses the term *faiditus* to mark out the aristocratic experience. On the other hand, the ties that existed between *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati* and their families and other individuals involved in their lives prior to persecution could produce socially distinctive experiences.

### **The *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati*: Continued support for the Cathars**

Historians of heresy have traditionally drawn a clear distinction between the demographics of the Cathar support base before and after the 1240s. They depict the aristocracy as among the key supporters of the Cathars prior to the fall of Montségur and intense series of inquisitorial trials of the 1240s, but note that their level of participation diminished markedly subsequent to this period, when many had to flee or else face imprisonment and dispossession.

The data on *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati* largely supports this view. Table 4.6, below, shows the distribution of those belonging to different social backgrounds, as they were identified in the different inquisition registers. Again, the numbers in brackets

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<sup>69</sup> Arnold of Cimordan, 25.219v-25r.

represent the numbers of individuals reported compared with the overall number of times the words were used.

Table 4.6: Use of the terms *faiditus*, *fugitivus*, and *condemnatus* to describe individuals belonging to different social backgrounds in the different inquisition registers.

	Toulouse 609			Doat 22-24			Doat 25-26		
	Aristocratic	Not aristocratic	Unknown social background	Aristocratic	Not aristocratic	Unknown social background	Aristocratic	Not aristocratic	Unknown social background
<i>Faiditus</i>	4 (4)	2 (2)	7 (7)	1	0	2 (2)	3 (3)	1	19 (14)
<i>Condemnatus</i>	72 (12)	1	12 (12)	11 (7)	0	2 (2)	2 (2)	2 (2)	1
<i>Fugitivus</i>	0	0	1	0	0	0	4 (4)	19 (15)	53 (46)
Total	76 (16)	1	20 (20)	12 (8)	0	4 (4)	9 (9)	22 (17)	73 (61)

These figures show that in the Toulouse 609 register the references to *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati* pointed to individuals who were identifiably aristocratic on over three times as many occasions than they did to individuals who were either non-aristocratic or of unidentifiable social background. In Doat 25-26, on the other hand, only nine out of 104 references pointed to aristocratic individuals. As suggested in the introduction to this chapter, chronology is the key factor behind this change. Whereas the records that have survived in Toulouse 609 and Doat 22-24, were originally made in the 1240s, those that have survived in Doat 25-26 were originally made in the 1270s, by which time the aristocracy had mostly either abandoned their Cathar beliefs or fled to Lombardy where they could continue to support the Cathars or even become good men and women themselves away from the reach of the inquisitors.

Table 4.7: The types of support given to *faiditi* from different social backgrounds from before 1230 until after 1270.

	Received		Ate with		Received overnight		Sent things	
	No. refs.	No. refs. (aristocratic)	No. refs.	No. refs. (aristocratic)	No. refs.	No. refs. (aristocratic)	No. refs.	No. refs. (aristocratic)
Total dated	76	30	49	20	22	7	39	20
Before 1230	4	3	5	4	0	0	0	0
1230-1249	35	23	24	15	14	7	25	20
1250-1269	29	4	15	0	4	0	5	0
1270+	20	0	14	0	7	0	12	0

An investigation of the aid that aristocratic and non-aristocratic *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati* received over time, yields similar results, as seen in table 4.7, above. These figures show that in roughly two thirds of these cases in the 1230s and 1240s, the *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati* who received aid were identifiably aristocratic. From 1250 onwards, only four of the references recorded were to aristocratic *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati*, compared with 106 references in total, including both non-aristocratic individuals, and individuals belonging to unidentified social backgrounds. After 1270, aristocratic *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati* are completely absent from the records, but there are still fifty-four references to those belonging to other or unidentified social groups.

This supports the general modern view in the sense that it shows less aristocratic participation in Catharism after the 1240s. At the same time, however, it raises the question of whether the continued support of other social groups might have been more important than has traditionally been stated. The *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati* provide a useful angle from which to investigate this question because evidence suggests that non-aristocratic *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati* were better able to maintain active roles in the Cathar support networks than were their non-aristocratic counterparts.

Condemnation for heresy had a major impact on an individual's ability to continue to actively support the Cathars. Indeed, out of a total 110 *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati* identified in the records, just twenty-six were witnessed in the presence of the good men



or women in the same passages as they were identified using these categories. As noted above, most ceased to actively contribute to the Cathar support network, and instead began to draw support from it. How did social background influence this change? Firstly, amongst aristocratic *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati*, we witness a marked ‘closing off’ from the rest of society. The higher status enjoyed by members of the aristocracy and their families prior to condemnation had both advantages and disadvantages. An elevated social position often led to many useful connections with others that could be called upon as needed, as noted above in the cases of Peter of Mazerolles, Gerald Unaud, Peter Roger of Mirepoix, Peter of Beauville and Alaman of Rouaix. However, on the reverse side of this, we have suggested that the aristocracy may have been specifically targeted by inquisitors, more so than those belonging to different social groups. Living as fugitives, therefore, despite having greater access to useful connections and resources, members of the aristocracy were also in greater danger of being caught.

As such, aristocratic Cathar supporters pursued by the inquisitors and their men faced a choice: they could either limit the Cathar activities that they performed or were engaged in, at least in the public sphere, or they could attempt to conceal their activity from the inquisitors. Many chose the latter option. Some, as we saw above, fled across the border to Italy. Starting a new life in ‘Lombardy’, aristocratic and wealthy individuals were able to maintain significant roles and levels of influence in the sect that would have been impossible for those of their position in Languedoc. Some, such as the elder Roqueville brothers, Raymond and Bernard, even chose to settle down and make the ultimate commitment to their religion, becoming good men themselves.<sup>70</sup> Others continued to lend support from their new setting. For example, the records tell us that Peter of Beauville and his wife continued to host Cathars, including Stephen Donat and four or five of his companions in his lodging in Piacenza.<sup>71</sup>

Many others sought refuge closer to home. The records show aristocratic families of fugitives making the hilltop fortress of Montségur their home from the late 1230s until the eventual fall of the *castrum* in 1244. Within the walls of Montségur, normal social hierarchies were maintained. The co-lords, Raymond of Péréille and Peter Roger of Mirepoix, were positioned at the top of this structure, with other fugitive knights, including the blood relatives and in-laws of the co-lords, as well as others from the

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<sup>70</sup> Peter of Beauville, 25.301r.

<sup>71</sup> Peter William of Roqueville, 25.131v-32v.

region, just beneath them. Below them, of course, were the various household *familiares* and soldiers and their families. Creating a refuge for the good men and women, and the families of believers, the lords of Montségur built a society in which they could continue both to hold power and play very significant roles in the Cathar support network. However, in the Languedoc of the 1240s, it was a society set apart both physically and conceptually from the wider region, and even more significantly for the inhabitants, it was a society whose existence was tragically cut short with the surrender in March 1244.

Non-aristocratic fugitives often did not have the luxury of separating themselves off in this way. Perhaps because of this, we see in the records that they often maintained their roles in the Cathar support network, even while struggling under the weight of condemnation. Indeed, the records suggest that some were perceived as having close links to the Cathars. For example, several deponents blamed these individuals for bringing about their own involvement with the Cathars. Arnold of Clerens said that after good men were captured in their house in around 1235, Raymond Brezeg and Raymond Sirvens, *faiditi*, often came to his house to eat and sleep, and on two of these occasions they brought Pons Sirvent, who was Raymond's brother and a good man, and his companion there, teaching Arnold and his wife how to adore them.<sup>72</sup> In another case, Raymond Belissen junior confessed that he hosted two condemned men, Raymond Gausbert and Bernard of Paders, in his house for eight days in around 1239-1240. According to Raymond, these men wanted him to arrange a meeting for them with the good men, which he did, leading them to the garden of William Assalit where two good men, including Raymond's uncle, Pons Rigaud, were waiting for them.<sup>73</sup>

The records also suggest that non-aristocratic *faiditi* were sometimes expected to be able to act as intermediaries or guides. For example, Raymond Barthes insisted that Johannes Arnold (*faiditus*) and Arnold Mazeler (now burned), bring two good men to the leper house where his concubine, Bernarda, lay sick in 1242.<sup>74</sup> In another case, the records tell us that in around 1272, Bernard Salinier's brother supplied stockings to two *faiditi* brothers, Pons and Bernard of Tilhol, apparently in exchange for Bernard of Tilhol

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<sup>72</sup> Arnold of Clerens, 609.223r, 224v.

<sup>73</sup> Raymond Belissen, 609.153v.

<sup>74</sup> W. Rigaut, 609.75v.

promising to arrange for the consolation of Bernard Salinier's mother, if she desired it upon her deathbed.<sup>75</sup>

Finally, one fascinating example illustrates that the Cathars themselves sometimes sought association with fugitives if they were perceived to be of some use to them. According to Bernard Hugh, in 1273, the Cathars once sought the advice of a certain lady about a particular matter. Gordana, a *fugitivus*, was commended by the Cathars, who said that she was 'a courtly lady' – *curialis domina*, literally 'woman of the court'. It is unclear exactly what this tells us about Gordana's status, whether it refers to noble birth, or more to her reputation, respectability or manner. Nevertheless, the Cathars asked her to decide about the matter of a cloak which had belonged to a woman of Toulouse, who was now dead, and had been consoled upon her deathbed. The cloak had supposedly been bequeathed to the Cathars upon this woman's death, but had passed into the hands of Raymunda Terren of Roquevidal, this woman's maid. Living up to the Cathars' expectations, Gordana found in their favour.<sup>76</sup> One thing that this incidence perhaps suggests is that by this later stage, ability to lend support, coupled with a strong reputation, had become the most important attributes of the dwindling members of the Cathar support network.

## Conclusion

In previous chapters, we have seen various dependents and non-aristocratic families engaging in Catharism from the early decades of the thirteenth century, and suggested that the overwhelming concern of historians with the Cathar activity of the aristocracy may be disproportionate when held up against the reality. Here, I have argued that the historiographical representation of *faiditi* as aristocratic may not be accurate in the context of the inquisition records. Examining the specific way that the term *faiditus* was used to represent a category in the inquisition records, and bringing that together with those other categories of guilt, *fugitivi* and *condemnati*, has helped us to move away from a definition which inappropriately placed emphasis on aristocratic status and thus contributed to ideas about the overall significance of aristocratic support for the Cathars.

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<sup>75</sup> Raymond Hugh, son of William Hugh of Roquevidal, 25.112v.

<sup>76</sup> Bernard Hugh, 25.72v-73r.

In addition to this, I have suggested that historiographical preoccupation with the narrative arc of the rise and fall of aristocratic participation may have denied proper space for reflection upon the continuation of non-aristocratic participation and fulfilment of crucial roles in the support network. It is very difficult to reconcile the historiographical paradigm which depicts the aristocracy prior to the 1240s as such a crucial part of the Cathar support network, with the fact that the same support network continued to function successfully for a number of decades after aristocratic support for the Cathars had been all but wiped out. Continued relations, responsibilities in the Cathar support network, and built-up trusts between the Cathars and non-aristocratic *faiditi*, *fugitivi* and *condemnati* all illustrate the important role that these men and women played within the support network, not only alongside the aristocracy, but long after the aristocracy had, by and large, abandoned the Cathar cause. Previously, the significance of this role has been obscured by the inquisitorial and historiographical focus on aristocratic supporters.

## 5. Cathar patronage

Throughout most of the history of writing about the Cathars, the language which has been used to describe the involvement of the aristocracy in the sect has been notably indiscriminate, comprising terms and phrases including but not limited to support, favour, adherence, influence, special protection, affiliation, and attachment. More recently, the language of patronage has found its way into works on Catharism and its supporters. Indeed, a number of historians have explicitly referred to the aristocracy or to members of the aristocracy as ‘patrons’ of the Cathars in a variety of contexts. For example, Caterina Bruschi describes the attack on the inquisitors at Avignonet as having taken place under the patronage of a group of nobles and knights, Claire Taylor discusses the ‘financial patronage’ of the Cathars, Mark Pegg defines the *faidits* discussed in the previous chapter as ‘patrons of heretics’, and Malcom Barber refers to Aimery of Montréal, son of the well-known good woman, *domina* Blanche of Laurac, as a patron of the Cathar cause.<sup>1</sup> Malcolm Lambert, moreover, uses the term repeatedly to describe the wealthy and influential citizens and members of the aristocracy who supported Catharism.<sup>2</sup>

To date, then, the use of the language of patronage has been imprecise and sporadic, much like that of the many other terms which have been used to describe Cathar support. It has not helped us to understand how aristocratic forms of support were distinctive from those of the rest of society. In this chapter, I suggest that patronage could be a very useful analytical tool for thinking about distinctively aristocratic support for the Cathars, but only if it can be distinguished from broader forms of support.

Thus far in this thesis, I have used the word support to mean many different things, including adherence to the Cathar belief system, affiliation with its members, the provision of material or financial assistance, and the provision of physical protection. Patronage certainly comes under the heading of support, and in terms of patronage of the Cathars, it encompasses many of the same elements. However, whereas support is a

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<sup>1</sup> C. Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics of Languedoc* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 153; C. Taylor, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Medieval Quercy* (York, 2011), p. 173; M. G. Pegg, *A Most Holy War: the Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom* (Oxford, 2008), p. 117; M. Barber, *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages* 2nd edn (Harlow, 2013), p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> M. Lambert, *The Cathars* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 139-40 and 165.

generalised term, patronage designates a specific type of relationship between patron and beneficiary.

In the first place, at a simple sociological level, patronage has been defined as a collaboration or exchange between two parties, one in possession of a desirable skillset, and the other in possession of a necessary resource.<sup>3</sup> Inherent in this relationship are secondary characteristics. The first of these is an imbalance of power, whereby the individual or group in possession of the necessary resources acquires power, typically manifesting itself in the form of influence over the individual or group in possession of the desirable skillset. The second is that the act of patronage serves to reinforce the status of the patron. It is widely accepted by scholars of the medieval aristocracy that acts of patronage, whether of religion or the arts, were a symbolic means of asserting power in society.<sup>4</sup> In a society that defined its aristocracy primarily in social terms, the relationship between a religious group and their aristocratic patrons was mutually beneficial. The religious group received necessary resources, and their patrons, through public demonstrations of wealth, reinforced the image of their aristocratic status in society.<sup>5</sup> Patronage was a way of being seen to be noble, before nobility came to be defined in law.<sup>6</sup> There was thus a social value to the provision of those things that were necessary to the survival of the Cathars, in a way that there was not to other forms of support such as belief.

The key phrase here is ‘things that were necessary to the survival of the Cathars’. In essence, it is this that separates patrons from other supporters. As we have observed in previous chapters, especially those on family and dependency, individuals belonging to a range of social backgrounds supported the Cathars in a multitude of ways. They offered their belief, small gifts in the form of food, clothing, and other things, they offered their services as guides and shelter in their homes, and with it some small modicum of protection. This did not make them patrons of the Cathars, necessarily.

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<sup>3</sup> For definitions of patronage, see S. N. Eisenstadt and L. Roniger, *Patrons, Clients, and Friends: Interpersonal Relations and the Structure of Trust in Society* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 48-49; L. Finke, ‘Patronage, literary’, in *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopaedia*, ed. M. Schaus (London, 2017), p. 640; J. Hall McCash (ed.), ‘The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women: An Overview’, in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women* (Athens, 1996), pp. 3-4; Ralph Hanna III, ‘Some Norfolk Women and Their Books ca. 1390-1440’, in *Cultural Patronage*, pp. 288-89.

<sup>4</sup> See e.g. L. Finke, ‘Patronage, literary’, pp. 639-40; N. Bradley Warren, ‘Patronage, ecclesiastical’, in *Women and Gender*, p. 638.

<sup>5</sup> This sentiment has also been expressed in the context of the historiography of Cathar support. See Taylor, *Quercy*, p. 173; D. Shulevitz, ‘Following the Money: Cathars, Apostolic Poverty, and the Economy in Languedoc, 1237-1259’, *The Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures* 44 (2018), 36-37.

<sup>6</sup> D. Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000-1300* (London, New York, 1992), p. 252.

Rather they were contributors to the general maintenance of the sect. However, there were a few who contributed on a higher level, supplying the good men and women with those things they needed to keep the sect alive: food and provisions when there were none, large sums of money, and even the sophisticated military protection needed to defend the Cathars from their persecutors. In supplying the Cathars with necessary resources and protection, these individuals both asserted their power in society and exercised some degree of power over the sect. Clearly, they were patrons. Were they exclusively aristocratic? On the one level, it is obvious that a nobleman was able to lend support to the representatives of his religion of choice that was different from that offered by a poor market trader, artisan, or peasant. Whilst this chapter will consider evidence of a disparity in the support of these two groups, on another level it will also ask a much more interesting question: did aristocratic patronage of the Cathars differ from that of their wealthy, urban equivalents? Historians such as Mundy and Jean-Louis Biget have already made the significant point that wealthy, non-aristocratic, urban elites received prominent attention in the inquisition records.<sup>7</sup> For them, this group needs to be considered alongside the aristocracy, broadening our understanding of a category of 'social elites' in this period, and adjusting the paradigm which has traditionally placed emphasis on purely aristocratic support for the Cathars. This chapter will use patronage as an analytical tool to test the validity of this idea.

Unfortunately, there are several difficulties with this approach. The first of these is that there is not a clear line to be drawn between a rural aristocracy and wealthy town-dwellers. As we have seen already with the Roqueville brothers, and with Alaman of Rouaix and his family, to give just two examples, there was a significant aristocratic population inhabiting towns and cities, and as we saw with Alaman of Rouaix in the previous chapter, it is not always easy to distinguish among these which families were and were not aristocratic. Exacerbating this problem is the fact that virtually none of the trial material of the early well-off supporters from the towns survived, which makes it very difficult to compare these individuals with an aristocracy for whom the evidence is abundant.

We do know about several of these families, thanks to Mundy's case studies of twenty-two different families of Toulouse.<sup>8</sup> Although they belong to a variety of social

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<sup>7</sup> See introduction, p. 22.

<sup>8</sup> J. H. Mundy, *The Repression of Catharism at Toulouse: The Royal Diploma of 1279* (Toronto, 1985), pp. 127-303.

backgrounds, the majority of these were well off, if not borderline aristocratic.<sup>9</sup> The sources that Mundy uses are mostly charters, combined with a little chronicle and inquisition evidence. This means that, although there is often evidence of a condemnation within the family, or of possessions having been confiscated, there is limited evidence of the nature of the individual's support for Catharism. Examples of this can be found in the records of the Maurand and the Unde families.<sup>10</sup> Peter Maurand, condemned in 1178, was the earliest wealthy Toulousan supporter known to us. We know that Peter was sentenced to three years in the Holy land, the destruction of his towers, and a fine of 500 Toulouse pounds.<sup>11</sup> From within the Unde family, we know that two members were consuls, Arnold in 1218-1220, and Peter in 1226-7, and that both were condemned for involvement with Catharism well before February 1237. We also know that Raymunda, the wife of an Arnold Unde, was sentenced to life imprisonment for the same crime.<sup>12</sup> In these cases, and the majority of others covered in Mundy's case studies, the limited nature of the evidence makes it impossible to hold the individuals involved up to our well-documented cases of aristocratic support. We could speculate that the evident wealth of individuals such as Peter Maurand could have been used to support the Cathars, but we cannot be sure of it.

Just two individuals from Mundy's case studies do appear in the inquisition records in some detail. One of these is Alaman of Rouaix, whose knightly status was discussed in the previous chapter. Another is the wealthy trader, Bernard Raymond Baranhon, who would seem an ideal candidate for our study. Unfortunately, however, Bernard Raymond's participation in heresy was limited to Waldensianism, which limits his usefulness as a comparator within the context of this study.<sup>13</sup>

In spite of this lack of evidence of the participation of wealthy, non-aristocratic town-dwellers in Catharism, I have identified two useful individuals for comparison. It should be noted, though, that the evidence for both of these examples derives primarily from the later inquisition records, recorded in Doat 25-26. The reason for using these is, as stated, lack of evidence in earlier registers.

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

<sup>10</sup> This discussion draws heavily on Mundy's case studies of these two families. For the Maurands, see his *Repression*, pp. 229-41, which also draws from his earlier article, 'Une famille Cathare: les Maurand,' *Annales: ESC* (1974) 1211-1223. For the Unde family, see his *Repression*, pp. 290-91.

<sup>11</sup> Mundy, *Repression*, p. 13, n. 19.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 290, n. 1 and n. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Bernard Raymond Baranhon, 25.195v-201v.



The first of these is Peter of Beauville, the wealthy and influential landlord and merchant trader whom we met alongside Alaman of Rouaix in the previous chapter, and who held a number of residences and had hospices in Italy and France which were used as stopping points, to facilitate the trips that he and many others made between Languedoc and Lombardy.<sup>14</sup> The second is another Peter, Peter Pictavin of Sorèze.<sup>15</sup> In some ways, Peter Pictavin can be compared to Peter of Beauville. Both ran houses of refuge for Cathars and their believers in Piacenza.<sup>16</sup>

There is a little more known about Peter Pictavin's background. His family already had links to Catharism. His uncle, Arnold of Cave, was consoled upon his deathbed in around 1233, with Peter Pictavin and several of his other relatives in attendance.<sup>17</sup> However, this bond with Catharism intensified during Peter Pictavin's apprenticeship, from the age of twelve, to the tailor, Raymond Peter of Sorèze.<sup>18</sup> Throughout the course of Peter Pictavin's ten-year period of training and employment, Raymond Peter took him, along with several co-apprentices, to Cathar sermons, and to attend several deathbed consolations. Peter Pictavin grew up to become a wealthy townsman. We know this from the records of his goods that were confiscated. Indeed, Biller, Bruschi and Sneddon find that '[h]is mill-house was repaired in 1293-4, and its water-system in 1298-9. A workshop in the (main?) square of Sorèze needed repair. One of his houses needed attention to its lathes, floorboards and windows, and there was an account for the cost of its two keys. Another house, occupied by the cloth-dyer, needed repair.' Nevertheless, these former assets would also prove extremely profitable. Sales of his land and estates in 1293-94 generated 50 Toulouse shillings and 39 Toulouse pounds respectively. In 1298-99, revenues were reported of 48 Toulouse pounds, and some time after 1302, the sale of more of his properties – half of a house and a mill – generated 35 Toulouse pounds. All this despite the fact that Peter Pictavin had negotiated immunity against the further confiscation of his goods, in the fourth out of his eight confessions.<sup>19</sup> Lengthy depositions survive for both Peter Pictavin and Peter of Beauville, and we

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<sup>14</sup> See *faiditi* chapter, p. 179-80.

<sup>15</sup> Peter Pictavin of Sorèze, 25.248r-71v.

<sup>16</sup> Raymond Baussan, 25.142r.

<sup>17</sup> Peter Pictavin of Sorèze, 25.268v-70r.

<sup>18</sup> This piecing together of Peter Pictavin's early life draws on discussion in C. Sparks, *Heresy, Inquisition and Life Cycle in Medieval Languedoc* (York, 2014), pp. 78-79.

<sup>19</sup> These records of Peter Pictavin's former possessions are collated and detailed in P. Biller, C. Bruschi and S. Sneddon (eds.) *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth-Century Languedoc: Edition and Translation of Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282* (Leiden, 2011), p. 55. On the negotiation of Peter's immunity, see pp. 81-82, and his deposition, 25.259v.

know a little more about them from other deponents as well. This makes them ideal comparators for the aristocracy as we go on to consider key aspects of Cathar patronage throughout the remainder of this chapter.

Paradoxically, by comparison, historians have long questioned the affluence of the aristocracy on the basis of the restoration of tithes to the church and as a result of partible inheritance practices, both topics which we have already considered above.<sup>20</sup> What do the sources tell us? In the chapter on co-lordship, we saw charters that showed cases of many co-lords sharing power at one time. Several sources, on the topic of the foundation of the convent of Prouille in 1206-1207, make explicit reference to impoverished nobles. Jordan of Saxony, Dominic's successor as Master General of the Order, wrote: 'At a place called Prouille, between Fanjeaux and Montréal, he [Dominic] established a monastery to receive certain noble women whose parents had been forced by poverty to entrust them to the heretics to be educated and brought up.'<sup>21</sup> Later, Humbert of Romans, the fifth Master General of the Order, serving from 1254 to 1263, wrote: 'There were some nobles in that place who, compelled by poverty, handed over their daughters to the heretics to be brought up and educated.'<sup>22</sup> These passages suggest that there were at least some amongst the aristocracy who lived in an impoverished state. Strangely enough, though many historians cite this text, they have not brought it into general discussion of the wealth of the aristocracy. An exception is Guiraud, who cited Humbert in his 1907 introduction to the cartulary of Prouille, observing that Prouille was specifically intended to take the female children of impoverished aristocratic families who would otherwise have been raised by Cathars, and thus to compete with what he called 'l'apostolat des femmes' among Cathars.<sup>23</sup> However, it is important to note that this exposition is not representative of Guiraud's wider take on the condition of the aristocracy. Elsewhere in his discussion of southern French nobles, he includes accounts of individuals depositing large sums of cash.<sup>24</sup> It is also relevant to

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<sup>20</sup> See introduction, pp. 15, 17, and co-lordship chapter, pp. 72-73.

<sup>21</sup> The standard modern translation is in *Jordan of Saxony on the Beginnings of the Order of Preachers*, ed. and trans. S. Tugwell (Oak Park and Dublin, 1982), p. 7. For the Latin, see Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus de principiis ordinis Praedicatorum*, xvii, ed. H.C. Scheeben, *Monumenta Ordinis Praedicatorum Historica* 16 (Rome, 1935), p. 39: 'Ad susceptionem autem quarundam feminarum nobilium, quas parentes earum ratione paupertate erudiendas et nutriendas tradebant hereticis, quoddam instituit monasterium, situm inter Fanum Iovis et Montem Regalem, nomen loci eiusdem Prulianum...'

<sup>22</sup> Humbert of Romans, *Legenda maior Sancti Dominici*, xiii, in *Legendae Sancti Dominici*, ed. S. Tugwell, *Monumenta Ordinis Praedicatorum Historica* 30 (Rome, 2008), p. 465: 'Erant in illis locis nobiles quidam qui egestate compulsi filias suas tradebant hereticis nutriendas et erudiendas.'

<sup>23</sup> *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Prouille, précédé d'une étude sur l'albigéisme languedocien aux xiiie et xiiiie siècles*, ed. J. Guiraud, 2 vols (Paris, 1907), i.1, 322.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* e.g. i.240, 272.

add that it was not unusual for wealthy orthodox aristocratic families to put one or more children on the path of a religious life, so there is no reason to presume that wealthy aristocratic families of Cathar supporters might not have done the equivalent with their children.

In fact, the myth of a generally impoverished southern French aristocracy has been largely dismantled in recent decades on every front. In the field of the southern French aristocracy, H  l  ne D  bax has attacked the basis upon which aristocratic poverty is assumed. As she explains, the existence of co-lordship, and indeed, often multiple co-lords, might just as easily be taken as evidence of prosperity. Why, she argues, would an aristocracy divide their land so incrementally if they could not afford to do so?<sup>25</sup> Elsewhere, in the field of heresy studies, there has been a great tide of work into different aristocratic families which has uncovered certainly variations in wealth of the ruling families, but little in the way of abject poverty.<sup>26</sup> For example, Michel Roquebert suggests that what the documents reveal of Isarn-Bernard of Fanjeaux (who married into the line of Guillelma of Tonneins) ‘obliges us to revise the idea so often advanced that Catharism touched only the impoverished nobility’. According to Roquebert, in 1201, the viscount of Carcassonne, Raymond Roger Trencavel, assigned Balagu  res and the Quercorb to Isarn-Bernard of Fanjeaux, who was his *viguier* in Raz  s then Carcass  s, for the vast sum of 13100 shillings of Melgueil.<sup>27</sup>

Gwendoline Hancke, moreover, in her study of Cathar noblewomen has carried out a thorough investigation of the wealth and assets of women belonging to a number of different families, using information on the properties they owned and dowries they received. As one would probably expect, given the breadth of her study, she finds evidence of very wealthy families, and evidence of less wealthy families. She does, however, find a lot of evidence of women from wealthy families becoming good women, and concludes from this that poverty cannot have been a significant cause of aristocratic women becoming Cathars.<sup>28</sup> The question then becomes not so much one of

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<sup>25</sup> H. D  bax, *La seigneurie collective: pairs, pariers, paratge les coseigneurs du XIe au XIIIe si  cle* (Rennes, 2012), p. 145.

<sup>26</sup> Gwendoline Hancke’s study of the women of Languedoc looks at those belonging to all ‘levels’ of nobility, from wealthy and powerful families to petty co-lords or knights. G. Hancke, *Femmes en Languedoc: la vie quotidienne des femmes de la noblesse occitane au XIIIe si  cle, entre catholicisme et catharisme* (Cahors, 2006), p. 25.

<sup>27</sup> M. Roquebert, *Les cathares: de la chute de Monts  gur aux derniers b  chers (1244-1329)* (Paris, 1998), p. 50. Unfortunately, Roquebert does not provide a citation, and I have been unable to find evidence to support this elsewhere.

<sup>28</sup> Hancke, *Femmes en Languedoc*. On the wealth of women see chapters 2 and 3, pp. 33-78, ‘  pouses et h  riti  res’ and ‘Biens et pouvoirs’. For her conclusions see p. 406.

whether the aristocracy were financially able to patronise the Cathars, but whether they did do so in a way that was socially distinctive.

## Patronage of the Cathars

### 1. Gifts and bequests

One of the most common ways that Cathar believers actively demonstrated their support was through the giving of gifts, either in the form of financial aid or other goods. Several studies have already been carried out on the gifts that were exchanged between the Cathars and their believers. The more recent, and most relevant of these is Deborah Shulevitz's 2018 article, 'Following the Money: Cathars, Apostolic Poverty, and the Economy in Languedoc, 1237–1259'. Drawing partly on the work of Yves Dossat, Jean Duvernoy, and with particular reference to Andrew Roach's article on the 'Cathar Economy', and partly on her own research, Shulevitz's article collects together numerous examples of transactions in the inquisition records. She represents the Cathars not only as financially astute, but well-organised and capable of dealing with the collection and distribution of large volumes of cash.<sup>29</sup> Whether or not we agree with her conclusions, the work she has done with the sources is very valuable, informing us that many individuals from all walks of life donated small items, food, and various sums of money to the Cathars. She finds that money was the most common gift, followed by offerings of grain and other foodstuffs.<sup>30</sup> Foods commonly given to the Cathars included bread, wine, nuts, fruit, fish and eels. Meat and dairy were not appropriate, as it was well-known that the Cathars did not consume animal produce. Gifts of food are also often recorded in an unspecified way, as 'victuals', 'comestibles' and 'things to eat'. Articles of clothing or fabric including linen cloth, silk, blankets, caps, tunics, purses and stockings among other things, were also gifted with relative frequency.

The Cathars were not the only religious group that attracted support of this kind. Men and women demonstrated their patronage of a variety of orthodox religious institutions,

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<sup>29</sup> Shulevitz, 'Following the Money', 30-35. For her own references, see p. 25. See also *Crises*, pp. 71–104 (esp. 90-92); J. Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme I: La religion des Cathares* (Toulouse, 1976), pp. 245-54; A. Roach, 'The Cathar Economy', *Reading Medieval Studies* 12 (1986), 51–71. Roach in particular drew similar conclusions to Shulevitz regarding money collected by the Cathars, stating that they had 'perhaps a rudimentary banking operation', (p. 54). For collectors (including Alaman of Rouaix) see p. 57.

<sup>30</sup> Shulevitz, 'Following the Money', 30.

including parish churches, monasteries and convents, cathedrals and colleges, in a number of ways. Sometimes they offered endowments to fund specific projects such as the foundation of an institution or commissioning of a stained-glass window, and sometimes by donating items such as jewellery and expensive clothing. This could be for a variety of practical as well as spiritual reasons. As noted above, modern scholars interpret patronage as a means by which men and women were able to assert power publicly in society, thus contributing to the prestige of their families. They also founded religious houses as a form of security, creating places which would accept their children, or which they themselves could enter into in later life.<sup>31</sup> Parish churches, in particular, were places that attracted support from women belonging to all social groups. Wealthy men and women, belonging to aristocratic or mercantile backgrounds, sometimes engaged in the more ambitious forms of patronage. Those belonging to more humble social backgrounds also left money behind in their wills, and sometimes everyday goods such as sheets or towels.<sup>32</sup>

A particularly useful group for comparison here is the mendicant friars.<sup>33</sup> As beggars, the majority of the friars' income came from 'small gifts in money or kind, from legacies and from fees for burials and masses for the dead.'<sup>34</sup> Their survival thus depended upon the existence of 'a fairly large population of people who are not themselves on the verge of want' and this meant settling in the towns.<sup>35</sup> The Cathars were similar, in the sense that as the level of persecution against them increased, they were forced to abandon the houses and jobs which they had previously held, and became completely dependent on the charity of others, often requiring a more itinerant lifestyle. The gifts received by the friars and the Cathars alike were typically quite small in comparison with, for example, endowments of monastic foundations, but there were a great deal of them, and they issued from a much broader range of society.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, both groups were ideal recipients of these gifts, being set up to make everyday use of them.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Bradley Warren, 'Patronage, ecclesiastical', pp. 638-39.

<sup>32</sup> Bradley Warren, 'Patronage, ecclesiastical', pp. 638-39.

<sup>33</sup> Discussion draws on R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*, (Harmondsworth, 1970), pp. 286-92.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 289.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 286. B. H. Rosenwein and L. K. Little look at the friars' success in the towns during the rise of the market economy as an example of the link between social phenomena and the rise of specific forms of spiritual life. See Rosenwein and Little, 'Social Meaning in the Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualities', *Past & Present* 63 (1974), 16-31.

<sup>36</sup> Southern, *Western Society*, p. 289.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 290.

Very broadly, and somewhat unsurprisingly, in the case of the Cathars as with other religious orders, the inquisition records suggest that wealthier individuals tended to give larger amounts or more extravagant gifts. Particularly in terms of ensuring that fugitive Cathars had enough to eat, the aristocracy played an important administrative role. For example, the deposition of Bernard Oth, lord of Niort, revealed that in response to a food shortage amongst the Cathars taking refuge in the *castrum* of Montségur in 1235, two knights, Pons of Villeneuve and Isarn Bernard of Fanjeaux, met with Bernard Oth, and between them they decided to send for aid. Pons and Isarn Bernard would hold discussions with the believers of Carcassonne, and Bernard Oth and three of his associates, Jordan of Lanta, Raymond Mall the elder of Lanta, and Alaman of Rouaix, would hold discussions with the believers of Toulouse, and together they would arrange for a supply of corn to be sent to Montségur. This they did, with many members of the aristocracy local to these regions responding generously. Bernard Oth himself gave ten measures of wheat to the cause. Pons of Latour the elder gave four sesters of wheat and four of barely. The knights of Laurac managed ten measures. Jordan of Lanta and two of his associates managed between forty and fifty measures between them, and Pons of Villeneuve and Isarn Bernard managed sixty. According to Bernard Oth, this was all taken up to Montségur.<sup>38</sup>

Another example I have found of this kind of behaviour involves Peter Roger of Mirepoix, who donated in large quantities to the Cathars of Montségur. In around 1243, he gave a measure of beans to all the heretics residing in Montségur.<sup>39</sup> Even more significantly, according to the deposition of Bernard Cairola, about a year earlier, Peter Roger had coordinated a foraging and raiding expedition in the local villages. Peter Roger set out with the Cathars and ‘all of the knights and sergeants of the said *castrum* of Montségur’ and either bought or, where they came upon unwilling vendors, took ‘corn and flour, or beans, or pulses, and sent them to Montségur’.<sup>40</sup> These resources sustained the Cathars and the resident believers of Montségur.

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<sup>38</sup> Bernard Oth, lord of Niort, 24.81v-102v (88r-89v). This case is also mentioned in Shulevitz, ‘Following the Money’, 32.

<sup>39</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.129r-v.

<sup>40</sup> Bernard Cairola, 22.273v-74r. The Latin text is as follows: ‘Item dixit quod Petrus Rogerii de Mirapisce, cum omnibus militibus et servientibus dicti castri Montis Securi, ibant per villas cum hæreticis, et quando hæretici inveniebant bladum vel farinam emebant bladum et farinam, vel fabas, vel legumina, et mittebant illud apud Montem Securum; et quando inveniebant aliquem vel aliquos qui nollent vendere bladum vel farinam hæreticis, ipse testis et P. Rogerii, et omnes clientes dicti castri qui nominati sunt superius, vellent nollent, accipiebant dictum bladum vel farinam, et postmodum vel dabant

There is also a great deal of evidence in the inquisition records which suggests that donating food to the Cathars was not a socially exclusive practice. The good woman, Arnalda of Lamothe, testified to the fact that many of the men and women who came to visit her brought with them gifts of food for her and her companion.<sup>41</sup> Her deposition states that when she, her sister and companion, Peirona, and their mother, Austorgua, were staying in the *mas* of Arnold of Bugnac, near Tarabel, for about a year in around 1225, in total eighteen men and women, as well as ‘many others from Tarabel, whose names she does not know’, came to visit them, and ‘all the aforesaid’ – only two of whom were identified by profession, one knight and one barber – ‘sent the same witness and her companions, heretics, bread, wine and other victuals’.<sup>42</sup>

Similarly, Arnold Roger of Mirepoix’s testimony supports the fact that many men and women came to Montségur from *castra* such as Lavelanet, Queille, Massabrac, Villeneuve-d’Olmes and Laroque d’Olmes, to adore the heretics and bring them all kinds of food, and this occurred from around 1239 until the *castrum* was surrendered.<sup>43</sup> In other specific examples, the butcher Raymond of Léran brought the good men in the house of Isarn of Gibel a full flask of wine in around 1240, and Raymond Aimeric, the sergeant of Fanjeaux, sent nuts to two good men who were staying in Saint-Michel in around 1236.<sup>44</sup> The inquisition records are peppered with similar anecdotes.

This raises a significant question: to what extent does this multitude of small offerings represent patronage? The answer is heavily dependent on chronology. There is a clear difference between the donation of small gifts of food which represented support for the Cathars and the kinds of large donations which were required during the years of persecution to ensure the survival of their sect. If patronage is a response to survival needs, then the definition of Cathar patronage changed over time. Unlike the friars we considered above, the Cathars had not always been beggars. They had held jobs as craftsmen and weavers and doctors. During these early years, it is much harder to distinguish acts of patronage, in part because we have very little evidence of gift-giving before the crusade, but also because the need for aid was not as great. It was the

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eis illud quod volebant.’ The very last phrase here (et postmodum vel dabant eis illud quod volebant) is unclear, because it contains an ‘either’, without the following ‘or’, so that it reads ‘and afterwards they either gave them [the vendors] what they wanted [the selling price].’ Peter Biller has suggested to me that we could conjecture a missing ‘vel nihil’, which would give ‘and afterwards they either gave them what they wanted [the selling price], or nothing at all.

<sup>41</sup> Arnalda of Lamothe, 23.14r.

<sup>42</sup> Arnalda of Lamothe, 23.13v-14r.

<sup>43</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.137r-39r.

<sup>44</sup> William of *Cavarsel*, 609.65r; Raymond of Léran, 609.33v.

persecution that forced the Cathars to become dependent on their supporters. The persecution increased their needs and sharpened the distinction among their supporters between the charity-givers, who gave little and often, and patrons, who offered substantial material support and also sometimes the planning and organisation needed to supply it. Arguably, only support of this size and character, which not only demonstrated power and wealth, but also asserted it in the form of influence over the Cathars, can be described as patronage, and it largely seems to have come from the aristocracy. However, there are also signs of something similar from wealthy townspeople. For example, the deposition of the good man, William Rafford, reveals that Peter Pictavin's wife, Fabrissa, 'often sent many provisions to the heretics', one Christmas going so far as to send them some honey, 'which they could not get from anywhere else'. Indeed, in terms of her generosity, he claimed that she 'did more good for them [the good men] than any other woman believer from her parts'.<sup>45</sup> This leads to the tentative suggestion – admittedly on the basis of little evidence – that both the aristocracy and the wealthy mercantile classes engaged in 'patronage' of the Cathars, and that historians may have been wrong to emphasise the contributions of the former group over the latter. At the very least, this lends some weight to the arguments of those such as Mundy and Biget who have sought to make room for wealthy urban groups alongside the aristocracy in their understanding of a key social support base for the Cathars.

How does our knowledge of bequests left to the Cathars affect this picture? Gifts, as Marcel Mauss has famously observed, were symbols of investment in social relationships, and came with the expectation of some sort of material, social, or symbolic payoff.<sup>46</sup> Sometimes this payoff was obvious and immediate. The Cathars performed a number of services for their communities, many of which had their orthodox parallels, but the records show that the most common service performed explicitly in return for payment was the *consolamentum*, the ritual 'heretication' – as it was called by inquisitors – that many believers underwent before death in the belief that it would secure their salvation.

Shulevitz and Roach note that deathbed bequests were not unique to the Cathars, and that their significance in the records reflects 'the importance of deathbed donations in

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<sup>45</sup> William Rafford, 26.25v-26r.

<sup>46</sup> M. Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. I. Cunnison (New York, 1967), p. 1.



Latin Christian culture generally'.<sup>47</sup> Both also find that a contribution of some sort upon being consoled seems to have been 'more or less obligatory', and Roach adds that in the case of the Cathars, the money received would have been justified by the 'elaborate system of guides and safe houses' that were needed to get the good men to the bedside of a dying believer.<sup>48</sup> Roach also notes that the inquisitors used the same phrase, *infirmirate de qua obiit*, to denote bequests to the Cathars used in orthodox wills.<sup>49</sup>

However, in the case of the Cathars, these arrangements could be complicated. The promised bequest was not always forthcoming, and sometimes had to be chased up by the good men with the deceased person's family. This was the case with Pons of Latour, who refused to hand over the fifty shillings of Melgueil that his father had bequeathed to the heretics when he died having been consoled, and also with Guy of Castillon, who refused to give up the horse that his brother bequeathed to the good men in around 1236.<sup>50</sup>

Shulevitz observes that aristocratic deathbed bequests were typically more valuable, than those made by other believers, noting in particular the vineyard and 200 shillings of Melgueil bequeathed by Peter Roger of Mirepoix the elder, and the horses left by Isarn of Castillon and Bernard Batalla of Mirepoix.<sup>51</sup> She finds that, on balance, the records suggest that those belonging to other social groups typically gave smaller donations. For example, the father of one consoled dying man promised the Cathars one sester of wheat, and in another case the bequest consisted of the dying man's bed linens and clothing.<sup>52</sup>

However, Shulevitz makes several mistakes in her identification of who was and who was not aristocratic. This is largely because, as she openly states, she relies on the fact that the records typically identify lords and knights and their families as such, and so she presumes that individuals whose positions were not recorded were not aristocratic. Unfortunately, this does not always hold true. For example, she uses the fact that Bernard of Le Congoust bequeathed only twenty shillings to the Cathars (although as is evident from the table below, there are several different accounts of the amount he

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<sup>47</sup> Shulevitz, 'Following the Money', 38; Roach, 'The Cathar Economy', 55.

<sup>48</sup> Roach, 'The Cathar Economy', 55. Shulevitz, 'Following the Money', 34-35.

<sup>49</sup> Roach, 'The Cathar Economy', 55.

<sup>50</sup> Shulevitz, 'Following the Money', 34-35, 38. See Pons of Latour, 609.71v; Guy of Castillon, 23.220r-24r.

<sup>51</sup> Shulevitz, 'Following the Money', 36. See Arnold Roger, 22. 114v; 116r; Guy of Castillon, 23.221r-v.

<sup>52</sup> Shulevitz, 'Following the Money', 36-37. See Stephen Massa, 23.297r-98r; Peter Pages, 609.78r.

bequeathed) to show that individuals who were not aristocratic often made smaller bequests.<sup>53</sup> In fact, in all likelihood, Bernard was himself aristocratic – or at least was linked to the aristocracy – because his son, Gallard, was married to Arpais, the daughter of Raymond of Péreille, lord of Montségur. In addition, where Shulevitz states that individuals from unidentified social backgrounds did sometimes bequeath generous amounts, the example she uses, Raymond of Arvigna, who bequeathed 1,000 shillings of Toulouse to the Cathars in return for his consolation in 1230, was in fact a knight.<sup>54</sup>

It is worth taking some time to investigate whether the inquisition records broadly support Shulevitz's theory of socially differentiated bequests. As shown in table 5.1, below, I have found twenty-seven accounts of Cathars receiving payment (or the promise of payment) upon the performance of a consolation. These accounts give details regarding the consolation of twenty-four individuals, of whom fifteen were identifiably aristocratic – although it must be said that Shulevitz is correct in asserting that it is often difficult to discern who was and who was not aristocratic.

Table 5.1: Aristocratic and non-aristocratic deathbed bequests made to the Cathars.

<b>Individual consoled</b>	<b>Aristocracy?</b>	<b>Bequest</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Deposition evidence</b>
Alzieu of Massabrac (the elder)	Y	50 shillings of Toulouse	1232	Arnold Roger of Mirepoix, 22.140r-v
		30 shillings of Toulouse	1228	Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.50v-51v
Ar. Catalan		4 sesters of grain	c. 1240	Willelma, wife of Bernard Unaud, 609.95v
Ar. Donas		20 shillings of Toulouse	c. 1233	W. Pelisser or Pader, 609.55r
B. Batalla of Mirepoix	Y	A horse worth 50 shillings of Toulouse	c. 1226	Arnold Roger of Mirepoix, 22.114r-v
B. of Montesquieu	Y	100 shillings of Toulouse		W. Pelisser or Pader, 609.55r

<sup>53</sup> Shulevitz, 'Following the Money', 37.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 36-37. Raymond of Arvigna is identified as a knight in the deposition of Arnold Roger, 22.116r-v.

Bernard of Le Congoust	Y	50 shillings	1235-36	Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.164r-v
		100 shillings of Toulouse	1232	Arnold Roger of Mirepoix, 22.116v-17v
		20 shillings of Toulouse	c. 1237	Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.52r-v
Ermengard of Miraval	Y	<i>Pecunia</i> (money – unspecified amount)	c. 1228	Raymond of Miraval of Hautpoul, 23.234r-35r
Ermessens, mother of Stephen Massa		11 shillings of Morlaàs	1230	Stephen Massa, 23.300r-v
Fabrissa, wife of Gauceline of Miraval	Y	30 shillings of Toulouse and 8 sesters of wheat	1223	Gaucelin of Miraval, 23.115r-v
Isarn of Castillon	Y	A horse	c. 1236	Guy of Castillon, 23.220r-24r
Isarn of Expertens	Y	300 shillings	1233	Gaucelin of Miraval of Puylaurens, 23.112v-13r
Montespieu, Peter of Gaudiès's brother	Y	200 shillings	c. 1229	Peter of Gaudiès, knight, 22.78r-80r
Peter Isarn		1 sester of wheat	1238	Peter Pages, 609.78r
Peter Roger of Mirepoix (the elder)	Y	A vineyard in Mirepoix and 200 shillings of Melgueil	c. 1209	Arnold Roger of Mirepoix, 22.115v-16r
Raymond of Arvigna	Y	1000 shillings of Toulouse	1228	Arnold Roger of Mirepoix, 22.116r-v

Raymond of Castelsarrasin		Bedding and clothes	1228-29	Stephen Massa, 23.297r-98r
Raymond of Flaran		50 shillings of Melgueil	c. 1234-35	Peter of Flaran of Mirepoix, 22.188v-89r
Raymond of Pech-Luna		Pennies (unspecified amount)	c. 1241-42	Ar. Benedict, 609.177r
Raymond of Roquefeuil	Y	300 or 500 shillings of Melgueil	1222-24	Bernard Oth of Niort, 24.99v-100v
Roger of Latour	Y	200 shillings of Toulouse	c. 1230	Bernard Oth of Niort, 24.100v-101r
		50 shillings of Melgueil	c. 1233	Pons of Latour junior, 609.71v
W. Gausbert		4 shillings of Toulouse	1240	P. Gausberti, 609.122v
W. of Cailhavel		20 shillings of Melgueil		W. of Cailhavel, 609.166r
William of Albiac	Y	40 shillings of Toulouse and 1 measure of corn	1240	Peter Fogasset of Caraman, 23.328v-29r

Overall, the evidence recorded here does suggest a pattern of social differentiation. All of the smaller or less valuable amounts – bedding, small measures of wheat or grain, or less than 30 shillings – were bequeathed by the eight individuals who were probably not aristocratic. At the other end of the spectrum, larger amounts – several hundred shillings, several horses, a vineyard – were all bequeathed by aristocratic believers.

However, it should also be noted that there are several identifiably aristocratic individuals in the list above who did choose to bequeath relatively lower amounts, such

as Fabrissa, the wife of Gaucelin of Miraval, who bequeathed thirty shillings of Toulouse along with some wheat, and William of Albiac, lord of Albiac, who bequeathed forty shillings along with a small amount of corn, and Alzieu of Massabrac the elder, who may also have bequeathed as little as thirty shillings – not all that much, given that in this period a measure of wheat could be bought for between four and five shillings, and a pig could be bought for fifteen.<sup>55</sup>

Since there were two accounts of the consolation of Alzieu of Massabrac, as well as the three that were given of the consolation of Bernard of Le Congoust, it is difficult to determine with certainty the amounts that they bequeathed to the Cathars. Bernard of Le Congoust, in particular, was said to have left twenty shillings by Berengar of Lavelanet and one hundred shillings by Arnold Roger of Mirepoix. It may be that contemporary preconceptions had an influence on deponent's memories of how much was bequeathed, inflating the amount that they believed had been bequeathed by members of the aristocracy, but equally this may have been a result of simple forgetfulness, especially in the case of those who had, over the years, attended a number of consolations.

It is worth mentioning the fact that a number of testimonies make no mention of any bequest being made upon the performance of a deathbed consolation. Roach suggests that when the very poor were consoled, they may not have been obliged to make bequests. He gives the example of some wine that was collected by several people in Moissac to give to the good men who had consoled an unnamed dying woman who presumably had nothing to offer of her own.<sup>56</sup> I have not included instances where there is no record that any payment was made in this study because in most cases it is impossible to discern why this was the case. It could be that no bequest was made, but equally, it could be that the bequest was omitted from the testimony because it was not enquired about, was not known about, or could not be recalled. These latter possibilities would explain why, in some instances, bequests are recalled by some individuals and not others. For example, four deponents recalled the consolation of Peter Roger of Mirepoix the elder, but only one, Arnold Roger of Mirepoix, Peter Roger's nephew, testified to the fact that his uncle had left anything to the Cathars.

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<sup>55</sup> M. Bourin, *Villages médiévaux en Bas-Languedoc: genèse d'une sociabilité, Xe-XIVe siècles* 2 vols (Paris, 1987), ii.40-41.

<sup>56</sup> Roach, 'The Cathar Economy', 55.

This investigation of bequests and who gave what paints a varied picture. On the one hand, it appears to show that on the whole and unsurprisingly the aristocracy left more generous bequests when they died, than did others in society, reflecting their greater wealth, and the more significant contributions they were able to offer during their lifetimes. Unfortunately, however, it has not helped us to draw any comparisons with wealthy townspeople who are more difficult to identify in the records, and so there is little that we can add to the conversation about the distinctiveness of aristocratic patronage in that regard.

Money is a more useful topic for drawing comparisons of this nature. Evidence suggests that the Cathars' wealthy supporters were sometimes called upon to change the money of the good men, or to keep it in the form of a deposit. Although this does not quite fall within the category of gifts, it is nevertheless a significant matter for us, because it was something Cathars needed which could only be done by their wealthier supporters. In this sense, it could be seen as a form of patronage. In 1234, William Donadeu of Elbes, who belonged to a great merchant family of Cahors was asked to take certain letters to Peter Donadeu of Cahors, another member of the family, on behalf of the good man, William of Caussade. Peter, according to William, had 'an infinite amount of money on deposit from the heretics and from their believers'.<sup>57</sup> There are other, smaller scale examples in the depositions of both Peter Pictavin and Peter of Beauville. Peter Pictavin changed 320 shillings of Toulouse into sterling for the Cathar deacon, Raymond of Mas, so that they could be sent to Lombardy around 1242.<sup>58</sup> Peter of Beauville similarly received the large sum of 100 pounds, from the good man, Stephen Donat 'to do business with' around 1262. Peter kept the deposit for some time, returning half of the interest to Stephen, before handing it over to his son, Arnold, at which point the money was lost.<sup>59</sup>

There is some evidence of members of the aristocracy accepting deposits from the good men. Peter Roger of Mirepoix was known to hold a significant amount of money from the good men of Montségur in the form of deposits.<sup>60</sup> However, it is significant that some of these he seems to have held only after the surrender of the *castrum*. For example, just after the surrender had been agreed, the deposition of Berengar of

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<sup>57</sup> William Donadeu of Elbes, 23.216v-17r. The deposition is discussed in Taylor, *Quercy*, pp. 139–40.

<sup>58</sup> Peter Pictavin of Sorèze, 25.264r.

<sup>59</sup> Peter of Beauville, 25.302v-303r.

<sup>60</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.153r-v.

Lavelanet reveals that Peter Roger had four hundred shillings of Toulouse from the house of the good man, John of Combelles.<sup>61</sup> At exactly the same time, the deposition of Imbert of Salles reveals that a group of six good men, including Raymond of Saint-Martin take to Peter Roger a bedsheet full of the heretics' money, as well as a large quantity of pepper, oil, salt, wax, grain, and 'fifty doublets that the heretics had had made at their own expense.'<sup>62</sup> The difference between these deposits and those discussed immediately above is that these were not so much financial investments for safekeeping, as they were gifts given in the style of bequests from men who had been condemned to die, to those who had helped them, and who they thought might have some use for their belongings. In general, the evidence suggests that when it came to business affairs, the Cathars may have preferred to deal with their wealthy urban patrons.

## 2. Provision of space

In recent years, there has been a great deal of historical interest in sacred spaces, but this has not had any real impact on the study of Catharism because the Cathars are generally understood not to have had sacred spaces in the same way that orthodox religious orders did, because according to their doctrine, material objects did not hold religious significance. It is possible to argue against this black and white understanding as compared with the everyday lived reality of some Cathars and their supporters. For example, evidence of Cathar cemeteries existing early in the thirteenth century suggests that some places did hold religious significance, otherwise it would not have mattered where the Cathar dead were buried.<sup>63</sup>

However, on another level, the increasing persecution of the Cathars in the aftermath of the Albigensian Crusade encouraged the use of any space that was available to them for religious purposes. This chronological change in the spaces occupied by the Cathars and their believers has received significant attention. For example, in 1938, Guiraud published the second of his two volumes on the inquisition, which included a section on

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<sup>61</sup> Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.61v.

<sup>62</sup> Imbert of Salles, 24.173r-v.

<sup>63</sup> W. L. Wakefield, 'Burial of heretics in the Middle Ages', *Heresis* 5 (1985), 29-32. See also William Aygra, 609.102v.

‘the transformation of heretical sects into secret societies’, and the consequent change in spaces occupied by the Cathars and their believers that accompanied this.<sup>64</sup>

Prior to the Albigensian crusade, and sometimes (though less frequently) after it, groups of Cathars often ‘publicly held’ their own single-sex houses, sometimes procured or supported by a family member. Sermons and gatherings of believers were held in these buildings, and as is shown in the table below, they often accommodated large numbers of believers.

Table 5.2: Cathar houses used as locations for large gatherings of supporters.

<b>Cathars</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>No. present</b>	<b>Deposition</b>
Guilbert of Castres and Raymond Mercier	Dun, near Mirepoix	c. 1209	15	Arnold Roger of Mirepoix, 22.111r
Guilbert of Castres and ‘other heretics’	Fanjeaux	1204	58	Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.40r-42r
Bernard Col of Lafitte, Arnold Guiraud and ‘many other heretics’	Montréal	1203	10	Helis of Mazerolles, 23.163r-64r
Melina of Pradelles, and ‘female heretics from Marmorières’	Near Pradelles	c. 1231	21	Peter Daide, 23.129v-29v
John Cambiaire and ‘many other heretics’	Mirepoix	c. 1228	26	Peter of Flaran of Mirepoix, 22.177v-78r
Raymond of Mirepoix	Mirepoix	c. 1209	28	Raymond of Péreille, 22.215r-16r

After the advent of the crusade the Cathars were forced to live less openly and, as Guiraud has observed, began to shroud their locations in secrecy. At the same time, they

<sup>64</sup> Guiraud, *Histoire de l’Inquisition*, ii.79-101, ‘Transformation des sectes hérétiques en sociétés secrètes’.



became largely dependent on the support of their believers for shelter, taking refuge in their homes, or in temporary structures that were erected for them away from the grasp of the inquisitors.

This leads us to the question of patronage. It is clear that not everyone who put a roof over the head of a good man or good woman can or should be seen as a patron of the Cathars, just as not everyone who gave the Cathars a gift was necessarily a patron. For one thing, as we saw above, in the chapter on dependency, a number of individuals were not (or claimed not to be) willing hosts at all, but rather acted under duress, according to the orders of their lords. Offering shelter was a fairly common event amongst believers. What we are trying to do is see whether it is possible to separate out a group of ‘patrons’ whose acts represent a higher level of commitment and support for the Cathars.

As mentioned above, the patrons of Catholic houses sometimes demonstrated their piety by founding a religious house or donating considerable wealth to a house. Although there is no real parallel here that can be drawn with Catharism, some Cathar supporters demonstrated their patronage by accommodating the spatial needs of the Cathars in other ways. For example, supporters offered up the necessary spaces for the performance of Cathar rituals and sermons.

It would make sense that social elites, including both the aristocracy and wealthy townspeople, were the most likely to possess the kinds of spaces that would have allowed large gatherings of Cathars and their believers and the performance of specific rituals to take place. However, as table 5.3 shows, this was not always the case.

Table 5.3: Hosts of large gatherings of Cathars and their believers – more than ten individuals.

<b>Host</b>	<b>Aristocracy?</b>	<b>No. individuals present<sup>65</sup></b>	<b>No. Cathars</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Deposition</b>
Alaman of Rouaix	Y	31	2	c. 1226	Peter Barot, 609.210v
Alazais of Castille		13	2	c. 1225	P. Pausa, 609.110r-v

<sup>65</sup> Where a ‘+’ has been added, this indicates that the deposition states that there were many others present who the deponent could not recall by name. ‘approx.’ indicates that the deponents estimated how many were present. Numbers include Cathars and the deponent themselves.

Arnold Calvet		12	3	c. 1242	Arnalda of Lamothe, 609.201v
Arnold Caudera	Y	11+	2	c. 1234	P. of Saint-Michel, 609.80r
Arnold Marc		14	4	c. 1229	Guilbert of Les Roussilles, 24.105r-106r
Arnold Nigri		30	2	c. 1237	Poncius Garriga, 609.126v
Arnold of Bressols		18	2	c. 1227	Guiraud Gallard, 22.13v-14r
Arnold of Bounac		12	1	c. 1225	Arnalda of Lamothe, 609.202v-203r
Arnold of Coume Sèche of Foix		17	approx. 3	1216	Raymond of Péreille, 22.229r-v
B. of <i>Canast-Bru</i>		18	9	1236-8	Peter Barrau, 609.25v
B. of Saint-Michel	Y	21+	2	c. 1233	P. of Saint-Michel, 609.80r
Bego of Fanjeaux	Y	11+	2	c. 1234	W. Garsias of Fanjeaux, 609.164r
Bernard Garsias		14+	2	c. 1240	Raymond of Sorèze, 609.191v
Bernard Hugh of Festes	Y	18+	10	c. 1233	William Roger of <i>Orsans</i> , 609.160r
		14+	2	c. 1231	Bernard of Cailhavel, 609.152v
		10	2	c. 1233	Ber. of <i>Fresalas</i> , 609.158v
Bernard Martin		12+	Many	1232	Arnold Roger of Mirepoix, 22.116v-17v

Bernard of Cailhavel		15	2	c. 1240	Bernard of Festes, 609.149v
Bernard of Mas-Saintes-Puelles	Y	12+	2	c. 1229	Pons Faure of Villeneuve-la-Comptal, 24.119v-20v
Bernard of Quiriès	Y	16	2	c. 1242	Willelma of <i>Gotuer</i> , 609.9v
Bernard Cap de Porc		19+	9	c. 1238	R. Aleman, 609.5v
		approx. 86	4	c. 1242	Raymond Amiel, 609.10v
		34+	11	1232-34	Bertrand of Quiriès, 609.41v
Bernard Oth of Niort	Y	22	3	c. 1239	R. Aleman, 609.5v
		10	2	1230	Bernard Oth, 24.86v-87v
Bernard Unaud	Y	11	2	c. 1237	Philip Albertus, 609.90r
		14+	2	c. 1239	Domestica, 609.90v-91r
		14	2	c. 1237	Englasia, wife of P. Rateri, 609.91r
		14	2	c. 1240	Joanna wife of Arnold Fabri, 609.98r
		18	2	c. 1240	Willelma, wife of Bernard Unaud, 609.95r
		12	2	c. 1242	Bernard of Cesseroas, 23.181r-v
Bernard Verger		15+	2	c. 1240	Raymond Sedasser, 609.77v
		21	2	c. 1239	Bernard Verger, 609.78r

Ermengaud of Miraval		12+	5	c. 1228	Raymond of Miraval of Hautpoul, 23.234r-35r
Gerald Artus		19	2	c. 1238	B. Unaud, 609.88r-v
		14	2	c. 1238	Willelma, wife of Bernard Unaud, 609.95v
Isarn of Fanjeaux	Y	13	2	c. 1229	Arnold Roger of Mirepoix, 22.111v-13r
Isarn of Gibel		15	2	c. 1233	Pons Porquer, 609.40v
John Le Blanc		15	2	1241	Peter of Daide, 23.134r-v
Na Rica		10	4	1236-38	Peter Barrau, 609.25v
Na Segura, wife of William Vital		15+	2	c. 1233	Segura, wife of William Vital, 609.20r-v
P. Aio		27	2	1240	Bernard of Festes, 609.149v
P. Melo		17	1	c. 1233	Arnalda of Lamothe, 609.203r
P. Cap de Porc		39-49	2	1243	Gallard Amiel, 609.10r
P. Roger of Mirepoix (elder)	Y	12+	2	c. 1209	Arnold Roger of Mirepoix, 22.115v-16r
Peter Cap de Porc		approx. 50	2	c. 1230	Bernard of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, 609.16v
Peter and Pons Ribeira		21	2	c. 1242	Arnalda of Lamothe, 609.201v

Peter Tisserand		16	approx. 13	1241	Peter of Daide, 23.131v-32r
Peter Lavander		16+	2	c. 1241	Ber. Richard, 609.149r
Poncius Capa		15+	4	c. 1240	Poncius Capa, 609.76v-77r
Pons Copa		12	2	c. 1241	William of <i>Gairas</i> , 609.193r
Raymond Alzieu of Puylaurens		14	2	1237	Jordan of Saissac, 23.50v
Raymond Bernard of Péreille		15+	2	1232	Arnold Roger of Mirepoix, 22.140r-v
Raymond Deveza of Roujols		19	2		William Gasc of Roujols, 609.210r
Raymond of Flaran		14+	2	c. 1218	Peter of Flaran of Mirepoix, 22.180r-v
Raymond of Salles of Lordat		11+	2		Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.164r-v
Raymond Tortros of Dun		13+	2	1228	Arnold Roger of Mirepoix, 22.116r-v
Raymunda and her husband, William of Saint-Nazaire		approx. 67	2	1228	Raymunda, wife of William of Saint-Nazaire, 23.309v-10r
Sabatier		19	2	1228	Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.50v-51v

Salater of Péreille	Y	17+	2		Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.163r-64r
William of Cailhavel		34	2	c. 1239	W. of Cailhavel, 609.71v-72r
		15	6	c. 1242	Willelma Garrona, 609.72v
		16	2	c. 1240	Willelmus Andrea, 609.76v
		approx. 12	Many	c.1235	Ber. Teuler, 609.168v
W. of Lahille	Y	16	5	c. 1234	Ermessens, wife of Bernard Mir Acezat, 609.35v
William Peter of Lux	Y	10	2	c. 1232	B. of Montesquieu, 609.100r
William Dessus	Y	14	3	1233	Ber. Mossos, 609.46r
William Faure		13	2	c. 1241	Raymond Folquet, 609.39r
William Garriga		30	2	c. 1237	Poncius Garriga, 609.126v
William of Saint-Nazario		15	2	c. 1229	Ermessens, wife of Bernard Mir Acezat, 609.35v
William of Villèle	Y	13	2	c. 1234	B. of Montesquieu, 609.100r
		12	2	c. 1236	<i>Domina</i> Blanche, 609.108r
William Tort		19+	2	c. 1230	Poncius Garriga, 609.126v

Table 5.3 captures accounts of seventy-three gatherings of more than ten individuals including a witness, the Cathars, and their believers. Twenty-five of these large

gatherings were hosted by identifiable members of the aristocracy, and forty-eight were hosted by individuals from unidentifiable social backgrounds. In total, these gatherings were held by fifty-six different hosts, of whom sixteen were identifiably aristocratic and forty were not.

These figures therefore suggest that the aristocracy were prominent, if far from the exclusive, hosts of these large gatherings. We can see that some members of the aristocracy, including Bernard Unaud, Bernard Hugh of Festes, Bernard Oth of Niort and William of Villèle, repeatedly hosted large gatherings, but also that others, such as William of Cailhavel and Bernard of Saint-Andreas – sometimes known as Bernard Cap de Porc – repeatedly hosted such events. Indeed, as table 5.4 shows below, the very largest gatherings, at which more than thirty individuals were present, were almost exclusively hosted by individuals who were not – or at least not identifiably – members of the aristocracy. This casts doubt over the theory that the aristocracy, more so than other social groups, had exclusive access to the kinds of large spaces that they were willing to make available to the Cathar cause.

Table 5.4: The social backgrounds of hosts of large gatherings of Cathars according to group size.

Size of gathering	Total no. of gatherings recorded	Aristocratic host	Non-aristocratic host or host of unidentified social background
10-19 people	59	22	37
20-29	5	2	3
30-39	5	1	4
40-49	1	0	1
50+	3	0	3

A similar pattern emerges from data concerning large gatherings of good men and women. Of the aristocratic hosts, Bernard Hugh of Festes was witnessed with ten Cathars along with seven of their believers in his house around 1233,<sup>66</sup> and William of Lahille, a knight of Laurac, hosted five Cathars and ten believers around a year later.<sup>67</sup> Apart from them, there is no evidence of any member of the aristocracy hosting groups

<sup>66</sup> William Roger of *Orsans*, 609.160r.

<sup>67</sup> Ermessens, wife of Bernard Mir Acezat, 609.35v.

of more than three Cathars. Of those hosts who, most likely, belonged to other social groups, however, there are twelve testimonies recording that nine individuals hosted groups of more than three Cathars. Two of them, B. of *Canast-Bru* and Bernard Cap de Porc hosted groups of nine Cathars, who apparellated one another, between 1236 and 1238.<sup>68</sup> Bernard Cap de Porc hosted a group of eleven Cathars who performed the *apparellamentum* in the presence of a large group of twenty-two believers in around 1232 or 1234.<sup>69</sup> A blind man, Peter Tisserand, was hosting a group of nine or ten Cathars in his house in Laure, when Peter of Daide arrived, escorting three more Cathars ‘and their companions’ in 1241.<sup>70</sup> Around 1235, William of Cailhavel, hosted Bertrand Marty and ‘many other male heretics and female heretics’, who performed the *apparellamentum*, and then made peace between William of Cailhavel and Bernard Teuler, the witness who related the event.<sup>71</sup> Finally, around 1232, Bernard of Le Congoust was ill at Montségur, in the house of Raymond of Péreille’s *bailli*, Bernard Martin. Also present in Bernard Martin’s house were the Cathar deacon, William Tornerius and Peter of Paris, his companion, ‘with many other heretics’, who were of course there to ‘receive and console’ the sick man.<sup>72</sup>

In total, the gatherings I have recorded of ten or more individuals include six instances involving the Cathars performing the *apparellamentum*, and ten involving them performing consolations. Of the cases of *apparellamenta*, an identifiable member of the aristocracy, the knight, Bernard of Saint-Michel, held only one, and of the consolations only two were hosted by members of the aristocracy, those of Peter Roger of Mirepoix the elder in his own house, and Alzieu of Massabrac the elder in the house of Salater of Péreille.<sup>73</sup> Deathbed consolations of course tended to be held wherever the sick person lay – regardless of the size of their property, but the Cathars could have been choosier when it came to where they performed the *apparellamentum*. The fact they do not seem to have sought lodgings with the aristocracy to perform this ritual suggests firstly that the aristocracy may not have been the only ones with the space for the Cathars to comfortably enact it, but also that the Cathars did not attach special social significance

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<sup>68</sup> Peter Barrau, son of B. Barrau, 609.25v; R. Aleman, 609.5v.

<sup>69</sup> Bertrand of Quiriès, 609.41v.

<sup>70</sup> Peter of Daide, 23.131v-32r.

<sup>71</sup> Ber. Teuler, 609.168v.

<sup>72</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.116v-17v.

<sup>73</sup> See Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.163r-64r, for the consolation of Alzieu of Massabrac, and Arnold Roger, 22.115v-16r, for the consolation of Peter Roger of Mirepoix.



to their aristocratic supporters in the way that some historians have imagined, or that if they did, this was not on account of their material resources.

As is to be expected, these patterns were also influenced by the increasing intensity of the persecution of both the Cathars and their supporters. Table 5.5, below, shows when the seventy dated records of groups of ten or more Cathars and supporters took place in the first half of the thirteenth century, and the social backgrounds of the individuals who hosted them:

Table 5.5: The social backgrounds of hosts of large gatherings of Cathars and their believers according to date.

	Total no. of gatherings of more than 10 individuals	No. of gatherings with an aristocratic host	Non-aristocratic host or host of unidentified social background
1200-1209	1	1	0
1210-1219	2	0	0
1220-1229	13	2	11
1230-1239	34	16	18
1240-1249	20	4	16

In the first place, this supports the findings of the previous chapter, in its indication that although aristocratic participation declined markedly during the persecutions of the 1240s, non-aristocratic support remained relatively consistent, with individuals shown to continue hosting large groups well into the 1240s. One reason for this, and indeed, a potential reason for the overall lack in representation of the use of aristocratic space for religious purposes, was the growing need for secrecy. With the greater focus of the inquisitors on the activity and involvement of elite social groups, it may have been safer for the Cathars and their supporters, especially when meeting in large groups, to do so in the homes of their non-aristocratic supporters whose activities were not being monitored so closely, and who may have been less wary of accepting them. This again supports the notion that historians may have followed the inquisitors in placing too much emphasis on aristocratic patronage of the Cathars, when in fact it appears as though other social groups were not inhibited by a lack of wealth or resources and carried out similar and sometimes even more crucial roles in the Cathar support network.

The *castra*: Fortified places of refuge

One place where aristocratic patronage of the Cathars does stand out, however, is in the context of the *castra*, the fortified small towns and villages of rural Languedoc. It was in these locations that the Cathars and their believers sought refuge, at first from the crusaders, and later from the inquisitors. Montségur tends to loom large in the historiography of this topic, but it is important to bear in mind that, especially in the early years after the advent of the crusade, many *castra* played similar roles as refuges. Table 5.6, below, shows the *castra* where the chroniclers of the period tell us that the crusaders discovered and burned heretics.

Table 5.6: Heretics that were burned from inside the different *castra* according to the chronicles.

<i>Castra</i>	Date	No. heretics burned from <i>castrum</i>	Source
Minerve	July 1210	140 heretics	PVC, <i>History</i> , p. 85; <i>Hystoria</i> , i.160-61
		Many heretics, men and women	<i>Chanson, Laisse 49, Song</i> , pp. 33; <i>Chanson</i> , i.116-17
Lavaur	3 <sup>rd</sup> May 1211	‘innumerable heretics’	PVC, <i>History</i> , p. 117; <i>Hystoria</i> , i.227-28
		400 townspeople	<i>Chanson, Laisse 68, Song</i> , p. 41; <i>Chanson</i> , i.164-67
		About 300 ‘robed heretics’	WP, <i>Chronicle</i> , pp. 38, 40; <i>Chronica</i> , pp. 74-75, 76-77)
Les Cassés	Probably May 1211	Nearly 60 heretics	PVC, <i>History</i> , p. 120; <i>Hystoria</i> , i.232-33
		At least 94 heretics	<i>Chanson, Laisse 84, Song</i> , pp. 48; <i>Chanson</i> , i.200-201
		About 60 heretics	WP, <i>Chronicle</i> , p. 41; <i>Chronica</i> , pp. 78-9
Morlhon	Summer 1215	7 Waldensians	PVC, <i>History</i> , p. 231; <i>Hystoria</i> , ii.208
Montségur	16 March 1244	Around 200 men and women	WP, <i>Chronicle</i> , p. 108; <i>Chronica</i> , pp. 186-87

One of the first acts of the crusaders, the massacre at Béziers, occurred on 22 July 1209. From this time, *castra* and towns were abandoned as inhabitants fled from the crusader armies. The good men and women were the most endangered, and they sought refuge with those lords who stood against the crusaders. As table 5.6 shows, above, heretics were found seeking refuge inside the walls of the remote *castrum* of Minerve from as early as July 1210.

Characteristically, Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay gave the most detailed account. He wrote that the Abbot of Cîteaux encouraged Simon of Montfort and William, the lord of Minerve, to come to terms, so that the lives of the inhabitants of the *castrum*, including those of the Cathars and their believers, would be spared should they be willing to convert. After William of Minerve surrendered, both the Abbot and Simon himself went to speak with the good men and the good women of the *castrum*, but once it became clear that they could not be moved to convert, at least 140 were taken down from the *castrum* and burned.

Following the victory of the crusaders at the siege against Lavaur, in May 1211, which saw the defeat and execution of the siblings, Aimery of Montréal and Guirauda, the lady of Lavaur, both of whom, as the children of the notorious good woman, Blanche of Laurac, were staunch supporters of the Cathars, several hundreds of Cathar inhabitants were burned. Shortly afterwards somewhere between sixty and ninety Cathars were found ‘concealed in a tower at Les Cassés’, where they had been hidden ‘by their friends the Roquevilles’ – probably referring to the brothers, Bernard and Raymond, who had been the lords of the place. A few years later, in the summer of 1215 several Waldensians were discovered and burned in the *castrum* of Morlhon, in the diocese of Rodez.

The key reason why Montségur stands out in the sources is its longevity. Whereas elsewhere the aristocracy were taking a step back from their support for the Cathars, up until its surrender in March 1244, Montségur maintained its status as a safe haven for the Cathars and their believers, and as a shining example of aristocratic patronage of the Cathar cause.

The purpose of this section is not to repeat all that has been said in our earlier chapter, on co-lordship, about the foundation and fortification of the *castrum* as a defensive post of the Cathar faith.<sup>74</sup> However, in the context of the previous discussion of patronage as

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<sup>74</sup> See co-lordship chapter, pp. 94-96.

something demonstrated through the provision of space and resources, it is worth turning the spotlight here on the function of Montségur as a space for the performance of Cathar rituals, particularly sermons. In the decade leading up to the surrender of Montségur, many inhabitants testified to the fact that a number of good men, but mainly Bertrand Marty, the Cathar bishop of Toulouse, who was allocated his own house in the *castrum*, often preached there to audiences of up to a hundred.<sup>75</sup> These sermons became a regular event, carried out on Sundays and feast days, the traditional times for Catholic Mass. The inhabitants – both Cathars and believers – were also kept supplied with food by their aristocratic patrons. We looked above at the mission of Pons of Villeneuve and Isarn Bernard of Fanjeaux to secure a supply of wheat for the *castrum* from the local aristocracy in 1235, and the raiding party that was led by Peter Roger of Mirepoix in 1243.

Thanks to the patronage of its lords for the Cathars, the defensive function of Montségur extended outside its walls. There is evidence of the provision of armed escorts for groups of Cathars being brought in and out of the *castrum*. For example, on one occasion between 1232 and 1236, Raymond of Péreille led a troop of knights from Montségur to meet with a group of twenty or thirty Cathars, including Guilbert of Castres, who were waiting at the church of Saint-Quirc, at the Pas de Las Portas. Raymond and his company led the group to Massabrac, where they stayed overnight, and then on to the safety of Montségur.<sup>76</sup> In another case, around 1237, Raymond ordered Berengar of Lavelanet to escort two good men, Guilbert of Castres and Peter Sicard, away from Montségur, to a point in between *Fabat*<sup>77</sup> and Miramont.<sup>78</sup>

Between them, Raymond of Péreille and Peter Roger of Mirepoix gave the Cathars the space and protection that they needed to practise their religion and reach their believers during a time of intense persecution. They could have done nothing more; they were true patrons of the Cathars. However, there is a danger of the specific situation of Montségur dominating our understanding of its place as part of a wider impulse in Languedoc towards the protection of the Cathars and their believers. We have already looked above at the other *castra* where the Cathars took refuge. The act of providing

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<sup>75</sup> A number of deponents were able to recall sixty or more of those who had attended the sermons. Eg. Raymond of Péreille, 22.219r-220v; Jordan of Péreille, 22.204r-205v; Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.259r-61r; Arnold Oliver, son of Berengar of Lavelanet, 22.238r-39v; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.58r-60r.

<sup>76</sup> Bernard Cairola, 22.269r-70r; William of Bouan of Lavelanet, 24.74v-75r.

<sup>77</sup> Sic. Probably Rabat.

<sup>78</sup> Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.60v-61r.

armed escorts was also not unique to the situation of Montségur. A quick look at the first generation of Roqueville brothers shows that knights often volunteered or were employed by the Cathars as armed escorts in a variety of contexts. Indeed, Montségur often stands out in the historiography because it and its lordly inhabitants were such a focal point of the original source material. There are pages and pages of depositions in the Doat collection detailing the day to day events of life in the *castrum*. By comparison, when the first *castra* fell to the crusaders in 1209 and 1210, there were no inquisitors poised to interrogate their inhabitants, and as such we know little of the roles they played as patrons and defenders of the Cathar faith. In this sense, then, Montségur and its lords should perhaps be viewed as more of an anomaly in the records, than as an anomaly in practice.

A final point which is relevant here: the creation of refuges was not unique to the lords who ruled over the rural *castra*. So far, we have been focussing on large gatherings of Cathars and their believers, but it is also helpful to open up this discussion to include the houses and hospices that were maintained by wealthy urban landlords such as Peter of Beauville, and to a lesser extent, Peter Pictavin, along the routes into Italy, as has been noted above. During the times of intense persecution, in the 1230s and 1240s, these houses came into their own as places of refuge for the Cathars and their believers, providing places where they could stop off, lie low, and make arrangements to join up with family members on their journeys in between Languedoc and Lombardy. The existence and importance of these houses show that our understanding of Cathar patronage must extend beyond the limited borders of the aristocracy to include the urban elites, whose refuge houses may not have existed on such a large scale as the aristocratic fortresses of the countryside but were nonetheless a crucial part of the Cathar support network.

As noted in the previous chapter, the fact that non-aristocratic groups continued to fulfil crucial roles such as this, not only alongside the aristocracy, but also long beyond the time when aristocratic roles were diminishing, has been overlooked. The patronage of these groups – particularly that of the wealthy townspeople – may not always stand out as much in the records, but it was more consistent over a longer period of time.

## Conclusion

This chapter has investigated the strand in the historiography which has sought to depict the aristocracy as participating in Catharism on a higher plane, distinctive from that of other social groups, as 'patrons' of the Cathars. The reality we have found less straightforward. To begin with, the fact that individuals belonging to a range of social groups often showed support in similar ways, by offering gifts, bequests, and protection to the Cathars, can make it very difficult to distinguish 'patronage' from other forms of support. However, this varied according to chronology. As time progressed and persecution increased, so too did the needs of the Cathars, who became increasingly dependent on their supporters. This increased opportunities for elite groups to symbolically assert their power and wealth by engaging in acts of patronage which marked them out from others in society.

These performances of superiority were not uniquely carried out by members of the aristocracy. The main conclusion of this chapter is not so much that the aristocracy can be seen as patrons of the Cathars to a greater extent than the groups significantly below them on the social scale. Rather, it is that the group comprising of social elites needs to be expanded, in a way which some historians have already begun to recognise, to include not only the aristocracy, but their wealthy, powerful urban equivalents, who also contributed significant material support to the Cathars, if in ways that were sometimes distinct from those of the aristocracy.

## Part 2: Case study families

## Introduction

As in John Mundy's monographs on Toulouse, the fundamental research here has been the construction of case-studies of aristocratic families, to provide the foundations for the analyses and discussions in Part 1. Here, in Part 2, I provide family trees, calendars of depositions and short biographies for the individuals belonging to a few carefully chosen families. These are the result of my work on the depositions and include every reference made to each family member in MS 609 and Doat 22-26. Where it is available, I also draw on relevant material from charters and chronicles.

Case study families include the Mazerolles, the Roquevilles, and the Mirepoix-Péreilles. These families have been chosen for distinct reasons. Members of the Mazerolles and Roqueville families are certainly known about and have frequently been referred to as examples in the historiography, cropping up in the works of Guiraud, Roquebert, Brenon, and Hancke, amongst others. However, with the exception of H. Duffaut's monograph on the Roqueville fief and chapel, which contains a chapter on the thirteenth-century knights but is hard to get hold of and as such generally not included in historiographical discussions of heresy, they have not previously been studied extensively as case studies in their own right.<sup>1</sup> The Mazerolles and Roquevilles were slightly less powerful lordly families than the more widely studied lords of Mas-Saintes-Puelles and descendants of Blanche of Laurac, but as influential families whose commitments to Catharism spanned four generations and the better part of a century, they are well worth studying in detail.

A great deal more work has previously been done on the lordly families of Mirepoix and Péreille.<sup>2</sup> However, the majority of this is tied up with the specific, military context of Montségur as the famous site of refuge for the Cathars and their believers. It is useful to examine Montségur because of its specific circumstances, whilst also being mindful of these circumstances and the fact that the *castrum* may not best represent the wider experiences of aristocratic supporters of the Cathars of Languedoc, and that as such its

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<sup>1</sup> H. Duffaut, *Roqueville, Monographie du fief et de la chapelle de ce nom* (Toulouse, 1903), pp. 46-55.

<sup>2</sup> Michel Roquebert has written articles which trace the members of the Mirepoix and Péreille families. Roquebert, 'Raymond de Péreille, seigneur de Montségur, et sa famille', *Cahiers d'Études cathares* 90 (1981), 25-46, and 'Pierre-Roger de Mirepoix, coseigneur de Montségur, et sa famille', *Montségur, treize ans de Recherche archéologique* (G.R.A.M.E) (Carcassonne, 1980), pp. 55-69. Significant portions of these have been reproduced (though excluding the detailed family biographies) in Roquebert, *Figures du catharisme* (Paris, 2018), pp. 359-408, 'Raymond de Péreille: le fondateur', and 409-39, 'Pierre-Roger de Mirepoix: le condottiere'.

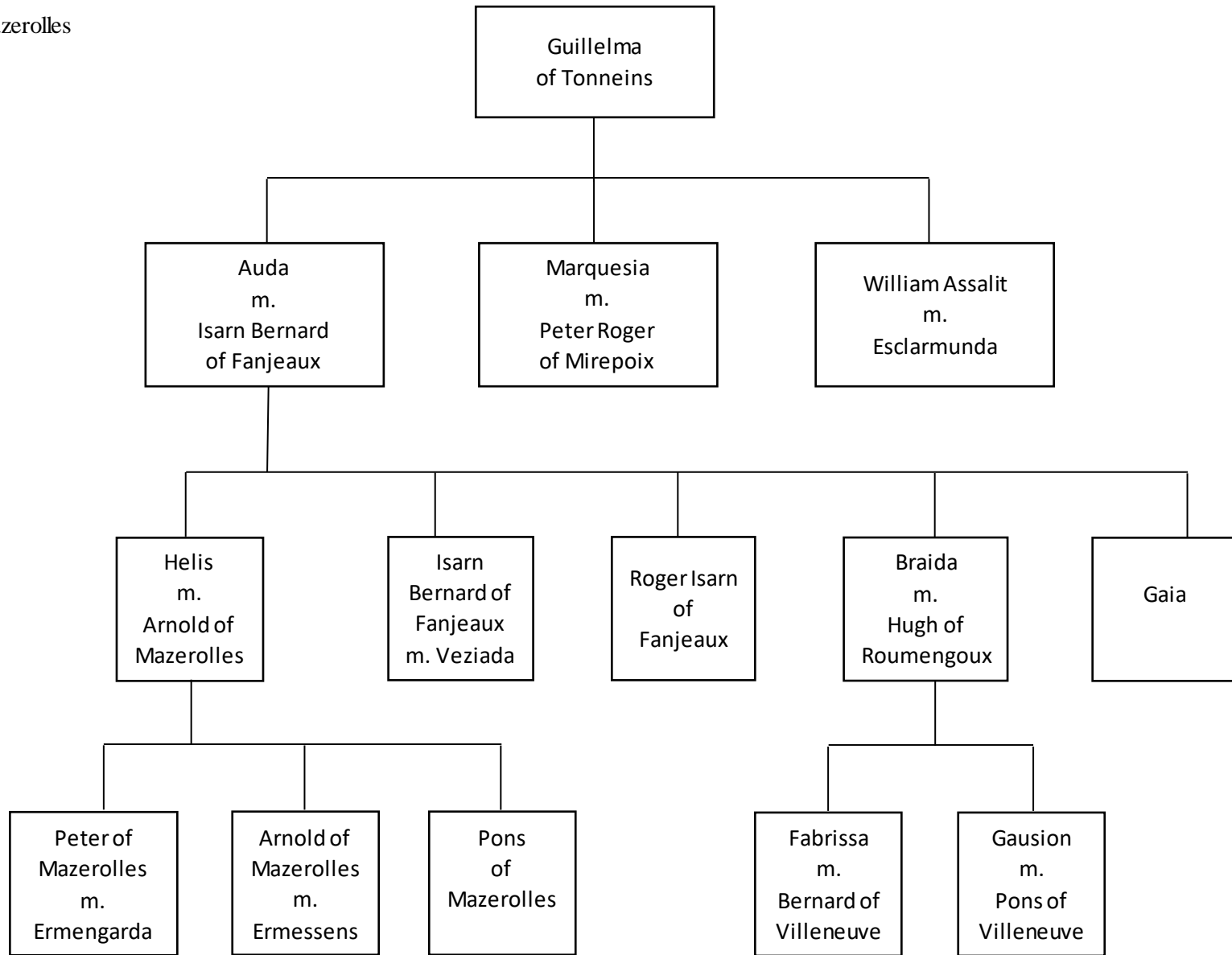


importance may have been inflated in the historiography. This latter reason also explains why it is useful to look at the families of Montségur alongside those of the Roquevilles and Mazerolles, whose fortunes were tied up with the inhabitants of the hilltop fortress, but whose existence was not and has not been in a historiographical sense defined by it.

Note that in order to keep this study at a manageable size, it has been necessary to focus on specific branches or lineages of these families – for example, those of Helis of Mazerolles, and those of Peter Roger the younger of Mirepoix – which it is possible to trace in the records.

## The Mazerolles

Family tree 1: The Mazerolles



## Mazerolles: Calendar of depositions

Helis de Mazairolis, uxor quondam Arnaudi de Mazairolis

Helis of Mazerolles, wife of the late Arnold of Mazerolles, 3 August 1243, 23.162r-180v.

Brothers Ferrier and Pons Garin, inquisitors.

Previous confession, 1236-38 or 1241-42.<sup>1</sup> Brother William Arnold and brother Stephen of Saint-Thibéry, inquisitors.

P. de Mazerolis dominus de Gaiano de heresi condempnatus

Peter of Mazerolles, lord of Gaja-la-Selve, condemned for heresy, 13 July 1246, 609.124r-125r.

Brother Bernard of Caux and Brother John of Saint-Pierre, inquisitors.

Addition, 14 July 1246, 609.125v.

Addition, 16 July 1246, 609.125v.

Addition, 11 October 1246, 609.125v.<sup>2</sup>

Previous confession, 1236-8 or 1241-2.<sup>3</sup> Brother William Arnold and brother Stephen of Saint-Thibéry, inquisitors.

Aimengardis uxor Petri de Mazerolis militis

Ermengarda, wife of Peter of Mazerolles, knight, 30 November 1245, 609.196r-v.

Domina Aymengardz uxor P. de Mazerolis filia Hysarni de Fanoiovis

Lady Ermengarda, wife of Peter of Mazerolles, daughter of Isarn of Fanjeaux, 30 Nov 1245, 609.123v-124r.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Crises*, p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> This addition reads only 'The said *Petrus*...' and then the text stops.

<sup>3</sup> *Crises*, p. 217.

<sup>4</sup> The deposition of Ermengarda is recorded twice in MS 609, once at 123v-24r and once at 196r-v, with the latter being a slightly extended version. Dossat suggests that the version at 123v-24r was copied in at a later date, so that it sat beside the depositions of her husband and sister-in-law. However, this does not

Brother Bernard of Caux, inquisitor.

Previous confession, late 1243 or April-May of 1244 in Limoux.<sup>5</sup> Brother Ferrier, inquisitor.

Domina Armessen uxor Arnaldi de Mazerolis militis

Lady Ermessens, wife of Arnold of Mazerolles, knight, 16 November 1245, 609.123v.

Brother Bernard of Caux, inquisitor.

Previous confession, late 1243 or April-May of 1244 in Limoux.<sup>6</sup> Brother Ferrier, inquisitor.

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explain the fact that the version at 196r-v is slightly longer and, as shown, uses a different form of identification. See *Crises*, p. 81.

<sup>5</sup> *Crises*, p. 224.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

## Mazerolles: Biographies

### First generation

#### *Guillelma of Tonneins*

Guillelma had at least two daughters, Auda and Marquesia, and one son, William Assalit. She was already a good woman in 1193, living in a house she shared with other good women in Fanjeaux. At this time, her granddaughter Helis came to visit her, and Guillelma treated her to bread, wine, nuts and fruit.<sup>7</sup>

### Second generation

#### *Auda of Fanjeaux*

Auda was married to Isarn Bernard of Fanjeaux, an important officer of Raymond Roger Trencavel, the viscount of Carcassonne, in Razès then Carcassès. In 1201 Raymond Roger assigned to him the Balaguères and the Quercorb for the vast sum of 13100 shillings of Melgueil.<sup>8</sup> Together he and Auda had at least three daughters and two sons.

Around 1193 Auda took her daughter, Helis, to hear the sermons of Guilbert of Castres in Fanjeaux.<sup>9</sup>

Auda was one of four aristocratic ladies, including Esclarmunda, the sister of the Count of Foix, consoled by Guilbert of Castres in 1204, before a large audience which included the count himself.<sup>10</sup>

By 1209 Auda was living in Montségur with other good women, where she was visited by her son, Isarn Bernard.<sup>11</sup>

Auda and her companion stayed in the house of William Arnold Darras in Alaigne around 1226, where they were visited by her two daughters, Helis and Gaia.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Helis, 23.163r-v.

<sup>8</sup> M. Roquebert, *Les Cathares: De la chute de Montségur aux derniers bûchers 1244-1329* (Paris, 1998), 50. Roquebert does not give a citation for this, and I have been unable to find evidence of it elsewhere.

<sup>9</sup> Helis, 23.162r-v.

<sup>10</sup> Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.42r-43r. The deposition of Marquesa, wife of Bertrand of Prouille, notes that Auda had been consoled before 1209, 23.99r.

<sup>11</sup> Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.49v.

<sup>12</sup> Helis, 23.169v-70r.

### Third generation

#### The children of Auda and Isarn Bernard of Fanjeaux

##### 1. *Helis*

From around 1193 as a young girl Helis accompanied her mother, Auda, to the sermons of Guilabert of Castres, who lived in a house of good men in Fanjeaux. At the same time, she also regularly visited her grandmother, Guillelma of Tonneins, who was a good woman and lived in a house of good women in Fanjeaux.<sup>13</sup>

In 1203 Helis attended the sermons of Bernard *Col de Fi* and Peter Durant in Montréal.<sup>14</sup>

By 1208 Helis had married Arnold of Mazerolles, who had a share in the lordship of Gaja-la-Selve. Arnold's sister, Fabrissa of Mazerolles, had been consoled, and lived in a house of good women in Montréal. Helis went with Arnold and his brothers, Raines and Peter, to visit her, sometimes sharing a meal, which they continued to do after she came to live in Gaja-la-Selve around 1208.<sup>15</sup>

Around the same time, Helis sometimes borrowed amounts of ten or twenty shillings from the good man, Peter of Bélesta, who also resided in Gaja-la-Selve.<sup>16</sup> She also ventured further afield to visit the well-known good woman, Blanche of Laurac, and even hosted Cathars in her own house 'for a little while'.<sup>17</sup>

At around the time of the advent of the crusade, in 1209, Helis went with her sister, Gaia, and sister-in-law, Veziada, to see Guilabert of Castres in Montségur, where Helis's mother, Auda, was already living.<sup>18</sup> The group resided in the *castrum* for a while (though it is not clear if this was from 1209 or a later date) until 1214, when they were escorted away by a group of male believers.<sup>19</sup>

It is likely that Helis's husband, Arnold, died around this time, leaving her a widow. He was last seen around 1216 with his brother, Raines, at the deathbed consolation of William Peter of Morval.<sup>20</sup> Raines himself died some years later, probably around 1228 or 1229, in the Roqueville house in Toulouse, but he was not consoled upon his

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<sup>13</sup> Helis, 23.162r-63r.

<sup>14</sup> Helis, 23.164v-66r.

<sup>15</sup> Helis, 23.164r-v, 166v-67v.

<sup>16</sup> Helis, 23.166r-v.

<sup>17</sup> Laurac: Helis, 23.179r-v; hosting: Helis, 23.168r.

<sup>18</sup> Helis, 23.168r.

<sup>19</sup> Raymond of Péreille, 22.225r-26r.

<sup>20</sup> Pictavina, wife of Raymond Isarn, 609.191r.

deathbed either because he refused at the last minute, or because the good men arrived too late.<sup>21</sup>

In 1218 Helis paid a visit to her sister, Braida, who had become a good woman and was living in a house of good women in Montréal.<sup>22</sup>

Between 1223 and 1225 Helis attended a number of Cathar gatherings in Montolieu, often accompanied by her sister Gaia and other ladies (her mother, Auda, even made a reappearance one time in Alaigne), including two consolations: that of a boy in Montolieu, and of her brother, Roger Isarn, whom she visited on his deathbed, along with up to a hundred others (including Braida, and Isarn Bernard and his wife), though she claims not to have seen the ritual take place.<sup>23</sup> She also regularly visited Guilabert of Castres, using her messenger to send him an eel, and her 'late son', Pons, to send a trout.<sup>24</sup>

Between 1235 and 1240 Helis attended a number of meetings and sermons in Gaja-la-Selve, often with one or more of her family members, including her sons Peter and Arnold, and her daughters-in-law, Ermessens and Ermengarda.<sup>25</sup>

Helis was interrogated by inquisitors once at some point between 1236 and 1242, and again in 1243.<sup>26</sup>

## 2. Braida

In 1189 Braida married Hugh of Roumengoux, the *viguier* of Razès, a post to which he rose in the footsteps of his father-in-law, Isarn Bernard, and the couple had two daughters, Fabrissa and Gausion.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> There is some dispute about Raines's death in the depositions. According to William Gairaut, 23.150r-51r, Raines died before the good men arrived to console him. Guy of Castillon, 23.223v-24r, did not see whether Raines was consoled. Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v, claimed that Raines refused to be consoled at the last minute.

<sup>22</sup> Helis, 23.177r-v.

<sup>23</sup> Meetings: Helis, 23.168v-69v, 170v-71v, 176v-77r; consolation of Isarn of Aragon: Helis, 23.177v-78v; consolation of Roger Isarn: Helis, 23.178v-79r.

<sup>24</sup> Meetings and eel: Helis, 23.172v-73r; Trout: Helis, 23.170v.

<sup>25</sup> Helis, 23.173r-76r; Three Measures, 609.66v-67r; Ermessens of Mazerolles, 609.123v; Ermengarda of Mazerolles, 609.196r-v.

<sup>26</sup> Helis mentions the prior interrogation at 23.179v.

<sup>27</sup> For Hugh's position as *viguier*, see n. 8, above.



Braida was consoled before 1209.<sup>28</sup> By 1218, she was living in a house of good women in Montréal. During this time, she had many visitors, including her daughters and their husbands (who were also brothers), Pons and Bernard of Villeneuve, and her sister, Helis.<sup>29</sup>

Probably around the same time, Braida and her companions often stayed at the house of the Roqueville brothers in Toulouse, where she regularly saw her nephew, Peter of Mazerolles.<sup>30</sup>

Around 1225 Braida attended the deathbed of her brother, Roger Isarn, in Fanjeaux, along with her sister, Helis, their brother, Isarn Bernard of Fanjeaux, and ‘up to a hundred’ other mourners.<sup>31</sup>

### 3. Gaia

At around the time of the advent of the crusade, in 1209, Gaia accompanied her sister, Helis, and her sister-in-law, Veziada, to see Guilabert of Castres in Montségur, where Gaia’s mother, Auda, was already living.<sup>32</sup> The group resided in the *castrum* for a while (though it is not clear if this was from 1209 or a later date) until 1214, when they were escorted away by a group of male believers.<sup>33</sup>

Gaia regularly attended Cathar meetings in the company of her sister, Helis, and sister-in-law, Veziada. They were most active between 1221 and 1226, during which time they regularly attended sermons and paid visits to good men and women, including Guilabert of Castres, Raymond Mercier, Raymunda of Montfort, and Esclarmonda, the mother of Bernard Hugh of Festes, in a number of locations in Fanjeaux, Montolieu, and Alaigne.<sup>34</sup>

Around 1226 Gaia and her sister visited their mother Auda, who had become a good woman, in the house of William Arnold Darras in Alaigne.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Marquesia, wife of Bertrand of Prouille, 23.99r.

<sup>29</sup> Helis, 23.177r-v.

<sup>30</sup> Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v. Peter dates this as ‘during the war’, so it could have been anytime between 1209 and 1229.

<sup>31</sup> Helis of Mazerolles, 23.178v-79r.

<sup>32</sup> Helis of Mazerolles, 23.168r.

<sup>33</sup> Raymond of Péreille, 22.225r-26r.

<sup>34</sup> Fanjeaux: Helis, 23.171v-72v; Montolieu: Helis, 23.168r-69v, 176v-77r; Alaigne: Helis, 23.169v-70r.

<sup>35</sup> Helis, 23.169v-70r.

#### 4. Roger Isarn

Roger Isarn died around 1225, surrounded by family, including his sisters, Helis and Braida, and his brother and sister-in-law, Isarn Bernard and Veziada, and a vast crowd of ‘up to a hundred’ others. Good men, including Guilabert of Castres, were amongst those present, but we do not know for sure that Roger Isarn was consoled, because he may have ‘lost the power of speech’.<sup>36</sup>

#### 5. Isarn Bernard of Fanjeaux and his wife, Veziada

In 1209 Isarn Bernard went to Montségur to visit his mother, Auda, after she had become a good woman and was living there in a house of good women. Whilst there, he attended the preaching of Guilabert of Castres.<sup>37</sup> Around the same time, Veziada, Isarn Bernard’s wife, also went with her sisters-in-law, Helis and Gaia, to see Guilabert of Castres.<sup>38</sup> It is unclear whether Isarn Bernard and Veziada resided in the *castrum* together. Veziada was certainly living there for a time until 1214, when she and her sisters-in-law were escorted down by a group of male believers.<sup>39</sup>

Between 1223 and 1225 Veziada continued to visit good men and women and hear their sermons with her sisters-in-law. The group attended the sermons of Guilabert of Castres, and paid visits to good women in Fanjeaux, including Esclarmunda and Orbria, the respective mothers of Bernard Hugh and Gallard of Festes.<sup>40</sup>

Around 1225 Isarn Bernard and his wife attended the deathbed of his brother, Roger Isarn.<sup>41</sup>

Around 1229 Isarn Bernard went to see Guilabert of Castres in the space that he was secretly building underneath the house of Bernard Hugh of Festes.<sup>42</sup>

When Veziada’s stepmother Curta, a good woman, and her companion were staying in Fanjeaux around 1230 or 1232, Veziada and Isarn Bernard went to visit and speak with

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<sup>36</sup> Helis, 23.178v-79r.

<sup>37</sup> Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.49v (Auda); 24.56r-v (Guilabert of Castres).

<sup>38</sup> Helis, 23.168r.

<sup>39</sup> Raymond of Péreille, 22.225r-26r.

<sup>40</sup> Isarn Bernard: William Roger of *Orsans*, 609.160r. Veziada: Helis, 23.171r, 172r, 171v-72v. For her visiting Orbria, see Bernard Calvet, 609.163v.

<sup>41</sup> Helis, 23.178v-79r.

<sup>42</sup> Raymond John of Albi, 23.267v-68r.

them.<sup>43</sup> Isarn Bernard even arranged lodgings for them with Bernard Oth, lord of Niort, for half a year. Curta was captured and burned soon afterwards.<sup>44</sup>

Between 1230 and 1233 Veziada attended the sermon of John Cambiaire, and around 1234 she was present at the deathbed consolation of the knight Bego of Fanjeaux.<sup>45</sup>

In 1235 or 1236, Isarn Bernard and Pons of Villeneuve, met Bernard Oth, lord of Niort, to discuss the problem of food supplies running low in the *castrum* of Montségur.

Between them, the men agreed to meet with the believers from local areas, in order to try to garner a supply of corn for the Cathars of Montségur. Isarn Bernard and Pons went to Carcassonne and managed to obtain sixty measures of corn from the believers there, which they combined with the seventy measures that Bernard Oth and several other lords had brought.<sup>46</sup>

In 1240 Isarn Bernard visited Guilabert of Castres in Besplas and heard his sermon.<sup>47</sup>

Around the same time, Veziada often visited and sent gifts to the good woman, Brunissens.<sup>48</sup> She also paid visits to the good men who were staying in the house of Ermengard of Rieutort.<sup>49</sup>

Veziada and several lords, including B. Hugh of Festes and P. of Saint-Michael, were accused of threatening B. of *Puycau* to hide what he knew about their engagement with John Cambiaire and that Veziada had hosted Bertrand Marty in her house, from the inquisitors.<sup>50</sup>

Isarn Bernard and Veziada were sentenced to perpetual prison on 16 August by the inquisitors, brothers Ferrier and Peter Durand.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Bernard Oth, 24.91r-v; B. of *Puycau*, 609.150v-51r. The deposition of Arnold of Terrens, 609.153v, states that this happened around 1241, but this conflicts with Bernard Oth's testimony, which claims that Curta was burned not long after 1232.

<sup>44</sup> Bernard Oth, 24.91r-v.

<sup>45</sup> Sermon: B. of *Puycau*, 609.150v-51r. Consolation: W. Garsias, 609.164r; Bernard of Cailhavel, 609.152r-53r.

<sup>46</sup> Bernard Oth, 24.88r-89r.

<sup>47</sup> Bernard Oth, 24.86v-88r.

<sup>48</sup> Arnold of Terrens, 609.154r (Veziada sending gifts); Na Ava, wife of the late P. of Laroque, 609.156v-57r (Veziada's visits).

<sup>49</sup> Na Ava, wife of the late P. of Laroque, 609.156v-57r.

<sup>50</sup> B. of *Puycau*, 609.150v-51r.

<sup>51</sup> 21.315r-16r.

## Fourth generation

### The children of Helis and Arnold of Mazerolles

#### *1. Peter of Mazerolles and his wife, Ermengarda*

Peter of Mazerolles was the co-lord of Gaja-la-Selve with his brother, Arnold.

Peter first encountered the Cathars as a boy, when the good men of Montréal gave him bread and fruit to eat.<sup>52</sup>

Peter married Ermengarda, the daughter of Isarn of Fanjeaux, probably not long before 1235. This is when Ermengarda first appears in the records, hosting a sermon in Peter's house.<sup>53</sup> Peter also had an illegitimate son.<sup>54</sup>

The fact that the dates given in Peter's deposition are quite vague make it difficult to date his activity precisely, but he was certainly very active in the period 'during the war' (1209-1229). He often saw good men and women at the house of the Roquevilles in Toulouse, including his aunt Braidia.<sup>55</sup> He was also present at the deathbed consolations – or attempted consolations – of two of his family members in the same house. His brother, Pons, was consoled there around 1228, and around the same time, his uncle, Raines, was also nearly consoled, but either refused at the last minute or died before the ritual could be performed.<sup>56</sup>

Peter attended a number of Cathar sermons. Around 1229 he attended the sermon of Guilabert of Castres at Miremont.<sup>57</sup> After 1229, and especially in 1236, he attended sermons in Gaja-la-Selve. On one of these occasions, he made some sort of pact with the preacher, Bertrand Marty, who lent him 200 shillings of Toulouse in return for Peter's friendship and defence of the Cathars.<sup>58</sup> In 1239, Peter attended Bertrand Marty's sermon in Montségur.<sup>59</sup>

Peter also attended a number of Cathar meetings. Around 1225 he paid a visit to Bernard of Mayreville in Gaja-la-Selve.<sup>60</sup> He went to see several other good men before

<sup>52</sup> Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124r.

<sup>53</sup> *Domina* Serdana, wife of Mir of Lanta, 609.186v-87r.

<sup>54</sup> William Boer, 609.121v.

<sup>55</sup> For Peter's activity in the Roqueville house, see Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v; Geralda, wife of Estult of Roqueville, 609.66r-v; Three Measures, 609.66v-67r.

<sup>56</sup> Pons: Estult of Roqueville, 609.64v-65r; Guy of Castillon, 23.223v-4r; Three Measures, 609.66v. Raines: Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v; William Gairuat, 23.150r-151r; Guy of Castillon, 23.223v-24r.

<sup>57</sup> Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124r.

<sup>58</sup> Helis, 23.173v-75r; Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v.

<sup>59</sup> Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v; Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.250v-52r.

<sup>60</sup> Three Measures, 609.66v-67r.

1229, including Bartholomew and William Bernard Unaud, and even hosted seven good men at one time in his own house.<sup>61</sup> Around 1229 he saw several good men in the house of Pons of Villeneuve.<sup>62</sup> Around 1231 he saw Guilbert of Castres in Labécède, and then again in 1234 in Dourne.<sup>63</sup> In 1235 he met up with a group of good men in the woods of Gaja-la-Selve, and made his companions promise not to reveal their location.<sup>64</sup> In 1239, he received a felt hat from the good man, Peter Polhan.<sup>65</sup>

Peter sometimes offered the good men his services as a guide. Sometime after 1229, he carried out the request of the Roqueville brothers to escort Vigourous of La Bouconne and his companion to the woods of Gaja-la-Selve.<sup>66</sup> In the early 1230s he and Isarn of Fanjeaux escorted Guilbert of Castres and up to twenty other good men to meet Raymond of Péreille, who was taking them to Montségur.<sup>67</sup> In 1241 he led Peter Polhan and his companions away from the besieged *castrum* of Montréal.<sup>68</sup>

Around 1241 Peter asked for news from Lombardy from Bernard of Plas, whom he met in the woods of Gaja-la-Selve. It is possible that at this stage he was thinking about fleeing across the border.<sup>69</sup> Around this time, he was seen with several other *faiditi*, visiting and hearing the preaching of good men including Hugh Dominic in the house of William Raymond Golayrand at Marès near Avignonet around 1241.<sup>70</sup>

Peter was first interrogated in either 1236-38 or 1241-42.<sup>71</sup> He told the inquisitors that he stopped believing in the good men at this time. Around 1242, he ran two good men out of Gaja-la-Selve and refused to lend the Roqueville brothers a mule to assist the good men.<sup>72</sup> However, in 1242 he played a pivotal role in the attack on the inquisitors at Avignonet, leading a number of soldiers (up to twenty-five, many of whom carried battle axes) to the woods of Gaja-la-Selve to supplement the forces of Peter Roger of Mirepoix.<sup>73</sup> It was later claimed that Raymond of Alfaro, the *baiulus* who enlisted Peter

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<sup>61</sup> Peter of Mazerolles, 609.125v.

<sup>62</sup> Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124r (Guilbert of Castres); 124v (Pons of Villeneuve).

<sup>63</sup> Labécède: Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124r-v. Dourne: Bernard Oth, 24.95r-v.

<sup>64</sup> Pons Faure of Villeneuve-la-Comptal, 24.118r-19r.

<sup>65</sup> Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v.

<sup>66</sup> Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v.

<sup>67</sup> Bernard Cairola, 22.269r-70r; William of Bouan of Lavelanet, 24.74v-75r.

<sup>68</sup> Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v.

<sup>69</sup> Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v.

<sup>70</sup> Peter of Beauville, 25.316v.

<sup>71</sup> *Crises*, p. 217.

<sup>72</sup> Peter of Mazerolles, 609.125v.

<sup>73</sup> Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.284v-87r; Imbert of Salles, 24.160v-64v.

Roger's aid, had been hoping to recruit Peter of Mazerolles to lead the attack, but had to switch plans when he was unable to find him.<sup>74</sup>

After this time, Peter was widely referred to as having been 'condemned', and his wife, Ermengarda, stepped in to assist him. From around 1239 she had been attending sermons and paying visits to the good men and women of Gaja-la-Selve and Queille, occasionally in the company of her mother-in-law Helis, and sister-in-law Ermessens.<sup>75</sup> She also took on a more managerial role in organising support for the good men. Around 1239 she ordered William Asher to escort two good men to the house of Pons of Cales, in Gaja-la-Selve.<sup>76</sup> In 1240 she led two good men to the house of Pons of Cales – the only recorded instance of a woman escorting Cathars in this way – and once there compelled Pons's wife to bend her knees to them, and later sent them 'necessary things'.<sup>77</sup> In 1240 she was sent for by a group of good men and women staying in the house of Aladaicia, the wife of Arnold Dominic, and the following year she ordered Arnold Dominic to host a group of four good men and women.<sup>78</sup> Around 1241 or 1242, she ordered Peter's sergeant, Raymond Aichart, to take Raymunda of Cuq and her companion to the house of Peter Gausbert in Gaja-la-Selve, where she visited them and sent them bread and grain.<sup>79</sup> On one occasion, around the same time, Raymunda returned the favour, with a gift of silk.<sup>80</sup>

In 1242 Ermengarda was pregnant, and thus when she was out riding and came across two good men, she did not dismount to adore them.<sup>81</sup>

Ermengarda played a significant role in supporting her husband, Peter, after he was condemned and hiding in the woods of Gaja-la-Selve, particularly between 1244 and 1246. She ordered Peter Pastadz and Arnold Pelicer to take food and wine to him, and saw him regularly, visiting him at least once in the house of Adam Vitalis.<sup>82</sup> During this time, a number of other men came to visit Peter in the woods and supply him with food

<sup>74</sup> Fays, wife of William Plaigne, 22.293v-95v.

<sup>75</sup> Ermengarda of Mazerolles, 609.196r-v; Emerssens of Mazerolles, 609.123v; Helis, 23.173r; 175r-v; Pelegrina, 609.2v-3r.

<sup>76</sup> Pons of Cales, 609.123r.

<sup>77</sup> Alazacia, wife of Pons of Cales, 609.197r.

<sup>78</sup> Alazacia, wife of Arnold Dominic, 609.197r; Arnold Dominic, 609.121v.

<sup>79</sup> Peter Gausbert, 609.122r-23r.

<sup>80</sup> Ermengarda of Mazerolles, 609.196v.

<sup>81</sup> Ermengarda of Mazerolles, 609.196v.

<sup>82</sup> Peter Pastadz, 609.85v; Arnold Pelicer, 609.86r; Adam Vitalis, 609.85r. Ermengarda confessed in her deposition that she often saw Peter after he was condemned, 609.196v.

and drink, including William Faure, his former *bailli*.<sup>83</sup> He also socialised and shared food with several of the Roqueville brothers and other condemned men, including Alaman of Rouaix.<sup>84</sup>

Ermengarda was interrogated in 1245. Peter was interrogated for a second time in 1246, and some of his lands were confiscated.<sup>85</sup>

## 2. *Arnold of Mazerolles and his wife, Ermessens*

Arnold of Mazerolles was the co-lord of Gaja-la-Selve with his brother Peter.

On several occasions between 1220 and 1228, Arnold saw good men and heard their sermons at the Roqueville house in Toulouse, which he visited with his brothers.<sup>86</sup> He was also present at the deathbed consolations – or attempted consolations – of two of his family members in the same house. His brother, Pons, was consoled there around 1228, and around the same time, his uncle, Raines, was also nearly consoled, but either refused at the last minute, or died before the ritual could be performed.<sup>87</sup>

Arnold met good men and women on a number of other occasions. Around 1225 he visited Bernard of Mayreville in Gaja-la-Selve.<sup>88</sup> Around 1234 or 1235 he came across Vigouroux of La Bouconne leaving the house of Bernard of Arvigna in Calmont.<sup>89</sup> Around 1236 he went with his mother and brother to see William Bernard Unaud of Lanta in Gaja-la-Selve.<sup>90</sup> Around 1239 he went with his brother, Peter, to see Peter Polhan.<sup>91</sup> Around 1242 he adored two good women.<sup>92</sup>

Arnold was married to Ermessens. Most of Ermessens's interaction with the Cathars occurred between 1238 and 1241. During this time, she often accompanied her mother-in-law, Helis, and sister-in-law, Ermengarda, to visit the good men and women who

<sup>83</sup> William Faure, 609.85v; Peter Cordis of Ferrus, 609.85r; Bernard Ribeira, 609.148r.

<sup>84</sup> Raymond of Roqueville, 609.216r-v; Bertrand of Roqueville, 609.43v; Bego of Roqueville, 609.43r. *Saisimentum*, p. 90, n. 11.

<sup>86</sup> Three Measures, 609.66v-67r; Geralda, wife of Estult of Roqueville, 609.66r-v.

<sup>87</sup> Pons: Estult of Roqueville, 609.64v-65r; Guy of Castillon, 23.223v-24r; Three Measures, 609.66v. Raines: Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v; William Gairuat, 23.150r-51r; Guy of Castillon, 23.223v-24r.

<sup>88</sup> Three Measures, 609.66v-67r.

<sup>89</sup> Guy of Castillon, 23.222r.

<sup>90</sup> Helis, 23.174r-v.

<sup>91</sup> Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v.

<sup>92</sup> Raymunda, daughter of Raymond Jocglar, 609.40v-41r.

were staying with the residents of Gaja-la-Selve, and to speak with them and hear their sermons.<sup>93</sup>

Around 1241, Ermessens went to the house of Pons of La Chapelle in Gaja-la-Selve, to see the good man Bernard of Mayreville, who gave her gifts because 'it was said' that he was her uncle.<sup>94</sup>

Alaman of Rouaix and other men condemned for heresy came to eat and drink in Ermessens's house, suggesting that she (and perhaps her husband) sometimes played host to fugitives.<sup>95</sup>

Ermessens was interrogated in 1245. There is no record of Arnold appearing before the inquisitors, but we know that he kept his lands subsequent to investigations.<sup>96</sup>

### 3. *Pons of Mazerolles*

Between 1220 and 1228 Pons often accompanied his brothers to see the good men who were staying in the Roqueville house in Toulouse.<sup>97</sup> On one occasion during this time, he witnessed the death of his uncle, Raines, there.<sup>98</sup>

In 1225 his mother, Helis, used him as a messenger to take a trout to the good men.<sup>99</sup>

Pons died from an injury in the Roqueville house around 1228, in the company of his brothers, and having been consoled upon his deathbed.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Helis, 23.176r; 175r-v; Emerssens of Mazerolles, 609.123v; Ermengarda of Mazerolles, 609.196r-v.

<sup>94</sup> Emerssens of Mazerolles, 609.123v.

<sup>95</sup> Emerssens of Mazerolles, 609.123v.

<sup>96</sup> *Saisimentum*, p. 90, n. 11.

<sup>97</sup> Geralda, wife of Estult of Roqueville, 609.66r-v; Three Measures, 609.66v-67r.

<sup>98</sup> William Gairuat, 23.150r-51r.

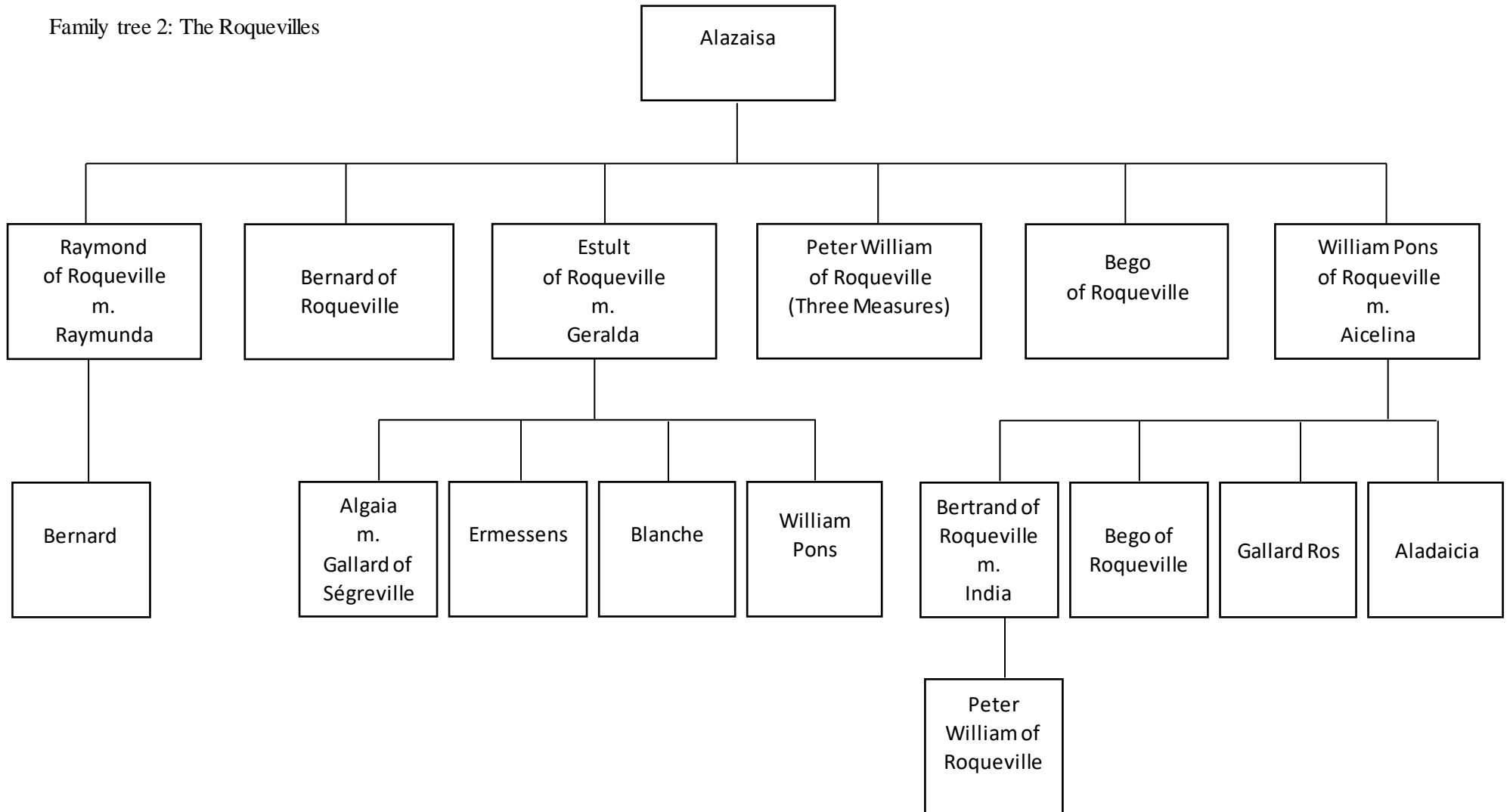
<sup>99</sup> Helis, 23.169v-70v.

<sup>100</sup> Three Measures places his death in 1221, but Estult places it around 1228, and Geralda, William Gairut, and Helis of Mazerolles all saw him alive after 1221. See Estult of Roqueville, 609.64v-65r and Three Measures, 609.66v-67r.



## The Roquevilles

Family tree 2: The Roquevilles



## Roquevilles: Calendar of depositions

### Ramundus de Rocovila miles dominus fidels Cassers

Raymond of Roqueville, knight, lord of Les Cassés, 30 January 1246, 609.216r-v.

Brother Bernard of Caux, inquisitor.

Addition, 31 January 1246, 609.216v. Brother Bernard of Caux, inquisitor.

Previous confession, 1237 or 1238 in Toulouse.<sup>1</sup> Brother William Arnold and brother Stephen of Saint-Thibéry, inquisitors.

Previous confession, late 1243 or April-May 1244 in Limoux.<sup>2</sup> Brother Ferrier, inquisitor

### Bernardus de Rochovila miles

Bernard of Roqueville, knight, 25 May 1246, 609.228r-v.

Brother Bernard of Caux and brother John of Saint-Pierre, inquisitors.

Previous confession, 1243 or 1244 in Saissac.<sup>3</sup> Brother Ferrier, inquisitor.

Previous confession, c. 1236 in Saint-Félix.<sup>4</sup> Brother William Arnold and brother Stephen of Saint-Thibéry, inquisitors.

### Estolt de Rocovila miles

Estult of Roqueville, knight, 20 June 1246, 609.64v-65r.

Brother Bernard of Caux, inquisitor.

Previous confession, 1236-38 or 1241-42 in Villemur.<sup>5</sup> Brother William Arnold and brother Stephen of Saint-Thibéry, inquisitors.

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<sup>1</sup> Raymond said that he stopped believing in the heretics around eight years ago, after this confession took place, which means it likely took place either in 1237 or 1238, at which point, according to Dossat, William Arnold and Stephen of Saint-Thibéry were obtaining depositions in Toulouse. See *Crises*, p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> *Crises*, p. 224.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 223-24.

<sup>4</sup> This seems the most likely date, since Bernard claimed that he had not believed in the heretics for ten years after a previous confession, and this would coincide with the period of inquisitorial activity – see *Crises*, p. 217.

<sup>5</sup> *Crises*, p. 217.

Domina Geralda uxor Estolt de Rocovila militis

Lady Geralda, wife of Estult of Roqueville, knight, 26 February 1246, 609.66r-v.

Brother Bernard of Caux and brother John of Saint-Pierre, inquisitors.

Previous confession, 1236-38 or 1241-42 in the house of the same witness in Lafage.<sup>6</sup>

Brother Stephen of Saint-Thibéry, inquisitor.

Petrus Willelmi de Rocovila miles qui dicitur Tres Eminas

Peter William of Roqueville, knight, who is called Three Measures, 1 March 1246, 609.66v.

Brother Bernard of Caux and brother John of Saint-Pierre, inquisitors.

Addition, 10 March 1246, 609.66v-67r. Brother Bernard of Caux and brother John of Saint-Pierre, inquisitors.

Addition, 10 March 1246, 609.67r.

Previous confession, 1236-38 or 1241-42 in Toulouse.<sup>7</sup> Brother William Arnold and brother Stephen of Saint-Thibéry, inquisitors.

Bertrandus de Roquovila miles

Bertrand of Roqueville, knight, 1 July 1245, 609.43v

Brother Bernard of Caux, inquisitor.

Previous deposition (see below).

Bertrandus de Rocovila miles de Monte Galhardo

Bertrand of Roqueville, knight of Montgaillard, 1 November 1256, Douais pp. 129-31.

Brother Jean of Saint-Pierre and brother Reginal of Chartres, inquisitors.

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

Bego de Rocovila frater Bertrandi de Rocovila

Bego of Roqueville, brother of Bertrand of Roqueville, 1 July 1245, 609.43v.

Brother Bernard of Caux, inquisitor.

Galhardus Rubei, miles, de Montegalhardo<sup>8</sup>

Gallard Ros, knight of Montgaillard, 22 June 1278, 26.54v-56r.

Brother Hugh Amiel, inquisitor.

Previous confessions (see below).

Galhardus de Rocovila miles de Monte Galhardo

Gallard of Roqueville, knight of Montgaillard, 1 November 1256, Douais pp. 131-2.

Brother Jean of Saint-Pierre and brother Reginal of Chartres, inquisitors.

Previous confession, 1255. Brother Jean of Saint-Pierre and brother Reginal of Chartres, inquisitors.

Petrus Guillelmi de Rochavilla, domicellus, filius Bertrandi de Rochovilla, militis, domini de Montegalhardo

Peter William of Roqueville, *domicellus*, son of Bertrand of Roqueville, knight, lord of Montgaillard, 18 May 1274, 25.130r-134r.

Brother Ranulph of Plassac and brother Pons of Parnac, inquisitors.

Addition, 21 May 1274, 25.134r-136r. Brother Ranulph of Plassac, inquisitor.

Previous confession, before 1261 or 1262.<sup>9</sup> Brother William of Montreuil, inquisitor.

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<sup>8</sup> Despite the different rendering of the name, the content of the deposition (particularly identification of brothers, Bego and Bertrand) shows that this is the same 'Galhardus' as below.

<sup>9</sup> After this encounter, Peter William received a letter of permission to claim the return of his property. He went to negotiate this in around 1261 or 1262, so the confession must have taken place before this.

## Roquevilles: Biographies

### First generation

#### *Alazaisa*

Alazaisa had at least six sons.<sup>10</sup> By 1206 she had become a good woman and lived in houses of good women in Montesquieu and Les Cassés.<sup>11</sup> In 1221 Alazaisa and her son, Estult, attended a gathering in a house of good men in Les Cassés.<sup>12</sup>

### Second generation

#### The children of Alazaisa

##### *1. Raymond of Roqueville and his wife, Raymunda*

Raymond and his brother, Bernard, were the co-lords of Les Cassés, in the Lauragais.

From around 1206 Raymond often saw Cathars living openly, and he and his brothers sometimes went to visit them.<sup>13</sup>

The crusaders found a large number of good men and women – probably sixty or more – ‘concealed in a tower at Les Cassés’ where they had been hidden ‘by their friends the Roquevilles’ around May 1211.<sup>14</sup> It is likely that this refers to Raymond and Bernard, the lords of the *castrum*.

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<sup>10</sup> H. Duffaut suggests that Alazaise may have been married to an Estult of Roqueville, who we know was buried in the Cathar cemetery of Montsequieu. See his *Roqueville. Monographie du fief et de la chapelle de ce nom* (Toulouse, 1903), p. 47. See the deposition of William Aygra, 609.102v. J. Duvernoy suggests that she may have been married to a William Peter of Roqueville, with whom she had four of her sons (Estult, Three Measures, Bego, and William Pons), and that she had her other two sons (Raymond and Bernard) in a second marriage. It is not clear where this information comes from, and I have found no evidence to support it. See Duvernoy (ed.), *Registre de Bernard de Caux, Pamiers, 1246-7* (Foix, 1990), 22-3, n. 26.

<sup>11</sup> Three Measures, 609.66v.

<sup>12</sup> Estult of Roqueville, 609.64v. Note that Roquebert writes that Alazaisa lived as a Cathar in Cremona, but here he confuses her with Aicelina (see 2nd generation Roqueville), who was the wife of William Pons. See M. Roquebert, *Les Cathares: de la chute de Montségur aux dernier bûchers 1244-1329* (Paris, 1998), pp. 258, 353. The family tree is confused by a number of similar names. In each of the first three generations we have and Alazaise, an Aicelina, and an Adalacia respectively. The first two both became good women, but it was Aicelina who lived in Cremona.

<sup>13</sup> Raymond of Roqueville 609.216r; Three Measures, 609.67r.

<sup>14</sup> *Petri Vallium Sarnaii monachi hystoria albigensis*, ed. P. Guébin and E. Lyon, 3 vols (Paris, 1926-39), i.232-33; trans. in *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, ed. W. A. Sibly and M. D. Sibly (Oxford, 1998), p. 120. WP, *Chronica*, pp. 78-79; trans. in WP, *Chronicle*, p. 41. *Chanson, Laisse* 84, i.200-201; trans. in *Song* (Aldershot, 1996), 48.

From the early 1220s until at least 1241 Raymond was often involved in hosting good men including Bernard of La Mothe, Guilabert of Castres, and William Soler, in the house he kept with his brothers in Toulouse.<sup>15</sup>

It is possible that Raymond was consoled after he was gravely wounded during the siege of Castelnau around 1222. However, he recovered and appears not to have lived as a good man from that time.<sup>16</sup>

Raymond attended the sermons of Gaucelin in 1221 and Bonets in 1230.<sup>17</sup>

Raymond and his brother, Estult, were present when the Cathar bishop, Guilabert of Castres, made his ordinations at Montségur around 1229.<sup>18</sup>

For around ten years, Raymond and his brother, Bernard, often ordered their men, Raymond Brezeg and Raymond Serviens, to hold good men in their house.<sup>19</sup> For example, around 1230 Raymond and his brother, Bernard, escorted three good men there, instructing Raymond Brezeg to shelter them, and often returning to the house to visit them, and bring them food.<sup>20</sup> Around the same time, Raymond also visited the Cathar bishop, Guilabert of Castres at the house.<sup>21</sup>

Raymond attended several Cathar gatherings held secretly in the woods of Les Cassés and Trébons in 1230 and 1235 respectively.<sup>22</sup>

Raymond often offered the good men his services as a guide. Around 1228, with his brothers he brought the good men, Guilabert of Castres and Peter Sicre, to their house in Toulouse.<sup>23</sup> One night in 1230 or 1231 Raymond and a companion provided an escort for the Cathar deacon, William Saloman.<sup>24</sup> Around 1237 Raymond led Bernard Englibert and his companion from Montgaillard to near Gaja-la-Selve.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Estult of Roqueville, 609.64v; Geralda, wife of Estult of Roqueville, 609.66r; Three Measures, 609.66v; Raymond Ademar of Lanta, 609.200v; Algaia, wife of Gallard of Ségreville, 24.9v-10r.

<sup>16</sup> Raymond Arrufat, 609.250v.

<sup>17</sup> Raymond of Roqueville, 609.216r.

<sup>18</sup> Raymond of Péreille, 22.226v-27r.

<sup>19</sup> Arnold of Clerens, 609.223r.

<sup>20</sup> Raymond Brezeg, 609.226r; Raymond Sirvent, 609.225r.

<sup>21</sup> Raymond of Roqueville, 609.216r.

<sup>22</sup> Les Cassés: William Aimeric, 609.225r. Trébons: Tholosanus of Salles, 609.132r.

<sup>23</sup> Raymond of Roqueville, 609.216r.

<sup>24</sup> Raymond of Montcabrier, 23.158r-59r.

<sup>25</sup> Raymond of Roqueville, 609.216v.

Around 1237 or 1239 Raymond drove the good men away from the house of his brother-in-law, Raymond of Saint-Germain, who did not wish to be consoled upon his deathbed.<sup>26</sup>

In 1239 Raymond collaborated with his brother, Bernard, to send three fish to the good men.<sup>27</sup>

During the early 1240s Raymond often met with several knights who had been condemned for heresy, including Peter of Mazerolles.<sup>28</sup>

Raymond's wife, Raymunda, was consoled around 1241, having fallen ill. She recovered and lived as a good woman from this time.<sup>29</sup> Raymunda and her companion, Marquesia, were received into the homes of several believers until around 1245, during which time Raymond continued to play an active role, occasionally acting as a guide for his wife and her companion and arranging for their shelter.<sup>30</sup>

Raymond was interrogated once around 1237 or 1238, and once in January 1246.<sup>31</sup>

Around the time of Raymond's second interrogation, in 1246, he and his brother, Bernard, made threats against the men of Les Cassés to keep silent about their involvement with the Cathars and reveal nothing to the inquisitors.<sup>32</sup>

There is no record of Raymond's sentence. Both he and his brother, Bernard, evaded punishment, fleeing to Cremona, where they became good men.<sup>33</sup>

## 2. *Bernard of Roqueville*

Bernard of Roqueville and his brother, Raymond, were the co-lords of Les Cassés, in the Lauragais.

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<sup>26</sup> Raymond of Roqueville, 609.216v; John Gandil, 23.218r-19r.

<sup>27</sup> Bernard Bernardus, 609.46r.

<sup>28</sup> Raymond of Roqueville, 609.216v.

<sup>29</sup> Her husband, Raymond, told the inquisitor that she died of her illness in Montségur, 609.216v.

<sup>30</sup> Arnold of Clerens, 609.22v; Willelma of Clerens, 609.224r-v.

<sup>31</sup> Date of prior deposition deduced from the fact that Raymond claimed that he stopped believing in the heretics around eight years ago, after this confession took place, which means it likely took place either in 1237 or 1238, 609.216r-v.

<sup>32</sup> Arnold of Clerens, 609.223r.

<sup>33</sup> Peter of Beauville, 25.301r.



From around 1206 Bernard often saw Cathars living openly in Les Cassés and Montmaur, and he and his brothers sometimes went to visit them at this time, and again ten years later around 1216.<sup>34</sup>

The crusaders found a large number of good men and women – probably sixty or more – ‘concealed in a tower at Les Cassés’ where they had been hidden ‘by their friends the Roquevilles’ around May 1211.<sup>35</sup> It is likely that this refers to Bernard and Raymond, the lords of the *castrum*.

At several points in 1226 and 1230 Bernard was involved in hosting good men, including Guilabert of Castres, Raymond Gros, William of Soler, and Bernard of Lamothe, who came to stay and sometimes preach a sermon in the house he shared with his brothers in Toulouse.<sup>36</sup> On one occasion, in 1228, he was also present in the same house with his brother, Estult, at the deathbed consolation of Pons of Mazerolles.<sup>37</sup>

Bernard also regularly attended Cathar meetings and sermons. In 1221 he visited a house of good men in Les Cassés.<sup>38</sup> In 1226 he saw the good man, Vigouroux of Bacounne, in the house of his brother, Estult, in Montgiscard.<sup>39</sup> Ten years later he attended Vigouroux’s sermon in the house of Pons of La Chapelle.<sup>40</sup> Around the same time, he visited the good men who were staying in the house of Na Ricca.<sup>41</sup> Around 1243 he saw the good man, Bernard of Mayreville, in the house of Peter Guiraud in Les Cassés.<sup>42</sup> He was also linked to the Cathars of Montségur. Around 1238 and 1240 he went to visit Bertrand Marty and Bernard of Mayreville and attended the preaching of Guilabert of Castres.<sup>43</sup>

In 1239 Bernard collaborated with his brother, Raymond, to send three fish to the good men.<sup>44</sup>

Bernard sometimes offered the good men his services as a guide. Sometime after 1229 he took Bernard Bonafos and Guilabert of Castres to Fossat, for which he received ten

<sup>34</sup> Bernard of Roqueville, 609.228r-v; Three Measures, 609.67r.

<sup>35</sup> See n. 14 above.

<sup>36</sup> Raymond Ademar of Lanta, 609.200v; Three Measures, 609.66v; Geralda, wife of Estult of Roqueville, 609.64v; William Gairaut, 23.150r-51r; Guy of Castillon, 23.223r-24r.

<sup>37</sup> Estult of Roqueville, 609.64v.

<sup>38</sup> Estult of Roqueville, 609.64v.

<sup>39</sup> Estult of Roqueville, 609.64v.

<sup>40</sup> Helis, 23.174v-75r.

<sup>41</sup> Na Ricca, 609.21r-v.

<sup>42</sup> Arnold of Clerens, 609.223r.

<sup>43</sup> Gallard of La Congoust, 22.155v-56r; Arnold Roger, 22.120r-v.

<sup>44</sup> Bernard Bernardus, 609.46r.

Toulouse shillings.<sup>45</sup> Around 1242, he assisted his brother, Raymond, in escorting his wife, Raymunda, who had become a good woman.<sup>46</sup> Bernard was also involved with arranging these services for others. At some point after 1229, he and his brother, Three Measures, asked Peter of Mazerolles to escort two good men to the woods near Gaja-la-Selve.<sup>47</sup>

For around ten years, Bernard and his brother, Raymond, often ordered their men, Raymond Brezeg and Raymond Serviens, to hold good men in their house in Les Cassés.<sup>48</sup> Around 1229, Bernard and his brother, Raymond, led three good men to the house, where they stayed for two or three months.<sup>49</sup> In 1233, Bernard was present when the good man, Arnold Borreli, and his companion, were staying there.<sup>50</sup>

Bernard was interrogated by the inquisitors in May 1246. Around this time, he and his brother, Raymond, made threats against the men of Les Cassés to keep silent about their involvement with the Cathars and reveal nothing to the inquisitors.<sup>51</sup> Bernard was condemned to perpetual prison later that year.<sup>52</sup> However, he managed to evade capture, fleeing to Lombardy with his brother, Raymond, and becoming a good man.<sup>53</sup>

### 3. *Estult of Roqueville and his wife, Geralda*

From around 1216, Estult saw Cathars living openly in many places.<sup>54</sup>

Estult was married to Geralda from 1221 or earlier, and they had at least four children together.<sup>55</sup> Geralda also belonged to a family of Cathars and their supporters. As a

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<sup>45</sup> Bernard of Roqueville, 609.228r.

<sup>46</sup> Arnold of Clerens, 609.222v-23r.

<sup>47</sup> Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v.

<sup>48</sup> Arnold of Clerens, 609.223r.

<sup>49</sup> Raymond Brezeg, 609.226r.

<sup>50</sup> Raymond Sirvent, 609.225r.

<sup>51</sup> Arnold of Clerens, 609.223r.

<sup>52</sup> C. Douais, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Inquisition dans la Languedoc*, 2 vols (Paris, 1900), ii.22, 37.

<sup>53</sup> Peter of Beauville, 25.301r.

<sup>54</sup> Estult of Roqueville, 609.64v.

<sup>55</sup> The earliest mention of them as a couple is by Willelma of Avignonet, in 1216 (609.171v), however, Willelma also dates this as the time when Garsenda and Gallarda visited Geralda and Estult in Baraigne, which Geralda dates six years later, around 1222, suggesting that Willelma made a mistake here. Other deponents refer to the two together from 1221 – see Three Measures, 609.66v; Estult of Roqueville, 609.64v.

young girl around 1211, she stayed for eight days with her aunt, Garsenda of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, and cousin, Gallarda, both of whom were good women.<sup>56</sup>

Geralda and Estult had a house in Toulouse, which Estult co-owned with his brothers. They also had properties in Mas-Saintes-Puelles, Montgiscard and Baraigne. They regularly hosted good men and good women, including Guilbert of Castres, Vigouroux of La Bouconne, Bernard of Lamothe and Geralda's aunt and cousin, Garsenda and Gallarda, especially in Toulouse between 1221 and 1241.<sup>57</sup> Estult was also present at the deathbed consolations – or attempted consolations – of two of the Mazerolles family in the house in Toulouse. Pons of Mazerolles was consoled there around 1228, and around the same time, Pons's uncle, Raines, was also nearly consoled, but either refused at the last minute, or died before the ritual could be performed.<sup>58</sup>

Estult regularly attended Cathar meetings and sermons elsewhere. He attended the sermons of Bernard Bonafos and Bertrand Marty in 1225 and 1229 respectively.<sup>59</sup> In 1221, he visited a house of good men in Les Cassés with his brothers.<sup>60</sup> He visited the good man, Arnold Hugh, and his companion twice in between 1220 and 1221.<sup>61</sup> Around 1226 he visited a good woman, Sicard of Ségreville's mother, with his brother, Bego.<sup>62</sup> Around 1229 he attended the ordinations of the Cathar bishop, Guilbert of Castres, with his brother, Raymond.<sup>63</sup> Around 1232 he saw the good man, Bernard Engilbert.<sup>64</sup> In 1236 he saw the good man, William Bernard Unaud, in Gaja-la-Selve.<sup>65</sup> Around 1239 he saw the good man, Peter Coma, in Baraigne.<sup>66</sup>

Estult sometimes offered the good men his services as a guide. As early as 1209 he brought two good men to console Peter of Arrufat who had been mortally wounded.<sup>67</sup> Around 1225 he led his wife's relatives, the good women Gallarda and Garsenda of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, to the house of William of *Cavarsell* in Montgiscard.<sup>68</sup> He brought

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<sup>56</sup> Geralda, wife of Estult of Roqueville, 609.66r.

<sup>57</sup> See family chapter, table 1.2, pp. 58-61 for complete list with references.

<sup>58</sup> On Pons: Estult of Roqueville, 609.64v; Three Measures, 609.66v. Estult dated the consolation at 1221, but Pons was seen alive by several other deponents after this (see Pons's biography, p. 241). On Raines: William Gairaut, 23.150r-51r; Guy of Castillon, 23.223v-24r; Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v.

<sup>59</sup> Bernard Bonafos: William of *Cavarsell*, 609.65r. Bertrand Marty: Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v.

<sup>60</sup> Estult of Roqueville, 609.64v.

<sup>61</sup> Estult of Roqueville, 609.64v; Pelegrina, 609.2v-3r.

<sup>62</sup> Sicard of Gabbaret, 609.67r.

<sup>63</sup> Raymond of Péreille, 22.226v-27r.

<sup>64</sup> Raymond of Goudourville, 609.62v.

<sup>65</sup> Helis, 23.174r-v.

<sup>66</sup> Stephen Coma, 609.171v.

<sup>67</sup> Raymond Arrufat, 609.250r.

<sup>68</sup> William of *Cavarsell*, 609.65r.

good men to the same house on several occasions, in roughly 1228, 1235, and 1237 respectively.<sup>69</sup> Around 1228 he and his brothers escorted the good men, Guilabert of Castres and Peter Sicre, to their house in Toulouse.<sup>70</sup> Finally, around 1229, he led the good men, Raymond Gros and Bernard Bonafos, from the public square of Mas-Saintes-Puelles to Gaja-la-Selve, and received ten shillings from them in return.<sup>71</sup>

Estult also occasionally played a part in organising support for the Cathars. Around 1225 he sent William Pelisser with the head of a salmon to Ava, a good woman.<sup>72</sup> Sometime between 1225 and 1227 he and his brother, Bego, hired the squire, Stephen Massa, and his companion to guide two good men to a cattle shed near Lanta.<sup>73</sup> Around 1241 or 1242 he and his brother, Three Measures, were escorting the good man, Bernard of Mayreville, and his companion to Montségur, when they came across Peter of Mazerolles and his sergeant in Gaja-la-Selve. Estult tried to press Peter to provide Bernard with a nag, but he refused.<sup>74</sup>

Around 1226 Estult received a number of gifts from the Cathars for his troubles, including grain, oats, shirts, and stockings from the good men of Toulouse.<sup>75</sup>

Around 1232 when Geralda was suffering with a fever, she and Estult sought the help of a Cathar doctor.<sup>76</sup>

Geralda's involvement also extended outside the home. She was also witnessed paying a visit to the good woman, Arnalda of Lamothe, around 1235 or 1237.<sup>77</sup>

In January 1237 Estult sold his family's possessions in Lafage, Drémil and Lanta to the Count of Toulouse.<sup>78</sup>

Geralda was interrogated by inquisitors in February 1246, and Estult in June of the same year. Estult was sentenced to perpetual prison in 1246.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> William of *Cavarsell*, 609.65r.

<sup>70</sup> Raymond of Roqueville, 609.216r.

<sup>71</sup> Estult of Roqueville, 609.64v.

<sup>72</sup> William Pelisser, 609.53v.

<sup>73</sup> Stephen Massa, 23.293v-294v

<sup>74</sup> Peter of Mazerolles, 609.125v.

<sup>75</sup> Estult of Roqueville, 609.64v.

<sup>76</sup> Geralda, wife of Estult of Roqueville, 609.66v; Sicard of Gabbaret, 609.67r.

<sup>77</sup> Arnalda of Lamothe, 609.202r.

<sup>78</sup> H. Duffaut, *Roqueville. Monographie du fief et de la chapelle de ce nom* (Toulouse, 1903), p. 46. See also *Layettes du trésor des chartes*, ed. J. B. A. T. Teulet, 5 vols (Paris, 1865-1909), ii.332, 396.

<sup>79</sup> Douais, *Documents*, ii.21.

4. *Peter William of Roqueville (Three Measures)*

Peter William was more commonly known in the depositions as Three Measures (or *Tresminas*). He saw Cathars, including his mother, Alazaisa, living openly in Montréal, Montesquieu and Les Cassés from around 1206.<sup>80</sup>

He participated in anti-crusader activity, leading an ambush against Simon of Montfort's men not far from Toulouse at some point in between 1209 and 1218.<sup>81</sup>

He was involved in hosting good men including Bernard of Lamothe and Raymond Gros in the house he co-owned with his brothers in Toulouse from around 1221 to 1230.<sup>82</sup>

Three Measures also regularly attended Cathar meetings and sermons. He attended several of Bertrand Marty's sermons in Gaja-la-Selve with his brothers after 1229 and around 1237, and in 1236 he attended the sermon of Vigouroux of La Bouconne in the same *castrum*.<sup>83</sup> He returned to Gaja-la-Selve in 1226 and 1236 to visit the good men Bernard of Mayreville and William Bernard Unaud respectively.<sup>84</sup> In addition, he visited Bertrand Marty in 1226 in Laurac, Guilabert of Castres in 1231 in Labécède, and William Bernard of Airoux in Queille.<sup>85</sup>

Three Measures sometimes offered the good men his services as a guide and can also be seen organising escorts for them. Around 1228 he and his brothers escorted the good men, Guilabert of Castres and Peter Sicre, to their house in Toulouse.<sup>86</sup> Sometime after 1229 Three Measures and his brother, Bernard, asked Peter of Mazerolles to escort the good man, Vigouroux of La Bouconne, and his companion to the woods of Gaja-la-Selve. Three Measures then accompanied Peter on this mission.<sup>87</sup> Around 1241 or 1242

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<sup>80</sup> Three Measures, 609.66v.

<sup>81</sup> Three Measures, 609.66v.

<sup>82</sup> Three Measures, 609.66v; Geralda, wife of Estult of Roqueville, 609.66r-v; Raymond Ademar of Lanta, 609.200v; William Gairaut, 23.150r-51r; Guy of Castillon, 23.223r-24r.

<sup>83</sup> Bertrand Marty: Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v; Helis, 23.173v. Vigouroux of La Bouconne: Helis, 174v-75r.

<sup>84</sup> Bernard of Mayreville: Three Measures, 609.67r. William Bernard Unaud: Helis, 23.174r-v.

<sup>85</sup> Bertrand Marty: Three Measures, 609.67r. Guilabert of Castres: Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124r-v; William Bernard of Airoux: Three Measures, 609.67r.

<sup>86</sup> Raymond of Roqueville, 609.216r.

<sup>87</sup> Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v.

Three Measures and his brother, Estult, escorted the good man, Bernard of Mayreville, and his companion to Montségur.<sup>88</sup>

Around 1231 Three Measures had as his concubine a woman called Finas.<sup>89</sup>

Three Measures was interrogated by inquisitors in May 1246 and condemned to perpetual prison shortly afterwards.<sup>90</sup> However, in February 1253 Three Measures and a William Pons were named as witnesses to the regulation of offerings in use in the parish. For Duffaut, this suggests that Three Measures accepted his sentence and earned the clemency of his judges, ensuring an early release.<sup>91</sup>

### 5. *Bego of Roqueville*

From around 1206 Bego often saw Cathars living openly in Les Cassés, and he and his brothers sometimes went to visit them at this time.<sup>92</sup>

In between 1225 and 1241 Bego was involved with hosting good men including Bernard of Lamothe, Raymond Gros, Gerald of Gordon, William of Soler, Guilabert of Castres, and Vigouroux of La Bouconne in the house he co-owned with his brothers, in Toulouse, and he was also often present when they came to stay in the houses owned by his brother, Estult, in Mas-Saintes-Puelles and Montgiscard.<sup>93</sup>

Bego also hosted several good men, including Bernard of Lamothe and Guilabert of Castres, in his own house in Montgiscard in 1226 and 1231.<sup>94</sup>

Bego attended a number of Cathar sermons. Around 1221 he attended the sermon of Gaucelin in Les Cassés, around 1225 he attended the sermon of Bernard Bonafos in Montgiscard, at some point after 1229 he attended the sermon of Bertrand Marty in the

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<sup>88</sup> Peter of Mazerolles, 609.125v.

<sup>89</sup> William of *Cavarsell*, 609.65r.

<sup>90</sup> Douais, *Documents*, ii.21-22.

<sup>91</sup> H. Duffaut, *Roqueville. Monographie du fief et de la chapelle de ce nom* (Toulouse, 1903), p. 50. Duffaut assumes that William Pons was Three Measures's son, but he equally could have been his brother, or his nephew (i.e. his brother Estult's son), both of whom were called William Pons.

<sup>92</sup> Three Measures, 609.67r.

<sup>93</sup> In Toulouse: GERALDA, wife of Estult of Roqueville, 609.66r; Stephen Massa, 23.293v-94v; Guy of Castillon, 23.223v-24r; Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v; ALGAIA, wife of Gallard of Ségreville, 24.9r-11r. In Montgiscard: GERALDA, wife of Estult of Roqueville, 609.66r-v; William of *Cavarsell*, 609.65r; Sicard of Gabbaret, 609.67r-v. In Mas-Saintes-Puelles: Bernard of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, 609.16v; William of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, 609.16v.

<sup>94</sup> Bernard Oth, 24.99v; Raymond Unaud, 22.87r-v; Bernard Nicetz, 609.68r.

woods of Gaja-la-Selve, and around 1231 or 1232 he attended the reading of Raymond Lager near Montgaillard.<sup>95</sup>

Bego also regularly paid visits to Cathars. Around 1226 he saw Bernard Bonafos in the house of Bernard Calveira, William Bernard of Airoux in the house of Sicard of Gabbaret, and Gallard of Ségreville's mother, who was a good woman.<sup>96</sup> Around 1227 he saw Bernard of Lamothe in the house of Alaman of Rouaix.<sup>97</sup> In 1230 he saw two good men in the house of William of *Cavarsell*.<sup>98</sup> Around 1231 he saw two good men in Montgaillard, and around 1238 he saw two good men in Montgiscard.<sup>99</sup>

Bego frequently offered his services as a guide to the Cathars. Around 1226 he and Sicard of Gabbaret led William Bernard of Airoux and his companion to a vineyard outside Montgiscard.<sup>100</sup> Around 1228 he and his brothers brought the good men, Guilabert of Castres and Peter Sicre, to their house in Toulouse.<sup>101</sup> As we saw above, on one occasion between 1225 and 1227 Bego and his brother, Estult, hired Stephen Massa, and his companion – to take two good men to a cattle shed near Lanta.<sup>102</sup>

On several occasions in 1231 Bego was called upon to bring the good men to places of need. Firstly, he brought two good men to Lady Brulhes, the mother of William of Teyssonnières, who lay gravely ill at Beaumont-sur-Lèze, but ultimately could not be consoled because the chaplain was guarding her.<sup>103</sup> Secondly, he brought the Cathar doctor, William Bernard of Airoux to care for Estult's wife, Geralda, when she was sick.<sup>104</sup>

Bego also tried to organise lodgings for the Cathars he travelled with, but this was not always successful. Around 1232 he brought two good men to the house of Bernarda the farmer, but when her husband came home, he drove them away.<sup>105</sup> In 1235 he led two

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<sup>95</sup> Gaucelin: Raymond of Roqueville, 609.216r. Bernard Bonafos: William of *Cavarsell*, 609.65r. Bertrand Marty: Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v. Raymond Lager: Bernard Nicetz, 609.68r; Peter of Roqueville (labourer), 609.44r (Peter mentions Bego's presence at this time but not that there was a reading); Bernard of Laurac, 609.68v (Bernard dates slightly later, in 1236-38).

<sup>96</sup> Bernard Bonafos and William Bernard of Airoux: Bernard Nicetz, 609.68r. Sicard of Ségreville's mother: Sicard of Gabbaret, 609.67r.

<sup>97</sup> Arnold of Villèle, 609.101r.

<sup>98</sup> William of *Cavarsell*, 609.65r.

<sup>99</sup> Montgaillard: William Pelisser, 609.53v; Montgiscard: Sicard of Gabbaret, 609.67r.

<sup>100</sup> Bernard Nicetz, 609.68r.

<sup>101</sup> Raymond of Roqueville, 609.216r.

<sup>102</sup> See p. 252, n. 73.

<sup>103</sup> Raymond Unaud, 22.85v-86v.

<sup>104</sup> Geralda, wife of Estult of Roqueville, 609.66r-v; Sicard of Gabbaret, 609.67r.

<sup>105</sup> Bernarda the farmer, 609.108r.

good men to the house of Bernard Calvinus, but Bernard told him to take them away, or else he would report them to the *bailli*.<sup>106</sup>

Bego died before 1245.<sup>107</sup>

#### 6. *William Pons of Roqueville and his wife, Aicelina*

From around 1206, William Pons often saw Cathars living openly in Les Cassés, and he and his brothers sometimes went to visit them at this time.<sup>108</sup>

Around 1221 William Pons went to visit Gaucelin, the Cathar bishop, in Les Cassés with his brothers, Raymond and Bego.<sup>109</sup>

William Pons was married to Aicelina, and they had at least four children.

Aicelina paid a visit to the good men in Montgaillard in 1230 or 1232.<sup>110</sup> She also visited good men including Arnold Prader and Hugh Dominic several times in the house of her son, Bertrand, from around 1245 to 1254.<sup>111</sup> On one of these occasions, she played a role in introducing her grandson, Peter William of Roqueville, to Catharism, taking him to see good men including Arnold Prader and the Donat brothers, who taught him to adore them.<sup>112</sup>

Aicelina ended her days as a good woman in Lombardy. She probably died around 1254.<sup>113</sup>

### Third generation

#### The son of Raymond of Roqueville

##### *Bernard of Les Cassés*

Around 1250 Bernard was included in a group that met seven good men, including Hugh Dominic, in the woods between Les Cassés and Folcarde, where they stayed for a

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<sup>106</sup> Bernard Calvin, 609.102v.

<sup>107</sup> Bernard Calvin describes Bego as already *defunctus* by the time he was giving his deposition in May 1245, (609.102r).

<sup>108</sup> Three Measures, 609.67r.

<sup>109</sup> Three Measures, 609.67r; Raymond of Roqueville, 609.216r.

<sup>110</sup> Raymond Meg, 609.43r; Stephen Donat, 609.43v.

<sup>111</sup> Gallard Ros of Roqueville, 26.55v-56r; Peter of Beauville, 25.317r-v, 26.1r-v; Peter of Laurac of Montgaillard, 26.71r.

<sup>112</sup> Peter William of Roqueville, 25.134v.

<sup>113</sup> Peter of Beauville, 25.317r-v, 322v-23r.



day and a night, sharing a meal.<sup>114</sup> He also met with several of the same good men in his father's barn with his uncle, Bego.<sup>115</sup>

### The children of Estult and Geralda

*Algaia and her husband Gallard of Ségreville, Ermessens, Blanche, and William Pons*

Algaia and Ermessens were present in their parent's house in Toulouse when Braidà, the good woman and sister of Helis of Mazerolles, came to visit sometime between 1209 and 1229, and again when a group of four good men and good women came to visit around 1228 or 1229.<sup>116</sup>

Algaia saw a number of other good men and good women, including Bernard of Lamothe, William of Le Soler, Dulcia and Raymunda, in the same house, on several occasions around 1241, and was taught to adore them. However, she claimed to have been reluctant to see the Cathars and refused to hear their preaching.<sup>117</sup> By this point she was married to the knight, Gallard of Ségreville, who had a history of involvement with the Cathars himself. His sister, Berengaria was a good woman from at least 1221, and Gallard himself visited the Cathars and attended their sermons, sometimes in the Roqueville's house, from around 1230 until after his marriage to Algaia.<sup>118</sup> Shortly after 1241 he became seriously ill and was probably consoled before he died.<sup>119</sup>

Algaia was interrogated in March 1245.

Little is known of Estult and Geralda's other children. Blanche attended the sermon of Raymond Sans at her parents' house in Montgiscard around 1231, and William Pons visited the good woman, Arnalda of Lamothe. with his parents in the house of Raymond Unaud around 1241.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Peter of Beauville, 25.311r-v.

<sup>115</sup> Peter William of Roqueville, 25.135r-v.

<sup>116</sup> Braidà: Peter of Mazerolles, 609.124v. Four good men and women: Guy of Castillon, 23.223r-v.

<sup>117</sup> Algaia, wife of Gallard of Ségreville, 24.10r-11r.

<sup>118</sup> Berengaria: Peter of Puycalvel, 609.175r. Gallard: Bernard Oth, 24.96r; Raymond Ademar of Lanta, 609.200v; Algaia, wife of Gallard of Ségreville, 24.9v-10r.

<sup>119</sup> Peter Fogasset of Caraman, 23.329r-v.

<sup>120</sup> Blanche: William of *Cavarsell*, 609.65r. William Pons: Arnalda of Lamothe, 609.202r, 23.32r-34r.

The children of William Pons and Aicelina

1. *Bertrand of Roqueville and his wife, India*

Bertrand was the lord of Montgaillard.<sup>121</sup> He had his first encounters with the good men around 1215, in the house belonging to his uncles in Toulouse.<sup>122</sup>

Around 1238 he saw the good man, William Richard, and his companion in the woods of Fraysse on two or three occasions.<sup>123</sup>

In the 1240s Bertrand often ate with several lords who had been condemned for heresy, including Peter of Mazerolles.<sup>124</sup>

Bertrand was interrogated by inquisitors in July 1245. However, this episode did not diminish his involvement in the sect. Around this time, until well into the 1250s, he continued to relay messages for the Cathars, and hosted two groups of good men, including Arnold Prader and Hugh Dominic, in his house in Montgaillard, where they preached a sermon.<sup>125</sup> On one of these occasions, the good men were there specifically to broker a peace between Bertrand and his brothers, and the knight, Gardouch.<sup>126</sup>

By this point, Bertrand was married to a woman called India, and they had at least one son, Peter William. India hosted the good men with her husband in 1245 and helped to hide him from the inquisitors after he became a fugitive, from around 1250.<sup>127</sup>

At some point in the early 1250s, having caught wind of an inquisitor's *bailli* on his way to his house, Bertrand and his brother, Bego, were seen sneaking Cathars out through a hole in the wall.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Peter William of Roqueville, 25.131v. Peter William is identified as 'Petrus Guillelmi de Rochavilla, domicellus, filius Bertrandi de Rochovilla, militis, *domini de MonteGallardo*'; my italics).

<sup>122</sup> Bertrand of Roqueville, 609.43v.

<sup>123</sup> This is in a deposition of Bertrand's made in 1256. Additional depositions made by both Bertrand and his brother, Gallard Ros, in 1256 were found in a register of John of Saint-Pierre which is now lost to us, but have been published by C. Douais. See Douais, 'Fragment d'un registre d'inquisition aujourd'hui perdu' in his *Sources de l'histoire de l'Inquisition dans le midi de la France, aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Paris, 1881), pp. 119-32. For Bertrand, see 1256, pp. 129-31 (this specific incident is on p. 129). For Gallard Ros, see 1256, pp. 131-32. A translation into French by J. Duvernoy can also be accessed at <http://jean.duvernoy.free.fr/text/listetexte.htm>, last accessed 07/05/2019.

<sup>124</sup> Bertrand of Roqueville, 609.43v.

<sup>125</sup> Bertrand of Roqueville, 1256, p. 130-31; Gallard Ros, 26.55r; Peter of Beauville; 25.317r-v, 322r-v, and 26.1r-v; Peter of Laurac of Montgaillard, 26.71r.

<sup>126</sup> Bertrand of Roqueville, 1256, p. 130.

<sup>127</sup> Gallard Ros of Roqueville, 1256, pp. 131-32, 26.55v-56r; Bertrand of Roqueville, 1256, p. 130; Peter of Beauville, 25.317r-v.

<sup>128</sup> Peter of Beauville, 25.26.1v.

Around 1255 Bertrand at the very least conspired with his brothers to say nothing to the inquisitors about their support for the Cathars, and may have even threatened his younger brother, Gallard Ros, into staying silent.<sup>129</sup>

In 1256 Bertrand was caught and once again interrogated by inquisitors.<sup>130</sup> He died before 1263.<sup>131</sup>

## 2. *Bego of Roqueville*

Bego first encountered the Cathars around 1220, when they were living openly in the local area, and staying in his uncles' house in Toulouse.<sup>132</sup>

In the 1240s Bego often met with several lords who had been condemned for heresy, including Peter of Mazerolles.<sup>133</sup>

Bego was interrogated by inquisitors in July 1245. After this time he attended several Cathar meetings at his brother, Bertrand's, house in the 1250s.<sup>134</sup> On one of these occasions, the Cathars were there specifically to broker a peace between Bego and his brothers on the one hand, and Gardouch, a knight, on the other.<sup>135</sup> On another, Bego and his mother, Aicelina, played an active role in introducing Bego's nephew, Peter William to the Cathars.<sup>136</sup> Around the same time, Bego met with good men, including Bernard Colomb and Hugh Dominic, in the woods and in a barn which belonged to Bego's uncle, Raymond.<sup>137</sup>

Bego and his brother, Bertrand, may have threatened their younger brother, Gallard Ros, to keep silent about their support for the Cathars around 1255.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Bertrand told the inquisitors in 1256 that he and Gallard Ros had made a pact between themselves to not reveal anything that had happened in Bertrand's house to the inquisitors. See Bertrand of Roqueville, 1256, p. 131. However, Gallard Ros, Bertrand's brother, repeatedly told inquisitors that Bertrand and Bego had told him not to reveal anything to them, and that he complied with their wishes 'out of fear'. See Gallard Ros, 1256, pp. 131-32 and 26.56r.

<sup>130</sup> Bertrand of Roqueville, 1256, pp. 129-31.

<sup>131</sup> Peter William of Roqueville, 25.131v-32r. Bertrand outlived his brother Bego, who bequeathed to him 200 shillings of Toulouse, but he had probably died before 1263, because at this time Bertrand's son was trying to claim the legacy for himself. See also Peter of Beauville, 25.25.323r-24r.

<sup>132</sup> Bego of Roqueville, 609.43v.

<sup>133</sup> Bego of Roqueville, 609.43v.

<sup>134</sup> Bertrand of Roqueville, 1256, pp. 130-31; Gallard Ros of Roqueville, 26.55r; Peter of Beauville, 25.317r-v, 26.1r-v; Peter of Laurac of Montgaillard, 26.71r.

<sup>135</sup> Bertrand of Roqueville, 1256, p. 130.

<sup>136</sup> Peter William of Roqueville, 25.134v.

<sup>137</sup> Peter William of Roqueville, 25.135r-v.

<sup>138</sup> Gallard Ros of Roqueville, 1256, pp. 131-32, and 26.56r.

Between 1256 and 1260, Bego helped Peter of Beauville get his wife to Lombardy, lending her his pony, and the use of his squire, Peter of Laurac, as a guide.<sup>139</sup>

Bego died at some point before 1263, bequeathing 200 shillings of Toulouse to his brother, Bertrand, and possibly his gold ring and seal.<sup>140</sup>

### 3. *Gallard Ros of Roqueville*

On several occasions in 1245 or 1246, Gallard Ros encountered a group of six good men, including Arnold Prader and Hugh Dominic, in the house of his brother, Bertrand, in Montgaillard.<sup>141</sup> One time they were there to preach a sermon, and another they were there specifically to broker a peace between Gallard Ros and his brothers, and a knight called Gardouch.<sup>142</sup>

Gallard Ros was interrogated by inquisitors in 1255 and 1256. In 1256 he admitted that he had lied about his own and his brothers' heretical activity in his previous deposition 'out of fear' of them. However, Bertrand gave a different story, suggesting that Gallard had actively conspired with him to reveal nothing to the inquisitors.<sup>143</sup>

Gallard Ros had his goods confiscated for his involvement with the Cathars at some point before 1270.<sup>144</sup> He was interrogated again in 1278.<sup>145</sup>

### 4. *Aladaicia*

Around 1254 Aladaicia gave money to the Cathars in Cremona to keep safe in preparation for a journey she was planning to Lombardy.<sup>146</sup> She may have been looking to flee the inquisitors who were persecuting her brothers at around this time. However, her plans changed, and she asked that the money be given to her mother, Aicelina, who

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<sup>139</sup> Peter of Beauville, 25.312v-13r; Peter of Laurac of Montgaillard, 26.70v.

<sup>140</sup> Bego must have died before 1263, because by this date Peter William was himself looking to collect his father's legacy. Peter William of Roqueville, 25.131v-32r. Peter of Beauville mentioned Peter William having Bego's gold ring and seal, see 25.324r-v.

<sup>141</sup> Gallard Ros of Roqueville, 1256, pp. 131-32 and 26.55r-56r.

<sup>142</sup> Bertrand of Roqueville, 1256, p. 130.

<sup>143</sup> Bertrand told the inquisitors in 1256 that he and Gallard Ros had made a pact between themselves to not reveal anything that had happened in Bertrand's house to the inquisitors. Bertrand of Roqueville, 1256, p. 131. However, Gallard Ros, Bertrand's brother, repeatedly told inquisitors that Bertrand and Bego had told him not to reveal anything to them, and that he complied with their wishes 'out of fear'. Gallard Ros of Roqueville, 1256, pp. 131-32 and 26.56r.

<sup>144</sup> In May 1270 William Unaud of Lanta sought confirmation for the purchase of Gallard Ros's goods in May 1270. Y. Dossat (ed.) *Saisimentum*, p. 220, n. 4.

<sup>145</sup> Gallard Ros of Roqueville, 26.54v-56r.

<sup>146</sup> Peter of Beauville, 25.322v-23r.

was already living there as a good woman. Unfortunately, though, Aicelina died before this new plan could be realised.

#### Fourth generation

##### The son of Bertrand and India

###### *Peter William of Roqueville*

Peter William was a *domicellus* when he confessed in 1274.

Around 1250 Peter William encountered Cathars on several occasions in his parents' house in Montgaillard. Under the guidance of his grandmother, Aicelina, and uncle, Bego, he was taught to adore them.<sup>147</sup> He also encountered good men with his uncle, Bego, in the woods near Montgaillard, but he did not speak with them because he was holding his uncle's hawk and standing apart with the dogs.<sup>148</sup> He may have been his uncle's squire at this time. He also saw several good men including Hugh Dominic with his uncle Bego in the barn of Raymond of Roqueville at Les Cassés.<sup>149</sup>

Peter William appeared before Friar William Bernard of Dax at Saint-Rome in the Lauragais as part of a general abjuration.<sup>150</sup> He claimed that William Bernard gave him a letter to negotiate return of his property, which he did in 1261 or 1262. He confronted Stephen Donat, in the lodging of Peter of Beauville in Piacenza to demand the 200 shillings of Toulouse that his uncle, Bego, had apparently bequeathed to Peter William's father, Bertrand. He did not receive it at that time, but he was given his uncle's seal and a gold ring. On this occasion, Peter William was passing through Piacenza on his way to Rome, to see master Michael, the vice-chancellor of the Roman Curia.<sup>151</sup> On his return trip, Peter pressed the issue again. This time, Stephen responded that Peter William's father, Bertrand, had taken the land which rightfully belonged to Peter Donat, Stephen's brother, and to which the Cathar church felt they had a claim. The money was only to be released upon resolution of this issue.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Peter William of Roqueville, 25.134v.

<sup>148</sup> Peter William of Roqueville, 25.134v-35r.

<sup>149</sup> Peter William of Roqueville, 25.135r-v.

<sup>150</sup> Peter William of Roqueville, 25.133r-v, 135v.

<sup>151</sup> See the depositions of Peter William of Roqueville, 25.131v-32v, and Peter of Beauville, 25.323r-24r. The reason for the journey to Rome is not specified. For ideas about the nature of the trip, see Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics of Languedoc* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 84-85.

<sup>152</sup> Peter William of Roqueville, 25.132r-v.

Around this time, Peter William was still consorting with Cathars and fugitives. In 1263 he was approached by the knight, Gerald of Lanta, who wanted him to take a message to his wife.<sup>153</sup>

Peter William was also accused of plundering the church of Pampelonne at an undisclosed date before 1276, allegedly taking a purple mass cape and part of the crucifix, only to later return these items.<sup>154</sup>

He was interrogated again in 1274.<sup>155</sup>

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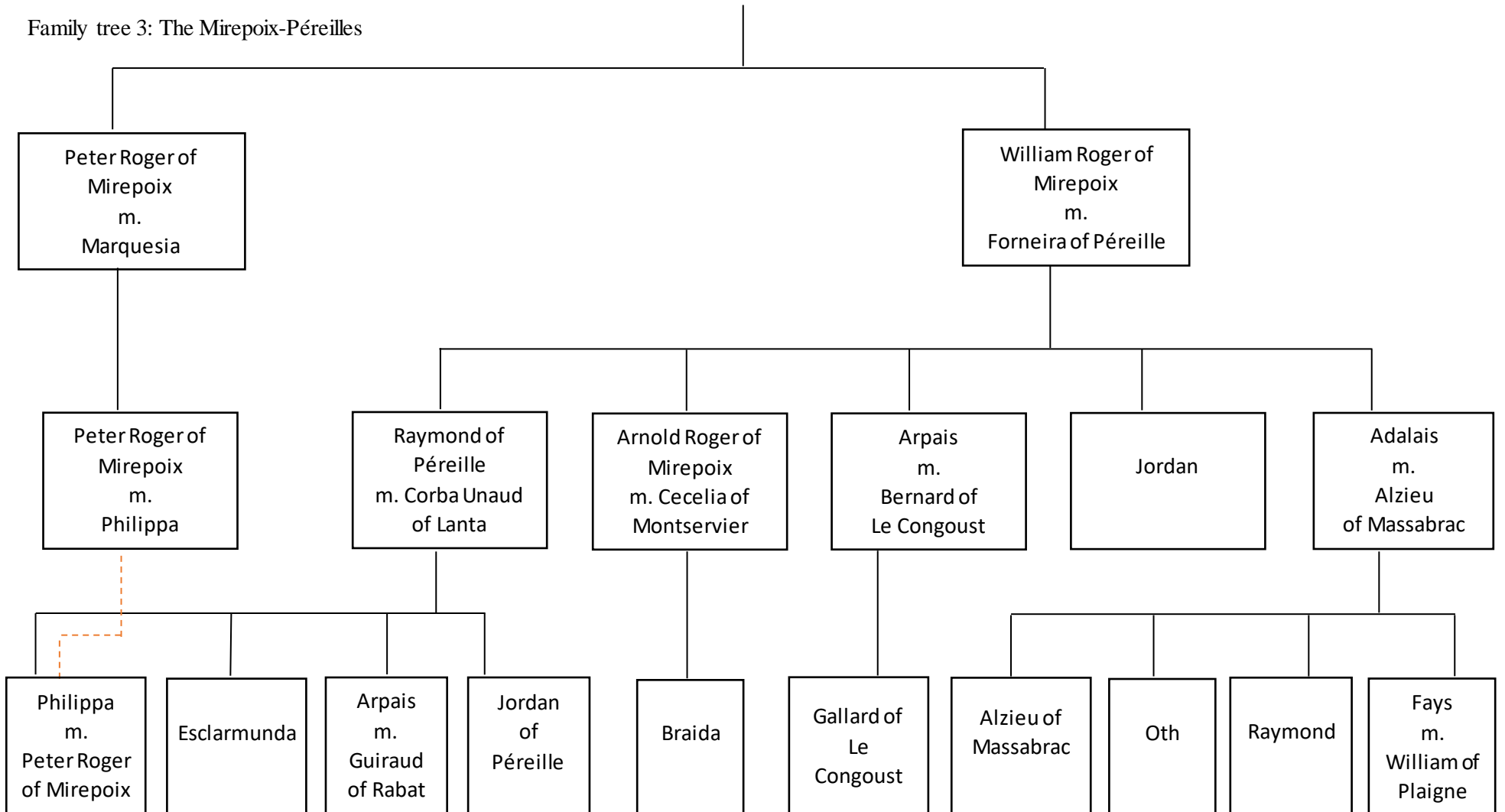
<sup>153</sup> Peter William of Roqueville, 25.132v-33r.

<sup>154</sup> Lambret, 25.242v-43v.

<sup>155</sup> Peter William of Roqueville, 25.130r-36r.

## The Mirepoix-Pérelles

Family tree 3: The Mirepoix-Péreilles





## **Mirepoix-Pérelles: Calendar of depositions**

### Raimundus de Perella, miles

Raymond of Péreille, knight, 21 April 1244, 22.214v-29r.

Addition, 9 May 1244, 22.229r-32v.

### Arnaudus Rogerii, miles de Mirapisce

Arnold Roger, knight of Mirepoix, 22 Apr 1244, 22.107r-40r.

Brother Ferrier, and brother Peter Durand, inquisitors.

Addition, 4 May 1244, 22.140r-48v. Brother Ferrier and brother Peter Durand, inquisitors.

Addition, 27 May 1244, 22.148v-53v. Brother Ferrier, inquisitor.

### Adalaicia, uxor quondam Alzevi de Massabrac, militis

Adalais, wife of the late Alzieu of Massabrac, knight, 18 March 1244, 24.203r-207v.

Brother Ferrier, inquisitor.

### Arpais, uxor Guiraudi de Ravat, militis

Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, knight, 15 February 1240, 22.258v-64r.<sup>1</sup>

Brother Ferrier and brother Peter Durand, inquisitors.

### Iordanus de Perella, filius Raimundi de Perella

Jordan of Péreille, son of Raymond of Péreille, 10 March 1244, 22.201r-11v.

Brother Ferrier and brother Peter Durand, inquisitors.

Addition, 2 May 1244, 22.211v-14v. Brother Peter Durand, inquisitor.

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<sup>1</sup> This date must be a mistake. Arpais's deposition relates events including the fall of Montsegur, which happened in March 1244.

Philippa, uxor Petri Rogerii de Mirapisce de Monte Securo

Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix of Montségur, 18 Mar 1244, 24.196v-203r.

Brother Ferrier, inquisitor.

Alzeu de Massabrac

Alzieu of Massabrac, 3 May 1244, 22.275v-78r.

Brother Peter Durand, inquisitor.

Fays, uxor Guillelmi de Plainha de Lauraguesio, quæ manet apud Montem Securum,soror Othonis de Massabrac

Fays, the wife of William of Plaigne of the Lauragais, who lives at Montségur, the sister of Oth of Massabrac, 18 March 1244, 22.287r-96v.

Brother Ferrier, inquisitor.

Gallardus del Congost, filius quondam Bernardi del Congost de Redesio

Gallard of Le Congoust, son of the late Bernard of Le Congoust of the Razès, 20 April 1243, 22.153v-71v.<sup>2</sup>

Brother Ferrier, inquisitor.

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<sup>2</sup> This date must be a mistake. Gallard's deposition relates events including the fall of Montsegur, which happened in March 1244.

## Mirepoix-Péreilles: Biographies

### First generation

#### *Peter Roger of Mirepoix and his wife, Marquesia*

Peter Roger the elder supported the Cathars who lived openly in Mirepoix prior to the crusade, along with many other lords of the *castrum*. Around this time he often attended the sermons of the Cathar deacon, Raymond Mercier, in Mirepoix and also travelled to Gaja-la-Selve, to the house of the good woman, Fabrissa of Mazerolles, where he and the lords of the *castrum* spoke with the good women and shared a meal.<sup>3</sup>

Peter Roger was consoled upon his deathbed, probably sometime between 1203 and 1209. One account given stated that he was mortally wounded in an attack of some sort, another that he threw an extravagant feast for the good men and women of Mirepoix, and another that he bequeathed a vineyard and 200 Melgueil shillings to the good men.<sup>4</sup>

Peter Roger was married to Marquesia, the daughter of Guillelma of Tonneins.<sup>5</sup> The pair had at least one son, Peter Roger of Mirepoix the younger.

Marquesia significantly outlived her husband, her support for the Cathars continuing after his death. From around 1214 she stayed for a long time at Montségur, often visiting the resident good men and women. From 1223 to 1226 she went to visit or hear the sermons of a number of good men and good women, including Auda of Fanjeaux, Raymond Mercier, William Bernard of Airoux, and Raymunda of Montfort.<sup>6</sup> Sometime between 1224 and 1228 she returned to Montségur to see the Cathar deacon, Raymond Mercier, and at some point after that she was consoled and settled there permanently.<sup>7</sup> Around 1241 Jordan of Péreille recalled paying a visit to Marquesia, his 'late' great aunt, indicating that she either died before 1244, or was burned when the *castrum* was surrendered.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Sermons: Arnold Roger, 22.108v-109r; Raymond of Péreille, 22.215r-16r. Meeting in Gaja-la-Selve: Helis, 23.166v-67r.

<sup>4</sup> Wounded: Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.43r-v. Berengar also gave a second account of the death at 24.64r, placing it in the 1230s, but this is likely a transcription error, as there is no other evidence to suggest that Peter Roger lived beyond 1209. Feast: Peter Flaran of Mirepoix, 22.172v-73r, places death at between 1203 and 1205. Bequest: Arnold Roger, 22.22.115v-16r.

<sup>5</sup> Raymond of Péreille's deposition reveals her as the sister of William Assalit, who was the son of Guillelma of Tonneins, and brother of Auda of Fanjeaux. See Raymond of Péreille, 22.227r.

<sup>6</sup> Helis, 23.168v-71r.

<sup>7</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.22.149r-v; Raymond of Péreille, 22.227r.

<sup>8</sup> Jordan of Péreille, 22.211v-12r.

*William Roger of Mirepoix and his wife, Forneira*

In 1159, a William Roger of Mirepoix, son of Almodis, paid homage to the Count of Foix.<sup>9</sup> In 1196, he made a donation to the abbey of Boulbonne.<sup>10</sup>

William Roger's name crops up only once in the inquisition records, and he is not linked to Catharism at all.<sup>11</sup> It is likely that he died before 1207, because he was not numbered among the thirty-five knights and lords of Mirepoix who signed a document granting certain customs to the inhabitants of the town of Mirepoix at this date.<sup>12</sup>

He was married to Forneira of Péreille, with whom he had at least five children.

Forneira was already a good woman by 1204.<sup>13</sup> From this time she went to live in houses of good women in Mirepoix, Lavelanet, and Montségur, and her son, Arnold Roger often visited her in these locations, bringing food such as bread and fish.<sup>14</sup>

Roquebert suggests it is likely that at that time she left her worldly properties, including the ruined castle of Montségur, to her son Raymond.<sup>15</sup>

Around 1218 Forneira returned to her family's home in Mirepoix and stole away her young daughter Adalais. She took Adalais to the house of good women in Lavelanet and persuaded her to become one herself. However, Adalais left the sect after three and a half years.<sup>16</sup>

Around 1229 or 1230 Forneira was living in a house of good women in Péreille, where she hosted the good man, John Cambiaire, and was visited by her daughters-in-law, Corba and Cecilia, and received gifts of bread and wine from Pelegrina of Montservier.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> M. Roquebert, 'Raymond de Péreille, seigneur de Montségur, et sa famille', *Cahiers d'Études cathares* 90 (1981), 34, *HGL* V, p. 1227.

<sup>10</sup> Roquebert, 'Raymond de Péreille', 34, cites Doat 83.256r.

<sup>11</sup> Arnold Roger's deposition notes that William was the brother of Peter Roger, and describes him as 'late', 22.115v-16r.

<sup>12</sup> *HGL*, viii.544.

<sup>13</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.141r-42r.

<sup>14</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.141r-42r.

<sup>15</sup> Roquebert, 'Raymond de Péreille', 34-35.

<sup>16</sup> Adalais, wife of Alzeiu of Massabrac, 24.204r-205v.

<sup>17</sup> Pelegrina, wife of Isarn of Montservier, 609.3r. Pelegrina, the daughter of one of the lords of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, married Isarn of Montservier, who was the brother of Cecelia, who married Arnold Roger, another of Forneira's children.

By around 1234, Forneira lived in a house of good women in Montségur. Her daughter, Adalais of Massabrac, and grandson, Alzieu, often came to visit her.

Forneira died in or before 1244. She may have been amongst those burned at Montségur.<sup>18</sup>

## Second generation

### The children of William Roger of Mirepoix

#### 1. *Raymond of Péreille and his wife, Corba Unaud*

Raymond was first approached by good men including Raymond Mercier of Mirepoix and Raymond Blasquo about rebuilding the *castrum* of Montségur as a fortress and refuge for them in 1204, at which point he must have been very young.<sup>19</sup> The majority of the renovation works must have been completed by the time the crusaders arrived in 1209, because Raymond himself recalled that a number of good men, including Gaucelin, Guilabert of Castres, John Cambiaire, and Bertrand Marty, had sought refuge there along with their believers around this time.<sup>20</sup>

Raymond continued to visit good men including Guilabert of Castres and Raymond Mercier in Fanjeaux and Mirepoix, and attend their sermons until the advent of the crusade.<sup>21</sup>

During the early years of Montségur, Raymond attended several consolations of individuals who had been drawn to the *castrum* by the presence of the good men. Around 1214 he attended the consolation of Raymond Ferrand of Fanjeaux, who gifted Raymond his horse in the process, and around 1219 he attended the consolation of William of Latour.<sup>22</sup>

The next stage in the establishment of Montségur as a Cathar refuge occurred in 1232. A number of influential good men, including Guilabert of Castres, Bernard of Lamothe, and John Cambiaire, came to Montségur and ‘requested and petitioned Raymond of

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<sup>18</sup> Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.276r-77r, describes her as ‘late’

<sup>19</sup> In Raymond’s deposition, he is described as a ‘boy’ (*puer*) in 1209, five years after these events, although it is possible that this picture of youth may have been exaggerated to avoid culpability. 22.214r-15r.

<sup>20</sup> Raymond of Péreille, 22.216r-v, 217v. Gallard of le Congoust’s deposition also notes that Raymond received good men in Montségur, dates from 1213, 22.154r-v.

<sup>21</sup> Raymond of Péreille, 22.214r-16r.

<sup>22</sup> Raymond of Péreille, 22.224r-25r (Raymond Ferrand); 22.230r-v (William of Latour).

Pérelle...to harbour the said heretics within the *castrum* of Montségur, so that the church of the heretics might be able to have its head and home (*caput et domicilium*) in the same *castrum*, and from there could send out and protect its preachers.’ After many requests, Raymond agreed, and the first Cathar ordinations were performed in the fortress soon afterwards.<sup>23</sup>

Raymond married Corba Unaud of Lanta some time before 1214. The two of them had at least five children, and often attended the sermons of good men including Gaucelin and Guilbert of Castres together in Montségur.<sup>24</sup> They appear again in the 1230s again attending sermons in the *castrum*. They attended the sermons of John Cambiaire between 1230 and 1233.<sup>25</sup> From as early as 1231 they attended the sermons of Bertrand Marty held on Sundays and feast days.<sup>26</sup> Around 1238 Raymond attended the sermons of Raymond Aguilher and Guilbert of Castres.<sup>27</sup>

Raymond sometimes attended Cathar meetings that took place when believers including Sicard of Durfort, Marquesia, the widow of Peter Roger the elder, and Arnold of Usson came to Montségur to see and speak with the good men who resided there in between 1224 and 1244.<sup>28</sup>

On one occasion between 1232 and 1236 Raymond led a company of knights out from Montségur to meet with a group of Cathars. At the church of Saint-Quirc, at the Pas de Las Portas, they met with Isarn of Fanjeaux and Peter of Mazerolles, who were with a group of twenty or thirty Cathars, led by Guilbert of Castres. Raymond and his company led the group back to Montségur, and the next day, Guilbert preached a sermon to many of the inhabitants of the *castrum*, including Raymond and his wife, Corba.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.43v-44v.

<sup>24</sup> Raymond of Pérelle, 22.216r-v; Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.154r-v.

<sup>25</sup> Raymond of Pérelle, 22.216r-17r; Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.155r-56v; Pelegrina, wife of Isarn of Montservier, 609.3r; Jordan of Pérelle, 22.202r-v.

<sup>26</sup> Reference to early sermons: Peter Raymond of Rabat, 22.84r (1231); Jordan of Pérelle, 22.201r-14v (1233). Reference to sermons from 1236: Raymond of Pérelle, 22.217r-v, 219r-20r. Arnold Roger, 22.122r-23r; Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.156v-58v; Jordan of Pérelle, 22.202r-203r, 204r-205v; Arnold Oliver of Lavelanet, 22.238r-39v; Lombarda of Lavelanet, 22.244v-45r; Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.250v-52r; Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.259r-61r; Bernard Cairola, 22.269v-72r; Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.277r-79r; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.288r-89v; Dias, wife of Pons of Saint-Germier, 23.58r; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.58r-60r; Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.197v-99r; Adalais, wife of Alzieu of Massabrac, 24.205v-206v; William Tardiu of Gaiola, 23.201r-203r; Pons Sicre of Ilhat, 22.235v-36v.

<sup>27</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.119r-v; Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.155r-56v.

<sup>28</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.149r-v; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.50r, 64r-v.

<sup>29</sup> Bernard Cairola, 22.269r-70r; William of Bouan of Lavelanet, 24.74v-75r.

Raymond rarely ventured away from Montségur, but he did do so to attend several deathbed consolations. In 1216, he attended the consolation of Peter of Durban of Calmont in Foix.<sup>30</sup> At some time probably between 1226 and 1229, he and his wife, Corba, attended the deathbed consolation of Alzieu of Massabrac, his brother-in-law, in Péreille.<sup>31</sup> Around 1226 he attended the consolation of Peter William of Fougax, in Montferrier.<sup>32</sup> He also left the *castrum* in 1242 to visit the good women, Saixa and Ava, who were sisters of Bertrand of Le Congoust.<sup>33</sup> Inside the *castrum* he and Corba attended the deathbed consolation of his brother-in-law, Bernard of Le Congoust, between 1232 and 1235.<sup>34</sup>

On several occasions, Raymond and Corba hosted Cathars in their own home. In 1239 they invited Bertrand Marty and his companion to their home in Montségur.<sup>35</sup> In 1237 they hosted two good women for almost a year.<sup>36</sup> In 1234 they also hosted Corba's uncle, Guiraud Unaud of Lanta, who had come to visit his father, William Bernard of Lanta, a good man residing in the *castrum*.<sup>37</sup>

Raymond also coordinated support for the Cathars outside the *castrum*. Around 1237, he commanded Berengar of Lavelanet to escort two good men, Guilabert of Castres and Peter Sicard, away from Montségur and in 1243 he provided a group of nine good men with supplies to set up a house in Lavelanet.<sup>38</sup>

In between 1240 and 1244 Raymond was involved in a dispute about property division with his fellow co-lord, Peter Roger of Mirepoix, and a dispute with the men of Laroque d'Olmes. On both occasions, Bertrand Marty, the Cathar bishop, helped the parties come to a resolution.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Raymond of Péreille, 22.229r-v.

<sup>31</sup> Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.163r-64r; Arnold Roger, 22.115r-v; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.50v-51v.

<sup>32</sup> Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.52v-53r.

<sup>33</sup> Raymond of Péreille, 22.218v.

<sup>34</sup> Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.164r-65r; Arnold Roger, 22.116v-17v.

<sup>35</sup> Jordan of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, 609.15v.

<sup>36</sup> Jordan of Péreille, 22.207v.

<sup>37</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.134r-v.

<sup>38</sup> Escort: Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.60v-61r. Supplies for house: William Tardiu of Gaiola, 23.204r-207v)

<sup>39</sup> On both of these disputes, and especially the religious context of the resolutions, see co-lordship chapter, 85-91. Dispute with the men of Laroque d'Olmes: Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.64v-65r; Raymond of Péreille, 22.221r-v. Dispute between Peter Roger and Raymond of Péreille: Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.161r-v; Jordan of Péreille, 22.206r-v; Bernard Cairola, 22.274v-75r; William of Bouan of Lavelanet, 24.78r; Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.200r-v.

Raymond had minimal or no involvement in the attack on the inquisitors at Avignonet.<sup>40</sup>

Corba's devotion appears to have increased markedly in the years up to the fall of the *castrum*. From around 1241 to 1244 she and her daughters often visited her mother, Marquesia of Fourquevaux, and her mother-in-law, Forneira of Péreille, both of whom were good women residing in Montségur.<sup>41</sup> In 1243 she attended the ritual *apparellamentum* that Bertrand Marty made to the good women of Montségur.<sup>42</sup> Then, in 1244 in the weeks leading up to the surrender of the *castrum*, Corba and six other ladies, including several relatives of her husband and two of her own daughters made an agreement with Bertrand Marty, the Cathar bishop of Toulouse, whereby if they were to become sick or wounded to the point of death, they would be consoled even if they had lost the ability to speak.<sup>43</sup> Corba appears to have been the only one to have actively sought consolation following this agreement.<sup>44</sup> She was consoled just prior to the surrender of the *castrum*, and her group of female friends came to visit her while she was staying in Raymunda of Cuq's house of good women. The day before the surrender of the *castrum*, two of her daughters, Arpais and Philippa paid her a visit. The next day, along with the other Cathars, she was taken down from the *castrum* and burned.<sup>45</sup>

Raymond was interrogated by the inquisitors Ferrier and Peter Durand on 30 April and 9 May 1244. There is no record of his punishment. His wife, one of his daughters (Esclarmunda), and possibly his mother, were all burned following the surrender of the *castrum*.<sup>46</sup>

## 2. Arnold Roger of Mirepoix and his wife, Cecelia

Arnold Roger's name features in the list of co-lords of Mirepoix in the charter of 1223, but not that of 1207, suggesting that he was most likely born several years after 1194.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>40</sup> There is one indication that he approved of the attack: Peter Vignol of Balaguier claimed that the returning garrison called out for both 'Peter Roger and Raymond of Péreille to come and hear William Arnold's sermon'. 22.256v-58r.

<sup>41</sup> Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.261r-v; Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.199v-200r.

<sup>42</sup> Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.262v.

<sup>43</sup> Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.202r-v; Adalais, wife of Alzeiu of Massabrac, 24.207r; Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.262v-63r.

<sup>44</sup> Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.292r-v.

<sup>45</sup> Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.262v-63r; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.292r-v; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.61r-v.

<sup>46</sup> Raymond of Péreille, 22.214v-32r.

<sup>47</sup> With the age of adulthood, at which he could have signed the charter, being fourteen for boys.



By 1204 he regularly visited his mother, Forneira, who had become a good woman and lived in a house of good women. He brought her gifts such as bread, wine and fish.<sup>48</sup>

Arnold Roger supported the good men of Mirepoix with his fellow lords from as early as 1209. He attended the sermons of Raymond Mercier and Guilabert of Castres in and near Mirepoix from this date up until at least 1223.<sup>49</sup> He attended the sermon of John Cambiaire in Montségur in 1224.<sup>50</sup>

By 1229 Arnold Roger had married Cecelia of Montservier, and they had a daughter, Braida.<sup>51</sup> Cecelia was the sister of Isarn of Montservier, who married Pelegrina, the daughter of William of Mas-Saintes-Puelles. The lordly families of Montservier, Mas-Saintes-Puelles, and Mirepoix were therefore all linked by marriage.

In 1229 Arnold Roger attended the consolation of Cecelia's mother, Braida, who lay sick in the house of Isarn of Fanjeaux, but soon recovered and began a life as a good woman.<sup>52</sup> He had attended several deathbed consolations prior to this. Around 1209, he attended the consolation of his uncle, Peter Roger the elder, in 1228 he attended the consolation of the knight, Raymond of Arvigna, and sometime in between 1226 and 1229 he and Cecelia attended the consolation of his brother-in-law, Alzieu of Massabrac, in Péreille.<sup>53</sup>

Around this time, Cecelia also had a degree of contact with the good men. Around 1227, she visited Guilabert of Castres in Mirepoix, and around 1229 she visited John Cambiaire in Péreille.<sup>54</sup>

Arnold Roger, Cecelia and Braida were probably living in Montségur from around 1230. They attended the sermons held by Bertrand Marty in the *castrum* on Sundays

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<sup>48</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.141r-42r.

<sup>49</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.107r-11r. Sermons of Raymond of Mirepoix in 1223: Peter Flaran of Mirepoix, 22.177r-v.

<sup>50</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.148v-49r.

<sup>51</sup> He attended the consolation of his 'mother-in-law', Braida, in 1229. Arnold Roger, 22.111v-13r.

<sup>52</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.111v-13r.

<sup>53</sup> Peter Roger the elder: Arnold Roger, 22.115v-16r. Raymond of Arvigna: Arnold Roger, 22.116r-v. Alzieu of Massabrac: Arnold Roger, 22.115r-v, 139v-40r; Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.163r-64r; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.50v-51v – Berengar also noted the presence of Cecelia.

<sup>54</sup> Pelegrina, wife of Isarn of Montservier, 609.2v (Guilabert of Castres), 609.3r (John Cambiaire).

and feast days from at least 1235.<sup>55</sup> They also attended the sermons of other good men, including Raymond Aguilher, Guilbert of Castres, and John Cambiaire at Montségur.<sup>56</sup>

Arnold Roger was also often present at a number of Cathar meetings that occurred in the *castrum*, the earliest in 1219, when the knight, B. of Brenac, came to visit the good men.<sup>57</sup> He attended similar meetings, involving visitors such as Bernard of Roqueville, Bernard Hugh and Gallard of Festes, Raymond Salles of Lordat, Alaman of Rouaix, Jordan of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, and many others, which took place until the surrender of the *castrum* in 1244.<sup>58</sup>

Arnold Roger's activities were not limited to the *castrum* of Montségur. He regularly visited good men and good women in Queille. In 1228 he spoke with Vigouroux of La Bouconne, around 1231 he visited Esclarmunda, the mother of Bernard Hugh of Festes, and between 1238 and 1240 he often went to speak with William of Saint-Martin.<sup>59</sup> In 1240 he attended the deathbed consolation of Fabrissa of Marliac in the same *castrum*.<sup>60</sup> He also went to Lavelanet to hear the sermon of Raymond of Saint-Martin around 1241.<sup>61</sup>

Arnold Roger regularly offered his services as a guide to the good men in and around Montségur. In 1229 he led Raymond Mercier and his companion from Mirepoix to Prades.<sup>62</sup> Around 1234 he led John Cambiaire from Montségur to the fort of Bousignac, returning him to Montségur one day later.<sup>63</sup> A few years later, in 1237, he escorted Bertrand Marty and fifteen or sixteen other good men to the woods between Gaja-la-Selve and Génerville, for which he was paid ten Toulouse shillings.<sup>64</sup> In 1238, he and

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<sup>55</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.119r-20r, 122r-23r, 125v-26r, 134v-35r; Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.156v-59v, 160v-61r, 161v-62r, 165r-v; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.58r-60r; Jordan of Péreille, 22.202r-v; Raymond of Péreille, 22.217r-18v; Arnold Oliver of Lavelanet, 22.238r-39v; Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.250v-52r; Bernard Cairola, 22.269v-72r; Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.277r-79r; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.288r-89v; William Tardiu of Gaiola, 23.201r-203r; William of Bouan of Lavelanet, 24.75r-77v; Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.197v-99r.

<sup>56</sup> Raymond Aguilher: Arnold Roger, 22.119r-v. Guilbert of Castres: Bernard Cairola, 22.269r-70r; Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.155r-56v. John Cambiaire: Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.156v; Peter Flaran of Mirepoix, 22.197r; Pelegrina, wife of Isam of Montservier, 609.3r.

<sup>57</sup> Raymond of Péreille, 22.224r.

<sup>58</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.120r-v, 127r-v, 134v-36v, 145r-46v, 149r-v; Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.162v-63r; Raymond of Péreille, 22.220v-24r; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.46r-50r, 54v-58r, 60r-v, 63v-66r; Jordan of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, 609.15v.

<sup>59</sup> Vigouroux of La Bouconne: Arnold Roger, 22.153r. Esclarmunda: W. Garsias, knight of Fanjeaux, 609.164r.

<sup>60</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.124v-25r.

<sup>61</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.123r-v.

<sup>62</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.133v-34r.

<sup>63</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.132v-33r.

<sup>64</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.132r-v.

three companions escorted the Cathar deacon, Bernard Bonafos, and seven other good men, from Montségur to Col de Bas, for which he was paid two pounds of pepper.<sup>65</sup> He also brought good men to attend the deathbeds of their believers on several occasions. In 1226 he did this for the knight, B. Batalla of Mirepoix.<sup>66</sup> In 1230 or 1232 he and Isarn of Fanjeaux brought good men to console the knight, Ath Arnold of Châteauverdun.<sup>67</sup> In 1233 or 1234 he brought good men to the deathbed of his brother-in-law, Isarn of Montservier, in Queille, where his wife, Cecelia, Isarn's brother-in-law, was already in attendance.<sup>68</sup> On this occasion, he received a message saying that he should come immediately because four good men had been abducted from Montségur by the *bailli* of the Count of Toulouse.<sup>69</sup>

Arnold Roger attended several deathbed consolations during his time in Montségur. Some time between 1232 and 1237 he attended the consolation of his brother-in-law, Bernard of Le Congoust.<sup>70</sup> He also attended the consolation – or sick bed – of two of his squires who were wounded in the early stages of the siege in 1243. The first, Raymond of Ventenac requested Arnold Roger's permission to give himself to the good men.<sup>71</sup> The second, Alzieu of Massabrac, received many visits from the good men, but ultimately recovered.<sup>72</sup>

Between 1240 and 1244, Arnold Roger witnessed several disputes that involved the co-lords of Montségur, the first between the two co-lords, and the second between them and the men of Laroque d'Olmes. On both occasions, Bertrand Marty, the Cathar bishop, helped the parties come to a resolution.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.132v.

<sup>66</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.114r-v.

<sup>67</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.142v-44r.

<sup>68</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.113r-v; Pelegrina, wife of Isarn of Montservier, 609.3r.

<sup>69</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.113r-v.

<sup>70</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.116v-17v (1232); Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.164r-65r (1234-35); Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.52r-v (c.1237).

<sup>71</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.117v-18r; Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.283r-v.

<sup>72</sup> Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.290r-v.

<sup>73</sup> Peace between the two co-lords themselves: Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.161r-v. Men of Laroque d'Olmes: Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.167r-v; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.64v-65r; Raymond of Péreille, 22.221r-v; Arnold Roger, 22.121r-v.

Arnold Roger was among the group from Montségur involved in the attack on the inquisitors at Avignonet in 1242.<sup>74</sup> However, he appears to have remained outside the *castrum* during the slaughter.<sup>75</sup>

During this time, Cecelia was actively involved with the Cathars of Montségur. In 1243 she attended Bertrand Marty's *apparellamentum* of the good women with a group of other ladies.<sup>76</sup> With the same group, often including her daughter, Braidà, she also frequented the houses of the good women of Montségur, including Raymunda of Cuq, Na Flors, and Cecelia's own mother, Braidà.<sup>77</sup> She also went to see Raymond of Péreille's wife, Corba, after she had been consoled, just prior to the surrender of the *castrum*.<sup>78</sup> Around the same time Cecelia and six other ladies of the *castrum* (again including her daughter, Braidà) agreed with Bertrand Marty, that if they were to become sick or wounded, near to death, they would be consoled even if they had lost the ability to speak.<sup>79</sup>

Arnold Roger of Mirepoix was interrogated by brothers Ferrier and Peter Durand in April and May of 1244.<sup>80</sup>

### 3. *Adalais and her husband, Alzieu of Massabrac*

Around 1218 Adalais's mother, Forneira, who was living as a good woman, came to Mirepoix and snuck the young Adalais away to Lavelanet, to a house of good women. Forneira tried to persuade Adalais to become a good woman. Eventually, she succeeded, and Adalais lived as a good woman for roughly three and a half years, after which time she left the sect to take the knight, Alzieu of Massabrac, as her husband.<sup>81</sup>

Adalais and Alzieu of Massabrac had at least four children, but they did not sever ties with the Cathar sect. Just before Alzieu died, probably between 1226 and 1229, he was consoled by the good man, John Cambiaire, in Péreille, in accordance with his wife's

<sup>74</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.129v-31v; Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.256v-58r; Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.284v-87r; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.293v-95v; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.67r-68r.

<sup>75</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.129v-31v; Imbert of Salles, 24.160v-67r.

<sup>76</sup> Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.262v.

<sup>77</sup> Lombarda of Lavelanet, 22.246v; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.289v-90r; Bernarda of Lavelanet, 22.248v.

<sup>78</sup> Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.292r-v.

<sup>79</sup> Adalais, wife of Alzieu of Massabrac, 24.207r; Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.262v-63r; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.295v-96r; Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.202r-v.

<sup>80</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.107r-53v.

<sup>81</sup> Adalais, wife of Alzieu of Massabrac, 24.204r-205v.

wishes.<sup>82</sup> He bequeathed a sum of money – either thirty or fifty Toulouse shillings – to be paid to the good men, although not until his lands had been recovered (presumably having been taken by the crusaders).<sup>83</sup>

From around 1234 Adalais often took her young son, Alzieu to visit the house that Forneira held with other good women in Montségur.<sup>84</sup>

In 1242 she fled to the *castrum* to avoid the king's troops.<sup>85</sup> From that time she was often present at the sermons given by Bertrand Marty and other good men of Montségur, including Raymond Aguilher, John Cambiaire, and Guilabert of Castres, alongside her now adult children.<sup>86</sup>

In 1243 she attended Bertrand Marty's *apparellamentum* of the good women with a group of ladies of the *castrum*.<sup>87</sup> With the same group, often including her daughter, Fays, Adalais frequented the houses of the good women of Montségur, including those of Peirona and Braida of Montservier and Raymunda of Cuq.<sup>88</sup> She also went to see her sister-in-law, Corba, after she had been consoled, just prior to the surrender of the *castrum*.<sup>89</sup>

In 1244 she attended the deathbed consolation of the sergeant, Bernard of Carcassonne, in the house of Bertrand Marty, and the deathbed consolation of Arnold of Bensa was carried out in her own house.<sup>90</sup>

In the weeks leading up to the surrender of Montségur in 1244 Adalais and six other ladies of the *castrum* (including her own daughter, Fays) agreed with Bertrand Marty, that if they were to become sick or wounded, near to death, they would be consoled even if they had lost the ability to speak.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Arnold Roger dates at 1226-29, then in a second deposition at 1232, 22.115r-v, 139v-40r; Berengar of Lavelanet at 1228, 24.50v-51v; Gallard of Le Congoust at between 1225 and 1228, 22.163r-64r.

<sup>83</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.139v-40r; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.50v-51v.

<sup>84</sup> Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.276r-77r.

<sup>85</sup> Adalais, wife of Alzieu of Massabrac, 24.205v.

<sup>86</sup> Adalais, wife of Alzieu of Massabrac, 24.205v-206r; Arnold Oliver of Lavelanet, 22.238r-39v; Lombarda of Lavelanet, 22.244v-45r; Bernard Cairola, 22.269v-72r; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.288r-89v; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.58r-60r; William of Bouan of Lavelanet, 24.75r-77v; Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.197v-99r; Imbert of Salles, 24.175v-76r.

<sup>87</sup> Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.262v.

<sup>88</sup> Lombarda of Lavelanet, 22.246v; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.289v-90r.

<sup>89</sup> Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.292r-v.

<sup>90</sup> Bernard of Carcassonne: Adalais, wife of Alzieu of Massabrac, 24.207r-v; Arnold of Bensa: Lombarda of Lavelanet, 22.246v.

<sup>91</sup> Adalais, wife of Alzieu of Massabrac, 24.207r; Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.262v-63r; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.295v-96r; Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.202r-v.

Adalais was interrogated by the inquisitor, brother Ferrier on 18 March 1244.

#### 4. *Arpais and her husband, Bernard of Le Congoust*

Arpais was consoled upon her deathbed in her house in Puivert in 1208, attended by her young son, Gallard.<sup>92</sup>

Arpais's husband, Bernard of Le Congoust, survived her by up to thirty years. In 1228 he attended the deathbed consolation of Alzieu of Massabrac the elder in Péreille.<sup>93</sup> He seems to have lived in Montségur from around 1232, regularly attending the sermons held by the good men in the *castrum*.<sup>94</sup> He was also present on several occasions in 1232 when three men including Macip of Gaillac, the *bailli* of the Count of Toulouse, came to Montségur to visit the good men.<sup>95</sup>

Bernard was consoled upon his death around 1237, with his son, Gallard, in attendance. He made his nephew, Bertrand, the heir to his goods, stipulating that he was to pay the good men twenty shillings of Toulouse.<sup>96</sup>

#### 5. *Jordan*

There is only one reference made to a Jordan of Péreille, brother of Raymond of Péreille, present at the sermon of Gaucelin in the house of Raymond of Péreille in Montségur around 1213.<sup>97</sup>

### The son of Peter Roger of Mirepoix

#### *Peter Roger of Mirepoix and his wives, Auda and Philippa*

Peter Roger first appeared in written records in 1216, witnessing the customs of Tarascon, but was not included in the 1207 list of co-lords of Mirepoix, suggesting that he was born between 1194 and 1202.<sup>98</sup> He married twice, first to an Auda, about whom we know very little, and second to Philippa, daughter of Raymond of Péreille – the lord

<sup>92</sup> Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.165r.

<sup>93</sup> Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.50v-51v.

<sup>94</sup> William of Bouan of Lavelanet, 24.75r-77v.

<sup>95</sup> Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.46r-v.

<sup>96</sup> Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.52r-v.

<sup>97</sup> Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.154r-v.

<sup>98</sup> Roquebert, *Figures du catharisme* (Paris, 2018), p. 423. For the list of co-lords, see my chapter on co-lordship, and *HGL*, viii.544.

of Montségur, and Peter Roger's first cousin, whose participation will be discussed in an entry of her own, below. He had at least three children, a daughter (Marquesia), who would marry Raymond of Niort, providing a link between the powerful families of Mirepoix and Laurac, a son with his second wife, Philippa (Esquieu), and an illegitimate son (Rocafera).<sup>99</sup>

There is no record of Peter Roger having been interrogated by inquisitors, and as such nearly all the evidence we have of his involvement in Catharism occurred in the context of the *castrum* of Montségur.

However, we do know that in 1228 he attended the deathbed consolation of Raymond of Arvigna in Dun, and we also know that his first wife, Auda, was a keen Cathar supporter.<sup>100</sup> Between 1223 and 1225 she often went to visit and hear the sermons of the good men and women of Montolieu in the company of Helis of Mazerolles and other ladies.<sup>101</sup>

Peter Roger arrived in Montségur shortly after his cousin, Raymond, had agreed that the *castrum* could be used as a Cathar headquarters around 1232. Peter Roger had just recently lost any claim he once had in Mirepoix to the newly established lordship of Levi, confirmed by the French crown in 1230.<sup>102</sup> He married Raymond's daughter, Philippa, a move which probably provided him with his share in the lordship of Montségur and, as Roquebert sees it, quickly established himself as the commander of the *castrum*'s garrison.<sup>103</sup>

As lords of Montségur, Peter Roger and Raymond of Péreille openly received good men and women into the *castrum*.<sup>104</sup> Peter Roger regularly attended their sermons, especially those held by Bertrand Marty on Sundays and feast days.<sup>105</sup> He also sometimes visited the good men and women living in the *castrum*. In 1238, he shared a meal in the house

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<sup>99</sup> Marquesia: Raymond of Péreille, 22.223r-v. Roquefera: Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.256v; Bernard Cairola, 22.269v-272r. Esquieu: Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.199v.

<sup>100</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.116r-v.

<sup>101</sup> Auda is only mentioned in the deposition of Helis of Mazerolles, who cites her presence at heretical gatherings in Montolieu on four specific occasions (though it is implied that several involved multiple individual visits) between 1223-25, 23.168v-71r.

<sup>102</sup> On Peter Roger's dispossession, see Roquebert, *Figures du catharisme* (Paris, 2018), pp. 385-86, 425.

<sup>103</sup> Roquebert, *Figures du catharisme* (Paris, 2018), p. 409. See Philippa's biography, below.

<sup>104</sup> Jordan of Péreille, 22.22.202r-v; Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.259r-61r.

<sup>105</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.119r-v, 125r-v; Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.279r-81r; Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.165r-v; William of Bouan of Lavelanet, 24.78r.

of Bertrand Marty, and in 1244, he paid a visit to Raymunda of Cuq.<sup>106</sup> He also regularly hosted the good men in his own house.<sup>107</sup>

Peter Roger attended several consolations. In 1239 he attended the deathbed consolation of P. Roger of Marliac at Barsa.<sup>108</sup> He also attended the deathbed consolations of Arnold Narbonne of Carol and William of Gironde in Montségur, both of whom were mortally wounded during the siege of 1243-44.<sup>109</sup>

In between 1240 and 1244, Peter Roger was involved in disputes with the men of Laroque d'Olmes and with Raymond of Péreille. On both occasions, Bertrand Marty, the Cathar bishop, helped the parties come to a resolution.<sup>110</sup> In the case involving the men of Laroque d'Olmes, it was agreed that they would pay Peter Roger 200 Toulouse shillings. The case involving Peter Roger and Raymond of Péreille was to do with property division.

Peter Roger played a significant role in the attack on the inquisitors at Avignonet in 1242.<sup>111</sup> Having received a letter from Raymond Alfaro, the *bailli* of the Count of Toulouse, inciting the attack, Peter Roger gathered together the men of Montségur and led them to the woods near Avignonet, where they were met by Peter of Mazerolles and his soldiers from Gaja-la-Selve. Peter Roger appointed three of his knights – Balaguier, Bernard of Saint-Martin and William of Lahille – to lead the attack, and afterwards shared in their success.<sup>112</sup>

He was also intimately involved in organising the defensive strategy of the *castrum* of Montségur, especially during the siege. He received several skilled men to aid the defence, including soldiers, crossbowmen, and (if rumour is to be believed), a siege

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<sup>106</sup> Bertrand Marty: Jordan of Péreille, 22.207v-208r. Raymunda of Cuq: Lombarda of Lavelanet, 22.245v.

<sup>107</sup> Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.292v-93r.

<sup>108</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.114r.

<sup>109</sup> Arnold Narbonne: Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.252r-53v. William of Gironde: Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.291v-92r.

<sup>110</sup> See n. 39 above. Dispute between Peter Roger and the men of Laroque d'Olmes: Arnold Roger, 22.121r-v; Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.167r-v; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.64v-65r; Raymond of Péreille, 22.221r-v. Dispute between Peter Roger and Raymond of Péreille: Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.161r-v; Jordan of Péreille, 22.206r-v; Bernard Cairola, 22.274v-75r; William of Bouan of Lavelanet, 24.78r; Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.200r-v.

<sup>111</sup> A more detailed account of Peter Roger's role in the attack on Avignonet is given in my co-lordship chapter, p. 95-96.

<sup>112</sup> Accounts of the attack on Avignonet: Arnold Roger, 22.129v-31v; Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.256v-58r; Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.284v-87r; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.293v-95v; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.67r-68r; William Arnold, 609.37r-v; Imbert of Salles, 24.160v-67r.



engineer sent by Raymond VII of Toulouse.<sup>113</sup> During this time, Peter Roger was very interested to know what Raymond VII was up to. He sent and received several messages on this subject to Isarn of Fanjeaux.<sup>114</sup>

Peter Roger also played a vital role in supplying the Cathars with food, rallying supporters, and buying (and raiding) from local sources during the siege.<sup>115</sup> He also held a significant amount of money from them in the form of ‘deposits’.<sup>116</sup> When the *castrum* fell, it was rumoured that he helped some good men to escape with the treasure belonging to their church.<sup>117</sup>

### Third generation

#### The children of Raymond of Péreille

##### *1. Arpais and her husband, Guiraud of Rabat*

Arpais grew up in Montségur, attending the sermons of good men including John Cambiaire and Guilabert of Castres with her parents from around 1230.<sup>118</sup>

It is unclear exactly when she married her husband, Guiraud of Rabat, but the pair regularly attended the sermons held by Bertrand Marty on Sundays and feast days together from as early as 1236.<sup>119</sup>

From around 1234 Guiraud’s father and brother, often came to Montségur to visit the good men, accompanied by Guiraud himself.<sup>120</sup> His father, Peter Raymond of Rabat, even became a resident of the *castrum*, and became a good man himself when he died around 1236 or 1237.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.255r; Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.262v-63r; Imbert of Salles, 24.168v-69v; 170v-71r.

<sup>114</sup> Messages passed between Peter Roger and Isarn of Fanjeaux: Imbert of Salles, 24.168r-70v.

<sup>115</sup> Bernard Cairola, 22.273v-74r; P. Pelicer, 609.85v; Arnold Roger, 22.129v.

<sup>116</sup> Arnold Roger of Mirepoix, 22.153r-v; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.61v; Imbert of Salles, 24.173r-v.

<sup>117</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.129r. Bernard Cairola also mentioned that some good men had left the *castrum* the night before the surrender, 22.275r-v.

<sup>118</sup> Jordan of Péreille, 22.204r-205v; Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.155r-56v; Bernard Cairola, 22.269r-70r.

<sup>119</sup> Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.259r-61r; Arnold Roger, 22.122r-23r; Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.156v-58v, 165r-v; Jordan of Péreille, 22.204r-205v; Raymond of Péreille, 22.219r-20r; Pons Sicre of Ilhat, 22.232r-34r, 235v-36v; Arnold Oliver of Lavelanet, 22.238r-39v; Lombarda of Lavelanet, 22.244v-45r; Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.250v-52r; Bernard Cairola, 22.269v-72r; Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.277r-79r; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.288r-89v; William Tardiu of Gaiola, 23.201r-203r; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.58r-60r; Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.197v-99r; Adalais, wife of Alzeiu of Massabrac, 24.205v-206v.

<sup>120</sup> Raymond of Péreille, 22.220v; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.60r-v, 63v.

<sup>121</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.136r.

Around 1241 or 1242 Guiraud witnessed Bertrand Marty's resolution of a dispute between the co-lords of Montségur, Raymond of Péreille and Peter Roger of Mirepoix, and the men of Laroque d'Olmes.<sup>122</sup>

Guiraud was among the group from Montségur involved in the attack on the inquisitors at Avignonet in 1242.<sup>123</sup> However, he appears to have remained outside the *castrum* during the slaughter.<sup>124</sup>

Arpais was also an active Cathar supporter during this time. In 1243 she attended Bertrand Marty's *apparellamentum* of the good women with a group of other ladies.<sup>125</sup> She also frequented the houses of the good women of Montségur, including Raymunda of Cuq, Na Flors and Endia with a group of ladies of the *castrum*, including her mother, Corba.<sup>126</sup> In the period from 1241 to 1244 she often went with her mother and sisters to visit and share a meal with her grandmother, Marquesia of Lanta.<sup>127</sup> She was also present among those ladies who paid a visit to Alzieu of Massabrac, Arpais's cousin, after he was seriously wounded in Montségur, and attended by many good men and women in 1243.<sup>128</sup>

In 1244 in the weeks leading up to the surrender of the Montségur, Arpais and six other ladies of the *castrum* (including her mother, Corba, and sister, Philippa) agreed with Bertrand Marty, that if they were to become sick or wounded, near to death, they would be consoled even if they had lost the ability to speak.<sup>129</sup> Arpais's husband, Guiraud, actually made a similar agreement with the Cathar bishop, along with a number of men of the *castrum*, in 1244.<sup>130</sup> Arpais's mother, Corba, eventually did elect to become a good woman. Arpais and Philippa visited her frequently, adoring her and receiving

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<sup>122</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.121r-v; Raymond of Péreille, 22.221r-v.

<sup>123</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.129v-31v; Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.256v-58r; Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.284v-87r; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.67r-68r; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.293v-95v; Imbert of Salles, 24.160v-67r.

<sup>124</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.129v-31v; Imbert of Salles, 24.165v-67r.

<sup>125</sup> Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.262v.

<sup>126</sup> Lombarda of Lavelanet, 22.245r-v; Bernarda of Lavelanet, wife of Imbert of Salles, 22.248v; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.289v-90r.

<sup>127</sup> Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.261r-v; Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.199v-200r.

<sup>128</sup> Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.290r-v.

<sup>129</sup> Adalais, wife of Alzieu of Massabrac, 24.207r; Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.262v-63r; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.295v-96r; Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.202r-v.

<sup>130</sup> Arnold Oliver of Lavelanet, 22.243r.

provisions from her. They were with her on the night before she and the other Cathars were brought down from the *castrum* and burned.<sup>131</sup>

Arpais was interrogated by the inquisitors, brother Ferrier and Peter Durand.<sup>132</sup>

## 2. *Jordan of Péreille*

Jordan grew up in the *castrum* of Montségur, attending the sermons of good men including John Cambiaire and Guilabert of Castres with his parents from around 1231.<sup>133</sup> From around 1236 he frequently attended the sermons held by Bertrand Marty on Sundays and feast days.<sup>134</sup>

Jordan regularly visited the good men and good women who resided in the *castrum*. In 1237 and 1238 he was invited to share meals with Bernard of Mayreville and Bertrand Marty.<sup>135</sup> Around 1241 he visited his maternal grandmother, Marquesia of Fourquevaux.<sup>136</sup> In 1243 he paid a visit to another good woman called Bruna, and in 1244 he was invited to share meals with both the good woman, Baissa, and good man, William Ralph.<sup>137</sup>

Jordan also attended several Cathar meetings that came about when individuals such as Raymond Salles of Lordat, Pons Arnold of Châteauverdun, and Alaman of Rouaix came to see the good men of Montségur between 1237 and 1240.<sup>138</sup>

Jordan attended several deathbed consolations. Around 1240 he left Montségur to attend the consolation of Niger of Montségur in the Sabarthès.<sup>139</sup> In 1244 he attended the consolation of Bertrand of Bourdenac, who had been wounded in the siege.<sup>140</sup> He was

<sup>131</sup> Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.262v-63r; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.292r-v.

<sup>132</sup> Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.258v-64r. The date given for her deposition was 15 February 1240, but this must be a mistake because she relates events including the fall of Montségur, which happened in March 1244.

<sup>133</sup> Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.155r-56v; Jordan of Péreille, 22.22.204r-205v.

<sup>134</sup> Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.156v-58v; Jordan of Péreille, 22.22.202v-203r, 204r-206r; Pons Sicre of Ilhat, 22.235v-36v; Arnold Oliver of Lavelanet, 22.238r-39v; Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.250v-52r; Bernard Cairola, 22.269v-72r; Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.277r-79r; William of Bouan of Lavelanet, 24.75r-77v; Bernard of *Scopont*, 609.246v; Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.201r-v.

<sup>135</sup> Jordan of Péreille, 22.207v-208v.

<sup>136</sup> Jordan of Péreille, 22.211v-12r.

<sup>137</sup> Jordan of Péreille, 22.206v-207r (Bruna), 22.208v (Baissa), 22.209v-210r (William Ralph).

<sup>138</sup> Jordan of Péreille, 22.203r-v, 212v, 213r.

<sup>139</sup> Jordan of Péreille, 22.213r-v.

<sup>140</sup> Jordan of Péreille, 22.208v-209r.

also away from Montségur around 1241, when he witnessed the good men performing an *apparallamentum* in Rabat.<sup>141</sup>

In 1242 Jordan witnessed the resolution of a dispute between his father, Raymond of Péreille, and his brother-in-law, Peter Roger of Mirepoix, by the Cathar bishop, Bertrand Marty.<sup>142</sup>

In the last weeks prior to the fall of Montségur, Jordan made an agreement with the good men that if he was found wounded or otherwise on the point of death, and unable to speak, he would be consoled.<sup>143</sup>

Jordan was interrogated by brothers Ferrier and Durand in April and May 1244.<sup>144</sup>

### 3. *Esclarmunda, daughter of Raymond of Péreille and Corba*

Esclarmunda attended the sermons of good men including John Cambiaire, Guilabert of Castres, and Bertrand Marty, in the *castrum* of Montségur with her parents from around 1231.<sup>145</sup> From 1241 to 1244 she went with her mother and sisters to visit and share a meal with her grandmother, Marquesia of Fourquevaux.<sup>146</sup> She was probably younger than her sisters. She was not among those who agreed with Bertrand Marty to be consoled upon their deaths.

### 4. *Philippa and her husband, Peter Roger of Mirepoix*

Philippa grew up in Montségur, attending the sermons of good men including John Cambiaire and Guilabert of Castres with her parents from around 1231.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Jordan of Péreille, 22.210r-v.

<sup>142</sup> Jordan of Péreille, 22.206r-v.

<sup>143</sup> Jordan of Péreille, 22.210v-11r.

<sup>144</sup> Jordan of Péreille, 22.201r-14v.

<sup>145</sup> John Cambiaire: Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.155r-56v. Guilabert of Castres: Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.155r-56v. Bertrand Marty: Raymond of Péreille, 22.219r-20r; Adalais, wife of Alzeiu of Massabrac, 24.205v-206v.

<sup>146</sup> Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.199v-200r.

<sup>147</sup> Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.155r-56v; Bernard Cairola, 22.269r-70r.

She married Peter Roger of Mirepoix, her father's cousin, probably not long after 1232, and often attended the sermons of Bertrand Marty with him in the *castrum*.<sup>148</sup> The pair had an infant son together named Esquieu.<sup>149</sup>

From 1241 until 1244 Philippa often sent foods such as bread, wine, and fish to the good men, and to her grandmother, Marquesia, a good woman.<sup>150</sup> She regularly went with her mother and sisters to share a meal in her grandmother's house, and also paid visits to the other good women of Montségur, including Raymunda of Cuq and Na Flors.<sup>151</sup>

In 1243 she was also present among those ladies who paid a visit to Alzieu of Massabrac, Arpais's cousin, after he was seriously wounded in the siege of Montségur.<sup>152</sup>

In 1244, in the weeks leading up to the surrender of Montségur, Philippa and six other ladies of the *castrum* (including her mother, Corba, and sister, Arpais) agreed with Bertrand Marty, that if they were to become sick or wounded, near to death, they would be consoled even if they had lost the ability to speak.<sup>153</sup> Philippa's mother, Corba, eventually did elect to become a good woman. Philippa and Arpais visited her frequently, adoring her and receiving provisions from her. They were with her on the night before she and the other Cathars were brought down from the *castrum* and burned.<sup>154</sup>

Philippa was interrogated by Ferrier on 18 Mar 1244.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.122r-23r; Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.250v-52r; Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.197v-99r; Jordan of Péreille, 22.204r-205v; Raymond of Péreille, 22.217r-v, 219r-20r; Pons Sicre of Ilhat, 22.232r-34r; Arnold Oliver of Lavelanet, 22.238r-39v; Lombarda of Lavelanet, 22.244v-45r; Bernard Cairola, 22.269v-72r; Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.277r-79r; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.288r-89v; Dias, wife of Pons of Saint-Germier, 23.58r; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.58r-60r; William of Bouan of Lavelanet, 24.75r-77v; Imbert of Salles, 24.175v-76r.

<sup>149</sup> Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24. 24.199v.

<sup>150</sup> Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.199v-200r.

<sup>151</sup> Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.261r-v; Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.199v-200r; Bernarda of Lavelanet, wife of Imbert of Salles, 22.248v; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.289v-90r.

<sup>152</sup> Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.290r-v.

<sup>153</sup> Adalais, wife of Alzieu of Massabrac, 24.207r; Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.262v-63r; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.295v-96r; Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.202r-v.

<sup>154</sup> Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.262v-263r; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.292r-v.

<sup>155</sup> Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.202v-203r.

The daughter of Arnold Roger of Mirpeoix

*Braida*

Braida probably spent most of her childhood in Montségur. She attended the sermons of Guilabert of Castres with her parents from around 1231, and those of Bertrand Marty from around 1236.<sup>156</sup>

From 1241 until 1244 Braida frequented the houses of the good women of Montségur, including Raymunda of Cuq, Na Flors, and her grandmother, Braida of Montservier. She did this with a group of ladies of the *castrum*, including her mother, Cecelia.<sup>157</sup>

In 1244 in the weeks leading up to the surrender of Montségur, Braida and six other ladies of the *castrum* (including her mother, Cecelia) agreed with Bertrand Marty, that if they were to become sick or wounded, near to death, they would be consoled even if they had lost the ability to speak.<sup>158</sup> When one of their number, Braida's aunt, Corba, elected to become a good woman, just prior to the surrender of the *castrum*, Braida was among those who went to visit her.<sup>159</sup>

The children of Adalais of Massabrac

1. *Alzieu of Massabrac*

Alzieu probably spent most of his childhood in Montségur. Still a boy, in 1234 he often visited his grandmother, the good woman Forneira of Péreille, and shared a meal with her and her companions.<sup>160</sup> From around 1240 he attended the sermons of Bertrand Marty, often with his mother and siblings.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Guilabert of Castres: Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.155r-56v. Bertrand Marty Arnold Roger, 22.122r-23r; Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.156v-58v; Jordan of Péreille, 22.204r-205v; Pons Sicre of Ilhat, 22.232r-34r, 235v-36v; Arnold Oliver of Lavelanet, 22.238r-39v; Lombarda of Lavelanet, 22.244v-45r; Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.250v-52r; Bernard Cairola, 22.269v-72r; Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.277r-79r; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.288r-89v; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.58r-60r; William of Bouan of Lavelanet, 24.75r-77v; Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.197v-99r.

<sup>157</sup> Bernarda of Lavelanet, wife of Imbert of Salles, 22.248v; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.289v-90r; Lombarda of Lavelanet, 22.246v.

<sup>158</sup> Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.262v-63r; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.295v-96r; Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.202r-v.

<sup>159</sup> Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.292r-v.

<sup>160</sup> Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.276r-77r.

<sup>161</sup> Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.277r-80r; Arnold Roger, 22.122r-23r; Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.156v-58v; Jordan of Péreille, 22.204r-205v; Raymond of Péreille, 22.219r-20r; Pons Sicre of Ilhat, 22.235v-36v; Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.259r-61r; Bernard Cairola, 22.269v-72r; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.58r-60r; William of Bouan of Lavelanet, 24.75r-77v.

By 1242 Alzieu was the squire of his uncle, Arnold Roger of Mirepoix.<sup>162</sup> At this time, he and his brother, Oth, were among the group from Montségur involved in the attack on the inquisitors at Avignonet in 1242.<sup>163</sup> However, along with his lord he appears to have remained outside the *castrum* during the slaughter.<sup>164</sup>

From the time of the siege of Montségur, Alzieu attended several consolations of those who were mortally wounded, including those of Claret Vital, Jordan of Mas-Saintes-Puelles, Raymond Ventenac – another squire of Arnold Roger – and Sicard of Puivert.<sup>165</sup> Indeed, around the same time, Alzieu himself sustained a serious wound. Many good men and women and a number of ladies and knights of the *castrum* came to visit him, but he recovered from his wound and was not consoled.<sup>166</sup>

Alzieu was interrogated by the inquisitor Peter Durand on 3 May 1244.<sup>167</sup>

## 2. Oth

In 1238 Oth attended the deathbed consolation of Arnold Narbonne of Carol in Montségur.<sup>168</sup>

Oth attended the sermons held by Bertrand Marty in Montségur from around 1240, often with his mother and siblings.<sup>169</sup> During this time he kept a concubine called Raymunda.<sup>170</sup>

Oth and his brother, Alzieu, were among the group from Montségur involved in the attack on the inquisitors at Avignonet in 1242.<sup>171</sup> Unlike Alzieu, Oth was inside the

<sup>162</sup> Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.256v-58r; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.67r-68r.

<sup>163</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.129v-31v; Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.256v-58r; Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.284v-87r; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.293v-95v; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.67r-68r.

<sup>164</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.129v-31v; Imbert of Salles, 24.160v-67r.

<sup>165</sup> Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.282r-283r (Claret Vital), 22.281v-82r (Jordan of Mas-Saintes-Puelles), 22.283r-v (Raymond of Ventenac), 22.283v-84r (Sicard of Puivert).

<sup>166</sup> Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.290r-v.

<sup>167</sup> Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.275v-78r.

<sup>168</sup> Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.252r-53v.

<sup>169</sup> Pons Sicre of Ilhat, 22.235v-36v; Arnold Roger, 22.122r-23r; Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.156v-58v; Jordan of Péreille, 22.204r-205v; Raymond of Péreille, 22.219r-20r; Arnold Oliver of Lavelanet, 22.238r-39v; Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.250v-52r; Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.259r-61r; Bernard Cairola, 22.269v-72r; Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.277r-79r; William Tardiu of Gaiola, 23.201r-203r; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.58r-60r; William of Bouan of Lavelanet, 24.75r-77v; Imbert of Salles, 24.175v-76r.

<sup>170</sup> Arnold Oliver of Lavelanet, 22.238r-39v; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.58r-60r.

<sup>171</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.129v-31v; Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.256v-58r; Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.284v-87r; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.293v-95v; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.67r-68r; Imbert of Salles, 24.160v-64v.

*castrum* during the slaughter. However, his level of involvement is not known, and he was not listed among those who looted the brothers' belongings.

### 3. *Raymond*

Along with his brother, Alzieu and Oth, Raymond regularly attended the sermons held by Bertrand Marty in Montségur from at least 1241.<sup>172</sup>

### 4. *Fays and her husband, William of Plaigne*

Fays frequently attended the sermons held by Bertrand Marty in Montségur with her mother, her brother, and occasionally her husband, William of Plaigne, from as early as 1236, although it is not clear whether Fays and William were already married by that point.<sup>173</sup>

William was seen slightly earlier, attending a sermon held by the good men in a wood near Vaux in 1231, and in 1235, escorting Peter of Le Cabanial of Saint-Julia to the sermon of the Cathar deacon, Raymond Sans.<sup>174</sup>

From around 1241 Fays frequented the houses of Raymunda of Cuq and Na Flors, good women of Montségur. She did this with a group of ladies of the *castrum*, often in the company of her mother, Adalais.<sup>175</sup> Around the same time, William also visited Raymunda of Cuq on several occasions.<sup>176</sup>

In 1242 William played an instrumental role in the attack of the men of Montségur on the inquisitors at Avignonet. He brought the letter from Raymond of Alfaro, the *bailli* of the Count of Toulouse, inciting the attack, to Peter Roger of Mirepoix, then he accompanied the garrison, and was seen afterwards looting the brothers' hall and bragging about the murders.<sup>177</sup> He received a black palfrey that had belonged to the

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<sup>172</sup> Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.156v-58v; Raymond of Péreille, 22.219r-20r.

<sup>173</sup> Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.288r-89v; Adalais, wife of Alzieu of Massabrac, 24.205v-206v; Imbert of Salles, 24.175v-76r; Arnold Oliver of Lavelanet, 22.238r-39v; Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.197v-99r; Bernard Cairola, 22.269v-72r; Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.250v-52r; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.58r-60r; William of Bouan of Lavelanet, 24.75r-77v.

<sup>174</sup> Peter of Le Cabanial of Saint-Julia, 24.25v-26r (sermon), 24.33r-v (guide).

<sup>175</sup> Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.289v-90r, 293r-v; Bernarda of Lavelanet, wife of Imbert of Salles, 22.248v.

<sup>176</sup> Imbert of Salles, 24.175r.

<sup>177</sup> Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.293v-95v; Arnold Roger, 22.129v-31v; Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.256v-58r; Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.284v-87r; William Arnold, 609.37r-v; Berengar of



archdeacon of Toulouse, in return for his role in the attack. Afterwards, a rumour circulated that he had himself cut out the tongue of brother William Arnold.<sup>178</sup>

In 1243 Fays attended the deathbed consolations of William Claret and William Gironde, both of whom were injured during the siege.<sup>179</sup> Her brother, Alzieu, was also wounded but recovered.<sup>180</sup>

In 1244, in the weeks leading up to the surrender of the Montségur, Fays and six other ladies of the *castrum* (including her mother, Adalais) agreed with Bertrand Marty, that if they were to become sick or wounded, near to death, they would be consoled even if they had lost the ability to speak.<sup>181</sup> When one of their number, Braida's aunt, Corba, elected to become a good woman, just prior to the surrender of the *castrum*, Braida was among those who went to visit her.<sup>182</sup>

Fays, was interrogated by inquisitors on 18 March 1244.<sup>183</sup>

### The son of Arpais and Bernard of Le Congoust

#### *Gallard of Le Congoust*

Gallard was born around 1206 or just after. Around two years later, his mother Arpais died, having been consoled. He was probably raised in Montségur. From 1213, aged just seven, he regularly attended the sermons held by the good men, Gaucelin and Guilbert of Castres, in the *castrum*.<sup>184</sup> He also attended the sermons of Guilabert of Castres and Bertrand Marty from as early as 1231.<sup>185</sup>

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Lavelanet, 24.67r-68r; Imbert of Salles, 24.160v-67v. Imbert gives the most detailed account of William's involvement in the attack itself.

<sup>178</sup> Ermessendis Peliceria, 609.85v.

<sup>179</sup> Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.290v-91v (William Claret), 22.291v-92r (William of Gironde).

<sup>180</sup> Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.290r-v.

<sup>181</sup> Adalais, wife of Alzieu of Massabrac, 24.207r; Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.262v-63r; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.295v-96r; Philippa, wife of Peter Roger of Mirepoix, 24.202r-v.

<sup>182</sup> Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.292r-v.

<sup>183</sup> Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.287r-96v.

<sup>184</sup> Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.154r-v; Raymond of Péreille, 22.216r-v.

<sup>185</sup> Guilabert of Castres: Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.155r-56v (c. 1231); Bernard Cairola, 22.269r-70r (1234-36). Bertrand Marty: Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.156v-58v; Jordan of Péreille, 22.204r-205v; Pons Sicre of Ilhat, 22.235v-36v; Arnold Oliver of Lavelanet, 22.238r-39v; Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.250v-52r; Arpais, wife of Guiraud of Rabat, 22.259r-61r; Raymond of Péreille, 22.219r-20r; Bernard Cairola, 22.269v-72r; Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.277r-79r; William of Bouan of Lavelanet, 24.75r-77v; Bernard of *Scopont*, 609.246v; William Tardiu of Gaiola, 23.201r-203r; Imbert of Salles, 24.175v-76r; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.58r-60r.

Gallard was often present at meetings that took place when individuals including Bertrand of Roquetaillade, William of Arnave, and Peter Raymond of Rabat, came to see the good men of Montségur between 1232 and 1244.<sup>186</sup> Indeed, he sometimes offered these visitors his services as a guide, taking Raymond Roger of Toulouse and Bego, the son of Alaman of Rouaix, to see Bertrand Marty in 1238 or 1239, and doing the same for Auger of Rabat the following year.<sup>187</sup>

In between 1240 and 1244 Gallard witnessed several disputes that involved the co-lords of Montségur, the first between the two co-lords, and the second between them and the men of Laroque d'Olmes. On both occasions, Bertrand Marty, the Cathar bishop, helped the parties come to a resolution.<sup>188</sup>

Gallard was among the group from Montségur involved in the attack on the inquisitors at Avignonet in 1242.<sup>189</sup> His level of involvement is not known.

Gallard attended several deathbed consolations, the most significant being that of his father, Bernard, around 1237, in Montségur.<sup>190</sup> Interestingly, Gallard was not appointed as heir to his father's goods, that honour was awarded to his cousin, Bertrand.<sup>191</sup>

Between 1225 and 1228, Gallard also attended the consolation of his uncle, Alzieu of Massabrac, in Péreille.<sup>192</sup>

Gallard regularly visited the good women who resided in the *castrum*. From around 1236 until 1244, he often visited the good woman, Peirona, and her companion, and shared a meal with them.<sup>193</sup> He also shared a meal with the good woman, Baissa, just two weeks prior to the surrender of the *castrum*.<sup>194</sup>

Gallard was interrogated by Ferrier on 20 April 1243.

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<sup>186</sup> Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.158v-59v, 160v-61r, 165r-v, 167v-68r, 169r-v; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.45v-49v, 54v-55r, 57r-58r, 60r-v, 64v-66r; Raymond of Péreille, 22.223v.

<sup>187</sup> Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.162r-v, 166r.

<sup>188</sup> Peace between the two co-lords themselves: Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.161r-v. Men of Laroque d'Olmes: Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.167r-v; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.64v-65r; Raymond of Péreille, 22.221r-v; Arnold Roger, 22.121r-v.

<sup>189</sup> Arnold Roger, 22.129v-31v; Peter Vignol of Balaguier, 22.256v-58r; Alzieu of Massabrac, 22.284v-87r; Fays, wife of William of Plaigne, 22.293v-95v; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.67r-68r; Imbert of Salles, 24.160v-64v.

<sup>190</sup> Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.52r-v; Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.164r-65r.

<sup>191</sup> Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.154r-v.

<sup>192</sup> Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.163r-64r; Berengar of Lavelanet, 24.50v-51v.

<sup>193</sup> Gallard of Le Congoust, 22.158v.

<sup>194</sup> Jordan of Péreille, 22.208v.

## Conclusion

Until recently, the historiography of heresy and the aristocracy has relied, on the one hand, upon the assumption that the inquisition records provide an accurate picture of the support of different social groups for heresy, and on the other, upon an outdated understanding of the aristocracy. This thesis has engaged with both of these points, with the aim of producing a more nuanced understanding of aristocratic support for Catharism. For the most part, this has involved building on pre-existing elements of the historiography, more than striking out in entirely new directions. For instance, Mundy observed that the high level of representation of the aristocracy in inquisition records may have been specifically influenced by inquisitorial interest in this group, but nothing further has been done to examine or test his hypothesis. I have argued that Mundy's idea must be brought to bear on the well-established historiographical emphasis on aristocratic support for the Cathars. Casting doubt over that paradigm has forced us to re-examine the question of how significant aristocratic support really was, and to consider other ways in which aristocratic support can or should be seen as socially distinctive. This thesis has therefore looked beyond the immediate quantitative evidence and endeavoured to think about the different modes of support that were provided to the Cathars in a more comparative way. Introducing other social groups as comparisons or controls has helped to build a more nuanced and relative picture of aristocratic support. This has not overturned the existing paradigm, but it has opened it up for closer examination.

Firstly, comparisons with other social groups have shown that in terms of modes of support, the activities of the aristocracy often did not differ considerably from those of other social groups. Transmission of Cathar beliefs within the family is a good example of this. Previously the historiography has emphasised the significance of transmission through generations within aristocratic families, but here we have found evidence of this process in families from a variety of social backgrounds. Our study of patronage also revealed that individuals belonging to a variety of social backgrounds gave gifts and left bequests to the Cathars, and sometimes even hosted them in large numbers.

However, this investigation has also revealed distinctive modes of aristocratic support. For example, we have seen that individuals belonging to aristocratic families tended to take on more organisational roles in their support for the Cathars, using their status to

exert influence, particularly over their dependents, to ensure that the Cathars were protected and supplied with food and shelter. We have also seen bonds of co-lordship produce socially distinctive opportunities for Cathar support in ways that have not previously been explored. This is most evident in the patronage of Raymond of Péreille and Peter Roger of Mirepoix, who collaborated to provide the Cathars with a safe haven at Montségur, and jointly submitted to prominent good men in their negotiations for peace, both between themselves and other parties. This style of collaboration we have seen occurring in a similar way, if on a smaller scale, within aristocratic families. The Roqueville brothers organised guides and shelter, for example; Ermengarda of Mazerolles took on her husband's management duties in the support network after he was condemned.

Of particular relevance here is the way that historians have approached the topic of Montségur. As I have consistently emphasised, Montségur may not be the anomaly that the inquisition records, and historians of heresy, have depicted it to be. As seen in my chapter on patronage, a number of *castra* offered protection to Cathars and their believers in need of refuge. Closely related to this point, I suggest that the inhabitants of Montségur – the regional aristocracy and knights – may have occupied a disproportionately large space in heresy studies. We have witnessed a degree of overlap between the rural aristocracy and the urban elites, particularly in terms of provision of supplies and lodgings to the Cathars. These were sometimes offered in different ways by the two groups. For instance, urban patrons and landlords held properties on the roads into Italy, which the Cathars and their believers used as stopping places as they fled from persecution, whereas the lords and ladies of the rural *castra* presided over militarised fortresses. One point, often overlooked, is that in terms of their longevity, the usefulness of the hospices actually outlasted that of the fortresses, many of which – with the obvious exception of Montségur – quickly fell to the crusader armies. Similarly, an additional and unexpected way in which we have seen aristocratic support differ from that of other social groups is among the *faiditi*, where it is clear that non-aristocratic *faiditi* were able to remain undetected, and to continue to provide support to the Cathars, for much longer than their aristocratic counterparts.

Both of these points run counter to the established chronological arc for this period, which the historiography largely characterises in terms of a rise and fall in aristocratic support for the Cathars. I have argued that such a narrative obscures the crucial and ongoing activity of other social groups. The inquisitorial focus on the aristocracy in the

early years of persecution crowded out the bigger picture, which had always featured support from a wide-range of social groups. We have seen this in the evidence of the ongoing and independent support for the Cathars amongst dependents, many of whom were themselves consoled. The support of these other social groups becomes more obvious in the records, and became more significant in terms of value to the support network overall, as aristocratic support decreased, but that does not mean it was only emerging at this time. This adjusted view of the chronology contributes to the historiography of heresy studies as a whole by bringing understanding of the social history of support for heresy up to speed with textual and discursive knowledge of the subject.

We have found it useful to analyse some of the language that has been used to identify and group individuals both in the inquisition records, and subsequently by historians. The fact that lords and ladies (*domini* and *dominae*) are often clearly identified in the inquisition records, but urban elites are not, has undoubtedly contributed to the historiographical emphasis on the aristocracy over their urban equivalents. The inquisitorial focus on elites has also very much shaped historiographical characterisations of the *faiditi* as belonging to aristocratic backgrounds, again contributing to an artificial distinction between the aristocracy and the rest of society.

This thesis also builds on the intention, already laid out in ‘Les voies de l’hérésie’, to bring recent developments in scholarship on the aristocracy into conversation with heresy studies. Here, we have pushed this further, bringing some of these developments to bear on the historiographical paradigm that has traditionally emphasised the significance of aristocratic support for the Cathars. We have used this knowledge to push beyond the presentation and loose understanding of aristocratic social bonds as channels for the spread of Cathar ideas, and examine the specific roles they played, as both mechanisms for the transmission of Catharism within the aristocracy and from the aristocracy to other social groups through channels of dependency, and as facilitators of opportunities for the ongoing demonstration of Cathar support.

What we have found, again, considerably nuances the broad idea that heresy passed along these channels. We have seen the ways in which bonds of co-lordship and dependency produced opportunities for participation in, and support for, Catharism. Peacemaking and collaboration within bonds of co-lordship have been discussed above. An important point regarding bonds of dependency is that these channels operated in two directions not just, as has previously been assumed, from the aristocracy to their

dependents, but also from dependents to their lords and ladies. This is crucial, because it counters the notion that the aristocracy were key to the spread of Catharism. Certainly, relationships with lords could produce opportunities for interaction with the Cathars, but dependents could also use their positions to promote their own beliefs, and were not bound by the beliefs of their lords.

Particularly with reference to work on the aristocracy, it is worth noting that just as we have been able to use this body of work to further our understanding of aristocratic support for Catharism, we have also shown several ways in which inquisition sources can be used to further understanding of the southern-French aristocracy. Indeed, I would say that historians of the aristocracy could (and should) be more open to using these sources, which not only contain a great deal of relevant information, but also, as we saw particularly in my chapter on co-lordship, information of a substantially different kind – more qualitative in nature – to the charters with which these historians primarily work.

Traditionally, historians of heresy have tended to isolate themselves from other fields. I hope that I have shown some ways in which heresy studies – particularly as they involve the consideration of the social make-up of supporters – can benefit from opening up to include work from other fields. There is certainly a great deal more that can be done. This study has, necessarily, tackled the question of aristocratic support with an emphasis on breaking apart and considering the support of this particular group, with some consideration of other social groups and how they compare. By focusing on different social groups, such as urban elites, different kinds of dependents and even *rustici* or *laboratores*, in so far as it is possible to identify them in the inquisition records and other sources, we can contribute to a wider picture of understanding of the Cathar support network. This picture, I have argued, should not focus all, or even most, of its attention on the Cathars' aristocratic supporters.

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