



MONASH University

Representations of Self and Community
in the Toulouse Inquisition Depositions of
Doat 25 and 26, 1273-1282

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Abstract

This thesis identifies increased opportunities for locating the agency of deponents in inquisitorial records, particularly Doat 25 and 26. Recent scholarship has tended to emphasise the construction of depositions by and through inquisitorial process, and therefore to consider depositions as records of inquisition and inquisitors. I argue, instead, that some of these documents can be treated as memory records. Examining deponents' reported memories, I argue that inquisitorial interviews provoked opportunities for deponents to craft narratives of personal history, and of communal interaction. This discussion demonstrates that despite the strong influence of inquisition in their production, some inquisitorial records retain significant value as evidence for social history, especially of changes in deponents' constructions of identity and community.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signature:

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Introduction

Inquisitorial records, that is, records of witness interviews and trials for heresy, can be used to bridge the gap between then and now as they provide us with descriptions and details of everyday life. The glimpses of everyday life which can be gleaned from these records lead us to question the status quo opinion of historians regarding such records – that they are unreliable sources of such information – and to examine the prospects of understanding these documents as being, at least partially, records of memories.

This thesis seeks to provide a fresh reading of early inquisition records and a new examination of the individual stories that can be discerned from them. The emphasis on inquisitor-centric research using these documents to discuss the development of inquisitorial process, authority, and agenda has led to a gap within the historiography whereby the possibility of alternate perspectives has been eluded to but not fully explored.¹ Exploration of this possibility will be achieved by reading the records with a focus on the individuals being interviewed and discussed, rather than how this information was used to achieve an inquisitorial agenda. By taking a deponent-centred approach, I seek to shift the emphasis from the inquisitors and the process of inquisition to the individuals and communities affected by inquisitorial presence.

The violent and brutal behaviour of later iterations of the inquisition has caught in the minds of historians and caused the earlier origins of the Inquisition of Heretical Depravity to become tarnished by the actions of their successors or forgotten altogether. Recent scholarship has moved away from these sensationalised representations in favour of examining the formation of inquisitorial tribunals in their original context. These tribunals, comprised primarily of members

¹ The possibility of alternate interpretations of inquisitorial records is discussed further in chapter one. See page 33-34.

of the Dominican Order of Brothers Preacher were tasked with the investigation of heretical activity and the identification of individuals involved. This has resulted in renewed examination of the social effects of the presence of these tribunals and consideration of the insight that can be gained from the textual resources produced by them.

The specific set of documents with which this thesis is concerned, is number 25 and 26 of a collection of documents known as the 'Collection Doat'. This collection is comprised of 258 volumes produced between 1665 and 1670 by a group of scribes working under the direction Jean de Doat, an official who was tasked with making copies of manuscripts in archives and libraries in southwestern France. Numbers 21 to 26 in the Collection Doat contain inquisitorial records from the thirteenth century that were produced in Languedoc's two centres of inquisition, Toulouse and Carcassone. Doat 25 and 26 is comprised of 196 depositions from 98 separate deponents recorded in Toulouse between May 31, 1273 and January 26, 1282. Although this subset is a copy of one original manuscript, it was too large to be fully contained within one volume of the Doat Collection; "It occupies not only all of Doat 25 - a volume of 331 folios (plus folio 55 bis) - but also the first 78 folios of Doat 26."² The manuscript from which Doat 25-26 was copied no longer survives. The primary evidence for this exists in a note at the end of the copy in Doat 26, on folio 78r stating that the original manuscript was one "parchment book - whose first leaf is marked with the number 4 and its last with the number 244 - found in the archives of the Brothers Preacher [Dominicans] of Toulouse."³

These documents have been translated and published as a single volume titled *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth-Century Languedoc: Edition and Translation of Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-*

² Peter Biller, Caterina Bruschi & Shellagh Sneddon, eds, *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth Century Languedoc: Edition and Translation of Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282* (Brill, 2011), 3.

³ Ibid.

1282. This volume includes introductory, contextual chapters written by the editors, Peter Biller, Caterina Bruschi, and Shellagh Sneddon as well as chronological listings of the deponents and depositions featured within the records.⁴

The central argument of this thesis is situated within a transitional stage of development in the first century of the inquisition. Scholarship on the early inquisition has centred on the inquisitorial activities and records of Bernard Gui and Jacques Fournier, but the Doat records substantially predate these famous figures. It was thirty-four years before Bernard Gui became an inquisitor and began to record the sentences he imposed in the register for which he is best known.⁵ It was forty-four years before Jacques Fournier, the inquisitor who would become pope, began his famously-successful quest to finally rid the Languedoc region of the Cathar heresy.⁶ These and other fourteenth-century inquisitors operated within the well-established model of the imposition of authority and application of procedure that evolved from the developments and precedents of their thirteenth-century predecessors, which are witnessed in the Doat accounts. Their ability to base their practices upon the procedures developed and proven during the thirteenth century allowed them to focus on their improvement and application, resulting in the ruthless effectiveness that can be seen in fourteenth-century inquisitorial records. However, these are not their records and this was not their inquisition.

⁴ This monograph was published in hardcover in 2011 by Brill and forms volume 147 of the series *Studies in the History of Christian Traditions*.

⁵ Bernard Gui was inquisitor for Toulouse from 1307-1324. Biget, Jean-Louis. 'Bernard Gui.' In *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*. James Clarke & Co., 2002.

⁶ Jacques Fournier was appointed Bishop of Pamiers in 1317. The register of his inquisition spans 1318-1325, see John Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 164. The last prominent Cathar supporters, John and Peter Maury, were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment by Fournier in August 1324, see Malcolm Barber, *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages* (Pearson Education Limited, 2000), 201.

I argue that, as not all inquisitorial records are created under the same circumstances, the same methodologies should not be applied to all records in their examination. Rather than using these records as the basis for a discussion of the inquisition and its processes, I apply a variety of historiographical theories regarding memory, place, space, and representation to form a deponent-centred study of the ways in which people represented their memories and their ideas of themselves in relation to their interactions with others and the physical space of their communities. I suggest that while the content of many inquisitorial records is structured in such a way as to prevent us from gaining historical insight into the lives and communities represented within them, there are some that may be able to provide more insight than previously thought. This argument is based on a structural analysis of certain records from Doat 25 and 26, which will be discussed in chapter one.

This discussion sits on the periphery of a larger debate regarding the question of whether Cathars and Catharism as we understand them, that is, as an organized religious group with specific beliefs and hierarchical structures, existed at all. This debate questions whether this idea of Catharism has been entirely constructed through the agenda of the inquisition and explores how they created and used their records.⁷ The other end of this historiographical debate argues that Catharism was a dualist sect of Christianity and that the study of inquisitorial records can provide us with insight into the lives, beliefs, and practices of the people represented within them in addition to information about the inquisition and its processes.⁸ Inquisitorial depositions have seldom been examined in this context, however, as the widely-accepted opinion deems

⁷ The argument that Catharism as we understand it did not exist is discussed by Mark Pegg in his book *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245-1246* and in his article 'Albigenses in the Antipodes: An Australian and the Cathars.'

⁸ This argument, taken up by Peter Biller and John Arnold (among others) is summarised in Antonio Sennis, 'Questions About the Cathars,' in *Cathars in Question*, ed. Antonio Sennis (York: York Medieval Press, 2016), 5-6.

them unfit for this purpose by the circumstances of their creation. While I do not engage directly with this debate, it remains significant for the way that the opposing opinions within the historiography impact upon discussions of the nature of inquisitorial records and how they are studied.

The concept, practice, and product of inquisition has been extensively studied from a wide variety of perspectives.⁹ It has been studied as an inevitability of the thirteenth century in the wake of preceding religious and intellectual reform movements, and later as a symptom of the persecutory nature of medieval society.¹⁰ More recent scholarship has focused on investigations into the effects of inquisitorial presence on communities and their collective response to it.¹¹ There has also been recent interest in examining the records and documents produced through the inquisitorial process and the individual stories that can be found within these documents.¹² Rather than attempting to list all of the scholarship preceding this research, the works of those authors that are representative of the dominant schools of thought within inquisition scholarship as well as the individual texts which have been most influential throughout this project will be discussed as a survey of the literature.

Volume one of Henry Charles Lea's text *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages in three volumes* (1888) provides a detailed examination of the actions of the church and its conduct in society in the lead-up to the thirteenth century and the creation of the inquisition. Although Lea's text has

⁹ For an overview of methodologies used over time, see for example, Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons* (1975); Louisa Burnham, *So Great a Light, So Great a Smoke: The Beguin Heretics of Languedoc* (2008), R.I. Moore, *The War on Heresy* (2012).

¹⁰ Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages in Three Volumes* (Harper Brothers, 1888-1901); R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe, 920-1250*, 2nd ed. (Blackwell Publishing, 2007).

¹¹ James B. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc* (Cornell University Press, 1997).

¹² For example, *Heresy, Inquisition and Life Cycle in Medieval Languedoc* by Chris Sparks

been superseded by more recent publications on the topic, it nonetheless provides a useful starting point for discussions of the evolution of the historiography of the early inquisition. It provides extensive discussion of heresy and heretical orders arising from the spiritual and intellectual reform occurring in the twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries and focuses on the Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade, linking this with further discussions of persecution during this period. It should be noted, however, that Lea's discussions were influenced by contemporary ideas of the medieval period as an inherently barbaric and persecutory society, a fact to which his conclusion of the inevitability of the inquisition can be partly attributed.¹³

These perceptions were later challenged by the likes of Edward Peters in a discussion of the extent to which the concept of inquisition and discussions surrounding its actions led to the creation of the 'myth' of the inquisition associated with brutal and torturous methods of questioning and executions by burning.¹⁴ Recent trends in inquisition research, however, have moved away from this sensationalised idea of the inquisition to focus on inquisitorial records and what they can reveal about the methods of the inquisition and the people involved – both as inquisitors and accused heretics.

R.I. Moore first wrote about heresy and religious dissent in an article positioning heresy as disease – a comparison that continues to shape historians' understanding of medieval reactions to heresy and religious dissidence.¹⁵ He later discussed heresy and religious dissent as being indicative of deep-seated societal anxieties and dissatisfaction with the church rather than mere expressions of social or religious concerns.¹⁶ Moore's later discussion, in *The Origins of European*

¹³ R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe, 920-1250*, 2nd ed. (Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 2.

¹⁴ Edward Peters, *Inquisition* (Collier Macmillan, 1988), 1-3.

¹⁵ R.I. Moore, 'The origins of medieval heresy,' in *History* 55, no. 183 (1970): 21-36.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Dissent (1977) placed the beginnings of dissent as a social occurrence alongside the beginnings of popular heresy, arguing that one occurred because of the other, beginning around the eleventh or twelfth century.¹⁷ Later, in *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* (1987) he examined the reactions of religious and secular institutions responding to the emergence of religious dissent, including the creation of mechanisms of suppression such as the inquisition and the emergence of a demonising mentality within medieval society. He argued that it was the inability of medieval society to accept difference, and the resultant compulsion to persecute the other, combined with social and religious anxieties that led to the widespread persecution of not only heretics, but also Jews and lepers. He therefore rejected the exaggerated argument that the seemingly sudden appearance of a great number of heretics led to the establishment of various mechanisms of persecution by both religious and secular hierarchies.¹⁸

In their work on the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, Walter L. Wakefield and Austin P. Evans attempted to provide a broad definition of heresy that encompassed the diversity of dissidence that occurred during this period:

The reference should be to religious doctrines which influenced numbers of people in all ranks of society to act in patterns outside contemporary orthodox Christian observance and to reject interpretation of doctrine by any authority but their own.¹⁹

In addition to their discussion on the definitions and origins of heresy in their introduction, Wakefield and Evans provide translations of various sources relating to the heresies they discuss, accompanied by brief contextual discussions. The geographically and temporally broad discussion provides a useful illustration of the state of the scholarship on heresy and inquisition

¹⁷ R.I. Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (London: Allen Lane, 1977), ix.

¹⁸ Michael Frassetto, 'Introduction,' in *Heresy and the Persecuting Society in the Middle Ages: Essays on the Work of R.I. Moore*, ed. Michael Frassetto (Brill, 2006), 4.

¹⁹ Walter L. Wakefield and Austin P. Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages: Selected Sources Translated and Annotated* (Columbia University Press, 1969), 5.

during the 1960s and highlights the specific type of work being published at the time, one that was starkly different to other texts published later.

Wakefield's own text, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100-1250* also provides discussion and explanation of heresy, including a variety of translated sources, but focuses, as the name suggests, on the area of Southern France. Once more, Wakefield is not attempting to construct an image of a community touched by heresy but is more concerned with providing an overview of heresy in the region that is accessible to both the experienced scholar and the novice researcher. Wakefield also argued that (at the time of publication) any attempt to form a sociology of heresy through discussions of its social and geographical contexts would be premature.²⁰ The fact that Wakefield made this remark at this time points to scholars beginning to consider writing social histories about heresy, but that the weight of scholarly opinion was still unconvinced that such studies were possible.

In 1975, Emmanuel Le Roy LaDurie used the fourteenth-century inquisitorial records of Jacques Fournier as the basis for an investigation into the lives of individuals inhabiting a small French village in the Pyrenees. The result was his text *Montaillou: Cathars and Catholics in a French Village 1294-1324*.²¹ His approach to the sources was influenced by the *Annales* school. At the time the focus of inquisition research was on defining heresy as a concept and the individual heresies combatted by the early inquisition. Inspired by the *Annales* methods of bringing together sociology, anthropology, topography, the environment, economics and qualitative analysis, among other methods, LaDurie began to investigate inquisitorial records for what they could

²⁰ Jeffrey B. Russell, 'Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100-1250 by Walter L. Wakefield (Book Review)', *Speculum* 52, no. 2 (Apr.) (1977).

²¹ This edition translated by Barbara Bray (1976). Originally published in 1975 as *Montaillou, Village Occitan de 1294 à 1324*.

teach us about the inquisition itself – examined as textual objects in the context of what they demonstrated about the record keeping abilities of the inquisitors who created them. They were not yet being used as a way of examining inquisitorial process, and it would be some decades before anyone else considered their potential as sources in the creation of a social history. The nature and intentions of this thesis share some similarities with *Montaillou*. It is therefore important that this text is discussed here not only in the context of its contributions and significance in relation to the body of scholarship regarding inquisition and inquisitorial records, but also how it has informed the research presented in this thesis, carrying on the legacy of the *Annales* approach.

James Given's book, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc* has its focus in the discussion of the imposition of inquisitorial authority upon individuals and communities, using the phenomenon as a lens through which to discuss the sociology of medieval politics. It is therefore unsurprising that it uses a top down approach to the inquisition to do this. Given's use of inquisitorial records in the formation of his arguments differs from that of other scholars; in addition to using their contents, he also uses their continued existence and availability as evidence of an aspect of inquisitorial power and authority. He acknowledges that there is information to be gained from inquisitorial records and argues that the power of the inquisitors was not only in the presence and in their questions, but also in the fact that they maintained these detailed records and could refer to them as evidence of past transgressions. Although the inquisitors were not unique in their record keeping, they were unusually skilled in the use of their records and used them more constructively and effectively than most medieval rulers.²²

²² James B. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc* (Cornell University Press, 1997), 50-51.

John H. Arnold's *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc* is significant in this discussion for its oppositional position to *Montaillon* and what LaDurie was attempting to achieve through its production. While LaDurie attempted to demonstrate the ability of inquisitorial sources to reveal details of life in a community affected by inquisition, Arnold argues that this is simply not possible and that the circumstances under which inquisitorial records were created instilled in them an inherent bias in favour of the inquisitors recording them.²³ He argues that the depositions were the product of a culture of power and authority that valued confession at any cost over accuracy of information. He concludes, therefore that the information obtained under these conditions cannot be accurate and that the depositions have been entirely manufactured by the process of inquisition.²⁴

Arnold's text uses inquisitorial records to discuss the possibility of their use in forming an image of Catharism as seen through the eyes of thirteenth-century inquisition and laity. The focus of his discussion is the beliefs and associated rituals of the Cathar perfecti and their supporters. Through this discussion, he concludes that descriptions of beliefs within inquisitorial records should not be considered trustworthy as the inquisitors and deponents interpreted these concepts in different ways, while the depositions showed only the inquisitors' interpretation. Although Arnold states that his intention is to "attempt to engage with the voices of the deponents who were bound into the discourses of heresy and its repression," his interpretation of the sources is still based on an inquisitor's point of view.²⁵ In presenting his argument

²³ Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 7-8. Another scholar who has demonstrated that inquisitors were capable of compelling people to confess to participation in heresies that were little more than the fantasies of the inquisitors' own invention is Robert Lerner, see *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages* (1972), Moore, *War on Heresy*. For further discussion of the problems of dealing with inquisitorial evidence, see Mark G. Pegg's 'Historians and inquisitors: testimonies from the early inquisitions into heretical depravity' in *Understanding Medieval Primary Sources*, ed. Joel T. Rosenthal (London/New York, 2012).

²⁴ Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 7-8.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

regarding the creation of inquisitorial records and their resulting unreliability, Arnold refers predominantly to thirteenth-century records which show the most handling by the inquisition and which are therefore most likely to support the argument he is making. Likewise, his fourteenth-century sources come from the Fournier register which was created during a period where the inquisition *was* a powerful force that was exerted upon communities and individuals. Arnold's treatment of the thirteenth-century records from Doat 25 and 26 as though they were produced under the same circumstances shows a lack of breadth in his discussion and in the formulation of his primary argument.

Discussing sources from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Arnold's focus is on representations of belief within the records and the extent to which these records can provide accurate descriptions of Cathar beliefs and ritual practices. By focusing only on aspects of belief and ritual practice, the social elements and implications of Catharism represented within the records are overlooked. In one reading, his insistence on the untrustworthiness of the records and the 'subaltern' status of the deponents could be considered to contribute to the inquisition myth by denying agency to the deponents and awarding absolute authority to the inquisitors.

While Arnold's argument and investigation may be narrow, the same cannot be said for his influence on scholarship relating to the inquisition and inquisitorial sources. *Inquisition and Power* has been cited extensively in scholarship relating to all aspects of inquisition and the relationship between the church and government in medieval Europe. While the focus of Arnold's research is France, it has also been applied to research about heresy and witchcraft in England. Arnold's influence on the research and analysis of inquisitorial documents and the inquisition is demonstrated by the breadth of scholarship to which his conclusions are applied and the extent to which they have been accepted without challenge. Although *Inquisition and Power* focuses

specifically on the inquisition and inquisitorial sources, this serves as a case study for his broader discussion about the power relationships inherent within and sometimes imposed upon historical records.

The primary arguments of Given and Arnold regarding the significance of inquisitorial records as sources and the various insights they can provide, while not unique, have become foundational aspects of the inquisition scholarship that has succeeded them. Their arguments have been accepted as canon and, for the most part, have remained unchallenged. Even when Caterina Bruschi acknowledges in her book *The Wandering Heretics of Languedoc* that the records of Doat 25 and 26 are different to other inquisitorial records of a similar type, she does not challenge Arnold's argument about the inherent untrustworthiness of the documents.²⁶ Lucy Sackville acknowledges that most research involving inquisitorial records "...[has] focused on the sources emanating from the milieu of inquisition...to discuss the mechanisms that produce and underlie them..." but does not propose an alternative viewpoint as, like Bruschi, her focus is elsewhere.²⁷

The extent to which this thesis has been influenced by *Montaillou* warrants further, more detailed discussion of the text. The focus here is on the flaws in methodology and narrative presentation which are outlined by one of LaDurie's contemporaries, Leonard Boyle, in his own published work. Boyle produced an extensive critique in which he discusses LaDurie's failure to outline the methodology used in producing his study of the inhabitants of Montaillou. By way of rectifying this lack, Boyle outlines what he believes should have been a multi stage approach, and the flaws inherent in each stage of LaDurie's work.

²⁶ Caterina Bruschi, *The Wandering Heretics of Languedoc* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 14.

²⁷ Lucy J. Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century: The Textual Representations* (York Medieval Press, 2011), 5-6.

Boyle argues that the production of a work on the scale of *Montaillou* should comprise two primary stages – the discernment of relevant data from the source material, and the conversion of this data into a narrative.²⁸ He argues firstly that LaDurie does not accord his main primary source, the Fournier register, adequate respect as an independent text, evidenced by the vagueness of his descriptions of the characteristics of the register – such as the original number of volumes compared with the number of volumes that survive today – and that this vagueness leads to inaccuracies later in the text.²⁹ An example of such can be found in his discussion of Pierre Clergue, whom he describes as having “kept silent to the end,” neglecting the possibility that Clergue’s testimony appeared in the volume of the register that is lost to us.³⁰

Boyle is also critical of LaDurie’s failure to acknowledge the flaws in the edition of Fournier’s register that he uses in the production of *Montaillou*. This version (translated by Duvernoy), about which a pamphlet was produced after publication detailing errors that had been discovered after publication, which LaDurie did not consult, is the only edition of the register that he used. Boyle has therefore criticised his failure to access and consult the register in its original form.³¹ It is clear that LaDurie has attempted to provide a survey of thirteenth-century village life under the shadow of inquisition that is broad and richly detailed, however in doing so he attempts to discuss too many individual subjects, leaving him unable to devote sufficient detail to any of them individually and providing only a brief description of Catharism in the area at the time and of Fournier as the creator of his main primary source. Possibly the most significant of Boyle’s criticisms considering the nature of LaDurie’s text is his apparent lack of responsibility for the

²⁸ Boyle, ‘Montaillou Revisited,’ 119.

²⁹ Ibid., 120.

³⁰ Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: Cathars and Catholics in a French Village 1294-1324*, trans. Barbara Bray (London: Scolar Press, 1978), 66; Boyle, ‘Montaillou Revisited,’ 120.

³¹ Boyle, ‘Montaillou Revisited,’ 121.

people whose lives he is describing and upon whose testimonies his entire survey is based.

Although he refers to individuals by name frequently throughout his text he does not provide a full description of any individual or discuss their role in the formation of his narrative. The result is a text that appears to treat these individuals as puppets, or a means to an end rather than people. The individuals whose lives form the basis of his study are not mentioned in his introduction at all, even as a list of deponents.³²

When reviewing *Montaillou* shortly after its publication, Boyle argued that while LaDurie may have been inspired by the most up-to-date (at the time of publication) historical and ethnographical methods, he does not appear to have applied them in his work and, in fact, seems to take prior knowledge of them for granted rather than explaining them for the benefits of his reader.³³ Boyle concedes that LaDurie's prose and writing style are compelling, but that he is perhaps better suited to writing historical fiction as his writing becomes less compelling when one is familiar with the sources he is describing. Another, more positive review describes LaDurie's extensive and sophisticated knowledge of ethnography and anthropology and his ability to tell his story without letting his theoretical knowledge weigh down his narrative.³⁴

Despite the criticisms of LaDurie's contemporary, Leonard Boyle, and other scholars who would come later, *Montaillou's* contribution to the social history of the early inquisition and the communities affected by it remains significant and it is still considered to be one of the foundational texts for studies of inquisitorial records and their interpretation. In conducting the

³² Boyle, 'Montaillou Revisited,' 132.

³³ Leonard E. Boyle, 'Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error (Book Review),' *Journal of History/Annales Canadiennes d'Histoire* 14, no. 3 (1979): 456; 'Montaillou Revisited: Mentalité and Methodology,' in *Pathways to Medieval Peasants*, ed. J. A. Raftis (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1981), 119.

³⁴ Charles T. Wood, 'Montaillou, Village Occitan De 1294 À 1324 by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie,' *The American Historical Review* 81, no. 5 (1976): 1090.

research of this thesis, the flaws of LaDurie's work have been given due consideration, however it is still a valuable source of comparison for the research presented here.

Like LaDurie, this thesis seeks to discern the stories of individuals affected and interviewed by the inquisition, however we do so in different ways and with different resources. LaDurie used the register of Jaques Fournier as the basis for his analysis, a source comprised of depositions recorded during Fournier's tenure as inquisitor and which bear the marks of the inquisitorial power structure he imposed. As a result, LaDurie's exploration of life under the shadow of inquisition shows a different lived experience to that of the deponents in the Doat collection upon which this research is based. The inquisition of Jacques Fournier and Bernard Gui shared more characteristics with the stereotype of inquisition than with the reality of the late-thirteenth century. The result is a community living in fear of the inquisition rather than alongside them, a fear that would likely have pervaded and influenced every aspect of their lives. *Montaillon* presents a static and one-dimensional picture of life in a small community affected by inquisitorial activity. It describes the physical aspects of the houses and activities of the people such as can be gleaned from the records of Fournier's register.

In the same way that the records of Doat 25 and 26 represent a significant mid-point in the history of the early inquisition, LaDurie's *Montaillon* can be situated as a similar mid-point in the study of inquisition, with similar influence upon the research succeeding it. Although it has since been criticised as being too problematic in its use of Fournier's register, it nonetheless remains a foundational text for the study of Catharism and the inquisition in Languedoc and is still groundbreaking in its use of the records of inquisition. Despite its flaws, LaDurie's work was the first to examine depositional sources in the context of the people represented within them and affected by inquisition rather than the inquisition themselves. After LaDurie's attempt to use Fournier's

register as evidence to discuss the daily lives of a community affected by inquisition was met with mixed reviews, the use of inquisitorial records in this way appears to have shifted out of popularity in favour of the continued investigation of inquisitorial process. Scholars such as John H. Mundy used inquisitorial records as sources for the discussion of the political climate of the mid-thirteenth century and issues such as the transfer of property within families.³⁵ In these contexts, inquisitorial records have been viewed as useful and mostly accurate resources. Inquisitorial records were not discussed again in the context of their possible insights into the daily lives of individuals until John Arnold questioned their trustworthiness in his book on the imposition of power on individuals in communities affected by inquisition.

While a variety of scholars have acknowledged, and discussed the fact that the records of Doat 25 and 26 are different to other inquisitorial documents, none have investigated this difference in any depth. By examining a selection of the depositions in Doat 25 and 26 for what they can demonstrate about life in communities affected by inquisition, I suggest that previous research into the deponents represented in these records may have been overly sceptical in its approach. The approach undertaken in this thesis is significant because it has the potential to fill a gap in historical knowledge of events occurring between the late 1240s and the early 1270s for which few primary source records exist. This gap is filled by the deponents in these records recalling events occurring during these intervening decades. This thesis will also provide insight into the impact of inquisitorial presence on communities. The application of a variety of historiographical methodologies and theories of memory and personal representation makes a unique and important contribution to studies of inquisition and community and the textual analysis of inquisitorial records.

³⁵ John Hine Mundy, *Studies in the ecclesiastical and social history of Toulouse in the age of the Cathars*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006)

The intention of this thesis is to use external scholarship in conjunction with records from Doat 25 and 26 to discuss how the people in communities affected by inquisition lived. Not just the physical characteristics of their houses and towns, but how these characteristics impacted social interactions and how people used and experienced these spaces and imposed significance upon them through their use. By using an interpretive approach, this thesis will not only describe the people living in these communities by name, social rank, and marital status, but also discuss how these characteristics impacted their communication and interaction with their peers. An interpretive approach to these sources involves, in this context, the use of minor details and background information to create a more complete view of the deponent's life. For example, mentioning, while describing an interaction, movement from one room to another indicates that the deponent is in a dwelling of more than one room – a possible indication of social or economic status. Likewise, a person questioning his neighbour about his door being closed indicates that this is unusual enough to warrant comment and potentially indicating the nature of interpersonal relationships in that neighbourhood. While LaDurie supposedly uses historical, anthropological, and ethnographical theory and skills to inform his work, there is little reference to it throughout his writing. By contrast, the following chapters of this these draw clear connections between external secondary sources and theories, used to assist in drawing its conclusions. As there are few definitive statements that can be made regarding the interpretation of these sources, external theories and secondary literature that has been applied in similar circumstances will be used to justify and explain the conclusions and interpretations of this research.

After an overview of inquisitorial presence in the Languedoc region during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the first chapter of this thesis presents an argument in favour of an alternate

viewpoint when investigating these records – treating them as memory records rather than simply as texts. It will argue that there are individual depositions within Doat 25 and 26 that indicate less curation and editing and that can perhaps be discussed in the context of records of remembered events. It advocates for the presence of a grey area in the interpretation and analysis of these records and invites the consideration of possible implications for such an interpretation.

Leading on from this argument, chapter two discusses the application of memory theory to these records, with emphasis on the representation of memories of childhood and of food, eating, and associated social interactions. For various reasons, memories in these categories were of significance to the inquisition, which is one of the reasons why they are being examined here. In addition, and perhaps more interestingly, however, the examination of these records in the context of personal representation can provide us with insight into the ways in which individuals viewed themselves in relation to others and in relation to their social environments through the discussion of descriptions of these events.

The final chapter will discuss the significance of how place and space are represented and the social implications of interactions with specific kinds of locations in the context of interactions with heresy. Through this lens, we can discuss the ways in which people interacted with spaces and thus applied significance to them.

These three chapters are pulled together by the common themes of memory and representation as well as an attempt to reposition discussion of the source material in favour of a deponent - centred analysis. The intention of this research is to demonstrate that these records have the potential to provide insight into the ways in which members of a community with both an inquisitorial and heretical presence represented themselves in the context of their own memories

of events. By presenting the potential implications of treating these documents as records of memories rather than merely as products of inquisition, this research seeks to rekindle the debate surrounding the reliability of these documents as records and their ability to show more than just the mechanism of inquisitorial process.

Chapter One - Not Only, But Also: Records of more than inquisitorial process

To understand the significance of the records contained in Doat 25 and 26, it is important to establish where they fit in relation to the records that came before and those that would come after. This chapter positions the records of Doat 25 and 26 within a timeline of heresy and religious dissent in the Languedoc region during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and alongside the resulting development of a papal inquisition and its procedures.

The objective of this chapter is twofold: to establish that the depositions of Doat 25 and 26 are unique among inquisitorial records due to the period in which they were produced, and to argue that there are records within Doat 25 and 26 with further unique qualities resulting from their structure and content. To achieve these objectives, this chapter will set the scene into which these records appeared by describing the history of heresy and religious dissent in the Languedoc region up to the 1270s. I describe a transition from pastoral, preaching based methods of combatting heresy to the appointment of inquisitors and their development of specifically targeted processes. This shift provides important context for the depositions of the Doat collection as it places the creation of these records within a timeline of inquisitorial presence and procedural development which marks these records as unique. This will be followed by a discussion of how their position within the historical context has led to marked differences in the content and structure of the depositions of Doat 25 and 26 when compared with records produced during earlier and later periods of inquisitorial activity. A foundation will then be laid for an argument in favour of approaching these records in a different way. In doing so it will address the implications of this approach for both this research and the development of a social history of communities and individuals affected by the presence of inquisitorial tribunals.

The twelfth century saw the beginning of many widespread popular religious movements, both orthodox and heretical. This led to the twelfth century being defined as a century of religious

change and reform, and one of rising heresy and persecution. During this time, there emerged many religious movements that were strongly attracted to the *vita apostolica* way of life followed by Christ and his disciples, which centred on poverty and preaching.³⁶ They were also responding to “a perceived staleness in traditional (and wealthy) Benedictine monasticism” and a growing belief that it was possible to pursue a religious life while remaining a lay person and living within the community.³⁷ While some of these movements, such as the Franciscans, were accepted and recognised as orthodox religious orders, others, such as the Cathars and Waldensians, were condemned as heresies. This perceived rise in heresy is believed to be partially the result of changes in religious culture and the spread of literacy and religious sophistication among the laity, allowing them to engage more authentically with spiritual life. Developments in church hierarchy also meant that Church authorities were better equipped to identify beliefs and behaviours that were in opposition to the newly articulated norms of the Catholic Church. R.I Moore has argued that this new definitive nature of the Catholic Church contributed to an increase in persecution and identification of social and religious otherness, not only heretics, but also Jews and lepers.³⁸ Following the council of Lateran IV in 1215, which definitively categorised orthodox and heterodox beliefs, the Church was better able to determine whether the practices of a religious sect fell outside the boundaries of orthodoxy.³⁹ Although there are inquisitorial records which suggest a concern about heterodox beliefs, the inquisitors’ understanding of heresy related to disobedience to Catholic authority rather than to specific Catholic doctrine.⁴⁰

³⁶ Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc*, 6.

³⁷ Christine Caldwell Ames, *Medieval Heresies: Christianity, Judaism, and Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 138.

³⁸ Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, 9-10.

³⁹ Carol Lansing, *Power and Purity: Cathar Heresy in Medieval Italy* (Oxford University Press, 1998), 16.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

Languedoc, in the south of France, was one region where popular heresy became well established during the twelfth century. With the cities of Toulouse, Carcassonne and Narbonne at its centre, Languedoc was rich and prosperous, with diverse agriculture, dense population and a high level of urbanisation.⁴¹ The region's network of towns and cities, which had grown economically and demographically during the eleventh century, was both a feature of Languedocian society and, arguably, a contributing factor in the spread of popular heresy in the region with frequent and relatively easy travel between towns and cities allowing for the spread of ideas as well as trade.⁴² This rich and dynamic region was therefore receptive to many heretical currents which circulated during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁴³ It has been speculated that the unusually diverse culture (compared to the rest of Europe) made the people of Languedoc particularly tolerant of religious diversity and receptive to new ideas.⁴⁴

Catholic intellectual development was not an area in which the Languedoc region excelled. It lacked the schools which allowed northern France to distinguish itself in this area and was instead known for the study of Roman law and its troubadour literature.⁴⁵ While this study was not heretical, it was supported by the same noble women and aristocrats who often supported Catharism in the region.⁴⁶ The absence of church schools in the Languedoc region further weakened the region's defence against heresy and prevented the implementation of any major church reforms. As a result, the region was more open to different views and races, and more tolerant of other religions, not only Jews, but also Cathars and Waldensians. The lack of church

⁴¹ Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc*, 6.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 9.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, Second edn. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992), 83.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

reforms, despite several preaching missions, also saw the demand for apostolic life in poor wandering preaching met by heretics rather than the orthodox.⁴⁷

Although deponents in the Doat records were often asked to speak of their involvement with heresy and Waldensianism, the heresy that is primarily discussed within these records is Catharism, which therefore warrants some contextual discussion. Cathars believed that the physical world and everything in it was created by the devil to act as a prison for angels who had been lured down from heaven and confined in human bodies so they forgot their heavenly origins. When an individual died, his soul (his angelic self) left the body and would be harassed by demons until it took refuge in the womb of the first pregnant creature it encountered, whether human or animal. To redeem the captured souls, God sent an angel – identified by the Cathars as Jesus of the New Testament – to reveal their true nature to them. This Cathar saviour gave his followers the power to perform the central ritual of the Cathar faith, the *consolamentum*. This baptism of the holy spirit was conferred by the laying on of hands which freed the recipient from sin so that when they died their soul could return to heaven instead of being reincarnated.⁴⁸ Within the anticlerical atmosphere described above, men were often Cathar supporters but it was the women in the affected communities who were the true converts. As the women settled into the ranks of the Cathar perfect or began to increase their support of the preachers, the heresy gained a foothold and began to settle in. In a second generation, the Cathar faith gained more male followers, either as supporters or by joining the ranks of the perfect. As the support of the nobility increased, Catharism began to be preached more widely within the community and to the lower classes. While at this time, and earlier, Catharism had made an impact in some of the

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc*, 9-10. For further discussion on the Cathar faith, see Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 105-46. For the Cathar faith, and their history from inception to downfall, see Barber, *The Cathars*.

towns in the region of Languedoc, most significantly securing the support of some influential men in Toulouse, it continued to find its surest support in the countryside.⁴⁹

It is both important and necessary at this juncture to discuss the language used to describe Catharism and its supporters and leaders and how that will be addressed throughout this thesis. While the inquisitors describe them as ‘Cathars’ and ‘heretics’ and refer to the associated belief system as ‘Catharism’ and ‘heresy’, the deponents themselves are more likely to refer to the ‘Good men/women’, while also at times describing them as ‘heretics’ and referring to their ‘heresy’. The only reference to Cathars or Catharism made by the deponents is in direct response to the inquisitors, mirroring the language that they have used. Where secondary sources are being discussed and referred to, the language used by the author will be mirrored by the discussion, with the language used in primary sources likewise imitated. In doing so, this thesis acknowledges that these are not necessarily terms with which the deponents identified.

The records of Doat 25 and 26 were created at a significant point in the timeline of the eradication of the Cathar heresy in Languedoc and the establishment of the early inquisition. I argue that this timeline began during the twelfth century, when attempts to use preaching to guide Cathar supporters back to orthodoxy began, followed by the Albigensian Crusade in the early-thirteenth century when these preaching attempts were deemed unsuccessful. I take this point as the beginning of the timeline because when members of the Dominican Order were called upon during the early-thirteenth century to act as inquisitors, they also began by using their training and experience in preaching in the first instance, with preaching manuals thus becoming the first inquisitor’s manuals.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ *Medieval Heresy*, 82.

⁵⁰ Lucy J. Sackville, ‘The Inquisitor’s Manual at Work’, *Viator* 44 (2013), 201-216 (p.210); Lesley Smith ‘Friars and the Preparation of Pastoral Aids’, in *The English Province of the Franciscans (1224-c. 1350)*, (Leiden, 2017), 175-192 (pp.179-80).

The practice of preaching against the Cathars began in the middle of the twelfth century when several Cistercian monks turned away from their insular monastic practices.⁵¹ They considered the spread of heresy to be an important enough threat to warrant their re-entry into the lay community to visit Languedoc with the intention of using a combination of rhetoric and preaching to draw the populace away from heresy. Among the leading figures who participated in the church's twelfth-century campaign against heresy were Bernard of Clairvaux and Hildegard of Bingen. In 1143, Bernard of Clairvaux received correspondence from Everwin of Steinfeld stating his concern about the spread of heresy in the south of France and urging Bernard to intervene. In 1145 Bernard embarked upon a preaching mission in Languedoc in addition to composing a selection of letters and written sermons speaking of the errors of the Cathar heresy and providing advice on how best to combat it. In 1163, Hildegard of Bingen also received correspondence regarding the threat of heresy. After being inspired by this initial correspondence to write a visionary treatise on the subject, Hildegard wrote three other texts concerning heresy. In contrast to Bernard's writing on the subject, however, Hildegard used the "bold apocalyptic language" which often characterised her writing to describe her concern with the clerical corruption which she believed had allowed heresy to flourish.⁵² Her writings depicted violent characterisations of the Cathars, who appeared as monks in black, attacking the church, which prompted her to warn of the consequences of failing to address heresy; "...the framework for her message here implies destruction for those who do not expel heresy and heretics from their midst."⁵³ Hildegard's four texts, although relating to the threat of heresy in Flanders and the Rhineland, represent a continuation, and an intensification, of Bernard of Clairvaux's sense of urgency regarding the spread of Catharism. Although their styles were quite different, stemming

⁵¹ Beverley Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145-1229: Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard* (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), 1.

⁵² 'Defending the Lord's Vineyard: Hildegard of Bingen's Preaching against the Cathars,' in *Medieval Monastic Preaching*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 167.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

from their different environments and sources of ecclesiastical authority, their varied approaches and contexts contributed to the continuation of Cistercian preaching against heresy, which endured in the south of France until the end of the Albigensian Crusade in 1229. Bernard of Clairvaux's successor, Henry of Clairvaux, maintained the trend of looking outward from monastic duties and was involved in composing legislation against heresy at Lateran III in 1179.⁵⁴ In the early-thirteenth century, Cistercians preached alongside Dominic and supported his founding of the Dominican order which eventually took over the duties involved in combatting heresy, both as appointed papal inquisitors and as preachers.⁵⁵

The next stage in our timeline occurs shortly after the beginning of the Albigensian Crusade, when the Dominican Order was founded in 1216. Although the Dominicans did not create the concept of medieval inquisition, they were the most prominent inquisitorial personnel during this period, as well as being the primary authors and distributors of anti-heretical and inquisitorial literature.⁵⁶ For these reasons, and the fact that Dominic de Guzman established the author for the express dual purpose of “combatting heresy and strengthening orthodoxy through an apostolic life of preaching, teaching, and pastoral care” the beginning of the Dominican Order can arguably also be considered the beginning of the early inquisition as it is represented within the inquisitorial records of thirteenth- and early-fourteenth-century Languedoc.⁵⁷

The strong educational focus of Dominican training underpinned their work as the record makers and keepers of the inquisition. Although several of the inquisitors represented in the Toulouse Inquisition Depositions held positions of authority within the Dominican order, this was not a prerequisite of the position and did not necessarily provide them with any further

⁵⁴ *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145-1229: Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard*, 7.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Christine Caldwell Ames, *Righteous Persecution: Inquisition, Dominicans and Christianity in the Middle Ages* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 6.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

specialist training. In the Council of Vienne in 1311-1312, Pope Clement V specified that the only qualification required of an inquisitor was that he be at least forty years old.⁵⁸ Although Given's suggestion that "Dominican inquisitors had, of course, been through the order's schools," likely has some truth to it, the order was also known for recruiting educated men from universities.⁵⁹ Pons of Parnac, for example, was a lawyer prior to joining the Dominican order. It is likely that individual inquisitors were recruited both from within the order and from without for a variety of reasons, not only deep scriptural knowledge, but also legal, political, and bureaucratic ability.⁶⁰

The Dominican Order was the first religious order to dedicate itself to education from its inception and to include prescriptions for education within its constitutions.⁶¹ St Dominic understood that education was essential to the success of the order's aims of "preaching and labouring for the salvation of souls" and personally oversaw the development of the basic structure for Dominican studies between 1216 and 1220.⁶² The constitution of the order ensured that education remained a priority by mandating that a convent could not be founded without a Doctor of Theology and ensuring that training for such positions was accessible and that all friars received a level of education befitting their role and duties within the order.⁶³

Friars of the Dominican Order were educated according to a three-tiered educational structure. All friars received a basic level of education in a *convential studia* which provided them with the knowledge and training in biblical and theological studies required for success in the ministry. After completing this training, some students were selected to receive training in a *studia*

⁵⁸ Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc*, 191.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Peter Biller, Caterina Bruschi & Shellagh Sneddon, ed. *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth Century Languedoc*, 49.

⁶¹ Edward T Brett, 'The Dominican Library in the Thirteenth Century,' *The Journal of Library History (1974-1987)* 15, no. 3 (1980): 303.

⁶² Humbert of Romans, 'Opera De Vita Regulari,' ed. Joachim Joseph Berthier (Rome: A. Befani), 41.

⁶³ Brett, 'The Dominican Library,' 304.

particularia, learning a more advanced curriculum geared towards preparation for further education in the general houses of study. The final tier of the Dominican program of scholarship was the *studia generalia*, where the brightest and most gifted student friars trained as professors of sacred sciences.⁶⁴ Until 1248, the only *studia generalia* was in Paris and attendance was limited to three students from each province. After 1248, when new *studia generalia* were established in Cologne, Oxford, Montpellier, and Bologna, only two students per province were admitted to each studia to ensure that numbers remained small.⁶⁵

The establishment of these *studia generalia* in locations that would become educational centres of Western Europe (Dominican chapters having been established in these regions between 1217-1221) ensured that friars of the Dominican Order had access to the best possible education, as well as providing the order with opportunities to recruit educated men to their ranks.⁶⁶ An example of the order's ability to recruit such men can be seen in the fact that three out of four of the first texts published by the Dominican Order were produced by men who had been recruited from either the legal profession or university faculties of law. This suggests not only a deep respect for education and educated men, but also the significance of legal training within the order. Such members would have been well placed to contribute to the creation of the inquisitors' manuals that shaped the processes of these tribunals.

Although several heretical leaders were interrogated during Cistercian preaching missions towards the end of the twelfth century, efforts to discourage heresy through preaching were largely futile and Catharism was practiced openly until 1209. It became apparent that real

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Leonard E. Boyle, 'Notes on the Education of the Fratres Communes in the Dominican Order in the Thirteenth Century,' in *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200-1400* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981), 303-4.

⁶⁶ Brett, 'The Dominican Library,' 303-4.

progress in eradicating heresy in the region would require military force.⁶⁷ Following the murder of a papal legate in 1208, northern French forces engaged in a large-scale invasion of Languedoc. This was the beginning of the Albigensian Crusade. Languedoc became an intermittent battleground for the next two decades until the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1229 marked the official end of the crusade. In addition to the first stages of southern France being annexed by the French crown (considered by some to have been the true reason for the crusade), the treaty marked the first major steps being taken to crush the support for heresy within the most politically and militarily powerful families of Languedoc. These newly intensified efforts to combat heresy led Pope Gregory IX to entrust the task to mendicant friars in 1233. The appointment of these “inquirers into heretical wickedness”, who were usually Dominican, marked the official beginning of the inquisition.⁶⁸ Although there was an inquisitorial presence in Languedoc from 1233 until the 1310s or 1320s, when Catharism was eventually eradicated in the region, inquisitorial activity during this time was not continuous. It stalled between 1238-1241 and again from 1244-1251 when the papal curia was at Lyons. As this proximity enabled the papacy to intervene more quickly and intrusively in the work of the inquisitors, it caused a kind of strike within the inquisition and the Dominicans withdrew from the inquisition entirely between 1249 and 1255, during which time the office was carried out by episcopal officials.⁶⁹

In 1273, the papacy renewed their interest in the inquisition.⁷⁰ On April 20, Pope Gregory X issued two bulls regarding the continuation of inquisitorial activity in the region, the first of which was addressed to Dominican inquisitors in the kingdom of France. It instructed them to make inquiries into matters of heresy and outlined the appropriate procedures for doing so. The second was issued to the prior of the Dominicans in Paris, directing him to select six Dominican

⁶⁷ Peter Biller, *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth Century Languedoc*, 36.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 44.

friars from France and Provence who were suitable candidates for the role of inquisitor. When this bull was implemented, two inquisitors were allocated for northern France, two for Toulouse, and two for Carcassonne. It was only one month after these two bulls were issued that Ranulph of Plassac, the first of the new Toulouse inquisitors, began his interrogations in Toulouse.⁷¹

I have previously mentioned the importance of acknowledging the potential problems with language and terminology used to describe the deponents.⁷² I would like to note here that it is equally important to consider the language used when discussing the inquisitors themselves and the implications and assumptions that may accompany certain choices in terminology. Despite modern tendencies to discuss ‘the inquisition’ as a formal and sophisticated institution, when Pope Gregory IX began to appoint mendicant friars to act against heresy in the 1230s, he referred to them individually as ‘inquisitors’ rather than as a collective ‘inquisition’.⁷³ This term of reference remained standard throughout the thirteenth century. Even in the fourteenth century when the term *officium inquisitionis heretice pravitatis* (“office of inquisition of heretical depravity”) came into common use, it was as a descriptive term for the function of individual inquisitors; “in other words, the “office of inquisition” was the function of carrying out inquisitorial justice against heretics, rather than an institution established for this purpose.”⁷⁴

When the inquisitors began their work in earnest following the end of the Albigensian crusade, they did so in an environment that was just beginning to see the benefit of creating and maintaining records and archives. In the 1190s, the crown began to keep copies of documents such as letters issued by the royal chanceries, and court proceedings.⁷⁵ The inquisitors were not the first or the only body to maintain extensive archives, however their ability to find and refer

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² See page 25

⁷³ Richard Kieckhefer, *Repression of Heresy in Medieval Germany* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), 4-5.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc*, 25.

to previous records set them apart from the record keepers of political and bureaucratic bodies. While most administrative records were created to act as a kind of perpetual unfailing memory but not intended for future reference, we know that the Languedocian inquisition created and maintained their records with this intention in mind and would, on occasion, look back to records from twenty years ago to find evidence against accused heretics or political enemies.⁷⁶

The creation of inquisitorial records involved the inquisitorial interview when the deponent would be questioned, and the conversion of the record of this interview into a formal document to be archived. The inquisitorial interview was conducted according to a code of practice which specified who should be present, how the proceedings should be recorded, and the methods of interrogation that should be utilised, as well as the specific questions that should be asked. This protocol is summarised in a letter written by Pons of Parnac – an inquisitor and Languedoc and Toulouse during the 1270s – requesting that Raymond, the prior of a Dominican convent in the area, carry out some interrogations on his behalf;

...having always with you two of the brothers of your convent, in whose presence you may make the said examination, and a public notary to draw up what they say in writing before you; asking each about the time place and people present, as seems fit to you, compelling them to testify to the truth by ecclesiastical censure if necessary...⁷⁷

During the interview, the notary would make notes of the questions asked and responses given. Later, these notes were translated into Latin and reworked into a formal document written in a paper register in the official style of the inquisition. This document was read to the deponent in their vernacular language and they were given an opportunity to modify its contents before being asked to confirm it as a true representation of their statements. This document was then transcribed once more, this time on parchment, and bound in a folio which was then archived.

⁷⁶ Jessie Sherwood, 'The Inquisitor as Archivist, or Surprise, Fear, and Ruthless Efficiency in the Archives,' *The American Archivist* 75, no. 1 (2012) 69.

⁷⁷ Peter Biller, *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth Century Languedoc*, 65-6.

The accepted understanding of this process is that the original dialogue between the inquisition and the witness was modified through a process of selection, dissection, and voluntary omission carried out by the inquisitors and their notaries. This produced a past tense narrative account of events that used the responses given by the witness but was not a verbatim account of the inquisitorial interview. It is assumed, therefore, that any evidence of direct speech that remains is the result of a deliberate attempt to preserve and emphasise the spontaneous speech of the subject.

There are very few surviving records which cover the period between about 1246 and 1273, when a revival of Catharism in the Languedoc region caused a corresponding resurgence in inquisitorial activity.⁷⁸ For this reason, the records preserved in Doat 25 and 26, covering the period of 1273-1282 are incredibly significant for the details they provide of the intervening decades.⁷⁹ If we can interact with these references to past actions, events, enquiries, and inquisitors as memories, these detailed recollections become even more valuable.

Forty years after the records of the 1240s and forty years before the records of the 1320s, the records of Doat 25 and 26, created between 1273-1282, sit within a unique middle period of the timeline of the early inquisition and the investigations into the Cathar heresy of Languedoc. This decade is unique within the history of the early inquisition as it sits between its inception and shift from the use of preaching manuals and pastoral attempts at conversion to the use of specifically created inquisitors' manuals and the harsh brutality of the power structure that it would later become synonymous with. The power of the inquisition that was wielded by Gui and

⁷⁸ Ibid., 69.

⁷⁹ Peter Biller, Caterina Bruschi & Shellagh Sneddon, ed. *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth Century Languedoc*, 37.

Fournier as hammers of heresy did not exist in the 1270s but would be born from the evolution of inquisitorial process and agenda that occurred during the intervening years. After failing at peaceful attempts to return Cathar followers to orthodoxy, the agenda of the inquisitors shifted to the discovery of the networks of supporters who rallied around the heretics in their communities to provide them with food and shelter and to hear their preaching. The inquisitors' interest in the social aspects of Cathar belief and support is evidenced by the lists of questions provided in the inquisitors' manual used during the 1270s, with the suggested order of questioning structured in such a way as to determine an individual's level of involvement with or support of the heretics. This shift in agenda is significant when examined in the context of the records that come before and after those of Doat 25 and 26 as they show us a timeline for the eradication of Cathar heresy, albeit one with some military intervention in the form of the Albigensian Crusade in the early-thirteenth century. This timeline begins with the investigation into the tenets of the Cathar faith, wherein the inquisitors seek to use the information they obtain to preach against it and attempt to peacefully return supporters of heresy to orthodoxy. This middle period in the timeline of the early inquisition represents a significant step in the development of inquisitorial processes. Despite this, however, there is a surprising gap within the historiography on this subject regarding the potential insight that can be gained from looking beyond the deponent's direct answers to the details provided about life in their communities.

Although Caterina Bruschi argues, somewhat paradoxically, that it is easier to detect evidence of direct or 'unnecessary' speech from the deponents in the more formulaic depositions discussed above, the focus of this thesis will be on depositions that exhibit a lengthier structure with more evidence of narrative.⁸⁰ In her analysis of how best to go about interpreting depositions from

⁸⁰ Caterina Bruschi, "Magna Diligentia Est Habenda Per Inquisitorem?: Precautions before Reading Doat 21-26," in *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy*, ed. Caterina Bruschi and Peter Biller (York: York Medieval Press, 2003), 106.

Doat 21-26, Bruschi discusses her theory of the ‘filters’ of the texts through which we should read them. She argues that the filter of ‘narration’, that is, the way in which information is presented in the deposition, is the only one that can be directly controlled by the deponent.⁸¹ This means that they could control the content of the deposition through the way that they presented the information. This control could be exercised not only through the information they confessed, but also by later denying or redacting their confessions, or by providing rich detail to distract their interrogator.⁸²

Carlo Ginzburg argues that although inquisitorial records are neither neutral nor objective and must be examined as “remnants of an unequal relationship”, if this context is acknowledged, there are circumstances in which they can be read as genuine dialogues between inquisitors and deponents and that it is possible to find information which is uncorrupted by the inquisitor’s categories and stereotypes.⁸³ Despite numerous arguments to the contrary, therefore, there remains a sense within the broader historiography on this topic that inquisitorial records *do* have the potential to allow us to hear the voices of deponents who have been “silenced by time and death.”⁸⁴

The quantity and drama of the fourteenth-century inquisitorial records created by Jacques Fournier, whose register created compelling reading in *Montaillou* have led to them being the records most often referred to when discussing the nature of the inquisition and its records during the period of the early inquisition and the Cathar heresies in Languedoc. The significance of these records should not be discounted, but it is also important to remember that they, or their dominant characteristics, are the result of an evolution of inquisitorial process, the prior

⁸¹ Ibid., 89-92.

⁸² Ibid., 90-91

⁸³ Sherwood, ‘The Inquisitor as Archivist, or Surprise, Fear, and Ruthless Efficiency in the Archives,’ 78; C. Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (2013).

⁸⁴ Ibid., 57.

iterations of which should not be ignored but which have, until recently, been omitted from the broader historiography. For research in this area to advance and evolve, therefore, it is important to examine the earlier records of the period.

By examining the records of Doat 25 and 26, which have been predominantly overlooked, this thesis aims to contribute to historiography on this topic and challenge the belief that there is little to be gained from the analysis of deponent responses in the context of what they can tell us about their lives and communities. This research does not seek to deny or ignore the circumstances by which these records were created or to argue that there was any kind of balance of power within the interactions of deponent and inquisitor. Rather it seeks to argue that these circumstances should not cause us to discount the possibilities within these records altogether.

When Dominicans first began their attempt to combat heresy in the Languedoc region through preaching, they used preacher's manuals to form the basis of their enquiries. Their intention was to preach the correct orthodox beliefs and to counteract religious dissidence through education.

This marks the beginning of the development of inquisitorial process, following on from the preaching expeditions which began in the 1140s, and continuing until the 1240s when the first inquisitor's manual was published. The *Ordo processus Narbonensis* used the preaching methodology as a foundation and provided lists of questions designed to determine an individual's involvement with heresy and the extent of their belief or support. This framework supported the inquisitors' ultimately pastoral aim of reconverting believers or supporters of heresy to orthodox faith. The inquisitor's manual detailed the code of practice and described the general procedures carried out by inquisitors when they conducted their investigations, as well as providing a list of specific questions that should be asked by the inquisitor to assist them in the determination of an individual's guilt or innocence. These questions related directly to actions and attitudes that,

according to canon law, provided grounds for an accusation of belief in and support of heresy and provided inquisitors with guidance on the conduct of their investigations.⁸⁵ Distinctions were made, for example, between sympathisers who were merely present at rituals, and those who were actively seeking to further the cause of the heretics, and within this category, how to determine individual levels of support.⁸⁶ By presenting these questions in their order of appearance, an inquisitor would, in theory, be able to establish the extent of suspicion against a person, and then whether or not they had been in contact with a heretic, “where, and when, and how often, and with whom, and about others present.”⁸⁷ The fact that the questions in this list generally correlate with those put to the deponents represented within Doat 25 and 26 suggests a general adherence to the prescribed procedures of the inquisitors’ manuals.⁸⁸ The *Ordo Processus Narbonensis* was used for approximately thirty years until the development of a new manual in two editions during the 1270s.⁸⁹ This new manual, the *Doctrina de modo procedendi contra hereticos* demonstrates an evolution of inquisitorial process and its constant adaptation in the face of new knowledge.⁹⁰ It moves towards the idea of religious dissidence being socially motivated and spread. This shift can be seen in the new focus on the determination of guilt through levels of involvement. The intention here is less about pastorally motivated attempts to return heretics and their supporters to the correct and orthodox ways of worship, and is beginning to develop strategies for the accusation of individual instigators. Although these manuals provided question lists and guidelines of procedure, the records themselves suggest that these guidelines remained open to interpretation. While some records adhere strictly to the guidelines for questioning, there are others that show more flexibility in their approach, and reveal a greater depth of information

⁸⁵ Peter Biller, Caterina Bruschi & Shellagh Sneddon, ed. *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth Century Languedoc*, 71.

⁸⁶ Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 37-44, especially 42-43.

⁸⁷ Peter Biller, Caterina Bruschi & Shellagh Sneddon, ed. *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth Century Languedoc*, 71.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

as a result, a phenomenon that will presently be addressed in greater detail. The existence of these manuals suggests that although there was no ‘institution’ of inquisition, individual inquisitors were using their knowledge and experience to determine methods of best practice and using their skills in the creation and maintenance of records to document these methods and make them available to their colleagues.

They used their archives to trip up suspects with contradictions within their own testimonies, their previous confessions, or by using the statements of others.⁹¹ Evidence of this use of records by the inquisitors represented within Doat 25 and 26 can be seen in the below example, with a further representation to be found in the marginal notes of Bernard Gui’s *Liber sententiarum*, which refer the reader to records documenting individuals’ prior interactions with the inquisition.⁹²

Asked if he had ever confessed about heresy to any inquisitor, he said no
Asked if he had ever had penance because of heresy, he said no, nor, furthermore, had he been called to confess about heresy until now.
And a certain letter of brother William Arnold, the former inquisitor, was shown to him, as it appears prima facie containing that brother William Arnold, inquisitor, ratified the penance imposed upon Guiraud of Averro, squire, that he should give 100 Cahors pounds to the poor on account of those acts of heretical depravity which it was stated in the letter that he had committed.⁹³

Although the inquisitors of Languedoc were considered some of the most successful wielders of power in medieval Europe, the inquisition as a body was not a “fully developed bureaucratic

⁹¹ Sherwood, ‘The Inquisitor as Archivist, or Surprise, Fear, and Ruthless Efficiency in the Archives,’ 62

⁹² Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc*, 33.

⁹³ Interrogatus si unquam fuit confessus de hæresi alicui inquisitori, dixit quod non. Interrogatus si unquam habuit pœnitentiam propter hæresim, dixit quod non, nec etiam vocatus ad confitendum de hæresi usque modo. Et fuit sibi ostensa quædam littera fratris Guillelmi Arnaldi, quondam inquisitoris, sicut apparet prima facie continens quod frater Guillelmus Arnaldi, inquisitor, rataficavit pœnitentiam iniunctam Guiraudo de Averro, domicello, quod daret centum libras Caturcenses pauperibus pro his quæ exprimebantur in dicta littera comisise in hæretica pravitate, see ‘Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282,’ in *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth Century Languedoc: Edition and Translation of Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282*, ed. Caterina Bruschi & Shellagh Sneddon Peter Biller (Brill, 2011), 951.

entity.”⁹⁴ As discussed above, inquisitors did not receive any specialised training and were not actively supervised in their activities. This led to inconsistencies in both competence and levels of activity. Such variations may explain the unique nature of Doat 25 and 26. The decade in which these records were created represents a kind of middle period in the timeline of the development of the inquisition and its processes. These records demonstrate that although the inquisitors had shifted away from the preachers’ manuals that originally informed their methods in favour of the development of task specific inquisitors manuals, their processes were still closer to those of the 1240s than the 1320s.

Dominican inquisitors were at the forefront of “emerging technologies of textuality” and were among the first to create archives that were easily searchable and could be used to discover old crimes, compile evidence, and to provoke confession.⁹⁵ As the shift from memory to written record in the eleventh and twelfth centuries increased the production of written documents, their significance transitioned from symbolic objects to practical ones. Leading the vanguard in this transition, inquisitors made clever use of new techniques such as indexing and cross referencing, often using marginal annotations to pick out notable information and make their documents searchable. Although a lack of institutional standard among inquisitors meant that individual methods of organisation were often idiosyncratic, for the most part inquisitorial registers were organised topographically rather than chronologically or alphabetically. These methods of organisation, including indexing, which only began to be used as an archiving tool in the thirteenth century, allowed the archives to function as a form of institutional memory.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc*, 193.

⁹⁵ Sherwood, ‘The Inquisitor as Archivist, or Surprise, Fear, and Ruthless Efficiency in the Archives,’ 57.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 65.

The nature of these documents, as recorded accounts of verbal interactions, meant that deponents, inquisitors, and scribes had to negotiate the fault lines between textuality and orality.⁹⁷

A close reading of the depositions of Doat 25 and 26 reveals two distinct structural styles within the records. The first is rigid and heavily scripted, leaving the deponent little opportunity for extended answer or deviation from the script. These depositions usually serve to either confirm information already known to the inquisitors, to confirm a person's lack of knowledge or to briefly deal with transgressions related to an individual's beliefs or actions where no other individuals are involved and/or no social interaction has occurred.

This precise and formulaic method of questioning is exemplified in the deposition of Durand of Rouffiac, who had stated a belief that the soul in a person's body was comprised of no more than blood;

Item, asked if he had ever said that even if the body of Christ were as large as a mountain the clerics would have eaten it long ago, he said yes.

Asked how often he said that, he said once.

Asked where, he said that he does not remember.

Asked about bystanders, he said that he does not remember.

Asked about the time, he said that he does not recall but he believes that it was within the last ten years.

Asked if he believes what he said about the body of the Lord, he said no – in fact he believes as others of the faithful do, that the consecrated host is true God and true man.

Asked if he ever said that the person who passed over an opportunity for profit on account of sin was stupid, he said yes. Asked how often he said it, he replied once.

Asked where, he said that he does not remember.

Asked about bystanders, he said Grimald of Laumière.

Asked about the time, he said within the last five year.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Ibid., 72.

⁹⁸ Item interrogatus si dixerat unquam quod si corpus Christi esset ita magnum sicut unus mons, clerici comedissent illud diu est, dixit quod sic. Interrogatus quotiens dixit illud, dixit quod semel. Interrogatus ubi, dixit se non recordari. Interrogatus de circumstantibus, dixit quod non recolit, sed credit quod a decem annis citra. Interrogatus si credit quod ipse dixit circa corpus Domini, dixit quod non, imo credit sicut alii fideles, quod hostia consecrate sit verus Deus et verus homo. Interrogatus si unquam dixit quod stultus erat, qui prætermitebat lucrari propter peccatum, dixit quod sic. Interrogatus quotiens dixit, respondit quod semel. Interrogatus ubi, dixit se non recordari. Interrogatus de circumstantibus, dixit quod

This deposition is a much more accurate representation of what we expect to find within these documents. The witness is asked specific questions regarding his beliefs and statements he has made regarding them, how often such statements were made and whom was present to hear them. This deposition also demonstrates, however, the disadvantage to this form of questioning and thus the disadvantage of this form of inquisitorial record. As the questions are precise and closed in nature, so too is the information presented in reply, requiring continuous questioning to gain further details, in this case, regarding Durand's additional statement about the body of Christ. This deposition demonstrates an adherence to the structure of questioning outlined in the inquisitorial manuals described above. The manual used by the inquisitors who recorded the depositions of Doat 25 and 26 was the *Doctrina de modo procedendi*, particularly the first iteration of this manual which was produced in 1271 or 1272 (with a second iteration produced after 1278). This manual of procedure provided a hierarchical list of questions to be asked during the inquisitorial interview, the use of which is highly evident in the formulaic depositions such as the one discussed above.

The other variety of deposition exhibits much more freedom in its structure. This results in a narrative style and greater depth of information. The following passage, concerning a quarrel over who is entitled to inherit the cloak of a woman who was hereticated shortly before her death, provides an example of not only the inclusion of minor detail, but also a sense of loquacity;

Item, he heard the aforesaid heretics saying that the hereticated, in the illness of which she died, a certain woman named Morlana. She, however, was pretty rich, and they got enough money from her. And, at the time when she was hereticated, her maidservant was Raymonda Terren of Roquevidal, who is now the wife of William Medecin of the same place, and she was present at the aforesaid heretication, and knew all that affair. And on account of this she was supposed to have the same hereticated woman's cloak; about which they was a quarrel between her and the

Grimaldus de Ulmeria. Interrogatus de tempore, dixit quod a quinque annis citra, see 'Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282,' 223.

said heretics. And in the same witness's house, he also heard the said heretics saying that they had had a quarrel with the aforesaid Raymonda about the said cloak in the city of Toulouse, and that, Through the offices of Gordona, wife of Pons of Gomerville, since she, who had herself been hereticated, knew all about the said heretication, the aforesaid heretics obtained the said cloak.⁹⁹

The inquisitors' skills in the creation and maintenance of records and their utilisation was arguably one of the central aspects of inquisitorial process and its power. Our ability to examine differences in recording style and inquisitorial technique – our ability to study such records at all – is a testament to these skills. The lack of any formal oversight or guidelines for the inclusion of information within the records produced varied results, which demonstrated that any guidelines which were provided were, at best, inconsistently followed. Steven Justice, in his discussion of the documents recorded by the notary John of Exeter in fifteenth-century England, describes circumstances in which the notary strays from his prepared formulae when recording the events of heresy trials. Although the trials themselves tended to be quite heavily structured and his formulae existed to make his life easier, John of Exeter found himself ignoring them in favour of a more freehand style of recording because doing so made his task more interesting; “John of Exeter sometimes substituted for his Latin formulae the English formulae of the accused: *he was bored, he thought they were just interesting.*”¹⁰⁰ Eventually, his apparent boredom resulted in the production of extraordinary records as he captured “more colour in their language” by recording their words with more detail and less formulaic structure.¹⁰¹ In doing so, by simply recording what he heard, rather than following prescribed formulae, he was able to, “[give] the heretics

⁹⁹ Item audivit dicentes prædictos hæreticos quod ipsi hæreticaverunt in infirmitate qua obit quondam mulierem, cuius nomen Morlanam. Tamen bene erat dives, et satis de peccunia habuerunt de ipsa. Et tempore quo fuit hæreticata erat ancilla sua Raymunda Terrena, de Rocavidal, quæ est modo uxor Guillelme Medici eiusdem loci, quæ interfuit prædictæ hæreticationi, et scivit totum factum illud. Et propter hoc debuit habere mantellum ipsius hæreticatæ; de quo fuit Discordia inter ipsam et dictos hæreticos. Et in domo ipsius testis audivit etiam dicentes dictos hæreticos quod in civitate Tholosæ habuerant discordiam de dicto mantello cum prædicta Raymunda, et procurante Gordona uxore Pontii de Gomervilla, cum ipsa hæreticata scivit dictam hæreticationem, prædicti hæretici obtinuerunt dictum mantellum, see ‘Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282,’ 403.

¹⁰⁰ Steven Justice, ‘Inquisition, Speech, and Writing: A Case from Late-Medieval Norwich,’ *Representations* (1994): 1,7.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

words back to them”.¹⁰² Although John of Exeter recorded events from a different place and time, they are significant to this discussion for a number of reasons; they demonstrate the ability of such records to display evidence of direct speech, and that the record keepers did not always follow set formulae, even when it was specifically prescribed, and that a richer and more detailed record was often the result.

These depositions provide lengthier descriptions of social gatherings and interactions, recalling with greater clarity the identities and actions of other individuals as well as other details such as the food served, and specific statements made by the present individuals. These accounts tend more toward open ended questioning and phrases intended to encourage storytelling and the “loquacity of speech.”¹⁰³ It is this descriptive quality that suggests the possibility of direct memories within these records. The representation of social interactions in a narrative style may be indicative of the inquisitorial agenda and a desire for a greater level of detail regarding social connections and networks within the community. This can also be considered in the context of an aspect of memory theory which argues that memories formed during social gatherings and interactions are more detailed and can be recalled more readily, and with greater accuracy and depth, even several years after the fact. This concept will be discussed in further detail in chapter two of this thesis.

The ‘narrative’ records within the set defined as Doat 25 and 26 seem to warrant further investigation and discussion regarding the information they contain and the way in which it is represented. Distinct in both style and content from the common or usual variety of deposition, there are select records that show both the provision of uncommon information from the deponent, and unusual inquisitorial agendas prompting it. Furthermore, because Doat 25 and 26

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 76.

constitute unique records from the ‘middle’ period of inquisitorial development, they can be used to investigate the nature of inquisition itself, and its interaction with communities under suspicion, at this stage of the development of the office.

I argue, however, that it is possible and plausible that in some cases, the spontaneous quality of the speech is the result of it being closer to the original and spontaneous speech of the deponent. Several characteristics, which will be elaborated on in due course, have been identified within the records of Doat 25 and 26 that suggest that there are more examples of individuals’ memories preserved in these records than has been previously believed or examined. These records can therefore be given greater consideration as records of remembered events and examples of individual memories. The possibility of spontaneous speech appears in the deposition of Bernard of Montesquieu wherein he recounted the details of a visit to Bernard of Puy at Prades;

And he said that in the week before Christmas last or thereabouts, it happened that he was in the house of Bernard of Puy at Prades, where he had nuts...¹⁰⁴

This detail is significant in light of our knowledge of the method by which these records were created because it suggests one of two things; either this detail – the fact that Bernard of Montesquieu and Bernard of Puy ate nuts together – was too important to be omitted from the final document, or, that this record was not subject to a strict process of editing and curation between the original transcription of the inquisitorial interview and the final copying of the record that was placed in a folio and archived for future reference.

This observation suggests that while it was most likely not the aim to preserve the stories told by the deponents as directly as possible, it appears to have been a consequence of the inquisitors’

¹⁰⁴ Et dixit quod in septimana præcedente Natale Domini proxime transactum vel circa, accidit quod ipse erat in domo Bernardi de Podio apud Pradas, ubi habebat nuces..., see ‘Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282,’ 507.

meticulous record keeping. As discussed above, in an inquisitorial context this allowed them to use the information provided to bolster later cases and to attempt to entrap people. In the deponent-centred context that I take in this discussion, it enables us to consider the possibly irrelevant details (such as the consumption of nuts with a friend or acquaintance) for the insight they can provide into the everyday lives of the deponents and their communities. As this allows us to examine a breadth of information previously thought to be completely unavailable from these records, their informative potential is broadened and we have an opportunity to utilise the stories told by these deponents to investigate more than just the mechanism of inquisition.

These records, and the decade in which they were produced represent a significant and unique point in the timeline of the development of the inquisition and its processes. This has informed the information and construction of these records in such a way as to set them apart from the records that preceded them and those that would come later. This is represented by different depositional structures depending on the nature of the information being sought, with an emphasis on long-form, narratively structured depositions concerning social interactions and relationships. It is also represented by a shift in inquisitorial focus from the specific nature of belief and ritual to the spread of belief through family and social networks and the creation of support networks surrounding individual heretics. The unique nature of these records allows us to consider them in new light and, as the following chapters will show, examine them for their potential in discussing the formation and control of personal identity and both personal and communal histories.

Chapter Two - Memory, Identity, and Representation: Creating personal histories

The first chapter of this thesis has established the existence of a subset of records within Doat 25 and 26 which can, with caution, be examined as a form of memory text. Building on this insight, the present second chapter interrogates depositions as examples of narrating personal histories. In particular, I examine and compare depositions made by adults recalling the recent past or events from their distant childhoods. From these records, I infer how individuals viewed themselves and their experiences in relation to others and in relation to their social environment.

Memory plays a significant role in the way that individuals view and represent themselves and is a topic that has been extensively studied from historical, sociological, and anthropological perspectives.¹⁰⁵ In a medieval context, memory has been studied both as an intellectual and a social concept. In her important study of memory in medieval culture, Mary Carruthers discusses the intellectual and cognitive aspects of memory and its role in the medieval world. Her discussion of monastic education is of the process being more like that of apprenticing in a craft than a classical education.¹⁰⁶ She describes the craft of monasticism as being that of making prayer continuously through constant meditation based on reading and recollecting sacred texts.¹⁰⁷ As Dominican monks, the inquisitors would have shared this idea of memory and its relationship to monastic life as the study of “memorial culture” was an important aspect of the order, who developed a variety of techniques to aid in the study of the bible, and also devised methods of indexing texts to aid in their study, suggesting that their skill in the creation and use

¹⁰⁵ For a sample of key works, see Francis Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago, 1966); Paul Ricoeur, ‘The Documentary Phase: Archived Memory,’ in *Memory, History, and Forgetting*, trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago, 2004), 146-81; Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, ‘Social Memory Studies: From ‘Collective Memory’ to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices,’ *Annual Review of Sociology* 22 (1998), 105-40; James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford, 1992); Paul Connerton, *How societies remember* (Cambridge, 1989); John R. Gillis, ‘Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship,’ in *Commemorations: the Politics of National Identity*, ed. John Gillis (Princeton, 1994), 3-24.

¹⁰⁶ Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 2.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

of records and archives may have been a natural evolution of certain aspects of Dominican education.¹⁰⁸ Janet Coleman also discusses medieval memory from an intellectual perspective, beginning her discussion with classical and early medieval sources before continuing to considerations of memory and monasticism.¹⁰⁹ She uses the analysis of medieval texts on memory to demonstrate the relationship between medieval ideas of memory and conceptual and linguistic signs and the reconstruction of narratives. By considering the ways in which medieval scholars thought about and wrote about the past, she concludes that medieval ways of thinking about and talking about the past were both like and unlike modern theories.¹¹⁰ This makes her discussion of medieval memory especially relevant in the context of this chapter's discussion as it can act as a bridging point between the documents of Doat 25 and 26 and the modern theories of memory and remembering that will be applied to them. Her discussion of memory as the reconstruction of narratives is significant for similar reasons, particularly as part of a discussion of the narrative structure of selected depositions within Doat 25 and 26. Cultural and social histories of medieval memory draw attention to issues of identity, communication, and representation in the middle ages.¹¹¹

The investigation of the documents of Doat 25 and 26 in this context draws out issues of how individuals represented memories of their experiences within the context of the inquisitorial interview and the creation of a personal history through the resultant process of recording the depositional record. This chapter also discusses these records in the context of a socio-cultural methodology that is often applied to sociological and anthropological studies of personal

¹⁰⁸ *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 193.

¹⁰⁹ Janet Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), xiv-xvii.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ Megan Cassidy-Welch and Anne E. Lester, 'Memory and Interpretation: New Approaches to the Study of the Crusades,' *Journal of Medieval History* 40, no. 3 (2014): 226.

memories. This approach implies that a person's memories are specifically influenced by their position within their society and culture rather than being merely casually influenced by it.¹¹² In the case of this research, I argue that the continued exposure to inquisitors within their community impacted upon the deponents' views, and therefore representations, of their involvement with heresy. This is demonstrated through the discussion of contradictions between a person's statements and recalled behaviour. It is also discussed in the context of the creation of a personal history through the course of the inquisitorial interview and the roles played by both inquisitor and deponent in this context. When examining the representation of memories formed in childhood and recollected in adulthood, in addition to addressing the significance of childhood interactions with heresy, I build upon a discussion of how memories and their representation change over time. Most significantly, I discuss the argument made by Alessandro Cavalli that it is not temporal distance from the event that causes the change in representation of a memory, but the change in an individual's interpretation of the event.¹¹³ For example, an individual remembering an event in which he interacted with heretics as a child while they were living freely within the community may represent this memory differently in light of his exposure to the inquisitors and their views.

Oral history provides us with a methodological framework and specific language with which to discuss inquisitorial records in this context. The practice of "the interviewing of eye-witness participants in the events of the past for the purposes of historical reconstruction" which defines oral history can also, arguably, partially define the practice of the inquisitorial interview.¹¹⁴ Oral history interviews have allowed historians to record the perspectives of groups which may

¹¹² Katherine Nelson, 'Sociocultural Theories of Memory Development,' in *The Wiley Handbook on the Development of Children's Memory*, ed. Patricia J. Bauer and Robyn Fivush (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 87.

¹¹³ Alessandro Cavalli, 'Memory and Identity: How Memory Is Reconstructed after Catastrophic Events,' in *Meaning and Representation in History*, ed. Jörn Rüsen (New York: Bergham Books, 2006), 171.

¹¹⁴ R.K Grele, 'Directions for oral history in the United States,' in D.K Dunaway and W.K. Baum (eds.), *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology* (Walnut Creek: Altamira, 1996), 63

otherwise have been hidden from history or not been included in other forms of historical record. Furthermore, oral history interviews have also allowed us to document and investigate aspects of human social experience which are not usually documented in other sources such as domestic work or family relations and “they have resonated with the subjective or personal meanings of lived experience.”¹¹⁵ Inquisitorial records and the process of the inquisitorial interview, therefore, share some characteristics with oral history and its ensuing records, coincidental though it may be. Although it was not the intention of inquisitors to provide otherwise unheard and unrecorded individuals an opportunity to craft a personal history through the process of inquisitorial interview, the practice of interviewing all individuals within a community and maintaining strict record keeping practices ensured that this was the case.¹¹⁶ Likewise, it does not appear to have been their intention to record details of domestic lives or family relations but, as this and, more particularly, the following chapter will demonstrate, the details and minutiae provided by the deponent can, when examined, reveal much about these aspects of their lives.

The establishment of an inquisitorial presence within a community began with a public sermon condemning heresy and urging everyone to divulge any awareness of heretical involvement regarding themselves or others. The intention at this stage was to interview every individual above the age of fourteen, if male, and twelve, if female with the aim of determining the extent of heretical support among the members of the community.¹¹⁷ A ‘period of grace’ followed the public sermon, during which time an individual who presented themselves would be treated leniently if they were truthful and agreed to swear an oath against heresy. At the end of this period, those who had not presented themselves voluntarily were summoned to appear before

¹¹⁵ Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, ed. *The Oral History Reader*, Third edn. (Routledge, 2016), xii.

¹¹⁶ Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 48.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

the inquisitors for questioning. In doing so, the inquisitors inadvertently created an opportunity for many individuals whose lives would otherwise remain unrecorded to have some of their personal history preserved. Furthermore, I argue that the way in which the interviews were convened also inadvertently awarded the deponents some control over the construction of their personal histories.

The timing of an individual's presentation is recorded at the beginning of their deposition and is discussed by John Arnold as a further method by which the inquisitors demonstrated their authority through the production of their records. He has noted that as well as presenting during the period of grace or after being summoned, individuals have also been recorded as speaking

...after being cited, initially refusing either to appear or take an oath, but then relenting; or after being a little more obstinate and only confessing after a period of imprisonment (which could in itself vary from one day to many years)...after torture... "before the fire" (that is, after the sentence, just before its execution); or making a statement that was not under oath and did not abjure heresy, but defended it.¹¹⁸

The majority of deponents represented in Doat 25 and 26 gave their depositions after being summoned to "provide information on themselves and others".¹¹⁹ These individuals were either already suspected of heretical activity, or were simply to be questioned about general heretical matters. There are seven cases of deponents who came forward voluntarily to give their testimony; following the inquisitors' declaration of a period of grace, in the hopes of receiving a lighter penance, or to make accusations against others. There were also thirteen cases where individuals attended their inquisitorial interview after being captured while they were fleeing either prison or the inquisitors' enquiries.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 94.

¹¹⁹ Peter Biller, Caterina Bruschi & Shellagh Sneddon, ed. *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth Century Languedoc*, 72.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

The timing of a person's inquisitorial interview was of some significance to the inquisitors for aiding in their determination of a person's involvement with or denunciation of heresy, but is of interest to this discussion for a different reason. The circumstances under which a person participated in the inquisitorial interview, and therefore the terms in which they are described by the inquisitors in their deposition, had an impact on their representation in the record of their appearance. By taking control of the circumstances of their appearance, therefore, they could exercise a minor level of control over the creation of their personal history. Although such control was rarely available to deponents, this chapter will demonstrate how individuals used their own reports of remembered events to control their self-representation within their deposition records. This can be seen in depositions involving adults recalling events of their childhood, wherein they emphasise their former youth to create distance between their past and present selves.

Memories of childhood interactions with heresy are significant because of their rarity. Although we know that children could be summoned and deposed by the inquisitors based on statements from inquisitorial manuals advising of the minimum age at which this could occur, there are no such depositions within Doat 25 and 26. Most of our evidence of childhood involvement with heresy, and our only evidence from within these documents, comes from the memories of adults recalling events from their own personal past. Memory, therefore, plays a vital role in our understandings of childhood involvement in heresy. The events being recalled often took place during periods of inquisitorial absence, usually referring to heretics "living openly", however they are being recounted and recorded in an environment of extended inquisitorial presence within the community.¹²¹ This means that the events were recalled and interpreted by the deponent in

¹²¹ 'Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282,' in *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth Century Languedoc: Edition and Translation of Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282*, ed. Caterina Bruschi & Shellagh Sneddon Peter Biller (Brill, 2011), 733.

the context of inquisitorial presence and concerns. The intention of this discussion is to examine the different ways in which individuals represent themselves in situations before and after they have had contact with inquisitors. This will enable discussion of the impact of inquisitorial contact on the representation of individual identities.

In the following example, Peter of Auca is distancing himself from his childhood involvement in heresy by demonstrating that his participation occurred only under duress. While this may not have been the case, or may not be the whole truth, his personal history is being created through his retelling of the events, through his interpretation of the past.¹²²

The ten-year-old Peter did not want to adore, he told the inquisitors, but Sicard [his guardian] instructed his charge to participate and gave him a sharp cuff to make sure he did.¹²³

This example should also be considered in the context of the above point regarding childhood memories being recollected through the lens of extended contact with the inquisitors and knowledge of their expectations. Likewise, as further discussion in this chapter will show, in the context of memories being used to create personal histories, it is important to consider what people think about the past and what they attribute to it when they relate themselves to it.¹²⁴

While LaDurie discusses the social aspects of childbirth and child-rearing in *Montaillon*, he does not address the issue of childhood involvement with heresy or mention any accounts of childhood interactions being recalled by adults. We know that Doat 25 and 26 are not unique for their inclusion of such accounts as Chris Sparks, in his book *Heresy, Inquisition and Life Cycle in Medieval Languedoc* discusses testimonies of childhood involvement with heresy from earlier

¹²² Jörn Rüsen, 'What Does 'Making Sense of History' Mean?,' in *Meaning and Representation in History*, ed. Jörn Rüsen (New York: Bergham Books, 2006), 1.

¹²³ Chris Sparks, *Heresy Inquisition and Life Cycle in Medieval Languedoc* (York: York Medieval Press, 2014), 47.

¹²⁴ Rüsen, 'What Does 'Making Sense of History' Mean?,' 3.

volumes in the Doat collection, this feature of Doat 25 and 26 is significant for its ability to demonstrate the extent of childhood involvement with heresy.

Childhood memories of heresy were important because of the belief that heresy was spread via familial connections.¹²⁵ It was assumed, therefore, that if children were involved with heresy, it was highly likely that the adults in the family were also. Additionally, as childhood was the period of life during which religious beliefs began to be formed and enforced, it was considered the best time for conversion to occur.¹²⁶ Although these are the reasons that depositions recording childhood involvement were important to the inquisitors and therefore the reasons why such interactions were recorded, they are significant to this discussion for different reasons. The deposition of Raymond Arquier (who is also called Raymond Baussan) shows involvement with heresy in the context of everyday life, an example of normality rather than anomaly. This sense of normality is emphasised by the fact that Arquier's memories are of a time when heretics had not yet been forced into hiding and exile as well as the apparent continuation of his beliefs into adulthood. Arquier does not present himself as a heretical child ascetic who has reformed in adulthood, but as a man who was raised in the religion of his kin and continued to worship in accordance with his childhood religious education until some twenty years prior to his deposition. At the time of his confession in 1277, Arquier stated that he had previously appeared before inquisitors and confessed his involvement with heresy and received a penance from them and that afterwards he had committed no further transgressions. He admits to having confessed to Master Arnold the Chancellor and Amiel the chaplain of Saint Stephen's of Toulouse. This dates his confession as having occurred during the period of 1250-1252, when, as the Dominicans had effectively withdrawn from inquisitorial duties, Arnold and Amiel, as members

¹²⁵ Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 149.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

of the episcopate, filled the role.¹²⁷ As Arquier states in his 1277 testimony that the time he spent living with his aunt Rixendis during both his childhood and adulthood occurred thirty to sixty years previously (around 1217 - 1247), his first inquisitorial interview, with Arnold and Amiel, must have occurred when he was already an adult. This adds additional significance to Arquier's testimony. Firstly, it reveals a change in perspective wherein Arquier rejects his religious upbringing in the faith of the heretics and reforms to orthodox belief, and secondly it demonstrates a further shift in later adulthood when he confessed previously undisclosed information which he had withheld out of fear. At this time, Arquier does present himself as a man reformed, acknowledging his error at withholding information and in maintaining his transgressive beliefs into adulthood but emphasising again that he had reformed following his first encounter with inquisitors;

Asked why he did not tell the truth about all these things to the other inquisitors, he said that because of fear and also because of love of his wife he had hidden what he knew about her. And he acknowledged that he had done wrong in hiding the aforesaid things from the other inquisitors. Sworn in and questioned in court, he also said that he believed that the heretics were good men, and that one could be saved in their sect, from the time he knew them up to the time when he confessed about heresy to master Arnold Pelhisson and Amiel the chaplain of Saint Stephen's of Toulouse, the former inquisitors, from whom he had penance; but from them on he did not believe or have faith in them.¹²⁸

The continuation of Arquier's heretical beliefs beyond childhood demonstrates the potential for the experiences of an individual's childhood to influence their actions as an adult. Arquier's lengthy deposition and detailed descriptions of witnessed events and the identities of others who were present suggests that he was heavily involved in the religious community. As well as sharing food and drink with his aunt and her companions, also known heretics, Arquier states that he

¹²⁷ 'Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282,' 733.

¹²⁸ Interrogatus quare de his omnibus non dixit aliis inquisitoribus veritatem, dixit quod propter timorem, et etiam propter amorem uxoris suæ, celaverat quod sciebat de ipsa. Et recognovit quod malefecit quia prædicta celavit aliis inquisitoribus. Iuratus et in iudicio requisitus, dixit etiam quod hæreticos credidit esse bonos homines, et posse salvari in secta eorum, ex quo novit eos usque ad tempus quo fuit confessus de hæresi magistro Arnaldo Pelisso et Amelio, capellano Sancti Stephani Tholosæ, quondam inquisitoribus, a quibus habuit pœnitentiam; sed ex tunc non credidit nec habuit fidem in eis, see *ibid.*, 745-7.

was taught and instructed by Rixendis and, accompanied by others, "...often adored the said heretics genuflecting three times, saying 'Bless us,' according to the manner of the heretics."¹²⁹

The extent of his involvement within the religious community is further evidenced by his descriptions of witnessing the heretication or consolamentum ritual on at least two occasions;

Item, he said that Bernard Trilha, the late father-in-law of Peter Pictavin, was hereticated in the illness of which he died, in the presence of the heretics who hereticated him, that is, William Bernard of Airoux and his companion, heretics, and of Rixendis Baussan and her companion, heretics, and of the same witness, who had come with the said Rixendis Baussan. And he saw the said heretics placing their hands on the head of the said sick man; and Raymond Trilha, the nephew of the said sick man was present. And Peter Pictavin and Fabrisa, his wife, daughter of the sick man were also present and going about through the house, but they were not attending to the said heretication.¹³⁰

Item, he said that the late Peter of Area of Sorèze was hereticated at Sorèze in his house, in the illness of which he died, in the presence and site of the same witness, then a boy, Rixendis Baussan and her companion, heretics, with whom the same witness had come there, and Bernard of Area, the brother, and Raymonda, the wife of the said sick man – later the wife of William Espanhol – and Peter Pros, then a boy, a kinsman of the said sick man. And the same witness did not adore the said heretics there, nor did he see the others adore. And this was fifty years ago or thereabouts.¹³¹

The examples within Doat 25 and 26 clearly support the argument that childhood involvement with heresy and heretics was directed and mediated by adult expectations and understandings of the relationship between childhood and faith and are unlikely to have occurred because of the

¹²⁹ ...multotiens adoraverunt dictas hæreticas, flexis ter genibus, dicendo 'Benedicite' secundum modum hæreticorum, see *ibid.*, 735.

¹³⁰ Item dixit quod Bernardus Trilha, quondam socer Petri Pictavini, fuit hæreticatus in ægritudine qua decessit, præsentibus hæreticis qui hæreticaverunt eum, scilicet Guillelmo *Bernardi* de Ayros et socio eius, hæreticis, et Rixendi Baussana et socia eius, hæreticabus, et ipso teste, qui venerat cum dicta Rixendi Baussana. Et vidit dictos hæreticos imponentes manus super caput dicti infirmi, et præsentem Raymundo Trilha, nepote dicti infirmi. Et erant etiam præsentibus et euntes per domum Petrus Pictavini et Fabrisa uxor eius, filia dicti infirmi, sed non intendebant dictæ hæreticationi, see *ibid.*, 743.

¹³¹ Item dixit quod Petrus de Area de Soricino quondam fuit hæreticatus apud Soricinum in domo sua, in ægritudine qua decessit, præsentibus et videntibus ipso teste, tunc puero, Rixendi Baussana et socia eius, hæreticabus, cum quibus venerat ipse testis, et Bernardo de Area, fratre, et Raymunda, uxore, dicti infirmi, postea uxore Guillelmi Espanhol, et Petro Pros, tunc puero, consanguineo dicti infirmi. Et ipse testis non adoravit ibi dictos hæreticos, nec vidit alios adorare. Et sunt quinquaginta anni vel circa, see *ibid.*, 743-5.

spiritual desires or allegiances of the child.¹³² From approximately the 1230s onwards, large public gatherings of Cathar good men and women became increasingly rare. This meant that the likelihood of children encountering them by chance also decreased. It was therefore in the interest of adult relatives to orchestrate contact between children and the good men and women, with depositional evidence from the thirteenth century supporting this argument and showing contact with the good men to be a heavily embedded aspect of family life.¹³³ While childhood contact still occurred through parental instruction, it was arguably not religious belief that was being taught but obedience and family loyalty. Depositional evidence suggests that children were simply doing as they were told – a point that adult deponents seek to emphasise when recounting their own childhood interactions with heresy. For example, as a young boy, Guilbert of Saint Michel of Las Touzeilles is wary of strangers spotted in his father’s orchard and seeks his father’s advice before approaching them;

...in his father’s newly-planted vineyard, under a certain pear tree, where there was a certain brushwood hut, he saw two men in the distance, who called him over, not with their voices but with their hands. He, however, like a boy was afraid and did not go to them then, but returned to his father’s house, and told his father. His father, however, said to him that they were some of the good men, who are called ‘heretics,’ and that he ought not to be afraid, but that he should henceforth go to them with confidence because they were his friends. When he had heard this, the same witness returned to the said place, and found there the said heretics, that is Raymond of Mas and his companion. And there the same witness heard their words and admonitions, but did not adore them.¹³⁴

Despite his prior apprehension, after being assured by his father that the men are trustworthy, and friends, Guilbert is willing to not only approach the men, but also listen to their preaching. While this change of heart possibly demonstrates the ability of the parent to influence the

¹³² Sparks, *Heresy Inquisition and Life Cycle in Medieval Languedoc*, 70.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹³⁴ ...in malolio patris sui, sub quadam piru, ubi erat quaedam cabana de sarmentis, vidit duos homines a longe, qui vocarunt eum non voce sed manu. Ipse vero tamquam | puer timuit, et non ivit tunc ad eos, sed rediit ad domum paternam, et retulit patri suo. Pater vero dixit ei quod illi erant de bonis hominibus, qui vocantur hæretici, et quod non oportebat eum timere, sed quod deinceps iret ad eos secure, quia amici sui erant. Quo audito, ipse testis rediit ad dictum locum, et invenit ibi dictos hæreticos, scilicet *Raimundum* de Manso et socium eius. Et ibi ipse testis audivit verba et ammonitiones eorum, sed non adoravit eos, see, ‘Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282,’ 241.

behaviour of the child, it can also be interpreted as an example of Guilbert using actual or perceived expectations of children and their behaviour to craft his depiction of past events in such a way as to benefit him at the time of his testimony.

The example of Raymond Arquier, whose interactions with heresy were many, varied, and occurred over an extended period encompassing both his childhood and adulthood, is significant for its representation of such encounters. While Arquier admits to and normalises his interactions as being simply a part of his everyday life as a child, other deponents seek to distance themselves from their interactions, or use their youth as a means of justifying their actions. The depositions discussed below represent examples of such justification as well as further evidence of the argument that although there were occasions when it extended into adulthood, any childhood interactions with heretics were facilitated by adults.

In December 1277, William den Ath of Sorèze confessed that, approximately thirty years previous, he had seen a known heretic, Rixendis Baussan (the abovementioned aunt with whom Arquier had lived) walking alone in the street before entering her brother's house; "...one day he saw Rixendis Baussan of Sorèze, heretic, going alone along a street in Sorèze, and entering the house of Raymond Baussan, her brother."¹³⁵ As William further stated that Rixendis was captured and burnt as a heretic a short time after he witnessed this, it seems a benign statement to make when questioned on his knowledge of heresy, and a statement unlikely to draw further comment or reprimand from the inquisitors;

And within three or four days there was talk among the people of Sorèze that the said Rixendis, who previously had been in hiding, had returned and that she was in the said house. And then lord Peter Raymond Missècle, abbot of Sorèze, came to the said house, and seized the said heretic, and took her to Toulouse, where she was burnt – so the same witness heard it said.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ ...dixit quod quadam die vidit Rixendim Baussanam de Soricino, hæreticam, euntem solam per carreriam Soricini, et intrantem domum Raymundi Baussani, fratris sui, see *ibid.*, 763.

¹³⁶ Et infra tres vel quatuor dies fuit murmur in populo Soricini quod dicta Rixendis, quæ antea latitaverat, redierat, et quod erat in dicta domo. Et tunc dominus Petrus Raymundi de Milsegle, abbas Soricini, venit

This was not the case, however, and William found himself being questioned further by the inquisitors regarding his lack of action in attempting to apprehend this known heretic. It is at this point in the deposition that he pleads his youth and resulting ignorance, representing himself as a child with limited knowledge of such things, therefore giving him no reason or authority to intervene;

Asked why he did not seize the said heretic when he saw her entering the said house, or at least did not shout out so that she would be seized, he said that he was a boy, and he believed, and it was said, that she came with the safe-conduct of the Church. And this was thirty years ago and more.¹³⁷

John Clerc is another deponent who seeks to emphasise the ignorance and innocence of childhood. He begins by simply listing the names of individuals he has witnessed interacting with Rixendis Baussan and claims to know nothing further on the matter of heresy. After being imprisoned, however, he adds to his confession. This addition tells the story of a local chaplain whose son, aged nine or ten, is learning the psalter and so accompanies him on his day's duties. This excursion involves visiting the house of the known heretic Rixendis Baussan and eating there with her and several companions, also heretics.

In the same year as above, six days before the kalends of April, the aforesaid John, held in prison, sworn in as a witness and questioned etc., corrected himself, saying that Raymond of Trèville, the same witness's father, then chaplain of Sorèze, one day, invited by Rixendis Baussan, heretic, went to the said heretic's lodging. And the same witness, who was then learning the psalter, a boy of nine or ten years, went with him and they ate there with the said heretic, and with Bernarda of Auvezines, her companion, likewise a heretic. And there were there likewise Raymond Sord, William Espanhol, Raymond Baussan as he believes, the said heretic's brother, and Raymond Arquier or Baussan, the illegitimate son of the aforesaid Raymond Baussan; who all likewise ate Lenten foods there with the said heretics at the same table. And male heretics were then living there. And this was fifty years ago...¹³⁸

ad dictam domum, et cepit dictam hæreticam, et duxit eam Tholosæ, ubi fuit combusta—sicut ipse testis audivit dici, see *ibid*.

¹³⁷ Interrogatus quare non cepit dictam hæreticam quando vidit eam intrantem dictam domum, vel saltem non clamavit ut caperetur, dixit quod puer erat, et credidit, et dicebatur, quod venerat secunda, voluntate Ecclesiæ. Et sunt triginta anni et amplius, see *ibid*.

¹³⁸ Anno quo supra, sexto kalendas Aprilis, prædictus Iohannes, detentus in carcere, testis iuratus et requisitus etcetera, corripuit se, dicens quod Raymundus de Trievilla, pater ipsius testis, tunc capellanus de Soricino, quadam die, invitatus a Rixendi Baussana, hæretica, ivit ad hospitium dictæ hæreticæ. Et ipse

Clerc's statement of the people present and his description of the food being shared serves the purpose of revealing information about the gathering that would have been of interest to the inquisitors. Likewise, Clerc's inclusion of details such as his father's occupation, his own age at the time of the interaction, and the fact that he was learning the psalter serve to contextualise his presence at this interaction as well as allowing him to distance himself from his actions as the statement of his age places him below the age of reason, when he could be held accountable for his own actions and religious affiliations. The fact that he was learning the psalter and accompanying his father, a chaplain, as part of his studies emphasises his reliance, at that age, upon the adults in his life for religious guidance and education, suggesting, once again, that he was simply acting as instructed.

Oral history also provides a useful framework through which to examine inquisitorial sources because it encounters several of the issues inherent in inquisitorial records and, once again, provides a language with which to discuss these issues and possible considerations for addressing them. At the centre of oral history recording, for example, is the concern that personal biases of both the interviewer and interviewee and the effects of personal and collective retrospective versions of events render memory – the main subject of oral history – an unreliable source of information. Similarly, there has been extensive debate regarding the reliability of inquisitorial sources in light of the imbalance of power between the inquisitor and the deponent. These arguments against the reliability of memory as an oral history resource have since been inverted by arguments that personal memories provided clues about the *meanings* of historical experiences

testis, qui tunc addiscebat psalterium, puer novem vel decem annorum, ivit cum eo; et comederunt ibi cum dicta hæretica, et Bernarda de Ovezinis, socia sua, similiter hæretica. Et erant ibi similiter Raymundus Sord, Guillelmus Espanhol, Raymundus Baussani, sicut credit, frater dictæ hæreticæ, et Raymundus Arquerii vel Baussani, filius spurius prædicti Raymundi Baussani; qui omnes similiter comederunt ibi cum dictis hæreticibus ad eandem mensam cibos quadragesimales. Et tunc morabantur hæretici. Et sunt quinquaginta anni vel ..., see *ibid.*, 843.

and retrospective accounts highlighted the relationships between past and present, between memory and personal identity, and between individual and collective memory. This chapter seeks to make a similar argument regarding the inquisitorial records from Doat 25 and 26 that can be considered as memory records.

In the year 1274 on April 5, 6, 7, and 10, Raymond Hugh spoke of his involvement with William Prunel and Bernard of Tilhol who were known heretics. His most recent interactions with the two men occurred within the month prior to his first confession and extended as far back as twenty-five years. In addition to describing his own involvement with heresy, Raymond also implicates several members of his family and community, including the local lord and the local priest.

Item, seven days before the ides of April, the aforesaid Raymond Hugh, returning, added to his confession, saying that Arnold of Gardouch, lord of Roquevidal, and Alegre, chaplain of the same place, who lives at Marzens, visited – both together – the aforesaid William Prunel and Bernard Tilhol, his companion, heretics, on the land liable to ‘tasca’ belonging to the aforesaid Arnold of Gardouch near Roquevidal. And there the same witness saw both together hearing the words and admonitions of the same heretics, and he saw the both adoring the aforesaid heretics on their arrival and departure, according to the custom of the heretics...He added further that the aforesaid Alegre knew very well how to adore the aforesaid heretics without instruction, and it seemed very clear that he had previously adored heretics.¹³⁹

This lengthy deposition, with multiple addenda recorded over a period of four days is significant to this discussion for what it can contribute to an examination of self-representation through the description of remembered events. Raymond’s deposition states that he is being interviewed in the context of having been “captured as a suspect,” but his deposition contains no proclamation

¹³⁹ Item septimo idus Aprilis prædictus Raymundus Hugonis, rediens, addidit confessioni suæ, dicens quod Arnaldus de Gardoig, dominus de Rocavidal, et Alegre, capellanus eiusdem loci, qui moratur apud Maorsenx, visitaverunt—ambo simul—prædictos Guillelmum Prunelli et Bernardum Tilhol, socium eius, hæreticos, in solo taschali prædicti Arnaldi de Gardoig prope Rocavidal. Et ibi ipse testis vidit ambos simul audientes verba et monitiones ipsorum hæreticorum, et vidit ambos adorantes prædictos hæreticos in adventu et recessu, secundum morem hæreticorum... Adiecit plus quod prædictus Alegre obtime scivit adorare prædictos hæreticos sine instructione, et bene videbatur quod alias adorasset hæreticos, see *ibid.*, 417.

of innocence or wrongful arrest.¹⁴⁰ It seems that instead he is seeking to gain favour (and perhaps leniency) through the provision of extensive information and the identities of several other Cathar supporters as well as positioning himself as a reformed supporter. Although he admits to transgressing after a previous appearance before an inquisitorial tribunal, he also describes what he calls the ‘errors’ of Cathar beliefs that he has heard through the preaching he has witnessed.

Through his words, it could be argued that Raymond was trying to represent himself as ‘reformed’ by talking about the errors of Cathar beliefs and by implicating several members of his family and community. His actions, however, contradict this as it is also stated that he had appeared before inquisitors before and abjured heresy before committing further transgressions;

And he was before brother William Bernard, inquisitor, before whom he abjured all heresy. And he acknowledged that he had done wrong, because after he had abjured heresy, as has been said, he saw, adored, and believed in heretics, as has been said.¹⁴¹

Like those of Arquier’s deposition, one interpretation of the descriptions in Raymond’s testimony is that they suggest a normalisation of Catharism but also an alteration in his ideas regarding his actions and those of the individuals he implicates. Although he describes events happening as though they occurred as part of normal behaviour, his prior interactions with inquisitors appear to have impacted upon his views of this behaviour. Rather than attempting to deny any involvement in such activities, he opts instead to provide as much information as possible regarding the involvement of others in a possible attempt to mitigate his own punishment. His descriptions of events do not exclude his own presence or involvement but instead detail the identities of additional individuals and their involvement and end with his own

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 373.

¹⁴¹ Et fuit coram fratre Guillelmo Bernardo, inquisitore, coram quo omnem hæresim abiuravit. Et recognoscit quod male fecit quia postquam abiuraverat hæresim, ut dictum est, vidit, adoravit, et credit hæreticos ut dictum est, see *ibid.*, 415.

statements on the realisation of his own error. His knowledge of inquisitorial process appears to work to his favour as, although it is stated that he was previously imprisoned as a suspect of heresy, he appears to escape further punishment as it is stated that he escapes excommunication and no mention of other punishment is made at the end of his deposition

This he attested, and he abjured all heresy, and took an oath etc., before brothers Ranulph of Plassac and Pons of Parnac, inquisitors. Witnesses: brother Peter Barrau and brother Vital of *Vassaron*, of the Order of Preachers, Atho of Saint-Victor, and master Berengar of Vernet, who wrote this. And he was absolved from excommunication.¹⁴²

In an examination of how memories of natural disasters are represented by survivors, Alessandro Cavalli argues that an alteration in the representation of memories following subsequent experiences is not the result of temporal distance from the events.¹⁴³ He argues instead that it occurs when the experiences of the individual modify the criteria by which the memories are elaborated and interpreted.¹⁴⁴ In the context of Raymond's deposition, an interpretation of this argument can be applied to infer that his interactions with inquisitors prior to the recording of his testimony have altered the way in which he represents his memories of experiences and interactions with heresy. This can be seen in the way his descriptions of other individuals changes towards the end of his deposition, after he has added to his initial statement several times. Throughout Raymond's testimony, his statements regarding the involvement of others remain, for the most part, consistent. He mentions their actions, whether they were supporters or believers of the heretics, and occasionally their status as fugitives for heresy;

This Hugh was a man in whom 'one could have faith,' that is to say, he was a friend and believer of the heretics...¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² Hoc deposuit, et abiuravit1 omnem hæresim, et iuravit etcetera, coram fratribus Ramnulpho de Placiaco et Pontio de Parnacho, inquisitoribus. Testes: frater Petrus Barravi, et frater Vitalis de Valle Seron, de Ordine4 Prædicatorum, Atho de Sancto Victore, et magister Berengarius de Vernet, qui hoc scripsit. Et fuit absolutus ab excommunicatione, see *ibid.*, 417.

¹⁴³ Cavalli, 'Memory and Identity: How Memory Is Reconstructed after Catastrophic Events,' 171.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ qui Hugo erat homo in quo 'se podia hom fizar'—hoc est dictu, erat amicus et credens hæreticorum, see 'Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282,' 391.

Among his final statements, however, the language used to describe the individuals he is implicating, changes, becoming emotive, and more emphatically negative;

Item, she is of a family very infected with heresy...¹⁴⁶

...saying that the same Rixendis was a friend of the heretics, and is of a family corrupted by heresy...¹⁴⁷

Such emotive language is noticeable in its difference from the surrounding language and that of Raymond's other descriptions. Until this point near the end of his deposition, he does not represent himself as someone who would describe belief or involvement with heresy as a disease or corruption, nor does this attitude correlate with his earlier portrayals of himself as a reformed believer. Although he admits to seeing the errors of his ways and beliefs, the same level of fervency is not evident.

The inquisitors' interpretations of Raymond's descriptions and the specific meanings and significance applied to them were "determined and conditioned by the circumstances of their work."¹⁴⁸ Applying this constructionist view of the creation of history to the creation of these records interprets their creation by both inquisitor and deponent as a process like the creation of 'history'. Deponents are creating a personal history based on both events that have occurred and their interpretations of them based on their personal experiences and the inquisitor and deponent together use statements of "what really happened" to construct a historical record.¹⁴⁹

Raymond's deposition also shows an example of this shift in attitude occurring in reverse in the character of Alegre, the local priest. In addition to the obvious shift from orthodox priest to Cathar supporter, a footnote from the editors of the collection reveal that Alegre also acted as a

¹⁴⁶ Item est de genere multum infecto de hæresi..., see *ibid.*, 431.

¹⁴⁷ ... ipsa Rixen erat amica hæreticorum, et est de genere corrupto de hæresi, see *ibid.*, 433.

¹⁴⁸ Rüsen, 'What Does 'Making Sense of History' Mean?', 1.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

witness during the inquisitorial trials of the 1240s. This demonstrates a direct shift from acting to assist the inquisitors to acting in direct opposition to them. It also shows that while they may not have been as obvious, interactions with inquisitors had the potential to drive individuals (and evidently, even those of a religious background) away from orthodox practices.

The interpretation of the inquisitorial recording process as both the creation of personal history on the part of the deponent and the creation of historical record on the part of the inquisitor is significant in light of LaDurie's attempt to use inquisitorial records to recreate a picture of the community of Montailou. Rather than using the content of the records to attempt to create personal histories and imposing them upon the individuals, this interpretation allows the personal histories to be revealed in the reading of the source material. Just as Raymond's representations of his involvement with heresy were altered and impacted by his contact with the inquisitors, our interpretations of his deposition have been impacted by the various ways in which inquisitorial records have been interpreted – not only LaDurie's interpretation in his creation of *Montailou*, but also less idealistic interpretations such as Arnold's argument against the presence of personal history within these documents.¹⁵⁰

Although the above example demonstrates the desire of a deponent to control the way in which they represent themselves to the inquisitors, this was a luxury not afforded to all. When all members of a community are questioned, it is not unreasonable to expect that they will mention each other, sometimes benignly and sometimes not. As mentioned above, the depositions of Doat 25 and 26 show evidence of individuals voluntarily giving testimony to accuse others.¹⁵¹ In circumstances where the depositions of two individuals contradicted each other, the nature of the inquisitors' record keeping ensured that contradictory depositions could be used to

¹⁵⁰ Arnold, *Inquisition and Power*, 7.

¹⁵¹ See page 53

encourage the amendment of a person's confession. The following deposition in this discussion is an example of such a process as well as an example of a person attempting to control their self-representation but being unable to do so due to the testimony of another individual.

On the second day of June in 1273, Petronilla, the wife of Daide of Bras, was questioned regarding her knowledge of and involvement with heresy. She stated that her only encounters with heretics were when she was a girl and they were living openly but that “she never adored or believed, or had any dealings or close association with them.”¹⁵² She also speaks of an encounter with a fugitive for heresy named William, who was lodged at her house on two occasions and who told her stories of his experiences and poor treatment in Lombardy. She makes no mention of ever eating or drinking with William or any other heretic and, when asked, denies having ever possessed or eaten the blessed bread of the heretics.¹⁵³ Petronilla, the wife of Daide of Bras, adds to her confession on two occasions. The first of these additions, made on June 25, 1273, sees her recant her previous statement of having never possessed the blessed bread of the heretics as she admits that a certain individual of Lombardy (who we may take as reference to the heretic, William) gave it to her. The second of these additions, or rather, the reason it is made, is much more interesting for the insight into social relationships and dynamics that it provides.

In the same year as above, five days before the nones of July, the aforesaid witness Petronilla, sworn in, a captive brought out from prison, added to her confession that she saw two exiles for heresy in her house, and gave them to eat and drink from her own supplies; she also gave each of them a linen cap. She also said that they advised her to go together with them into Lombardy.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² ...sed nunquam adoravit nec credidit, nec participationem, nec familiaritatem cum eis habuit, see ‘Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282,’ 181.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 183.

¹⁵⁴ Anno quo supra, quinto nonas Iulii, Petronilla testis prædicta iurata, capta, adducta de carcere, addidit confessioni suæ quod vidit duos faiditos pro hæresi in domo sua, et dedit eis ad comedendum et bibendum de suo; dedit etiam cuique illorum pilleum lineum. Dixit etiam quod monuerunt eam quod iret una cum ipsis in Lombardiam, see *ibid.*

This addition is made following the deposition of another woman. Petronilla, the wife of William of Castanet, is brought out of prison on June 25, 1273, where she has been held for the charge of heresy and questioned. She admits that herself and her husband entertained two heretics in their household, with whom they shared food and drink, and that she adored them, “genuflecting, saying ‘Bless me.’ And they replied, ‘May the Holy Spirit bless you.’”¹⁵⁵ On the first of July, Petronilla divulged the details of conversations that occurred on an occasion when she visited her godfather, Daide of Bras, and her godmother Petronilla, at whose house she ate and slept. Petronilla of Castanet revealed that while everyone else was at church, her godmother (the wife of Daide of Bras) showed her the house and grounds of the property and explained that she believed it all to be the work of the devil. She then further confided to her goddaughter that she wished to flee to Lombardy;

The said witness also said that her same godmother said to her that if she could get the money she would pretend to go on pilgrimage, and in this way she would flee to the good men, that is, to the heretics; to Lombardy so she believes.¹⁵⁶

As this description of events clearly differs from that provided by Petronilla, wife of Daide of Bras, she was left with no choice but to recant her prior confessions and amend them accordingly. The result of this is that she is no longer in full control of her personal representation or her family history. Although she attempted to present herself in a particular way, the conflicting information provided by her goddaughter has impacted upon the way in which the events of her personal history have been interpreted by the inquisitors, causing them to imprison her by way of coercing her to change her story. The second addition to Petronilla, wife of Daide of Bras, makes to her deposition, which occurs after she has been imprisoned, suggests that her capture and incarceration occurred because of her goddaughter’s statements

¹⁵⁵ ...dixit quod flexis genibus dicens ‘Benedicite’; et ipsi respondebant ‘Sanctus Spiritus vos benedicat’, see *ibid.*, 185.

¹⁵⁶ Dixit etiam dicta testis quod eadem commater sua dixit sibi quod si posset habere denarios quod fingeret se ire causa peregrinationis, et ita affugeret ad bonos homines, scilicet hæreticos; ad Lombardiam, ut ipsa credit, see *ibid.*, 189.

against her. As she was also imprisoned under similar charges, it can be assumed that Petronilla of Castanet knew that her godmother would likely share this fate. When investigating ways in which individuals, particularly families and kinship groups would resist the inquisitors, James Given discusses the tendency of families to agree in advance that they would not incriminate one another to the inquisitors.¹⁵⁷ He states that this method was most common within family groups because individuals were compelled by family loyalty to defend their kin.¹⁵⁸ The depositions of the two Petronillas, however, could be taken as an example of the reverse happening also, wherein individuals decide that it is in their best interest to distance themselves from family members and their actions and seek to find favour by aiding the inquisitors' investigations.

A further example of this happening, although not in the context of family groups, can be seen in the final deposition of the volume, that of Bernard of Villeneuve. Bernard's deposition, like many within the volume, is primarily comprised of names of people whom he has seen in the presence of heretics. It is significant for this discussion, however, as it demonstrates the concerns of others regarding their representation within Bernard's testimony. This concern is evident in their requests that he does not mention them, which are accompanied in some cases by bribery or even threats of violence. One individual even provides advice as to how he could avoid identifying him, while still providing sufficient information to satisfy the inquisitors;

Item, he said that the aforesaid Pons of Mas of Fajac asked the same witness, once at Pech-Luna, and again at Belpech, not to mention him concerning the aforesaid matters, suggesting to him that he could say it of others from Fajac, who were burnt; and if he spent anything in going to the inquisitors, he would make good his expenses.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc*, 121-24.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Item dixit quod supradictus Pontius de Manso de Faiaco rogavit ipsum testem semel apud Podium Lunarii, et iterum apud Bellum Podium, quod celaret ipsum de præmissis, suggerens ei quod poterat illud dicere de aliis de Faiaco, qui erant combusti, et si expenderet aliquid eundo ad inquisitores, quod ipse redderet sibi expensas, see 'Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282,' 975.

This also fits with Given's discussion regarding methods of resistance, wherein people would only implicate individuals that they knew were already deceased or otherwise out of harm's way so that they could satisfy an inquisitorial request for information without causing anyone to come to harm.¹⁶⁰ It is clear from the fact that these requests were relayed to the inquisitors that Bernard did not think it prudent to omit such information. This is also demonstrated in his overt refusal to grant one such request, which results in threats of violence which frighten him into agreeing to the request.

Item, he said that the aforesaid William Bermund likewise asked the same witness not to mention his concerning the aforesaid matters; and Gaubert Olric, the brother-in-law of the said William Bermund, likewise asked the same witness not to mention the said William Bermund. And because the same witness refused to grant this to them, they threatened him with murder and fire. And afterwards the said Gaubert gave the same witness forty shillings Tournois, not to mention his said brother-in-law, in the presence of the same brother-in-law; and the same witness received them and promised not to mention him: but he did this, as he says, more for fear than for money.¹⁶¹

The above example of the two Petronillas demonstrates that control of one's personal history can be lost because of another person's testimony. The deposition of Bernard of Villeneuve shows the reverse perspective wherein a variety of people are attempting to maintain control of their own personal representation by attempting to control the contents of Bernard's testimony.

Memories are an important aspect of the formation of personal identity and self-representation, however while the true details of events may be static and unchanging, an individual's memory of events is not. Over time, a person's memories change as new experiences alter their perspective, as shown by the recollections of childhood memories discussed above. All the

¹⁶⁰ Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc*, 99.

¹⁶¹ Item dixit quod supradictus Guillelmus Bermundi rogavit similiter ipsum testem quod celaret eum de supradictis; et Gaubertus Olrici, sororius dicti Guillelmi Bermundi, similiter rogavit ipsum testem quod celaret dictum Guillelmum Bermundi. Et quia ipse testis nolebat hoc eis concedere minati fuerunt et interfectionem et incendium. Et postea dictus Gausbertus tradidit ipsi testi quadraginta solidos Turonenses ut celaret dictum sororium eius, præsente eodem sororio; quos ipse testis recepit, et promisit quod celaret eum: sed hoc fecit, ut dicit, magis propter timorem quam propter pecuniam, see 'Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282,' 975.

testimonies discussed in this chapter have demonstrated that the way in which an individual seeks to present themselves impacts upon the representations of their memories.¹⁶² In addition, the extent to which a person distances themselves from events can be controlled or negated by recollections made by other present individuals.

Considering these documents in the context of memory records enables us to discuss the process of their creation as one involving not only the recording of inquisitorial process, but also the creation of both a historical document and a personal history. These contexts are significant because they broaden the way in which this information can be interpreted and the inferences that can be made. Applying aspects of an oral history framework to these records enables us to consider the role of the deponent in the creation of the deposition and examine the impact of their personal identity and how they connect their individual experiences with their social context upon the content recorded in their depositions. Through this process, we can make inferences regarding the revelations of cultural and ideological influences revealed in the silences, discrepancies and idiosyncrasies of personal testimony.¹⁶³

¹⁶² For further work on the stages of memory production and change, see Jan Assmann, 'Form as a Mnemonic Device: Cultural Texts and Cultural Memory', *Performing the Gospel. Orality, Memory, and Mark. Essays Dedicated to Werner Kelber*, ed. R. A. Horsley, J. A. Draper and J. M. Foley (Minneapolis, 2006), 67-82; Jan Assmann, 'Communicative and Cultural Memory', *Cultural Memories. The Geographical Point of View*, ed. P. Meusburger, M. Heffernan and E. Wunder (Dordrecht, 2011), 15-27; Jan Assmann and J. Czaplicka, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity', *New German Critique* 65 (1995), 125-33.

¹⁶³ L. Passerini, 'Work ideology and consensus under Italian fascism,' in *History Workshop*, (1979) 8, 82-108.

Chapter Three - “In the house of...”: Representations of space and community

In his hearing in February of 1273, Bernard of Rival describes a journey made by Bertrand Alaman, described as a “friend of the heretics” to Bonnac where two heretics were being held captive. One was Pons of Sainte-Foy, who was the deacon of the heretics and Bertrand had been tasked with presenting Pons with a wax tablet upon which he was to write the name of the person who would succeed him.¹⁶⁴

...Bertrand went at once with the said wax tablet to Bonnac where the aforesaid heretics were held captive. And, saying to the guards that he wanted to see them and try them, to see if they were willing to convert, he was let in and he gave the wax tablet to the said deacon of the heretics to be inscribed. And when it had been written on, he received it back, and returned it to the heretics...”¹⁶⁵

The concepts of prison and imprisonment as we know them did not exist in the medieval world. Although medieval imprisonment has, until recently, been studied in terms of modern penal concepts of punishment, custody, and coercion, it was not until the beginning of the fourteenth century that the link between imprisonment and criminal law with which we are familiar was established.¹⁶⁶ The inquisitorial prison was intended as a place of both punishment and coercion, where the threat of continued imprisonment would result in confession, and this information would lead to the exposure and elimination of heretical networks.¹⁶⁷ In spite of these intentions, however, the above interaction demonstrates how easy it was for a supporter of heresy to ignore and subvert the intentions of the inquisitorial prison space and privately communicate with a prisoner to ensure that the leadership of the sect would be continued. This interaction, and the circumstances in which it occurred therefore provides a convenient starting point for this

¹⁶⁴ ‘Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282,’ 203.

¹⁶⁵ Bertrandus cum dicta cera ivit confestim versus Bonacum ubi errant prædicti hæretici capti. Et dicens custodibus quod volebat eos videre et temptare, si vellent converti, fuit admissus, et tradidit ceram inscribendam dicto diacono hæreticorum. Et inscriptam receipt eam et reddidit hæreticis..., see ‘Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282,’ 203.

¹⁶⁶ Megan Cassidy-Welch, *Imprisonment in the Medieval Religious Imagination, C. 1150-1400* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 5.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 78.

chapter's discussion of the significance of places and locations and the way that inquisitorial depositions can reflect the ways people created meaning from space.

Despite a historiographical consensus that the records of inquisition are untrustworthy as records of anything other than inquisitorial agenda and process, I have argued in previous chapters of this thesis that there are specific records within volumes 25 and 26 of the Doat collection that lend themselves to the application of a revised analytical perspective. Such records can be contrasted with those which adhere to a strict question and answer format which provides limited scope for deviation from scripted questions posed by the interrogator.

These details are suggestive of some degree of direct speech being preserved within the record despite the process of editing and rewriting through which archived inquisitorial records were produced. I contend that these details can provide insight into aspects of self-identification, as well as social and community interactions which may have been impacted by the continued presence of the inquisition over an extended period. In this chapter I seek to extend this argument by discussing recollections of space and place within the depositional records of Doat 25 and 26. I will examine how deponents constructed and understood community space and how this understanding interacted with boundaries of inclusion and exclusion and orthodoxy and heresy within their communal interactions. In doing so I will investigate the implications of four separate categories of locations in this context; the vineyard, the domestic space, the public square, and the traveller's road. These locations all present unique opportunities to discuss how space and location informed social interactions, and the implications of this impact for the construction of a community history. They therefore provide ideal examples for the demonstration of how these records can be used to discuss the role of place and space in social and community interactions.

Space and place are categories, or frameworks which have been increasingly used to discuss the workings of human social relationships by historians. The use of physical space and its physical division can be used as a tool for inclusion, exclusion, and the identification of individuals and groups. This process impacts on individual understandings of belonging and the right to inhabit spaces. It can also be used to create social delineations such as between wealth and privilege and powerlessness and poverty, and contribute to social and cultural constructions of gender and class. Inquisitors were interested in constructions of space that allowed them to distinguish or identify heretics or heretical practice, as demonstrated by suggested lines of questioning within the procedural manual developed during the 1270s, *Doctrina de modo procedendi contra hereticos* stating that, in the first instance, individuals

(should be questioned) carefully whether they had seen a heretic or Waldensian, and where, and when, and how often, and with whom, and about other circumstances. And repeat these for each of the interrogations.¹⁶⁸

As well as being asked “Item, about its place” at the end of their description of each interaction.¹⁶⁹

In his discussion of the production of space, Lefebvre argues that space underpins all social relations within human society and that the role and significance of a space is imposed upon it by the way that it is used.¹⁷⁰ This argument emphasises the significance of spaces in the context of the actions and interactions that occur within them, and therefore the importance of my discussion within this chapter. In the context of the records being discussed here, I argue that the location in which an action or interaction occurs play a significant role in the categorisation of that action depending on the role and significance of that location within the community.

¹⁶⁸ Videlicet si vidi[t] hereticum vel valdense[m] et ibi [recte: ubi] et quando et quociens et cum quibus et de aliis circumstantiis diligenter et ista replica ad singulas interrogaciones, see Peter Biller, *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth Century Languedoc*, 67.

¹⁶⁹ Item de loco, see *ibid.*, 69.

¹⁷⁰ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

Recollections of events within the depositions of Doat 25 and 26 often include a description or mention of the location in which the event occurred. This may appear in response to a direct question or during the description of an interaction. For example;

Asked in what places, she says that she does not remember, but she believes that at Prouille, and in many other places.¹⁷¹

Or;

Item, she said that she heard the aforesaid Philippa once saying – beyond the Garonne in the said Philippa’s newly planted vineyard - ...¹⁷²

Location descriptions can indirectly provide information about the event being described, such as the potential presence or lack of witnesses, or even the nature of the event. By putting the inquisitorial context and agenda aside, however, we can examine what these descriptions can reveal to us about personal identity and the social structures of communities living with an inquisitorial presence.

The above story regarding the nomination of the deacon’s successor during the term of his imprisonment, has its true beginning in the public space of the vineyard. In this exchange, occurring in the vineyard owned by Pons Rastel, two men (William David and Raymond John, heretics) arrived at the vineyard. These men had fled from the inquisition and brought news that two of their companions had been captured between Caraman and Lanta – Pons of Sainte Foy, deacon of the heretics, and Bernard Rastel, the brother of Pons Rastel. It was decided that Pons should depart immediately for Caragoudes to speak with Bertrand Alaman who was a friend of the heretics and request that he visit the deacon in prison so that his successor could be named.

Item, he said that when Pons of Sainte-Foy, deacon of the heretics, a native of Lanta, and Bernard Rastel, heretics, were captured within the walls and wood of the late Pons of Mons,

¹⁷¹ Interrogata in quibus locis, dicit se non recordari, sed credit quod apud Prulianum, et in multis aliis locis, see ‘Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282,’ 325.

¹⁷² Item dixit quod audivit prædictam Philippam, dicentem quadam vice, ultra Garonnam in malleolo dictæ Philippæ, see *ibid.*, 271.

between Caraman and Lanta, the other two heretics escaped, namely the aforesaid Raymond David and William John, and they came fleeing towards Aurin to Pons Rastel's newly-planted vineyard, in which the same witness and the same Pons were pruning, and there they spoke with the same Pons Rastel, the brother of one of the heretics who had been captured, and with the same witness.¹⁷³

The vineyard as a location is mentioned often enough throughout the documents to suggest that it was an important place within the communities represented, but it was also metaphorically significant within the orthodox Christian tradition. Beverley Kienzle, in her text *Cistercians, heresy, and Crusade in Occitania, 1145-1229: Preaching in the Lord's vineyard* (2001) discusses the vineyard in a metaphorical context, referring to the fear of it being ravaged by the rapacious rats of heresy, resulting in the destruction of the grape vines that represent the orthodox Christian community. Bernard of Clairvaux used the scriptural image of the Lord's vineyard, and concerns for the security of its vines – “Seize for us the little foxes that are destroying the vineyard” - to explain why he felt that he needed to “turn from inside to outside, away from domestic monastic matters in order to be of use in affairs of general concern.”¹⁷⁴

Although the Languedoc region is now considered to be “the cradle of French viticulture,” relatively little is known about the development of viticulture and the wine trade in the region or about their participation in the wine trade during the medieval period as there are few records available which provide this information.¹⁷⁵ We therefore do not have any indication as to the centrality of the vineyard within a town or if it was commonly used as a meeting place in circumstances other than those represented within the depositions. What we can glean from the documents, however, is that the vineyard was both a workplace and a place of meeting and

¹⁷³ Item dixit quod quando Pontius de Sancta Fide, diaconus hæreticorum, Lantarus, et Bernardus Rastelli, hæretici, fuerunt capti in parietibus et nemore Pontii de Montibus quondam, inter Caram' et Lantar', evaserunt alii duo hæretici, scilicet prædictus Raimundus David, et Guillelmus Ioannis, qui fugientes venerunt versus Auri ad maleolum Pontii Rastelli, in quo putabant idem testis et ipse Pontius, et fuerunt ibi loqui cum ipsos Pontios Rastelli, fratre alterius hæreticorum qui erant capti, et cum ipso teste, see *ibid.*, 203.

¹⁷⁴ Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145-1229: Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard*, 8.

¹⁷⁵ Roderick Phillips, *French Wine: A History*, (University of California Press, 2016), 239.

discussion. It was a place where plans were made, opinions were expressed, and information or gossip was exchanged.

Depositions in which the vineyard is mentioned show that it was also, perhaps unexpectedly, a place of worship and ritual. Deposition evidence suggests that acts of ritual and worship were predominantly confined to the private, domestic space. As the openness and potentially central location of the vineyard suggests that it was likely a public space, this leads us to discuss it as both a public and a private space.

As a place of work within the community, the vineyard was a location where a captive audience for the expression of one's views and opinions could be found. This did not always mean, however, that your opinions would be shared, even when the vineyard was your own. This is a lesson that Bernard of Souillac would learn the hard way as three workers in his vineyard admitted to hearing him publicly make a variety of dissident statements while they were working in his vineyard. According to Julian the Angevin, Stephen Brito, and John Moret, he stated the belief that priests and chaplains are false people and that the host is "not the body of Christ, but cooked dough", that the laws of Saracens and Jews are better than the laws of Christians as they confess to God alone, and that usury is not a sin but a good and beautiful profit.¹⁷⁶ It was also noted by one of the individuals working in the vineyard that Bernard had stated an intention to speak against anyone who spoke about their faith.¹⁷⁷

This final statement suggests that although Bernard acknowledged that he is speaking in an environment where he can be heard by several people, he felt that his ownership of the vineyard and therefore the space afforded him a measure of protection from the scrutiny one might

¹⁷⁶ 'Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282,' 659-65.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 665.

otherwise expect in such a space. It is also possible that at the time when his statements were made, he did not feel that it was dangerous to express such opinions, but that it became so as the presence of inquisitors began to change people's attitudes to both ideas and their appropriate spatial expression. Alternatively, Bernard's openness could be born out of an assumption that his views are shared by those around him and that he is not alone in thinking that the vineyard is an ideal location for sharing and the spread of dissident opinions. In this instance, it is possible that Bernard not only believed that his ownership of the vineyard afforded him a measure of control over the activities taking place within the space, but also that the common purpose within the space (that is, the harvesting of grapes and production of wine) translated into his own beliefs and opinions being shared by the other individuals present.

In the deposition of Guilbert of Saint-Michel, cited above,¹⁷⁸ states that on a day approximately sixteen years ago, he saw two men in his father's vineyard who beckoned to him but of whom he was afraid. The span of time since this event, and Guilbert's statement that "...like a boy [he] was afraid," suggests that he was a child at the time of the interaction. Additionally, his description of the vineyards as being "newly planted" could be being used here to emphasise the amount of time that has passed between his interaction with heretics and the time at which he is giving his testimony, thereby allowing him to distance himself from his past actions.¹⁷⁹ After his father expressed approval of these men (heretics) and their beliefs, however, Guilbert approached them and heard their preaching. He also admitted that he had often seen his brother, Peter, in the vineyard in the company of heretics and that he knew that Peter ate with them and adored them in addition to hearing their preaching. It is implied that Guilbert has witnessed his brother adoring the heretics (particularly William Prunel) in their father's vineyard, however this is not confirmed.

¹⁷⁸ See p. 56.

¹⁷⁹ As discussed in Chapter Two.

In the same year as above, on the Sunday of the morrow of St Martin, Guilabert of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles, son of the late Peter of Saint-Michel of Las Touzeilles, sworn in as a witness and questioned like the others above, said that on a certain day at Las Touzeilles, in his father's newly-planted vineyard, under a certain pear tree, where there was a certain brushwood hut, he saw two men in the distance who called him over, not with their voices, but with their hands. He, however, like a boy was afraid, and did not go to them then, but returned to his father's house and told his father. His father, however, said that they were some of the good men, who are called 'heretics', and that he ought not to be afraid, but that he should henceforth go to them with confidence, because they were his friends.¹⁸⁰

These acts of private worship in 'public' places are possibly, to the eyes of inquisitors, also examples of the perversion of orthodox religious practice. Not only are these acts of worship taking place outside of a prescribed environment, such as a church, but they are also being performed in a public place.¹⁸¹ Because these interactions and acts of worship occur outside of a prescribed environment, they are unable to be controlled by either the physical limits of that location, or by individuals or governing bodies deemed to oversee it. This is representative of a general concern of the inquisition – that the rituals and practices associated with Catharism occurred outside of the prescribed environment of the Church, making them difficult to control.

The street, or public square was less ambiguous in its status as public or private space and these interactions contain the common theme of a direct awareness by individuals that they are likely to be observed. This awareness affects their interaction with the public space and the way in which they seek to present themselves, providing us with further opportunities to discuss attempts by individuals to craft their own history and identity through the information they

¹⁸⁰ Anno quo supra, dominica in crastinum Sancti Martini, Guilabertus de Sancto Michaele de Thoelhis, filius quondam Petri de Sancto Michaele de Thoelhis, testis iuratus et requisitus ut alii supra, dixit quod quadam die apud Thoelhas, in malolio patris sui, sub quadam piru, ubi erat quaedam cabana de sarmentis, vidit duos homines a longe, qui vocarunt eum non voce sed manu. Ipse vero tamquam puer timuit, et non ivit tunc ad eos, sed rediit ad domum paternam, et retulit patri suo. Pater vero dixit ei quod illi erant de bonis hominibus, qui vocantur haeretici, et quod non oportebat eum timere, sed quod deinceps iret ad eos secure, quia amici sui erant, see 'Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282,' 241.

¹⁸¹ A further example of this form of private ritual worship occurring in a public private location can be found in the deposition of Bernard Fournier wherein he admits to visiting a hut within the vineyard of Saint-Paul-Cap-de-Joux for the purposes of meeting the known heretics Bernard Tilhol and William Prunel to hear their preaching and to adore them, see *Ibid.*, 495.

provided to the inquisitors. Interactions described as taking place in the street are unique within the documents as they all involve some form of gossip. This includes but is not limited to discussions between two people about one or more other people, the reporting of an interaction that was witnessed but not participated in, or the discussion of gossip about oneself.

This behaviour, i.e., attempting to control representations of oneself, or, in this case, one's family, is demonstrated most distinctly in the example of Bernard Barra of Sorèze. When news had spread that Bernard had been summoned to appear before the inquisition, he was approached by William Pictavin of Sorèze, the brother of Peter Pictavin (a known heretic), who was concerned about what Bernard might tell the inquisitors:

...William Pictavin of Sorèze, the brother of Peter Pictavin, said to the same witness, 'Worthy man, during your days don't do wrong to your neighbours.' To which the same witness answered him, saying 'What can I know or say about heresy when I have always persecuted heretics?' And after this the said William Pictavin questioned the same witness, saying, 'Have you ever seen me with heretics?' And he replied that he had not.

Asked about the place, he said on the bridge of the mill at Sorèze, in the public street.¹⁸²

When examined in the context of our knowledge that Peter Pictavin was a known heretic within the community and the fact that Bernard has been summoned to appear before the inquisition, this seemingly innocuous interaction gains further meaning. Both Bernard and William are anxious to ensure that anyone who overhears their conversation cannot accuse them of any wrongdoing or association with heresy, however, William is also obviously concerned for his brother's welfare and is seeking assurance from Bernard that he will not implicate Peter to the inquisitors. Bernard's emphasis in his deposition that this interaction took place "in the public street" suggests an awareness of the fact that this detail may impact the inquisitor's interpretation of the interaction. Through their behaviour in this interaction, both Bernard and William show

¹⁸² ...Guillelmus Pictavini de Soricino, frater Petri Pictavini, dixit ipsi testi, 'Pros hom, vos a votz dias, no fassatz mal a vostres besins.' Ad quod ipse testis respondit ei, dicens, 'Quid ego possum scire vel dicere de hæresi, qui semper persecutus sum hæreticos?' Et post hæc dictus Guillelmus Pictavini interrogavit ipsum testem, dicens, 'Vidistis me vos unquam cum hæreticis?' Et ipse respondit quod non. Requisitis de loco, dixit quod supra pontem molendini apud Soricinum, in carreria publica, see 'Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282,' 771-73.

an awareness of the implications of the space in which they are meeting, with Bernard further demonstrating an ability to use the implications of the public space to manipulate the possible implications of his interaction. Likewise, by stating that he “has always persecuted heretics”, Bernard is seeking to represent himself to the inquisitors, and anyone else who may be listening, that he is above reproach in this matter.

A further example of individuals showing awareness of their public presentation can be found in the deposition of Guillelma, a woman of Toulouse. Here she describes, not her own actions, but those of a woman in her community and her daughter. This serves as an example of why individuals may have felt it necessary to control their public presentation, as someone, like Guillelma is always watching. In her deposition of 1274, Guillelma described her interactions with Fabrissa and her daughter Philippa, including several occasions wherein she witnessed Bernard Fogassier coming to their house to see them and to hide in their house. Several depositions establish the Fogassier family as known heretics in the community, with at least one member (Bartholomew Fogassier) living as a fugitive in Lombardy. Their association with Bernard Fogassier, and his hiding in their house, therefore establishes Fabrissa and Philippa as supporters of heresy, a status which is further supported by the statement that Philippa “guarded the door at the time of the mother’s illness.” It is stated elsewhere that the mother was hereticated shortly before her death from said illness and that the door was guarded during the heretication so it could not be interrupted or prevented. Although these actions were obviously known to some other members of the community, Fabrissa seeks to deny her association, and that of her daughter, with the Fogassiers by advising her daughter not to look at or acknowledge Bernard when in public. She is aware that they are likely under scrutiny in such an environment and is therefore modifying her behaviour in response and seeking to control the way that she represents herself, her daughter, and her family in public.

Item she said that on several occasions she saw Bernard Fogassier coming to the said Fabrisa and Philippa her daughter and speaking with them, and hiding in their house. And Philippa guarded the door at the time of the mother's illness. And sometimes when they saw him in public places the mother would say to the daughter, 'Don't look at him.'¹⁸³

In chapter two, the childhood recollections of Raymond Arquier and his descriptions of the time he spent living with his aunt, Rixendis, a known heretic were discussed in the context of memories of childhood interactions with heresy. He presents himself as a man who is reformed and seeking to represent himself as such and distance himself from the actions of his kin. A further example of this can be seen in his statement that at the time when he was living with his aunt "...the said heretics were living in the town of Sorèze, and went about publicly in the streets, and to church, and to the bake-house, and they carried out their business publicly just like other women of Sorèze, with any of the people, and anyone with them."¹⁸⁴ His emphatic repetition of the word 'publicly' and his emphasis on their use of public space suggests that he is seeking to represent both his and their actions at this time as innocuous and beyond reproach, occurring as they did during the period of time wherein they were able to live and worship publicly without fear of persecution.

Travel, in various contexts is a recurring theme within the depositional evidence. For example, there are thirteen cases within Doat 25 and 26 that involve deponents who were captured while fleeing.¹⁸⁵ Individuals also discussed plans or a desire to flee to Lombardy, and admitted to temporarily housing known heretics, presumably in the course of their travels. Despite these frequent mentions of travel, there are surprisingly few descriptions of interactions with heresy

¹⁸³ Item dixit quod vidit aliquoties Bernardum Fogacerii venientem ad dictam Fabrissam et Philippam filiam eius, et loquentem cum eis, et ad domum eorum latentem. Et Philippa custodiebat ostium tempore infirmitatis matris. Et aliquando quando videbant ipsum in locis publicis, mater dicebat filiae, 'Non respicias eum?', see 'Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282,' 267.

¹⁸⁴ Item dixit quod eo tempore dictæ hæreticæ manebant in villa Soricini, et ibant publice per carrerias, et ad ecclesiam, et ad furnum, et publice faciebant negocia sua sicut aliæ mulieres de Soricino, cum quibuslibet de populo et quilibet cum eis, see *Ibid.*, 735.

¹⁸⁵ Peter Biller, *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth Century Languedoc*, 72.

noted as having taken place on the road or while travelling. This could be explained in a variety of ways, all of them speculative. For example, it is possible that the social status of those interviewed meant that, either they travelled in a manner that was not conducive to unexpected interactions on the road, or that they did not have the means to travel at all. It could also be the case that although other travellers may have been encountered, no interactions occurred between them and that our assumption that travellers encountering one another engaged in social interaction is the result of pervasive and inaccurate medievalist representations of travel during this period. The relatively small number of interactions described as occurring while travelling may also be explained by the unlikelihood or even unwillingness of medieval individuals to travel any significant distance from home. Eleventh-century sources suggest that much of modern France was heavily wooded and difficult to traverse, with literary sources suggesting that this was likely still the case during the twelfth century.¹⁸⁶ It is possible, therefore, that established ideas of the dangers of travelling through the forest, in addition to requirements of permission and formal safe conduct, and the ability to obtain such, further contributed to a general unwillingness to travel extensively.

While some occupations and undertakings, such as trade or diplomacy, required such travel, it nonetheless remained uncommon, with research on the topic generally concluding that most aspects of life, including work, leisure, and religious life took place within an area of approximately five kilometres in diameter around a person's home.¹⁸⁷ The likelihood of a person travelling beyond the community in which they lived also depended on class, wealth, and occupation. The wealthy, who had the means to travel, and would do so for a variety of social and political reasons, were also able to travel in large numbers, increasing their sense of security.

¹⁸⁶ Jean Verdon, *Travel in the Middle Ages*, trans. George Holoch (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003), 4.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

By contrast, only approximately two percent of farm labourers and ten percent of craftsmen travelled further than thirty kilometres from their home, along with approximately seventeen percent of clergymen and twenty eight percent of men at arms.¹⁸⁸

With regards to the examples that are available for analysis here, however, these interactions suggest that the traveller's road was viewed as an environment which afforded some privacy, for both conversation and the possibility of ritual worship and anonymity.

When Bernard Bonpain, with his female companions Bonnefemme and Veziada, encounter William of Molieres during their journey to the heretics in Lombardy, he has no reservations about openly discussing his dissident views and disdain for the Roman Church.

The same witness also said that Brother Bernard said to him that there was no salvation in any state except the heretical state.

He also said to him that marriage was worth nothing nor was confession, nor was the Roman church the true church because there was nothing in it except pure pride, but that the church of the heretics was the true church.¹⁸⁹

Until he learns in horror that William is on his way to Rome, Bernard appears to think that his transient status and the anonymity that it affords him will enable him to avoid any consequences of his divulgements, although it is also possible that Bernard's joy at encountering a fellow traveller causes him to become unwisely frank with William.

Item, when the same witness said that he was going to Rome to confess his sins, the said Brother Bernard, horrified, asked him if he would ever reveal what he had told him and if he wanted to lead him to his death, as if he wanted to say that he was not a worthy man.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 3.

¹⁸⁹ Dixit etiam idem testis quod frater Bernardus dixit sibi quod non erat salus in aliquo alio statu nisi in statu hæreticali. Dixit etiam sibi quod matrimonium nihil valebat neque confessio, neque ecclesia Romana erat vera ecclesia, quia non erat in ea nisi pura superbia, sed ecclesia hæreticorum erat vera ecclesia, see 'Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282,' 176-8.

¹⁹⁰ Item cum idem testis diceret quod ibat Romæ causa confitendi peccata sua, dictus frater *Bernardus*, stupefactus, petiit ab eo si unquam revelaret ea quæ sibi dixerat, et si vellet eum ducere ad mortem ac si vellet dicere quod non esset probus homo, see Ibid.

This interaction suggests that Bernard and his companions did not expect that William, an individual travelling in the same manner, not to share their religious views and reason for travel. This demonstrates an aspect of the imposition of social expectations upon spaces and those who use them in that Bernard assumes that anyone using the space in the same way as himself and his companions is using it for the same reason, hence he feels safe in the assumption that his dissident opinions will be shared. Similarly, the example taken from the deposition of Peter Ferrol suggests an assumption that the traveller's road was a location which afforded a measure of privacy and anonymity regardless of its lack of enclosure. Peter Ferrol describes the chance meeting of himself, Raymond de Arnauda, and Peter Stephen with a group of individuals who were accompanying Na Bonassias and two unnamed known heretics to a certain location outside of Saune. When the three were bid farewell at this location, Peter Ferrol, Raymond de Arnauda, and Peter Stephen adored the heretics at this location, another example of an act of ritual worship occurring in a locale wherein such action is both unusual and unexpected.¹⁹¹

The special nature of the interior domestic space and its interaction with constructions of faith and commitment is clear within the depositional evidence. The home or domestic space is significant in the context of the spread of religious dissidence within a community for its role in the religious education and maintenance of the family and household. While men, as part of their duty as head of the household, were responsible for the general and religious well-being of its members, it was the responsibility of the women to ensure that the children received a proper religious education, both formally and through the assimilation of morality and belief from their example.¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 957.

¹⁹² Jennifer Ward, *Women in Medieval Europe 1200-1500* (Taylor and Francis, 2016), 227.

Many of the interactions described as occurring in the home or domestic space describe activities that were part of everyday life, with occasional ritual undertones. They describe people eating, drinking, and socialising together, in addition to more significant events such as childbirth, illness, and death. As these events occurred in a person's home and were often private affairs, any rituals – orthodox or heterodox – associated with them fell outside of the control of organised religious structures. For inquisitors, involvement in the spaces associated with Cathar ritual practices was therefore considered to be suggestive of deep involvement or support and often indicated that the entire family or household were supportive of the heretics and their practices.

More interesting for this discussion, however, is the extent to which the recollections of these interactions can show us the role of the home or domestic space in the context of social relationships and community dynamics. In addition to demonstrating the extent of an individual or household's support of the Cathar good men, these recollections also describe the role of the home in social relationships and how activities undertaken within the domestic space can change its role or perception.

To a certain extent these descriptions can also indirectly provide an indication of the physical characteristics of the domestic space, however it is important to note that as no direct descriptions are provided, this is based on the wording of the descriptions and is therefore a speculative interpretation. Descriptions in some recollections of someone being brought into a house and then into another room suggests a dwelling of multiple rooms. This can be seen in the deposition of Bernard of Puy of Prades;

And the same witness came to the said Bernard of Montesquieu, and brought him into the same witness's house...And there and then the same witness asked the said heretics if they wished to see the said Bernard of Montesquieu, who was there; and the heretics replied to the same witness

that this pleased them well. And when these things had been said, the same witness brought the same Bernard of Montesquieu in.¹⁹³

The presence of multiple rooms in a dwelling is also shown in the deposition of Stephen Vital of Baraigne which contains a definitive description of a woman's bedchamber being a separate room as he states that he "...went into Beauteville, into the aforesaid house, where the aforesaid sick woman was lying. The same witness, however, did not enter the chamber where the said sick woman was lying."¹⁹⁴

The descriptions of interactions occurring within the home or domestic space also provide us with insight into the ways in which individuals interact with their domestic space in their everyday lives by showing us how the presence of the Cathar good men changed the treatment of their domestic or home space. This is evident in the deposition of Bernard of Puy of Prades who describes a visit he received from Bernard of Montesquieu:

Item, in the same year as above, seven days before the ides of May, the aforesaid Bernard of Puy of Prades, sworn in as a witness, added to his confession, saying that on a certain day, while William Prunel and Bernard of Tilhol, heretics, were in the same witness's house, Bernard of Montesquieu, the son of Saix, knight of Puylaurens, who lives at Guitalens, came one evening to the same witness's house to get some monies in relation to a demand for cash, which the same witness and the said Bernard of Montesquieu and certain others were to collect, and he found the door of the same witness's house closed, and knocked there. And the same witness came to the said Bernard of Montesquieu, and brought him into the same witness's house, and he asked the same witness why he kept the door closed. And the same witness replied that for this reason, that the good men, that is the aforesaid heretics, were there; and that he could see them if he wanted.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ Et ipse testis venit ad dictum Bernardum de Montesquivo, et intror duxit ipsum in domum ipsius testis... Et ibidem ipse testis quæsivit a dictis hæreticis si volebant videre dictum Bernardum de Montesquivo, qui erat ibi; et hæretici responderunt eidem testi quod bene placebat eis. Et his dictis, ipse testis introduxit ipsum *Bernardum* de Montesquivo, see 'Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282,' 443.

¹⁹⁴ 'Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282,' 575.

¹⁹⁵ Item, anno quo supra, septimo idus Madii, prædictus Bernardus de Podio de Pradis, testis iuratus, adiecit confessioni suæ, dicens quod quadam die, dum Guillelmus Prunelli et Bernardus de Tilhols, hæretici, essent in domo ipsius testis, Bernardus de Montesquivo, filius Saxii, militis de Podio Laurentio, qui moratur apud Guitalux, quodam sero venit ad domum ipsius testis pro quibusdam denariis de quadam quista petendis, quos ipse testis et dictus Bernardus de Montesquivo et quidam alii debebant colligere, et invenit hostium domus ipsius testis clausum, et pulsavit ibi. Et ipse testis venit ad dictum Bernardum de Montesquivo, et intror duxit ipsum in domum ipsius testis, et quæsivit [ab] ipso teste quare tenebat

Bernard's surprise at finding a closed door may suggest that this is a community where people usually leave their doors open and neighbours are free to visit one another at their leisure. The closed door in this case suggests secrecy and evokes interest enough for Bernard of Montesquieu to question it directly. Bernard of Puy is willing to tell his friend about the presence of the Cathar good men in his house, but is wary about leaving the door open and making their presence more widely known.

It is important to note that it is not only the presence of the Cathar good men that influenced the ways in which individuals perceived and interacted with their domestic spaces, but also the activities of ritual and worship associated with their presence. In the deposition of Raymond Baussan he describes a period of three months which he spent staying in the house of one Peter Beauville, in the city of Pavia accompanied by Raymond Papier. There, they were accompanied by a Cathar good man named Pons Boer, at whose request they fasted as he did "abstaining from the eating of flesh and eggs and cheeses."¹⁹⁶ Peter of Beauville, Raymond Papier, and Raymond Baussan heard the preaching of Pons Boer and often adored him in addition to eating with him and sharing in bread blessed by him. When Pons died while living in the same house, Raymond Baussan and Raymond Papier buried him there; "And the same heretic died in the same house, and the same witness and the said Raymond Papier buried him in the same house. And afterwards, sought there at the command of the inquisitor, he was not found."¹⁹⁷

hostium clausum. Et ipse testis respondit quod ideo quia boni homines, scilicet prædicti hæretici, erant ibi; et quod posset ipsos videre si vellet, see 'Toulouse Inquisition Depositions, 1273-1282,' 443.

¹⁹⁶ Et ibi ad instantiam Pontii Boerii, hæretici, fecit ipse testis abstinentiam quam hæretici faciunt ieiunando, et abstinendo ab esu carniū et ovorum et caseorum, see Ibid., 473.

¹⁹⁷ Et decessit idem hæreticus in ipsa domo, quem ipse testis et dictus Raymundus Paperii sepelierunt in eadem domo. Et postea quæsitus ibi de mandato inquisitoris non fuit repertus, see Ibid., 475.

Pons' burial within a domestic space immediately attracts our attention as an unexpected aberration of the norm. Death and burial in medieval Europe involved a series of rituals to prepare an individual's body and soul for interment. These first involved a process of spiritual purification to cleanse the individual of sins and prepare their spiritual being for the afterlife. It was important, particularly if the dying individual was a layperson, that they understood the basis of sin, confession, and penance and by the thirteenth century the Church had developed sin and penance into a complex and highly institutionalised culture which they were seeking to spread throughout the laity.¹⁹⁸ This process involved the confession of one's sins, and therefore the understanding of the severity of their nature, the serving of an appropriate punishment, or penance, and receipt of satisfaction as a result. Thereafter followed the funerary mass and the performance of absolution with incense and holy water before the burial of the individual. The deceased would normally be shrouded and from the thirteenth century, a coffin may have been used to transport them to their place of burial while psalms were sung during the procession. There is evidence dating back to the time of Bede's writing that suggests the social importance of proper burial arising from fears of apparitions and this period saw a growing belief in the importance of being buried in consecrated ground.¹⁹⁹ As such, a person was usually buried in the parish of their birth but this was not considered binding and they could be buried in another parish if required. The rituals associated with the burial process involved the presence of a priest to mark the gravesite with a cross and break the ground for the final rites before ensuring that the corpse – which could only be that of a baptised Christian – was ritually cleansed and covered in incense, ivy, and laurel. Those buried on consecrated ground who were posthumously convicted of heresy were exhumed, as was the case with William Wyclif who died in 1384 and had his bones disinterred in 1428 and cast into a nearby stream.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 36.

¹⁹⁹ Binski, p. 56

²⁰⁰ Binski, p. 57

Considering what we know of ‘normal’ medieval burial practices, the burial of Pons Boer inside the house of Peter of Beauville, the house in which he lived and died, raises interesting questions. It would be easy to interpret this as simply a perversion of correct Christian burial practices, but to consider this in the context of perceptions of space, allows for consideration of the possibility that this space was viewed by its inhabitants as not only a domestic and social space, but also a sacred one, either that Pons is buried because it is a sacred space, or that it was considered a sacred space because of the presence of Pons’ remains. It is possible that, in the eyes of Peter of Beauville, Raymond Baussan, and Raymond Papier, the preaching and the sharing of blessed bread and the ritual worship undertaken in the space had risen it in their consideration to a sacred status similar enough to that of consecrated ground to be the appropriate final resting place for their companion. It is also possible that, if the men were aware of the burial practices and rituals to which Pons would be subjected, they also knew that, being a Cathar good man and therefore considered a heretic, he would not be buried on consecrated ground, and that his remains may be subject to less dignified disposal as a result.

Spaces, through their use, have social significance imposed upon them. By prescribing specific purposes to specific places, the expectations of people interacting within that space are changed and the actions of individuals or groups can be controlled. While religious authorities may have attempted this process through the confinement of orthodox religious worship to specific spaces, depositional evidence suggests that they were largely unsuccessful in preventing acts of worship and ritual from occurring outside of prescribed spaces. The examples discussed above demonstrate that even when behavioural expectations are imposed upon a location, this does not guarantee that they will be adhered to. Here we can not only see how individuals interact with spaces, but also their reactions when others do interact with the same spaces in anticipated ways or when the characteristics of a space change without warning. For example, a fugitive for heresy

assumes that an individual encountered by chance while travelling shares his social characteristics and reacts accordingly but panics when he is shown to have incorrectly assumed. This example demonstrates the assumptions made by individuals regarding uses of space and the tendency of an individual to assume that someone who looks and acts like them is like them. Examining the interactions which are recorded as occurring on the road while travelling can also tell us something about the social class of the deponents represented, thereby adding greater depth to any investigations or assumptions about the nature of the communities in question. An individual who is used to the houses in his community being open most the time is confused when he finds his neighbour's door closed, giving us a glimpse into the closeness of the community and the frequency of social interaction.

Careful reading of the documents can also reveal details about the physical nature of the buildings occupied by the deponents by taking note when specific mention is made of separate rooms and the context in which this occurs. In addition to providing details about the physical buildings, this can also further indicate class or wealth. Two vineyard owners learn that ownership does not always mean privacy or total obedience. The interactions discussed here are, for the most part, represented as being part of normal life; they are not discussed in sensational terms or in the context of any knowledge of wrongdoing on the part of the deponent and, except for the burial of Pons Boer, they do not receive a direct response from the inquisitors.

Descriptions of locations in inquisitorial records are significant for several reasons. To inquisitors they may have denoted secrecy and therefore indicated the severity of the actions occurring there, descriptions of dwellings could potentially have been used as class descriptors, and they may have served as indicators of who else was involved in an encounter. It is this inquisitorial influence that provides the emphasis on locations and awards them some of their significance. As with much of the material discussed in this thesis, however, descriptions of

locations appear not only because of their interest to the inquisitors, but also because of their importance to the deponents. Descriptions of locations and the ways in which people modify their behaviour depending on their location and its context can reveal an awareness of social etiquette and contexts in which it shows the effects of inquisitorial presence. In addition, these descriptions represent both another avenue through which individuals could seek to control representations of themselves within their depositions, and an opportunity to control the representation of their community and communal interactions.

Conclusion

Scholarship has long emphasised the construction of depositions as records of inquisitorial process and inquisitors. In this thesis, however, I have identified potential for locating the agency of deponents in a selection of inquisitorial records in Doat 25 and 26. Through an examination of the reported memories of deponents, I have argued that some of these documents can be treated as memory records and that the process of inquisitorial interview provided and provoked opportunities for deponents to craft narratives of personal history and communal interaction. This discussion has demonstrated that although their production was strongly influenced by the structure, questions, and record-keeping habits of inquisition, some inquisitorial records are still valuable sources for social history investigations of individuals and communities affected by the inquisition, particularly regarding changes in deponents' constructions of identity and community.

As I outlined in chapter one, the records of early inquisitors have been studied extensively for what they can reveal to us about the agendas and concerns of inquisitors and the evolution of inquisitorial processes over time. Inquisitorial records reveal not only the power of record keeping but also the development of the skills required to wield the documents as a weapon against heresy. The study of these documents has enabled the accumulation of a wealth of knowledge on the development of the early inquisition and yet relatively little discussion has been devoted to the deponents whose life events feature in these records. After the publication of LaDurie's *Montaillou*, which sought to use the records produced by Jacques Fournier in the early-fourteenth century to chronicle life in the French village from which the book takes its name, few attempts have been made to draw out the stories of individuals or communities that

lived under the shadow of inquisitorial presence.²⁰¹ John Arnold has studied the relationship between inquisition and power and how this impacted upon the testimonies of the deponents of medieval Languedoc and prevented them from behaving in a way other than as a submissive ‘confessing subject’. He argues outright that inquisitorial records cannot provide information about the lives or communities of deponents because the imbalance of power in the inquisitorial interview did not allow them sufficient agency to represent events accurately. While the intervening years between LaDurie and Arnold saw the study of inquisitorial documents in a variety of contexts, primarily regarding the inquisitors and their processes, Arnold’s text has, since its publication, arguably defined the boundaries of what can be gained from studying the records of early inquisition and his arguments have been widely accepted without dispute. This thesis does not seek to dispute Arnold’s arguments, but rather to suffix them with a ‘but’ and to address a gap within the historiography regarding these documents.

Inquisitorial records clearly cannot be taken at face value. Nevertheless, while the imposition of power and authority that brought depositions into being must be acknowledged, my analysis of the structure of the records of Doat 25 and 26 has suggested that in some cases, depositions seem to bear a closer relationship to deponents’ own narratives than most recent studies, after Arnold, have assumed. Especially when the surviving depositions are of a less-strictly structured narrative type, diverging from the common question-and-answer template, glimpse more than the development of inquisitorial procedures and their imposition upon individuals and communities. The evolution of methods of historical engagement have enabled us to revisit these sources with a new perspective. For example, engaging with these records from an oral history perspective provides us with an established framework and language for discussion. The

²⁰¹ Mattias Benad, *Domus und Religion in Montaillou: Katholische Kirche und Katharismus im Überlebenskampf der Familie des Pfarrers Petrus Clerici am Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts* (1990); René Weis, *The Yellow Cross: The Story of the Last Cathars* (2001).

ability to analyse the records in this context also enforces the argument that, while they are still affected by inquisitorial bias and agenda, some of these records may have more in common with oral history sources than previously believed.

The recognition that, in the Doat 25 and 26 collection of depositions at least, inquisitorial authority was uneven in the degree to which it shaped the record of deponents' testimonies, has provided a valuable opportunity to reflect anew on questions of social relevance for understanding the communities of Languedoc who fell under suspicion. A selection of these records has enabled the discussion of the impact of inquisitorial presence on individual self-representation and the formation of personal histories through the examination of depositions as reported memories. Such analysis has revealed that deponents were sometimes able to craft and even control representations of themselves in inquisitorial records through the content of their depositional statements. Especially when deponents drew on memories of childhood or distant pasts, they sometimes used the opportunity of inquisitorial interaction to put distance between their past and present selves. Engaging with these records has also facilitated the analysis of the social structure of communities affected by the presence of inquisitors. This has reinforced conclusions arrived at by James Given in his *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc*, regarding forms of passive and social resistance, but has also provided some insight into general social interactions of the period.

In *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100-1250* (1974), Walter Wakefield argued that an attempt to form a sociology of heresy through discussions of its social and geographical

contexts would be premature.²⁰² Perhaps, with sensitive attention to both the limitations and the possibilities of depositional evidence, it is time to reconsider such an attempt.

²⁰² Jeffrey B. Russell, 'Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100-1250 by Walter L. Wakefield (Book Review).'

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